

**THE EVOLUTION OF KENYA'S LAND POLICY, LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND ITS  
IMPACT ON PASTORALISM IN KAJIADO, KENYA**

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## DECLARATIONS

I declare that **The Evolution of Land Policy and Legal Framework and its Implication on Pastoralism in Kajiado, Kenya** Is my original work. Where other people's work has been used, this has been properly acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Strathmore's requirements.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this Master's dissertation to my family for their support and encouragement.

## ACRONYMS

ASAL - Arid and Semi-Arid Lands

CEC - County Executive Committee

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GRS - Group Ranch Scheme

IBLI - Index Based Livestock Insurance

KNBS - Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

NIA - Neighbours Initiative Alliance

MPIDO - Mainyoto Pastoralists Integrated Development Organization

PID - Participatory Institutional Development

TEV - Total Economic Value

HSNP - Hunger Safety Net Programme

CoK - Constitution of Kenya

CLA - Community Land Act

KFS - Kenya Forest Service

KEFRI - Kenya Forestry Research Institute

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization

UNEP - United Nations Environment Programme

HEA - Household Economic Approach

CSO - Civil Society Organization

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

## ABSTRACT

The rise in population globally, the trend towards rapid urbanization, centralisation of land tenure, establishment of strict borders between previously open territories have all challenged the way of life for pastoralists around the world. These pose challenges to human's connection to the drylands in a way that efficiently protects ecosystems, biodiversity and manages low fertility soils. In many countries, pastoralists are a large portion of the national population, often ethnic minorities numbering between 100 and 200 million people globally (IUCN, 2020). In this dissertation, I explore the possibilities within pastoral land use and management in Kajiado County of Kenya, for the purpose of shaping legislation and policies that capture the experiences and needs of pastoralists. This dissertation intends to: (1) undertake an evaluative study of the state of pastoralism in Kajiado, outlining its problems and prospects; (2) analyze the policy and legal land tenure system at the national and county level; and (3) determine the consequences of the examined policy frameworks on the future of pastoralism. Recognizing the effects of colonial and post-independence land policies on pastoralists, the study offers cross-generational approaches to realign policy to pastoralists' lived realities and proposes frameworks that other ASALs could emulate. A qualitative research design was employed. Data were collected through ten semi-structured interviews (n = 10) and one focus group discussion involving ten participants (n = 10), all purposively selected from different sub-counties to reflect diverse pastoralist practices. Participants were selected based on geography, herd size, and experience with land access challenges. Thematic analysis, guided by the Gioia methodology, was applied to synthesize insights from narratives into conceptual patterns using both manual coding and Atlas.Ti software. Findings indicate a significant transformation in pastoral systems. Mobility is declining due to land fragmentation, fencing, and urban encroachment. Pastoralists are shifting from full nomadism to seasonal or semi-sedentary forms. Environmental stress—especially prolonged droughts—has contributed to herd size reduction and forced diversification into farming and informal trade. Digital tools, including mobile phones and climate-monitoring applications, are increasingly used for market access and pasture planning, although access is uneven. The study also highlights the tension between customary tenure systems and formal land governance. While communal grazing lands remain central to pastoralist survival, policies promoting private land titles have disrupted shared access. These institutional and ecological constraints have led to economic instability, rising land-related conflicts, and limited access to markets. The study concludes that pastoralism remains ecologically viable and socially relevant in Kajiado County, but its sustainability

depends on policy reform and institutional inclusion. Legal recognition of communal grazing lands, formalization of migratory corridors, and direct participation of pastoralists in land governance are critical.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

Pastoralism is one of the oldest and most enduring human environment adaptation, especially in arid and semi-arid environments (ASALs) where it is not normally possible for farming. These drylands, from hyper-arid deserts to dry sub-humid environments, cover approximately 41% of the planet's surface and sustain between 100 million and 200 million pastoralists. In Kenya, ASALs occupy about 80% of the country and sustain about 70% of the nation's livestock. As precious as they are to rural livelihoods and food security, yet, pastoralist communities are constantly confronted by ascending dangers, specifically those of land fragmentation, growing urban settlements, and policy trends leaning towards settled agriculture at the cost of mobile pastoralism.

Kajiado County, on the edge of Nairobi and occupying a semi-arid ecological belt, is a case in point. Over half the households here are pastoralist, but they are constantly under threat. The hurried subdivision of communal lands and growing real estate development have fragmented migratory routes that previously enabled herdspeople to roam freely in pursuit of grazing and water. This loss of mobility has also made it more difficult to maintain both environmental balance and economic balance that pastoral systems rely on. Whereas Kenya's legal framework—namely the 2010 Constitution and the 2016 Community Land Act—is there to provide protection for communal land rights, on the ground things are usually otherwise. Weak enforcement and competing interests have opened loopholes that expose pastoralists to land loss and resource conflict.

This research examines the land policy contribution towards building the resilience of the pastoralist communities in Kajiado County with close attention. It addresses three concerns. To begin with, it investigates how pastoralism is transforming in the context of shifting land access and increasingly uncertain climate conditions. Second, it aims to determine if the currently applied land policies at both the national and county levels are reconciling with the currently prevailing needs and realities of pastoralist existence. Lastly, it reflects on how policy might be better coordinated to sit with the economic and environmental worth that pastoralism provides, not just in relation to animal production, but in relation to its capacity for carbon sequestration and biodiversity protection.

By charting land management history, coupled with contemporary legal and institutional arrangements, the research hopes to identify both problem and potential. The aspiration is to feed into policy debate beyond the paradigm of pastoralism somehow being primitive or under transition, and rather embracing it as a dynamic, adaptable way of life fully in tune with Kenya's drylands.

## **1.1 Background**

Aridity, as in temperature and patterns of rainfall, is the identifying characteristic of arid or semi-arid zones (ASALs). Drylands - hyper-arid, arid, semi-arid and dry sub-humid zones - stretch across about 41% of the terrestrial portion of the world (FAO, 2019), which includes 4.2% hyper-arid areas, 14.6% arid areas and 12.2% semi-arid areas out of the entire 510.1 million km<sup>2</sup> of terrestrial land area (Pidwirny, 2006). These areas are marked by huge inter-annual climatic variability, unreliable regimes of rainfall, and largely sandy or rocky soils that make them generally unsuitable for conventional agriculture (PRISE, 2016).

The challenges facing pastoral societies in Kenya's ASALs are mirrored in those facing similar ecosystems elsewhere on the planet. In Mongolia's Gobi Desert, centuries of sustainable grazing have been maintained by nomadic herders through highly mobile livestock systems (Fernández-Giménez, 2002). However, land privatization policies that have been implemented in recent years have restricted mobility patterns, leading to pasture degradation - a process that is very similar to Kenya's group ranch subdivisions (Upton, 2009).

The Sahel in West Africa is another case in point. Research from Niger evidences pastoral mobility as a successful adaptation technique for responding to climate change under which herds range about 300-500km each year for pasture and water (Turner et al., 2016). This supports research in Kenya's Kajiado County in which mobility was hindered to increase exposure to droughts (Nkedianye et al., 2011).

Even in Scandinavia, the indigenous Sámi reindeer herders also face comparable land tenure challenges. Mostly overlooked by law until now, alternative land uses like mining, forestry and tourism have appropriated significant grazing land (Brännlund & Axelsson, 2011). The aforementioned examples worldwide remind us of an underlying conflict present between mobile pastoral systems and boundary-based land policy models.

Pastoral systems across the globe have evolved extraordinarily convergent approaches to cope with environmental uncertainty. Tibetan Plateau yak pastoralists use seasonally mobile elevation (Miller, 1999) similar to Kenya's Maasai pastoralists' altitudinal transhumance. Andean pastoralists' multi-species livestock diversity (Valdivia et al., 1996) is similar to the multi-species herds typical of East African pastoralism.

Comparative analysis yields useful policy insights. Botswana's 1975 Tribal Grazing Lands Policy (TGLP), similarly to Kenya's group ranch regime, intended to privatize land and commodity pastoralism, with the associated adverse effects on livelihood and rangeland health (Dougill et al., 2016). Ethiopia's recent recognition of communal grazing lands (Behnke & Kerven, 2013) presents possible lessons for Kenya in finding a balance between security of tenure and mobility requirements.

These international experiences affirm that although pastoral systems are responsive to local environmental contexts, they all similarly grapple with identical challenges of modernization policies that misinterpret or ignore mobile livelihoods. The Kenyan experience must thus be understood within the wider global context of pastoral land rights struggles and climate adaptation policies.

### **1.1.1 The Concept of Aridity**

Aridity is expressed as a function of rainfall and temperature. It is calculated by dividing the average long-term water supply (precipitation) by the average long-term water demand (evapotranspiration). Three arid zones can be distinguished using the aridity index: hyper-arid, arid, and semi-arid. Except for a few sporadic shrubs, the hyper-arid zone (aridity index 0.03) is made up of dryland regions devoid of vegetation. It is common to practice true nomadic pastoralism. Rainfall is little and rarely exceeds 100 millimetres per year. Rainfall is erratic and rare; there are instances when years go by without any rain at all. Pastoralism and the absence of any agricultural outside of irrigation define the arid zone (aridity index 0.03-0.20). The native vegetation is often sparse, consisting mostly of shrubs and small trees, as well as annual and perennial grasses and other herbaceous plants. There is significant yearly variation in the amount of rainfall, which ranges from 100 to 300 millimetres.

**Table 1.1: Classification of Arid Zones Based on Aridity Index and Associated Characteristics**

<b>Arid Zone</b>	<b>Aridity Index</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Vegetation Type</b>	<b>Annual Rainfall</b>	<b>Human Activity</b>
<b>Hyper-arid Zone</b>	0.03	Dryland areas with very little to no vegetation except for a few scattered shrubs. Rainfall is extremely low and highly variable.	Sparse vegetation (scattered shrubs)	Rarely exceeds 100 mm	True nomadic pastoralism
<b>Arid Zone</b>	0.03 - 0.20	Pastoralism and little to no crop farming—apart from irrigation—are its defining characteristics. a sparse understory of tiny trees, shrubs, and annual and perennial grasses.	Annual and perennial grasses, shrubs, and small trees	100 - 300 mm	Pastoralism, no farming except with irrigation
<b>Semi-arid Zone</b>	0.20 - 0.50	able to sustain both sedentary livestock production and rain-fed agriculture. An extensive range of grasses, shrubs, and trees make up the vegetation.	Grasses, grass-like plants, half-shrubs, shrubs, and trees	300 - 600 mm (up to 700-800 mm in summer)	Rain-fed agriculture, sedentary livestock production

In the semi-arid zone (arid index 0.20–0.50), rainfed agriculture can be sustained at a comparatively constant production level. Additionally sedentary is livestock production. Numerous species are typical of the natural vegetation, such as grasses and plants that resemble grass, shrubs and trees, and fortes and half-shrubs. Annual precipitation varies from 300–600 to 700–800 millimetres during summer rains and from 200–250 to 450–500 millimetres during winter rains.

ASAL ecosystems are maximised by mobile pastoralism by the opening up of pastures stimulating vegetation growth, soil fertilisation and enhancement of water filtration. Pastoralism reduces bush encroachment and improves nutrient cycling. In many East African regions, under grazing is evident: Bush encroachment has made huge parts of the drylands useless owing to drought or conflict-related grazing animal shortages.

### **1.1.2 Pastoralism and Land Tenure**

Tenure is derived from the latin word *tenere* which means “to hold”. The western wording and concept of land focuses on land that can be held and owned. This study focuses on tenure in relation to land usage, specifically who is allowed to utilize it in the context of Kajiado pastoralists. Customary traditions provide the basis of the land tenure of pastoralists. Because they have communal ownership over their land, pastoralists have shared rights of access and the optimal framework for utilizing resources across a range of agro-ecological conditions, which lowers their vulnerability (Niamir-Fuller, 2005; Nori, 2007).

A crucial component of pastoral production systems is the movement of seasonal resources. Pastoralists use their traditional ways to control access to necessary resources throughout seasonal movements. The rights of pastoralists to use resources during the dry season are predicated on reciprocal agreements between agriculturalists and pastoralists regarding the use of property rights; these agreements are influenced by a variety of factors, including social relations within the communities and the local climate (McCarthy et al., 1999). Because it fosters mutual expectations of resource sharing across groups, this flexibility offers some security during dry spells and other calamities (Meinzen- Dick et al., 2005). Because they were accepted by those groups, these customary rights to share seasonal resources—even across disparate tribes—came to be (Bruce and Migot-Adholla, 1994).

Pastoralists' seasonal migrations preserve land rights. In this idea, pastoralists' seasonal land rights are spatiotemporal. The eleventh Concise Oxford Dictionary defines spatiotemporal as "belonging to both space and time". Spatial-temporal is defined as "having both spatial and temporal qualities" by Merriam-Webster and "having both spatial extension and temporal duration" by The Free Dictionary. These definitions span time and space. Dale and McLaughlin (1999) define land management as "the processes of regulating land and property development and the use and conservation of the land." Governments use land management to collect revenue from sales, leasing, and taxes and resolve land ownership and use disputes.

### **1.1.3 Pastoralism as a form of livelihood in ASALs**

Pastoralism is a response to environmental variability through the use of management strategies, such as increasing herd sizes as a safety net during hard times, dividing herds among several locations to spread risk, retaining a variety of species and breeds, and lending extra animals to friends and family (Humanitarian Policy Group, 2019). "The area of agriculture

known as pastoralism is focused on husbandry, which includes the rearing, feeding, and utilization of animals like sheep, cattle, camels, and goats" (Schoof, 2018). As early as 8000 BCE, people adjusted their social structures and methods of raising animals (Time maps Encyclopaedia, 2020). A strategy of raising cattle that makes the most of tough environments—where water and nutrients are limited and unpredictable—is known as pastoralism. It is a type of livestock husbandry that was formerly practiced by herders who were nomads. Numerous herding animals, such as cattle, camels, goats, yaks, llamas, reindeer, horses, and sheep, are among the species participating. Rainer (2016).

The majority of pastoralist regions are those with aridity, poor soils, extreme heat or cold, and a scarcity of water, all of which make crop growth challenging or impossible. Pastoralism is associated with prestige, prosperity, dowries, and the resolution of family conflicts in societies where it is practiced (Nyariki, 2002). It is therefore a tool for connection and community building, insurance, wealth management, and bargaining. Due to the unfavourable climate for agriculture and scarcity of accessible water for irrigation, most communities inhabiting ASALs cope through pastoralism, which has become a way of life overtime. The most widely accepted theory of the origins of pastoralism is that it evolved from hunter and gathering communities who became knowledgeable about the movement of herds of animals and began domesticating them. Goats, sheep and cattle were domesticated in East Africa and also derived from Arabian progenitors as early as 7,400 years ago (Muigai *et al.*, 2004).

Four thousand years ago, the drying and expansion of the Sahara Desert put a strain on these herders who moved into Kenya (Barthelme, 1985). The Maasai community, in particular, moved into Kenya from South Sudan - their oral history traces their origin from the lower Nile valley, north of Lake Turkana (A. Okoth, 2006). Pastoral groups vary in mobility to adapt to the climate and seasons. Nomadic pastoralists typically move either daily or seasonally in search of fresh pastures and water sources for their livestock. Transhumance is the seasonal migration of both cattle and pastoralists between higher and lower pastures. In East Africa, animals are moved to seasonal precipitation locations (Angioni, 1989). Pastoralism serves humanity greatly and is a major component of the global green economic transition (UNEP, 2015). Pastoralism preserves soil fertility, carbon, water control, and biodiversity. Other products include high-value food.

Evidence suggests that pastoralists' efficient use of livestock grazing encourages the biomass production and biodiversity required to preserve carbon storage (Hassan et al., 2022). Herds carry seeds and insects while grazing on invasive grass species to do this. It is actually possible to sequester 409 million tonnes of CO<sub>2</sub>—roughly 9.8% of the carbon emissions caused by human activity—through improved grazing management. 2015 UNEP. Because pastoralism locks carbon deep in the ground, it protects healthy ecosystems and lessens the effects of degraded soils. Pastoralism brings benefit because of carbon sequestration from cattle activity (Behnke, 2018). Pastoral systems use livestock herds to do this because their mobility allows the soil to rest and because their trampling of the soil mixes manure with it to fertilize it and deposit organic matter. This opens up the soil, seeds it and allows plant materials to go deeper with no need of tilling or ploughing. Case studies around the world have shown that grasses, forbs and legumes that had disappeared slowly return bringing back with them wildlife such as bird species (L. Nargi, 2018). It was also found that this carbon sequestration more than offset methane and nitrous oxide in the environment.

#### **1.1.4 ASALs in Kenya**

Since arid and semi-arid lands (ASAL) make about 80% of Kenya's total geographical area, millions of people who practice pastoralism call these areas home (Amwata, 2015). In semi-arid regions, annual rainfall runs from 550 to 850 mm, while in these arid regions it falls between 150 and 550 mm. All year long, evapo-transpiration rates are high due to high temperatures. (2013, Katua). The range of mean annual rainfall in the Central and Western Highlands, as well as in the Central Rift Valley, is 950-3000 mm. Comparing this range to ASALs areas, it is noticeably greater. In these areas, crop production is mostly influenced by this environmental element (Musembi, 2006).

Around 36% of the country's people and 70% of its livestock live in ASALs (UNDP, 2010). One of the 47 counties in the nation, Kajiado County is categorized as semi-arid due to its low annual precipitation of 500 mm. This is in contrast to extreme dry regions, where the annual precipitation reported is only 150 mm. Agro-pastoral, integrated crop/livestock production systems dominate arid areas, where people and their livestock move frequently. Arid and semi-arid regions make up 82% of Kenya's territory and home to 70% of its livestock and 25% of its people (Mwaura et al. 2015).

#### **1.1.5 Pastoralism and colonial land policy**

Colonization forced many pastoralists into settlements in most seasons in Kenya and other nations, reducing their ability to adapt to environmental change (Boone, 2012). British colonisation of Kenya from 1890 and 1963 brought socio-economic and political measures to integrate Kenyan societies into the colonial economy and commercialize pastoral pursuits. British practices of compulsory destocking, grazing limits, and movement restrictions undermined pastoral institutions (Guyo, 2017). The government implemented the Group Ranch Scheme (GRS) in Kajiado following independence to modernize nomadic pastoralists. This addressed overgrazing and land degradation. Ironically, colonial pastoral route restrictions caused this degradation.

Limitation of routes meant that herds were concentrated in one place overgrazing resulting in the vegetation depleted, which in turn left soils bare and nutrients and moisture depleted. This sedentary pastoralism was deemed more progressive so as to be able to govern Africans better. Sedentary pastoralism is when pastoralists grow crops and improve pastures for their livestock (Plieninger, 2018). The GRS ignored the fact that sedentary pastoralism works efficiently where the land is suitable for crop farming and where precipitation may be relied on to improve pastures for livestock all year round. Furthermore, sedentary agriculture would mean fencing land that is inhabited by indigenous wildlife which leads to human-wildlife conflict due to the confinement of large numbers of livestock in one place and the barring of wildlife from land they naturally inhabit and travel. This defeats the purpose of and goes against conserving natural habitats and wildlife conservation.

The GRS was seeking to solve a problem caused by the colonialist's encouragement of nomadic pastoralists towards a more sedentary mode of livestock keeping. If left to their traditional nomadic lifestyle, lands would be seasonally replenished as mobility to other pastures is allowed. The GRS converted communal open lands to a group tenure regime which was expected to encourage the predominantly Maasai nomadic pastoralists to confine livestock within ranch boundaries and reduce their livestock numbers (Kimani, 1997). This may also have been to ease the formalization of land tenure in Kenya due to the fact that unmapped nomads across the country would complicate country planning for public services and needs. It was the first time the nomadic communities had security of land tenure since communities traditionally did not recognize the concept of land ownership. The land was for all and a part of nature as they were (Lengoiboni et al., 2010).

The spiritual symbolism of pastoralism - being at one with the environment meant that personal ownership did not resonate very easily. Some nomadic pastoralists settled into a sedentary livestock keeping livelihood while others sought from the community waivers to traverse communal lands in Kajiado and its environs continuing their nomadic tradition (Hassan et al., 2022). With the new idea of land as a commercial asset in early modern Kenya, communities that were under the GRS pushed for subdivision of land. In the 1980s, the Government supported this by facilitating subdivision of group ranches into individual saleable plots. There were attempts at crop farming which led to crop failures due to the nature of the soil and climate. This was documented by Kimani who noted that the disaggregation of lands available for nomadic pastoralism increased the “potential for land degradation and crop failures” (Kimani, 1997).

The selling of land and subdivisions drastically reduced the number of purely nomadic pastoralists who now had the new challenge of mobility in areas obstructed by fencing and the unfamiliar charge of trespassing in routes they had trodden for centuries. Some pastoralists circumvented this challenge by having arrangements with owners of property to be able to move through Kajiado. Regardless of these challenges, pastoralism remains the main livelihood practised in Kajiado - with 52% of the population practising it. These livelihoods have been mapped as being practised in certain zones that will be discussed in paragraphs below. An assessment of the impact of privatisation of large expanses of land that held previous nomad migration routes shows that although the aim was to change traditional livestock production systems into commercial networks of monetary market economies, this largely failed (Lane, 1994).

In Kajiado, sedentary livestock-keeping in these areas leads to ecosystem failure, nutrient depletion as well as predisposition to livestock diseases such as Foot and Mouth disease and East Coast Fever (Onono, 2013). The sedentary livestock increase soil compaction and alters the natural cycling of nutrients in soil. Behnke and Scoones (1993) explored the concept of a rangeland carrying capacity. Carrying capacity is the ability and extent that a particular land can withstand animal grazing pressure before it is depleted of nutrients. There is a need to balance grazing animal pressure against the natural generative nature of plants. This concept

of carrying capacity marks the stocking density at which this balance could be achieved. ‘By pushing beyond the carrying capacity, the balance that allows for regeneration is destroyed. The condition of the land progressively deteriorates.’ It is now accepted that nomadic pastoralism is the best use of land of ASALs. (Behnke and Scoones: Bovin and Manger, 1990; Ellis et al, 1993; Sandford, 1983).

Free movement of pastoralists and their herds reduce this soil and vegetative depletion to allow regeneration as they move to new pastures and grazing areas (Galaty, 2013). In ASAL regions that are unsuitable for plant farming, the other alternative for livelihood which is sedentary farming or ranching livestock will deplete soil by continuously going over the carrying capacity and with no chance for soil and pastures to regenerate (Hemingway et al., 2022). When the Kenyan government converted land tenure from communal tenure to group ranches in Kajiado in 1960s it benefited the Maasai community as it gave them legal acknowledgement of ownership. However, the move threatened nomadic livestock production by decreasing mobility and carrying capacity of land, increasing the potential for land degradation and interference in wildlife migration patterns (Hassan et al., 2022).

#### **1.1.4 A Profile of Kajiado County**

Kajiado County borders Tanzania to the south, Makueni and Taita/Taveta to the east, Nairobi and Machakos to the north, and Narok and Kiambu to the west in Kenya's Rift Valley. At latitude 2.0981S and longitude 36.7820E, the county has 1,117,840 residents according to the 2019 census. Ngong is its largest town and Kajiado its capital. It covers 21,902 km<sup>2</sup>. Wildlife is a major draw in the county. The seven administrative divisions of Kajiado are Isinya, Central, Loitokitok, Magadi, Mashuru, Namanga, and Ngong. Kajiado Central, Kajiado North, Kajiado East, Kajiado West, and Kajiado South are its five sub-counties, which are also constituencies. Most of the time, these sub-counties correspond with the constituencies defined by Article 89 of the Kenyan Constitution (CoK, 2010). There are not many distinctions between administrative and political boundaries as a result of this overlap.

Kajiado County is characterized by four main livelihood zones: Pastoral (all species), Agro-Pastoral, Mixed Farming, and business-related activities. The pastoral zone accounts for 52% of the county's population, Agro-Pastoral 12%, and Mixed Farming 5%. Meanwhile, employment through formal, casual, and business engagements forms 31% of the county's

economic activities. Urban centres such as Ngong, Isinya, and Kitengela benefit from their proximity to Nairobi, serving as hubs for trade and commerce (Ministry of Water and Natural Resources and the County of Kajiado, 2013). According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS, 2019), Kajiado has a unique demographic profile, with a significant proportion of its population aged 0-14 years. In Kajiado Central, this age group constitutes 50% of the population, while it is 48% in Kajiado West and 49% in Kajiado South.

The county's spatial structure includes both rural and urban areas. In 2023, Kajiado launched its spatial plan, which provides a framework for land use, encompassing human settlement, wildlife and livestock areas, agriculture, and modernized pastoralism. This spatial plan, running from 2019 to 2029, may be extended for another decade after review. The county's administrative organization includes 25 wards, with each of the five sub-counties having five wards. The vision of Kajiado's spatial plan is to promote sustainable development centered on livestock, agriculture, tourism, industry, and commerce. In 2009, the county's population was estimated at 687,312, and its growth rate stood at around 5.5%. Population density has also been rising, from 31 persons per square kilometre in 2009 to a projected 54 in 2019 and 92 in 2029.

Historically, Kajiado County had 56 group ranches in the 1990s, but extensive sub-division and sale of land for settlement purposes have significantly reduced this number. Currently, only 10 communal grazing ranches remain, primarily in Kajiado South and West, designated for beef production. This shift in land tenure from communal group ranches to private ownership reflects a significant transformation. As of 2018, five group ranches remained in Kajiado West and another five in Kajiado South. The concept of group ranches was introduced by the government in the 1960s to commercialize pastoralism, enhance income, and deliver essential services. Group ranches operate as collective livestock production systems where individuals jointly own land, agree on stocking levels, and manage livestock collectively while retaining individual ownership of the animals (Ministry of Agriculture, 1968). The county's land is divided into zones designated for mixed urban use, agriculture, eco-tourism, pastoralism, conservation, and commercial activities.

Kajiado has a high proportion of working-age individuals (15-64 years), especially in Kajiado North, where they account for 66%, and in Kajiado East, where they constitute 60%. This demographic composition is linked to the rapid growth of urban areas such as Ngong, Ongata

Rongai, and Kitengela, which attract migrants from rural regions and offer residential options for individuals working in Nairobi and surrounding areas. The rapid urbanization trend poses a challenge to the traditional nomadic lifestyle of pastoralists, as the rural-to-urban migration has been on the rise since independence. In 1964, only 8.5% of Kenyans lived in urban areas. This figure rose to 16.7% in 1990 and by 2015, one in four Kenyans resided in urban centres.

The Ministry of Land, Housing, and Urban Development (2016) projects that by 2030, nearly one-third of Kenyans will live in urban areas, and by 2050, this figure will rise to 43.9% of the total population. This trend indicates a pressing need to address issues related to land use, ownership, and management, particularly as it pertains to pastoralists, whose mobility will be further restricted by the increased demand for land from the growing population. Rising land prices in Nairobi's surrounding regions, such as Kiambu and Kajiado, coupled with a burgeoning middle class and heightened demand for property ownership, will likely lead to further subdivision and fencing of land, making it increasingly difficult to sustain traditional nomadic pastoralism.

#### *Rationale for the study focus in Kajiado*

Kajiado was chosen for this study for three main reasons. Firstly, the county is classified as Semi-arid and is at the epicentre of the discussions on the future and sustainability of pastoralism. The majority of Kajiado locals rely on pastoralism as a source of livelihood. The land tenure system that incentivises subdivision and sale of communal land is particularly glaring in this rapidly urbanising county. Its proximity to Nairobi offers strong infrastructure and road transport (Robinson & Flintan, 2022). This allows produce from Kajiado to easily reach Nairobi markets. The pastoralists' view of urbanisation is of a double edge sword. On one hand urbanisation means closeness to the market for meat and on the other hand, their livelihood is threatened by the rapid urban developments, these include the increased encroachment on pastoral rangelands, shrinking grazing space and new administrative boundaries, all of which have restricted the movement of pastoralists in search of water and pasture (Unks et al., 2021). Kajiado is a key county to observe this tense relationship and would be a prime pilot model to test how policy can alleviate and enhance the livelihood choices of pastoralist communities in the midst of ever changing economic and social dynamics.

The second reason, closely linked to Kajiado's profile, is that it is one of the most urbanised ASAL regions and can offer a snapshot of the future for other ASAL counties that will follow

suit in urbanisation (Robinson & Flintan, 2022). As projected by the Ministry of Lands, the rate of urbanisation is on the increase nationwide. The way Kajiado can manage this impending and deepening crisis could offer a case study for other regions. Third, the diversity of land uses, actors, and tenures made this study region appealing. Pastoralism, crop farming, private or commercial ranching, urban land use, and conservation (wild animal parks and forests) are the principal land uses.

### **1.1.7 Policy and Legislative Frameworks on Land in Kenya/Kajiado**

Understanding how land policy affects pastoralism begins with a close look at the legal and institutional frameworks that govern land at both the national level and within Kajiado County, Kenya. These policies shape who can access land, how it's managed, and how it changes over time—factors that deeply affect pastoralist communities whose way of life depends on mobility and shared land use.

At the national level, the Constitution of Kenya (2010) lays a strong foundation for equitable land governance. Article 60 outlines key principles such as equitable access, sustainable land management, and the protection of marginalized communities, including pastoralists. Article 63(2)(d) goes further by explicitly recognizing the right of communities to own land collectively—an essential provision for pastoralist systems that rely on communal grazing lands. However, tensions arise with Article 66, which gives the state power to regulate land use in the public interest. While intended to serve broader development goals, this provision can easily come into conflict with pastoralist land practices and mobility.

In addition to the Constitution, several other laws support the broader land governance framework. The Land Act (2012) classifies land as public, private, or community-owned but does not include clear protections for migratory corridors used by pastoralists. The Community Land Act (2016) was a step forward, offering a more robust framework for communities to formally register their communal lands. However, its implementation—particularly in counties like Kajiado—has faced significant challenges.

The Land Governance Framework is significantly influenced by The Land Registration Act of 2012. Its impact, however, is more nuanced for pastoralist regions. For example, in Kajiado County, the focus on individual titles has exacerbated the rampant fragmentation of

group ranches. This has led to the subdivision of rangelands traditionally relied upon by pastoralists for seasonal grazing, thereby disrupting their ability to adhere to age-old mobility patterns. This policy, for the most part, has facilitated formalization at a cost to pastoralist pasturelands.

The National Land Policy of 2009 appears to tell a different story. While it calls for equitable and sustainable land development, the policy overemphasizes settled agriculture with private land ownership, thus sidelining pastoralism which is regarded as a transitional phase towards modernity. Relying on this reasoning, the document fails to acknowledge pastoralism as a crucial livelihood option, especially in arid and semi-arid climates where crop farming is neither practical nor sustainable.

At the county level, Kajiado's Spatial Plan (2019–2029) outlines a vision for zoning land for different uses—including pastoralism, agriculture, and conservation. While the plan acknowledges the importance of balancing these sectors, enforcement remains a significant challenge. Designated grazing areas continue to shrink due to encroachment and competing land uses, often without consequence. Although the plan includes provisions for migratory corridors, these are rarely marked out on the ground, and there is little follow-through in protecting them.

The Kajiado County Climate Change Policy (2021) is one of the few local documents that directly recognizes pastoralism as a climate-resilient livelihood. This recognition is important, especially given the region's increasing vulnerability to climate shocks. However, the policy falls short in practice. It does not provide clear mechanisms to ensure pastoralists can access critical grazing areas during periods of drought. Without legal safeguards or emergency access plans, pastoralist communities are left to negotiate access informally, often with limited success.

Group ranches, as marked by the Group Representatives Act of 1968 are aimed at granting pastoralists legal recognition of their land tenure. While this served its purpose for some time, there was a trend of speculative subdivisions of several group ranches in Kajiado around 2010. In places like Kajiado Central, this led to the privatization of over 80% of formerly communal lands, since policies are more favorable towards privatization. This shift has dire consequences on mobility and resource sharing.

Understanding the transformation requires exploring the historical context. Colonial era laws like the Vesting of Land Act (Cap 281) and the Trust Land Act facilitated government control over communal lands. Although these laws have since been abolished, they continue to affect contemporary governance of land. The administrative framework is dominated by a land titling system which undermines pastoralism reliant collective tenure systems.

One may notice conflicts in the policy. Take, for example, the Community Land Act. It makes room for communal tenure, yet the Agriculture Sector Transformation and Growth Strategy (2019–2029) also seeks to encourage crop farming in ASAL areas. This is paradoxical in nature and confuses those on the ground, especially the county-level policymakers, and many times leaves pastoralist systems either unsupported or actively undermined.

Finally, lack of enforcement and oversight has fostered opportunism. In some situations, elusive elites have used the community land registration processes as a means of acquiring land that was meant to be used communally. The Namanga Ranch disputes that arose in 2020 exemplify how communal land can become embroiled in elite capture, governance, and—most problematically—lack of governing transparency and accountability.

Collectively, these describe county and national frameworks that respond to saddle pastoralists with an, at best, indifferent policy environment. The written law contains some hopeful provisions, but in Kajiado, where pastoralist communities face increasing fragmentation, limited mobility, and intensified multi-dimensional land pressures, the reality is different. This disparity is the focus of this research and brings to the forefront the critical inquiry on how land policy sustains or attacks pastoralist livelihoods in Kenya today.

## **1.2 Problem statement**

Despite pastoralism's importance to the food security of Kenya and its economic value, existing land policies do not address the structural issues confronting pastoralist communities in Kajiado County. Three basic gaps are: very few post-2010 studies of constitutional land reforms and pastoral consequences of land use have been conducted, pastoral livelihoods have been revolutionized through urbanization and market integration in the absence of policy feedback, and although very significant historical studies have been conducted, these do not represent climate change and present land fragmentation conditions. This study explores these

gaps in order to develop policy recommendations that reconcile pastoral mobility needs with Kenya's evolving land governance regime.

This research aims to investigate and assess the untapped opportunities in land management in the pastoralist community to clearly advise land policy to benefit the lives of pastoralists in Kenya by understanding their current land use and challenges faced to better develop policy recommendations that reflect current evolving needs and the evolving environment that pastoralists live in. The choice of investigating the opportunities in pastoralism are several. First, there is limited recent material on pastoral land use, regulation and tenure. Studies on this topic were done before the CoK(2010) and subsequent legislation were passed and implemented. The gaps and loopholes in policy are more discernible as time has lapsed to see the laws in practice (Aktipis et al. 2011; Cronk 1991 and 2004; Herren 1988 and 1989).

Secondly, there has been a rapid market integration in Kajiado County, the county boasts as being one of the wealthiest counties in the country, leading to widespread changes in the characteristics of the pastoralist lifestyle. This makes it difficult to contextualise the social, economic and ecological problems that have arisen in recent years. This necessitates a deep assessment of whether the opportunities in pastoralism have shifted. Lastly, the vast literature previously done on Kajiado provides a wealth of references to clearly track changes and emerging issues and opportunities. This study would add and update this literature and will be valuable to economists, policy makers and service providers of this large demographic in Kajiado.

### **1.3 Objectives**

#### **1.3.1 General objective**

The objective of this study is to examine opportunities in pastoralist land use and the practice of pastoralism in Kajiado, recommend and inform land legislation and policy aligned with the experiences and needs of pastoralists in Kajiado, aiming to develop a successful remodelling policy replicable in other ASALs, by understanding the negative effects of colonial and Kenyan post-independent governments on pastoralists and proposing long-term strategies to reverse these effects while harmonizing with pastoralism realities.

#### **1.3.2 Specific objectives**

- i. To assess the current status of pastoralism in Kajiado County, including challenges and opportunities.
- ii. To appraise the policy and legal framework of land tenure at both the national and county levels in Kajiado County.
- iii. To establish the implications of land policy and legal frameworks on the potential for pastoralism in Kajiado County.

#### **1.4 Research questions**

- i. What is the current status of pastoralism in Kajiado County?
- ii. What policy and legal frameworks of land tenure exist at both the national and county levels in Kajiado County?
- iii. What are the implications of these land policies and legal frameworks on pastoralism in Kajiado County?
- iv. What policy recommendations can be instituted to mitigate the challenges or strengthen the opportunities experienced by pastoralists in Kajiado County?

#### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The study focused pastoralists who occupy large tracts on ASALs, who also form an important role in the meat value chain, therefore resolving the challenges they face supports the Government of Kenya's objective of equity in wealth. The information generated by this study may be useful to other researchers to delve into the opportunities easily overlooked in the study of pastoralists. Study findings and detailed analysis will help to bring out the role of pastoralism in a modern nation/society. It may further help policy makers identify low hanging fruit in boosting this resilient economy and thereby assist them to formulate appropriate policies.

#### **1.6 Organization of the Study**

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the study with a contextual background of the definition of pastoralism and the widespread practice of pastoralism globally, continentally and locally. It continues to outline the problem statement and purpose of the study. The study then lays out the objectives of the investigation and its significance. Chapter two is a literature review of theories underpinning pastoral land use. This delves into the theory of the tragedy of the commons and land policy. This review goes deeper in reviewing academic thought and discourse on pastoralism and economic theory. The empirical review analyses the inputs of pastoralism in the Kenyan economy. Chapter three expounded on the

research methodology and how the study was designed to answer the research questions. Chapter four analysed the findings of the research and presented the results of the research study. The analysis described the data collected and the methods used to analyse it. The findings clarified the validity of previous assumptions and discussed any patterns or trends observed in the data. Chapter five summarized the main findings of the research study and their implications. This discussion highlighted how the results of the study contributed to the existing body of knowledge on pastoralism and the practical on-ground implications of current land policy frameworks, as well as any practical implications of the findings. The research also drew conclusions based on the results of the study and made recommendations for future research. Finally, the chapter discussed any limitations of the study and suggested areas for further research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter reviews theoretical literature and further reviews empirical evidence that support the theories relating to land tenure and pastoralism. This section commences defining key terms related to pastoralism and land tenure. It proceeds to explore the historical evolution of land tenure practices among pastoralists in Kajiado and how environmental, economic, legal and institutional frameworks have affected their land rights. The theoretical literature critically examines the theory of the tragedy of the commons and its application to pastoral communities, arguing that pastoralism is held together by networks of communication, support, and knowledge sharing.

#### **2.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

Comprehending pastoralism in counties such as Kajiado takes more than policy analysis—it takes an understanding of how communities engage with their world, institutions, and one another. A number of theoretical lenses provide useful spectacles for that, allowing us to perceive both the resilience and vulnerability of pastoral systems in managing change.

Resilience theory has come to the fore in comprehending pastoral livelihoods. In contrast to those systems that struggle to be stable and controlled, pastoralism thrives on flexibility. For Scoones (2020), pastoral system resilience is not resisting change but instead adapting and reorganizing in the face of uncertainty. Pastoralists coexist with uncertainty—ranging from rainfall to market trends—and their strategies adjust accordingly. In Kajiado, resilience manifests in day-to-day practice such as seasonal migration, maintaining mixed herds, and generating income through small trade or farming. These are not arbitrary reactions but educated decisions founded on profound comprehension of the country and community support systems (Dong et al., 2016; Unks et al., 2023).

Second is the Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework by Elinor Ostrom. The IAD framework assists in decomposing how institutional law and conventional agreement overlap in land management. In Kajiado, traditional land-sharing regimes—historically controlled by word of mouth, trust, and social responsibility—are increasingly at odds with state-led land reforms and formal titling. Ostrom's model can account for why these conflicts

emerge: where policies are not consistent with the ways in which communities have managed the land for a very long time, tensions arise. Kenya's 2016 Community Land Act attempted to close this gap by anchoring communal rights, but in practice, contentious frames and weak implementation tend to reverse the very mobility pastoralism relies on (Mwangi & Dohrn, 2008; Robinson & Flintan, 2022).

Political ecology gives us a more critical eye, making us consider who gains from land reforms and why. Land in Kajiado has never been just geography—it's political. Colonial authorities and independent Kenya then tended to favor land use paradigms serving state interests or foreign investors. Such policies—zoning agriculture or urbanization—will tend to relocate or even overlook pastoralist peoples. As Peluso and Lund (2011) state, land tenure regimes are politically and powerfully formed, not just by administrative planning. This in Kajiado has led to the dislocation of numerous pastoralists from decision spaces, whose interests are secondary to commercial or conservation interests (Galaty, 2013; Hassan et al., 2022).

Leveraging pastoralism using the Social-Ecological Systems (SES) theory better captures how communities manage ecological and policy pressures. This theory brings out the fact that human systems and ecosystems are highly interlinked, and it is in this interlink that pastoralists exhibit their adaptive potential. In Kajiado, most herders nowadays utilize mobile phones to get current weather forecasts or market prices, while others diversify livestock keeping with cropping or local trade to mitigate losses. These innovations show a remarkable degree of ingenuity and flexibility (Berkes & Folke, 1998; Nyariki & Amwata, 2019). There are limits, though. When state policy devalues or neglects local knowledge—imagining about pastoralism as non-adaptive and backward—these innovations have limits (Scoones, 2021).

Finally, Common Property Resource (CPR) theory makes a compelling argument against the assumption that communal land leads to overexploitation and degradation. Ostrom's book notoriously broke with this view, demonstrating how communities do and can use common resources in a sustainable way—if the proper conditions are established. In Kajiado, oloshons, or traditional grazing pastures, did have well-defined boundaries, and group ranches once served as a model for cooperative management. Agnates and community leaders were also tasked with resolving conflicts over water and pasture, preventing conflict, and maintaining equal access (Rutten, 2008; Mwanyumba et al., 2015; Nkedianye et al., 2020). These institutions are deteriorating as land privatization increases. As communal norms decrease, new

tenure models will be required to balance formal recognition with flexibilities demanded by pastoralism (Robinson, 2019).

Together, these theoretical points draw attention to the diversity—and potential—of pastoral systems. They remind us that resilience is not so much about surviving shocks as about having room to adapt, that institutions count not just in law but in practice, and that any debate about land is also a debate about power. If policy is to assist rather than undermine pastoralism, it must take heed of these points.

## **2.2 The evolution of policy and legal frameworks in Kenya affecting pastoralists**

To understand contemporary issues in pastoralist land use, one needs to situate them within the broader historical and political arc of land administration in Kenya. Land regimes affecting pastoral people have changed significantly over time—evolving from adaptive community-based systems towards increasingly specialized, state-backed regimes. These transformations have had significant effects on pastoralists' livelihoods, mobility, and capacity for resilience in arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) such as Kajiado County.

### ***Pre-Colonial Era: Adaptive Customary Systems***

Prior to colonization, pastoralist communities like the Maasai, Samburu, and Borana had established land tenure systems that were ecologically adapted to the drylands conditions in Kenya. Land was owned by the age-sets or clans, and pasture and water utilization was managed by the customary rules used and interpreted by councils of elders. The elders regulated even access, kept social order, and resolved land conflicts.

One of the salient characteristics of this tenure regime was mobility, which during the seasons tracked vegetation and rains over extensive rangelands. The boundaries were not static but dynamic, and dynamism in these boundaries allowed ASAL communities to respond favorably to variability in the environment. This informal system was firmly entrenched in the ecological and social systems of ASAL communities and maintained long-term sustainability through rotational pastoralism and negotiated access. These practices guaranteed ecological resilience and economic endurance in areas covering more than 80% of the Kenyan landscape.

### ***Colonial Period 1895–1963: Dispossession and Criminalisation of Mobility***

This was a deviation from the traditional regime by the advent of British colonial rule. Employing the legal tools such as the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, huge tracts of land utilized by the pastoralists were proclaimed "unoccupied" and appropriated by the colonial state as zones of land allocation to European settlers. They consist of the best grazing areas in Laikipia and Rift Valley and sections of central Kenya.

The pastoralists were compulsorily settled in the Native Reserves, in marginal regions like Kajiado and Turkana, cutting short their historical migratory patterns. Colonial livestock policies like the Stock and Produce Theft Ordinance (1933) criminalized pastoral mobility and presented it as cattle rustling or trespassing. These policies diminished herd sizes, limited access to vital grazing lands, and undermined traditional knowledge systems and community governance mechanisms. Colonialism codified the description of pastoralism as disorderly, unproductive, and environmentally damaging. This ideologically informed description would go on to shape post-independence development policy, cementing an anticolonial prejudice against mobile pastoral systems.

### ***Post-Independence Period (1963–1990): Reproduction of Exclusion through State Privatization***

Following independence, the Kenyan state was left with much of the colonial land regime, reproducing pastoralist marginalization. The Land Adjudication Act (1968) facilitated the process of conversion of communal land into group ranches in regions such as Kajiado. Although the aim was to expropriate land rights and bring development, implementation soon deviated from this purpose.

Group ranches were also elite-captured, with committee chairmen selling land to private developers, in some cases without the consent of the people. This resulted in extensive fragmentation of rangeland and disruption of customary land-sharing practices. By the 1980s, a conservative guess is that 60% or more of Kajiado's rangeland was subdivided, which restricted pastoral mobility and exacerbated land-use conflict. State policy at this time strongly supported agriculture over livestock, thus strengthening the image that pastoralism was antiquated. Top-down relief efforts, for instance, forced destocking and state-driven drought responses, often failed, as they took no account of ecological knowledge and adaptation strategies of pastoralist groups.

### ***1990s–2010: Reforms and Grassroots Advocacy Emigrate***

In the 1990s, there was a growth in international pressure on pastoralists' rights, fueled by NGO action and global discourse on land rights and indigenous peoples. The Kenyan government therefore initiated gradual reforms, the first of which was the National Land Policy (2009), the first to legalize communal land rights. The ASAL Policy (2012) then attempted to integrate dryland areas into national development planning.

Yet, both these policies lacked effective implementation and long-term underfunding. NGOs like ILRI, Oxfam, and RECONCILE filled the policy space—campaigning on community-based land registration, early warning schemes, and drought resilience programs. But policy provisions were still predominantly urban- and agricultural-centric, with pastoralist mobility and spatial logic of rangeland systems being insensitive to them. Displacement events, such as the 2004 Ngong Maasai evictions, underscored the ongoing vulnerability of pastoralist land tenure in the absence of legally enforceable protection.

### ***2010 Constitution and Community Land Act (2016): A Watershed***

The passing of the 2010 Constitution and the signing of the Community Land Act (2016) was a policy revolution. The Constitution, in Article 63, classified the community land as separate land, giving powers to the communities to own lands which were formerly held lawfully. The Community Land Act made the above a reality by giving a framework to the communities to register land collectively as opposed to individually.

Devolution also provided county governments with a direct stake in the management of land, with policies that will be locally suitable. In theory, this legislation was a victory for pastoralists. But the policy-practice gap has yet to be overcome. Less than 10% of eligible pastoralist communities have so far registered their land, held back by bureaucracy, ignorance, and elite interference as of 2023.

In addition, inconsistencies between various legislations persist. While the Community Land Act advances communal land, privatization and titling are advanced by the Land Act (2012) and Land Registration Act (2012), resulting in legal ambiguity and the encouragement of land speculation. Institutional capacity remains short at the county government levels, and corruption has slowed down implementation, with continued sales and disconnection of land still prevailing in the Olgulului Group Ranch in Kajiado.

### ***Recent Trends (2020–Present): Climate, Technology, and City Pressures***

Climate change and urbanization have been new drivers over the past few years, making pastoralist land tenure complex. The Climate Change Act of 2016 lists pastoralists among vulnerable groups entitled to special support, but support and finance are underprovided and policies badly managed. Rangeland recovery is still poorly established, and adaptation strategies like migration are still held back by loss of land as well as policy constraints.

Urbanization is a rapidly growing threat. County spatial plans, such as the Kajiado Integrated Development Plan (2023), give precedence to infrastructure and commercial investment over grazing corridors. With peri-urban growth ongoing, customary pastoralist land gets incorporated into housing estates, commercial farms, and industrial development, herding people onto progressively degraded land. Digital reforms like the National Land Information System (NLIS) are designed to transform land management, but have the potential to lock out pastoralists through digital illiteracy, disconnection, and language. Further, disconnected policy programs — climate, land, and agricultural planning in silos — continue to undermine the comprehensive management of rangelands.

### ***Conclusion***

The historical development of land tenure in Kenya presents a consistent trajectory over time: from colonial dispossession, through post-independence privatization and bureaucratic complacency of the present day, pastoralist systems have been increasingly pushed to the periphery. Whereas gains have been achieved in legislation — most notably the 2010 Constitution and the Community Land Act — the inability to implement these policies at scale ensures that pastoralist livelihoods continue to be at risk.

Unlocking this inheritance will take more than policy change. It calls for a conceptual reappraisal of land management, one which recognizes the ecological sense in mobility, reasserts community control, and incorporates pastoralist perspectives into planning. Less will not only deprive Kenya of a rich cultural heritage but also forfeit ecological services and adaptability pastoralism provides in a changing environment.

## **2.3 Empirical Literature Review**

The KNBS (2018) reported a 4.5-million-kilogram meat deficit in Kenya, making cattle ranching an important economic opportunity for Kajiado County. Maximizing pastoral outputs can meet Kenya's rising livestock demand. When discretionary earnings fuel livestock products, the Livestock Revolution occurs. Increasing disposable income and other factors have led to record meat consumption. This has increased meat consumption in developing nations from 70 million metric tons between the 1970s and 1990s, with serious social, environmental, and economic consequences (Delgado et al., 1999). Livestock is becoming agriculture's most significant sub sector worldwide, and the drylands can help meet this need (ILRI, 2006). Increased earnings and urbanization increase the ratio of consumers to producers, their spending power, and their appetite for animal products.

Pastoralism had a great chance to grow during the livestock revolution. Over the previous decade, African meat consumption has increased 50%, and this trend is anticipated to continue. The cattle revolution also increases consumer product awareness. Consumers are more concerned about livestock standards, life, and ethical value chains. Pastoralism produces 'free-range', healthy, and abattoir-slaughtering livestock. Kajiado has taken crucial steps to maximize potential. The county government founded the Imbirikani Slaughterhouse, its first export slaughterhouse. Pastoralism increases low-input output, which can meet rising consumer demand provided policy supports it.

The effect of the pastoral economy on GDP and foreign exchange earnings is rarely recognized in official policy. Because pastoralism is undervalued and used as an excuse to not invest, it is no longer economically viable. Even with egregious underinvestment in farmers and the production chain, pastoralism stimulates national economies and exports. Government and outside investment in this field is hampered by a lack of data. Kibue (2005) asserts that although pastoralists only average 40% of terminal cattle prices, they should receive as much as 70% of them. Drought or pastoralist losses due to climate change restrict the market and lower national revenue.

### **2.3 Summary of Findings from Literature Review**

Literature studied concurs that pastoralism, especially in arid and semi-arid areas such as Kajiado, is a dynamic and persistent livelihood system whose policy and structural challenges are enduring. Resilience theory conceptual frameworks and Social-Ecological Systems (SES)

support the intrinsic adaptability of pastoralism, whereby its dependence on mobility, diversification of livestock, and mobile land use facilitates its survival against environmental uncertainty and political instability shocks. These theories bring home the importance of understanding pastoralism not in its fixed or antiquated form, but as a system having endogenous ways of coping with uncertainty.

Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) theory offers a framework within which to understand the tensions between formalized tenure regimes and customary practice. This institutional misalignment model—between Kenya's constitutional doctrine of communal land and the practice of privatized model tenures—is recurring continuously in the literature as the primary barrier to pastoralist resilience. Political ecology adds depth to its criticism by querying beyond power relations behind land reform, demonstrating how indigenous policy agendas sacrifice wider commercial or political interests on behalf of pastoralist societies.

Besides, CPR theory refutes pastoralist mismanagement myths by demonstrating that strong communal systems of governance have been sustaining rangelands for centuries. However, under subdivision and individual titling, traditional conflict resolution and mechanisms of resource distribution have been weakened.

Empirical case studies elsewhere in pastoralist regions—e.g., Botswana, Ethiopia, and Mongolia—confirm these conclusions as well, demonstrating how externally imposed land regimes can undermine mobility and destabilize rangelands. In Kenya, such knowledge gaps have been found to be considerable by the literature, most notably on the long-term effects of the Community Land Act (2016), pastoral land use in urban expansion, and climate adaptation mainstreaming in land policy.

In general, the literature is supportive of the fact that although Kenya's policy framework has positive elements, such as the formal recognition of community land rights, failure in implementation and incoherent sectoral policies still continue to hamper pastoralists' access to land and capacity to adapt. These observations highlight the imperative for inclusive, locally-adaptive, and mobility-sensitive land governance frameworks that value the ecological and economic benefits of pastoralism.

## **2.4 Conceptual Framework - Qualitative study**

This research adopts a holistic method of examining how land policy and governance arrangements are building the daily reality of pastoralist communities in Kajiado County. Instead of breaking problems into strict categories such as dependent and independent variables, which are better suited to quantitative research, the conceptual framework emphasizes topics that capture the intensity and lived nature of pastoralism today.

Central to this analysis is the pastoralist livelihood system, driven by land, people, and policy interdependence. Kajiado pastoralism is not just an economic survival strategy; it's an ecological and cultural existence based on mobility, sociality, and strong land attachment. However, pastoralists' capacity to maintain such an existence is being tested to breaking under converging pressures: land fragmentation, emerging governance institutions, urbanization, and climate uncertainty.

The research examines the ways in which legal and institutional frameworks—e.g., Kenya's Community Land Act, county spatial planning policy at the county government level—facilitate or constrain access to essential pastoral resources such as land for grazing, water points, and migratory corridors. It also examines the impact of customary institutions and social networks, which previously played a critical role in land management, but are now operating in parallel or in competition with formal law.

The second primary area of concern is pastoralist adaptation. Livelihood diversification and commercialization or smallholder farming, mobile phone use for climate and market information, or a change in the routes of migration due to restrictions on land access to name a few of these adaptations that show resilience inherent in pastoral systems despite policy regimes ever increasingly paying less attention to their requirements.

Environmental sustainability runs throughout too. Pastoralism contributes to soil fertility, diversity, and climatic stability—but these generally go unaddressed in sedentarization- and commercial agriculture-focused policy discourse. The framework recognizes the value of preserving ecosystems and of promoting human livelihoods.

Finally, this conceptual framework is intended to facilitate a detailed, empirically grounded analysis of how land decisions are influencing the future of pastoralism through the

mechanisms involved. It offers a model for grasping policy effects and pastoralist adaptation strategies for sustaining resilience amidst change.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the research methodology that was employed to explore the impact of Kenya's land policy and legal framework on pastoralism in Kajiado County. It presents the research design, study area, sampling techniques, data collection methods, and analysis strategies that were used to achieve the study objectives. The study used a holistic qualitative method to investigate the pastoralist economy's current dynamics and future solutions with local stakeholders on board. This technique integrated multiple viewpoints to better understand Kajiado County pastoralist communities' difficulties and potential. The study engaged multiple stakeholders to make practical recommendations based on the lived experiences of individuals directly affected by land policy and governance changes.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

The study used a qualitative research design to explore the experiences, perceptions, and perspectives of pastoralists and other stakeholders on land policy issues affecting pastoralist livelihoods in Kenya. Qualitative research was appropriate because it allowed for an in-depth understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which pastoralists operate, and the complex interactions between policy, practice, and the lived experiences of people.

#### **3.2 Sampling Process**

This study sampled 20 participants for interviews. There was one focus group discussion with 10 participants and 10 one-on-one interviews with pastoralists. The study prioritized depth and richness of data over sample size, ensuring that the selected participants represented a diverse range of perspectives and experiences within the population of interest.

#### **3.3 Population vs. Sampling Frame**

The study population within this research are all persons or groups who can best account for the impact of shifts in land policy on Kajiado County pastoralist livelihood. The major population in question are specifically Maasai community members involved in pastoralism in Kajiado County whose livelihoods have been affected by shifts in land tenure and control. They

constitute the target population because they directly rely on land mobility and access to ensure their livelihood.

Sample frame — the functional subset upon which the study sample was selected — was also more specified thanks to the limitations of logistics and availability of data. For the pastoralists, the sample included household heads engaged in pastoralism in Kajiado East sub-county. They were sought through support from local leaders as well as social relations. While it succeeded in recruiting educated participants, the strategy may have inadvertently excluded nomadic or oppositional pastoralists from more remote or unregistered settlements.

Table 3.1: Population and sampling frame

<b>Aspect</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sampling Frame</b>
<b>Scope</b>	All Maasai pastoralists and land governance stakeholders	Accessible pastoralists in Kajiado East + listed government and NGO contacts
<b>Representativeness</b>	Theoretical (ideal/full coverage)	Practical (may exclude marginal or less visible participants)
<b>Example</b>	Every pastoralist household in Kajiado	10 in-depth interviews with pastoralists + 10 focus group discussion participants

One of the major concerns in this research was the sampling bias. The recruitment of participants using local leaders had the risk of excluding pastoralists who may have had opposing opinions or those less forthcoming owing to high mobility levels. To get beyond such a limitation, purposive sampling was used so that all participants personally and directly experienced land policy changes. Triangulation was also used in the study through mixing individual interviews and focus group discussions to gather broader variations of opinions and experiences.

Finally, the adopted strategy is commensurate with the qualitative research study design, where statistical generalizability is secondary to depth and richness of insight. This makes the relatively small but targeted sample of 20 participants, who are purposefully sampled from within the accessible sampling frame, acceptable.

### **3.4 Primary Data Collection**

The study used semi-structured key informant interviews and focus group discussions to collect data. Semi-structured interviews allowed for in-depth exploration of participants' experiences, perspectives, and views on land policy issues, while focus group discussions provided an opportunity for group interaction and consensus-building on key issues. Data collection was conducted in the field and was audio-recorded, transcribed, and analysed.

Data were collected through focus group discussions (FGDs) to investigate overall perspectives of pastoralists in the locality and one-on-one key informant interviews (KIIs) to further probe any differential opinions, ideas, and outlooks on the pastoralist way of life. This format allowed for in-depth discussion on their work experience with pastoralist communities. Focus Group Discussions were conducted for pastoralists and representatives of CSOs and NGOs working in Kajiado on pastoralist support. Based on the literature review, questionnaires for each of the groups were presented in the annex. This application of multiple methods of data collection enriched the study.

#### **3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews/ key informant interviews**

The study used purposive sampling to identify and select participants who had direct experience or knowledge of land policy issues affecting pastoralists in Kenya. Participants included pastoralists, community leaders, government officials, NGO representatives, and other stakeholders involved in land policy and governance. The selection criteria were based on their relevance and knowledge of the research questions.

Data were collected from ten pastoralists who were conversant with land tenure issues affecting pastoralists. They were household heads selected based on the number of years they had spent in the location and their main source of livelihood, which was pastoralism. The sample size of pastoralists was arrived at based on the assumption that the information saturation point would be achieved after in-depth interviews with ten pastoralists living and practising pastoralism in the same geographical location and experiencing similar perspectives. Detailed and comprehensive accounts from ten pastoralists were considered sufficient to paint an overall picture of the experience of pastoralists in that particular location. The study also prioritised the depth of understanding over a larger sample size. Each participant's narrative was carefully examined and analysed, allowing for a rich and nuanced portrayal of the pastoralist experience.

### **3.4.2 Focus group discussions.**

The focus group discussion served as a platform that allowed further interaction with community members, facilitating a bottom-up approach to capture verbal expressions and opinions about enhancing pastoralist livelihoods. One focus group discussion (FGD) was held with four men and four women from sampled wards. The discussion was conducted for the following purposes: to validate findings from one-on-one pastoralist interviews, and to identify the concerns of the most vulnerable populations and jointly develop relevant interventions and suggestions. Local leaders assisted in selecting the FGD participants. Focus group members were household heads chosen based on their length of residence in the area and their primary occupation in pastoralism.

### **3.5 Philosophy of the methodology**

This research was guided by an interpretivist research philosophy, which seeks to know how individuals live and make sense of their worlds in particular social, cultural, and historical contexts. Given the complex interdependence between pastoralist livelihoods and land policy in Kajiado County, an interpretivist stance was required to elicit the rich, lived practices of the Maasai community — how they understand, cope with, or contest changing land governance arrangements. At the center of this inquiry are some philosophical presumptions that directed research design and conduct:

#### *Ontology: A Constructivist Conceptualization of Reality*

Reality was not presumed to be objective or static but constructed through social engagement and mediated by political and cultural histories. Land policy is not thus experienced uniformly; its effects change according to issues like tradition, land use history, and relations of power. Through the application of this approach, the study aimed to elicit multiple realities — not only from pastoralists themselves, but also from government representatives as well as civil society actors involved in land management. These differing accounts were required to analyze how diverse groups negotiate and interpret the "truth" of land policies once they are enacted.

#### *Epistemology: Suggesting Subjective Knowledge and Meaning-Making*

In contrast to a search for generalizable facts or universal truths, this research adopted a more relational and contextual style of thinking about knowledge. Knowledge was built through active engagement with participants — giving precedence to local voices and allowing

meaning to be created organically. Semi-structured interviews provided pastoralists with the space to speak in their own voices, and focus group discussion told us how shared meanings and internal tensions get translated in community dynamics.

#### *Axiology: An Ethical and Value-Laden Commitment*

The researcher did recognize their own positionality as an outsider to the Maasai culture. This reflexivity was crucial in maintaining ethical and equitable research. To prevent the possibility of bias, field notes were maintained in the style of a reflexive journal, and initial observations were reported to the participants to verify accuracy and suitability. The research laid a major emphasis on beneficence and justice — giving voice to marginalized voices, including pastoralist women, and returning to the people in a simple way.

#### *Methodology: A Qualitative Case Study Design*

A qualitative case study design was applied in order to investigate the "how" and "why" of the effect of land policy — not statistical generalizability but depth and context. The selected case was Kajiado East because it is of particular topicality regarding recent developments in land policy and pastoralist change. The study used triangulation to enhance credibility by utilizing multiple sources of data from pastoralists across the county, multiple methods (interviews, FGDs, document review), and ongoing reflexivity by the researcher.

#### *Sampling Philosophy: Purposeful and Theoretical*

Participants were recruited strategically — not to represent the population, but to offer rich, qualitative data and information. Sampling was done up to the point of saturation, and the final sample included 10 individual interviews and 10 focus group participants. I.

#### *Data Collection: Emic and Iterative*

Data collection remained open-ended. Interview questions were tailored in the moment to pursue emerging topics, including gender difference in land access. FGDs took place in Kiswahili and English and were moderated by community-verified members who attended to cultural awareness and participation. Functional sensitivities were also honored — for example, interviews were held around herding schedules to suit participants' day-by-day schedules.

#### *Data Analysis: Thematic and Narrative Approaches*

Analysis was undertaken through thematic and narrative analysis. Thematic analysis was utilized to identify recurring patterns — for example, common experiences of dispossession or land insecurity — while narrative analysis maintained participants' tradition of storytelling, highlighting their agency, memory, and resistances.

### *Overcoming the Main Research Challenges*

There were a number of challenges to research. The historical marginalization of pastoralists necessitated that their voices be actively brought forward, through participatory approaches and verification procedures. The pervasive policy intention-community reality divide was addressed most effectively through an interpretivist approach, facilitating in-depth, grounded understanding of policy as it is "experienced" at the local level. Across the board, researcher bias was avoided through self-awareness, community response, and methodological triangulation.

### **3.6 Study Area and Description**

The research was conducted in the southern rangeland of Kenya, which includes Kajiado, Makueni, Mwingi, Kitui, and Machakos Counties. The focus was on Kajiado County due to its significant Maasai pastoralist population and the ease of access to respondents. This location was ideal for the study as it provided a representative sample of the pastoralist community and their interactions with the changing land policies. The fieldwork specifically took place in Kajiado East sub-county, allowing for an in-depth exploration of the issues affecting pastoralism in the region.

### **3.7 Validity and Reliability**

To ensure validity and reliability, the study used multiple methods of data collection and triangulation of data from different sources. Member checking was employed to verify the accuracy of the data and analysis with the participants, and peer debriefing with other researchers was conducted to ensure the rigour of the research process.

### **3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The study used a qualitative analysis technique to examine the information gathered from key informant interviews, focus groups, and interviews. Thematic analysis was employed to find, examine, and present patterns in the data. Using this approach, the researcher was able to

investigate and analyse the intricacies of how Kenya's legal system and land policies affected pastoralism in Kajiado County. The research questions and objectives guided the methodical coding and categorization of the qualitative data into major topics. To identify similarities, differences, and new patterns, all transcripts were first reviewed before the coding process began. The data were then categorized thematically into areas including the difficulties associated with land tenure, the influence of policies, modifications to pastoralists' movement, and their adaptive tactics. Recurring themes were investigated using this approach to comprehend the participants' viewpoints regarding the modifications to land management and how they affected their means of subsistence.

Furthermore, a narrative analysis approach was employed to capture the narratives, experiences, and perspectives of the participants in the data. This method made it easier to comprehend how changing institutional and legal frameworks affected pastoralists' real-world experiences. From the perspective of the pastoralists themselves, the study highlighted the socio-economic issues, coping methods, and suggested solutions by examining the narratives and direct quotes from respondents.

The results were presented in an organized manner, showing how the community's socio-economic dynamics had been impacted, traditional land usage disrupted, and pastoral traditions affected by changing land policy. This comprehensive study provided insightful information and contributed to the creation of context-specific recommendations for improving land management practices and supporting pastoralist livelihoods in Kajiado County.

### **3.7 Ethical Considerations**

The study ensured that ethical considerations were addressed, including obtaining informed consent from participants, protecting their privacy and confidentiality, and ensuring that participants were not harmed in any way. The study also ensured that the research was conducted in a culturally appropriate manner, respecting the local norms and values of the participants.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH FINDINGS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of land policy evolution, legal frameworks, and urbanization on pastoralism in Kajiado County. This chapter presents the findings of the study. It is based on the qualitative analysis of data collected from one-on-one interviews with pastoralists and a focus group discussion conducted in Kajiado County.

This chapter is structured thematically, drawing on the lived experiences, perceptions, and narratives of a sample of pastoralists from Kajiado County. The findings provide rich qualitative insights into the challenges pastoralists face, their adaptation strategies, and their perspectives on the future of pastoralism in the region.

#### **4.2 Response Rate**

The study achieved a 100% response rate, as all ten one-on-one interviewees and 10 focus group participants fully participated. I used a mix of cultural sensitivity, trust establishment, and methodological flexibility being attentive to the specific challenges of research among mobile and frequently marginal populations. Leaders facilitated participant identification and recruitment, according to cultural practices (e.g., refraining from conducting interviews during livestock grazing). I had to travel to where the participants were and was flexible in timings to ensure convenience. For the FDGs Offered transport reimbursement or refreshments during FDGs to compensate for time and lost labor.

The high response rate was also attributed to prior engagement with the pastoralist community, ensuring willingness to contribute. Interviews and discussions were conducted in accessible locations, allowing participants to share insights freely. The diverse representation across different sub-counties in Kajiado enhanced the study's depth, capturing varied perspectives on land tenure, policy impacts, and adaptation strategies in pastoralism.

### 4.3 Demographic Characteristics of the Participants

For this study, data was collected from both individual interviews and focus group discussions. This section provides the demographic details of the participants, the study setting, and preliminary descriptive analysis.

#### 4.3.1 Interview Participants

In total, there were ten individual interviews that were conducted. Both semi-nomadic and fully nomadic pastoralists were among the participants, illustrating the community's diverse adaption tactics. Ownership of livestock varied greatly; some pastoralists kept herds of more over 200 animals, while others kept smaller herds that were adjusted to the shifting temperature and terrain. Although some individuals also raised camels and donkeys, cattle, goats, and sheep were the most common animal varieties. In order to provide a thorough understanding of how land policy evolution, legal frameworks, and urbanization have affected their livelihoods, the respondents were chosen based on their geographic distribution, the sort of pastoralism they practiced, and their involvement with land tenure issues. The demographic details of the participants are compiled in the table 4.1.

**Table 4.1: Demographic Details of the Interview Participants**

Interview Participant	Ward	Sub-County	Number of Livestock	Types of Livestock	Pastoralism Type
1	Enkorika	Kajiado Central	200	Cattle, Goats, Sheep	Seasonal Pastoralism
2	Namanga	Kajiado South	80	Goats, Sheep, Cattle	Seasonal Pastoralism
3	Kitengela	Kajiado North	95	Cattle, Goats, Sheep	Semi-Nomadic Pastoralism
4	Namanga	Kajiado Central	150	Cattle, Goats, Sheep	Seasonal Pastoralism
5	Ilmarba	Kajiado South	135	Cattle, Goats, Donkeys	Semi-Nomadic Pastoralism
6	Ewaso	Kajiado Central	205	Sheep, Goats, Cows, Camels	Transhumance Pastoralism
7	Imbirikani	Kajiado South	183	Cattle, Goats, Sheep, Donkeys	Nomadic Pastoralism
8	Oloosirkon/Sholinke	Kajiado East	225	Goats, Sheep, Cattle	Seasonal Pastoralism
9	Entonet	Kajiado South	135	Cattle, Sheep, Goats	Hybrid Pastoralism
10	Ilmarba	Kajiado Central	130	Cattle, Goats, Sheep	Mobile Pastoralism

### 4.3.2 Focus Group Discussion Participants

For the focus group discussions, one focus group was conducted, with a total of ten participants. The participants varied in terms of livestock ownership, geographical location, and pastoralism practices, providing a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and adaptations experienced by pastoralists in the region. Livestock ownership ranged from 105 to 380 animals, with cattle, goats, and sheep being the predominant livestock types. Some participants also kept donkeys, particularly those involved in mixed livelihood strategies. The distribution of participants across different sub-counties helped capture region-specific issues, such as access to grazing land, mobility restrictions, and the impact of urbanization. The table below presents the demographic details of the focus group participants.

**Table 4.2 Focus Group Participants Details**

Focus Group Participant No	Physical Area	Number of Livestock	Types of Livestock
1	Kajiado Central, Olooloitikosh	250	Cattle, Goats, Sheep
2	Kajiado North, Ngong	255	Goats, Cattle, Donkeys
3	Kajiado East, Kiserian	105	Cattle, Goats, Sheep
4	Kajiado South, Namanga	300	Cattle, Sheep, Goats
5	Kajiado West, Magadi	280	Goats, Cattle, Sheep
6	Kajiado Central, Isinya	190	Cattle, Goats, Sheep
7	Kajiado North, Kiserian	190	Cattle, Goats
8	Kajiado East, Oloosirkon	350	Sheep, Cattle, Goats
9	Kajiado South, Kitengela	180	Goats, Cattle, Sheep
10	Kajiado West, Olkeri	380	Cattle, Sheep, Goats

### 4.4 Thematic Analysis

In this study, the researcher adopted an inductive and interpretive approach, guided by the Gioia methodology, alternating between theoretical exploration and data analysis from

interviews and focus groups. The process systematically merged theory with empirical insights. Initially, a first-order analysis identified codes and categories from participants' recurring expressions, staying true to their language to anchor findings in the empirical context. Next, these categories were distilled into second-order themes, compared with existing literature, refining concepts through a dialogue between data and theory. Finally, data-driven categories and theory-informed themes were synthesized into broader dimensions, per Gioia et al. (2013). Analysis blended manual efforts with Atlas.Ti software for initial coding, followed by manual categorization. The categorization led to the generation of 13 themes, as summarised in the table 4.3.

**Table 4.3: Summary of Themes and Subthemes – Respondent Citations**

\*(Total Respondents: 20 = 10 one-on-one interviews + 10 FGD participants)\*

Research Question	Theme	Subtheme	Pastoralist Citations (n=20)	Key Respondent Quotes	Binding Constraint?
RQ1: Status of Pastoralism	Transformation of Pastoral Practices	Shift from nomadism to semi-sedentary/semi-nomadic pastoralism	18/20 (90%)	"We now keep smaller herds and grow fodder due to land shortages." (Participant 9, Interview)	✓ High severity
		Herd size reduction	15/20 (75%)	"I sold half my cattle to afford leased grazing land." (Participant 5, FGD)	✓

	<b>Declining Mobility</b>	Land fragmentation blocking migration routes	<b>19/20</b> (95%)	<i>"Fenced private lands cut off our dry-season grazing corridors."</i> (Participant 3, Interview)	✓ <b>Top constraint</b>
		Urban expansion into rangelands	<b>17/20</b> (85%)	<i>"Kitengela's growth left no space for our herds."</i> (Participant 7, FGD)	✓
	<b>Environmental Pressures</b>	Unpredictable droughts	<b>16/20</b> (80%)	<i>"Rains now fail 3 out of 5 years."</i> (Participant 2, Interview)	✓
		Water scarcity	<b>14/20</b> (70%)	<i>"Boreholes are overcrowded and expensive."</i> (Participant 10, FGD)	✓
<b>RQ2: Land Tenure Frameworks</b>	<b>Transition to Private Ownership</b>	Communal land loss due to privatization	<b>18/20</b> (90%)	<i>"The Land Act broke our shared grazing system."</i> (Participant 4, Interview)	✓ <b>Top constraint</b>
	<b>Policy Barriers</b>	Delays in Community Land Act implementation	<b>12/20</b> (60%)	<i>"We're told to register land, but the process takes years."</i> (Participant 6, FGD)	

	<b>Zoning Conflicts</b>	Zoning restricts pastoral mobility	<b>15/20</b> (75%)	<i>"Zoning maps ignore our seasonal routes."</i> (Participant 8, Interview)	✓
<b>RQ3: Policy Implications</b>	<b>Restricted Land Access</b>	Costly negotiations with private landowners	<b>16/20</b> (80%)	<i>*"We pay 2 goats/month to cross a farm."*</i> (Participant 1, Interview)	✓
	<b>Rising Land Conflicts</b>	Disputes with farmers/urban settlers	<b>13/20</b> (65%)	<i>"New landowners call police when we graze near fences."</i> (Participant 5, FGD)	
	<b>Economic Strain</b>	Unstable livestock prices	<b>11/20</b> (55%)	<i>"Middlemen exploit us during droughts."</i> (Participant 7, Interview)	
<b>RQ4: Policy Recommendations</b>	<b>Strengthening Tenure</b>	Formalize communal grazing corridors	<b>14/20</b> (70%)	<i>"Laws must protect our migration routes."</i> (Participant 3, FGD)	<b>Priority solution</b>
	<b>Urban-Pastoral Integration</b>	Buffer zones near urban areas	<b>10/20</b> (50%)	<i>"Towns should leave space for livestock corridors."</i> (Participant 9, Interview)	

	<b>Resilience Building</b>	Digital tools for market/weather info	8/20 (40%)	"We use WhatsApp to find buyers, but networks are weak." (Participant 2, FGD)	
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#### 4.4.1 Summary of Results: Connecting Evidence to Research Objectives

This research aimed to explore the current status of pastoralism in Kajiado County, evaluate the prevailing land policy and legal regimes, and determine their implications for the future of pastoralism. The findings, which are based on ten individual interviews and a focus group discussion with pastoralists, indicate an extensively impacted land use system — one that is in crisis owing to evolving legal mores, urbanization, and dwindling communal land.

##### *Objective 1: Evaluation of the present situation of Pastoralism in Kajiado County*

The classic Maasai pastoralist way of life, traditionally premised on mobility and shared use of land, has changed beyond recognition. Seasonal and nomadic pastoralism in the traditional sense in Kajiado is today increasingly semi-sedentary as the land becomes more and more fragmented into pieces and is privatized. Interviewees explained how this change has curtailed their ability to move in pursuit of pasture and water — a valuable adaptation to droughts and herd health.

Livestock diversification is also a principal survival strategy. Pastoralists have started engaging in small-scale farming, enterprise, or casual work to supplement household incomes, a departure from livelihood dependency on livestock enterprises. The youth are also actively seeking education and off-farm work, showing trends in livelihood streams in the county. In the midst of all this transformation, however, still strong identification with the pastoralist self and intense pressures to retain its essential features, such as herd mobility and shared values that originally structured land and resource sharing.

##### *Objective 2: Evaluating the Policy and Legal Environment of Land Tenure*

Land tenure systems and land policy subsequently became major drivers of pastoralists' reduced mobility and land access. The 2010 Constitution and the Community Land Act

(2016) are referenced for their progressive recognition of communal rights in land. Both, however, demonstrated through interview and focus group discussion that enforcement remains bureaucratic, weak, and inaccessible to the majority of communities. Land registration procedures take time and, in the majority of cases, poorly communicated, rendering pastoralists susceptible to dispossession.

Sub-division and privatization, usually triggered by county and national policies, were seen as significant threats to customary land tenure. Land Registration Act (2012) and Land Act (2012) have hastened individual title adoption, which has resulted in the erosion of migratory corridors and rising boundary conflicts. Additionally, zoning for community purposes, aiming to bring about order into land use, has endeavored to preclude pastoralists from access to decision-making and to overlook the flexibility essential in cattle movement seasonally.

### *Objective 3: Land Policy Implications for Pastoral Potential*

The report states that existing policy and law is generally incompatible with the dynamic nature of pastoralism. Actors identified a system in which land policies are written for sedentary agricultural livelihoods, but not mobile ones. The implication is that pastoralists are losing not only land but also the right to move across it — a characteristic aspect of their livelihood and identity.

Urbanization is partly responsible for this risk. In a span of comparatively short years, the towns of Kitengela, Isinya, and Ongata Rongai have expanded to cover large areas of grazing land. Uncontrolled urban expansion by omission or commission has pushed many pastoralists out onto drier and less productive land. This has spilled over into impacts on herd health, trading potential, and economic viability. Market access is also limited by loss of land and inadequate infrastructure. Due to the weakened cattle from the reduced grazing lands, prices fall. In addition, transportation to and from the markets is now costly and time-consuming, leading to profitability diminishing.

In spite of these challenges, the research found evidence of resilience. Pastoralists are using mobile phones and electronic networks to exchange information, coordinate movement, and swap market and weather information. These emergent networks hold a potential for adapting to present stresses but need to be scaled up to reach remote and less served areas.

There is also large demand from government and civil society actors for specific support. While NGOs and community-based organizations provide critical services such as veterinary, water points, and drought relief, pastoralists demanded larger and more regular interaction. Pastoralists asked for training, increased legal literacy, and infrastructure development that defends — but does not substitute for — their livelihood.

The findings of this research confirm the need to re-examine Kenya's land policies in the context of the pastoralist realities. There is an urgent lacuna between benevolent policy and its real-life application. For pastoralism in Kajiado to succeed — and for the model to be implemented elsewhere in arid and semi-arid regions — the policy context will need to transform from controlling mobility to enabling it, from disempowering communal tenure to insuring it, and from excluding traditional systems to incorporating them into modern governance. It is in such alignment only that rights-based and sustainable land use model can be attained — one that recognizes pastoralism not as an existence of the Stone Age but an adaptive and resilient livelihood of a kind well adapted to Kenya's ASALs.

#### **4.4.2 Current Status of Pastoralism in Kajiado County**

Findings of this study show that pastoralism in Kajiado County is undergoing a profound transformation. Traditionally characterized by mobile and communal grazing systems, it is now shaped by pressures such as land fragmentation, climate variability, urban encroachment, and shifts in policy. These changes have not only restricted movement but have also prompted pastoralists to adapt through diversification and technological innovations. Based on the participant narratives, the current state of pastoralism reflects both resilience and vulnerability. Four key themes emerged from the qualitative study in regard to this question: transformation of pastoral practices, declining mobility and access, environmental and climatic pressures, and modernization and technological adaptation (table 4.4).

Box 1: Excerpts from Discussion on Current Status of Pastoralism in Kajiado County

#### **Transformation of Pastoral Practices**

*"We used to move all the time, but now most of us have settled in one place because there is no land to move around." – Pastoralist from Enkorika ward*

*"Before, I had over 300 animals, but now I keep less than 100 because of the drought and lack of grazing space." – Pastoralist from Namanga ward*

*"Nowadays we combine livestock with small farming or even boda boda business to make ends meet." – Pastoralist from Kitengela ward*

#### **Declining Mobility and Access**

*"We cannot pass through most places now, people have fenced their land and there is no corridor left." – Pastoralist from Namanga ward*

*"The towns are growing fast; where we used to graze is now full of buildings." – Pastoralist from Ilmarba ward*

*"Some counties require permits for livestock to cross, and this makes it hard for us." – Pastoralist from Ewaso ward*

#### **Environmental and Climatic Pressures**

*"We used to know when the rains would come, but now we can't predict anything." – Pastoralist from Imbirikani ward*

*"Since we cannot move far, we keep grazing on the same land and now it's all bare." – Pastoralist from Oloosirkon/Sholinke ward*

*"Most rivers have dried up. We depend on boreholes, but they are few and far." – Pastoralist from Entonet ward*

#### **Modernization and Technological Adaptation**

*"We check the pasture apps to decide where to take the animals, especially during dry seasons." – Interview Pastoralist from Olooloitikosh*

*"I use my phone to check on livestock prices and talk to buyers before taking animals to market." – Pastoralist from Ngong*

*"Now I sell goats through WhatsApp or Facebook groups. It saves time and money." – Pastoralist from Kiserian*

### **Transformation of Pastoral Practices**

This study has found that various socio-environmental factors, land tenure systems, and economic realities are transforming pastoralism in Kajiado County. Pastoralism has evolved from nomadic movements over shared rangelands to more confined and hybrid forms. In interviews and focus groups, participants explained how land fragmentation, environmental stress, and urban and corporate interests have caused traditional methods to be reimagined. New movement patterns, herd management measures, and livelihood diversification are highlighted in this theme. Pastoralists face a difficult balance of resilience and susceptibility in an increasingly constrained environment.

### ***Shift from full nomadism to semi-sedentary and seasonal pastoralism.***

The shift from full nomadic to semi-sedentary or seasonal pastoralism repeated, showing how decreasing availability to grazing areas has limited mobility. The changes of land use have limited mobility of pastoralists, and this has necessitated sedentary practices, consequently shifting their traditional pastoralist practices. Due to the shrinking expanse of land available for grazing of herds, pastoralists now keep less animals. For example, a herder from Enkorika ward in Kajiado cited land availability as a reason for his decision to keep less than 100 animals in comparison to the 300 he had when there was access to more land. Another contributing factor for his decision was drought. These narratives show that localized patterns are a response to geographical restrictions like walled private land and urban development. Localised techniques like rotational grazing in smaller regions show how to adapt with limited space. However, this shift reduces pastoralists' ability to ameliorate drought or pasture scarcity through long-distance migration. The analysis reveals that pastoralism's ecological breadth has shrunk due to these practices' adaptation and vulnerability to local environmental shocks.

### ***Herd size reduction due to land constraints and environmental stress.***

Participants often attributed herd size reductions to land shortages and environmental deterioration, especially droughts and overgrazed pastures. Pastoralists have reported that grazing animals has become more difficult over the past two decades. Droughts are worse and stay longer, and grazing land competition has increased. Environmental stress exacerbates rangeland loss, making huge herds unsustainable.. Large herds indicated wealth and social status, thus these decreases matter economically and culturally. The analysis shows that restricted mobility causes overgrazing, which destroys pastures and requires fewer herds. This trend threatens economic stability and erodes pastoralism's roots, forcing pastoralists to find new jobs.

### ***Mixed pastoralism (livestock , farming and trade) as a survival strategy.***

Pastoralists have combined livestock rearing with small-scale agricultural and informal trading to cope with these challenges. Diversification was typically seen as a survival strategy rather than a desired change. The coping mechanisms of pastoralists limited by reducing grazing space also includes integrating crop farming into his pastoralist farming to boost their livelihood. Other means of supplementing livelihoods also include alternative businesses such

as boda boda services. This shows a realistic shift toward diverse revenue sources to offset herding's unpredictability.

Other pastoralists shared that in addition to herding animals, they supplement their incomes with growing fodder on the land available to reduce dependence on migration. Increased urbanization has cut them off from their traditional grazing routes. Mixed pastoralism is an adaptive response to land shortage and climate variability. The analysis reveals that diversification provides a short-term buffer but departs from pastoralism's livestock-centric identity. Access to these options improves for individuals near urban centers or with means to invest, revealing community adaptive capacity gaps.

The transition of pastoral activities in Kajiado County involves adaptation and limitation, as participants' tales show. Semi-sedentary or seasonal pastoralism is a creative response to a shrinking land base, but it leaves pastoralists more vulnerable to localized droughts and pasture depletion without expansive migration. Herd size reduction is a realistic response to environmental and spatial challenges but threatens pastoral life's economic and cultural underpinning.

Mixed pastoralism diversifies income but dilutes traditional traditions and indicates unequal access to new possibilities. Participants describe a changed livelihood as pragmatic and lossful. Rural lands and herds shrink due to privatization and urban growth; while farming and trade reflect limited internal innovation. Transformation is bittersweet for pastoralists, who adapt but have less options. Pastoralism may be temporarily supported, but land access and mobility efforts are needed to sustain it. This theme explores how land tenure and environmental restrictions affect pastoral life in Kajiado.

### **Declining Mobility and Access**

The mobility of pastoralists in Kajiado County has been increasingly constrained by changes in land ownership, urban development, and regulatory practices. While seasonal movement has historically been central to pastoral resilience in arid and semi-arid environments, many participants described how their ability to move livestock across landscapes has been significantly reduced. This theme explores the key drivers behind reduced mobility, including land fragmentation, urban encroachment, and formal policy barriers that restrict access to traditional routes.

### ***Land fragmentation limiting traditional migration routes.***

Participants consistently highlighted how the subdivision and fencing of land—often a result of privatization—has physically blocked the paths once used for migration. The effect of subdivision of land and fencing has affected mobility of pastoralists and their herds. Where there were corridors in between developments, there are complete barriers to movement. This has erased all remnants of traditional migration routes. As communal lands are divided into smaller private plots, movement becomes fragmented, unpredictable, and often requires negotiation or permission, altering the fluidity that once defined pastoral mobility.

### ***Urban expansion restricting grazing areas.***

Rapid development around towns such as Kitengela, Isinya, and Ngong was repeatedly mentioned as a barrier to accessing grazing land. Several pastoralists described how previously accessible fields have been converted into residential or commercial zones. A pastoralist from Namanga reports that urbanisation is a factor that has greatly limited mobility. The grazing pastures have now been converted into commercial and residential buildings. As urban boundaries expand into traditional rangelands, pastoralists are pushed farther out, increasing both the distance and cost of daily grazing routes.

### ***Policy barriers affecting movement across regions.***

Beyond physical barriers, official laws and inter-county regulations have hampered pastoral migration. Participants complained about administrative hurdles such border permits and fines. The Kajiado County Department of Agriculture, Livestock and Veterinary Services sometimes require livestock movement permits which creates challenges for pastoralists. This is envisioned to control disease outbreaks, manage grazing resources, and for revenue collection. These permits are required for movement across county borders and sometimes even between zones. Pastoralists also cite that even chiefs require permits before they can pass through localities. These regulatory limits have rigidified a livelihood system that relies on flexibility, especially during drought or resource scarcity.

## **Environmental and Climatic Pressures**

All participant accounts focused on environmental and climatic changes. Pastoralism relies on seasonal variation and adaptation techniques, but recent weather patterns, land degradation, and water scarcity have stressed pastoralist resilience. Participants described how climatic uncertainty and limited pasture, and water are affecting traditional herding techniques and stressing animals and households.

### ***Unpredictable climate patterns and prolonged droughts.***

In interviews and focus groups, participants noted how variable rainfall and extended dry seasons had made grazing cycles harder to plan and sustain. Climate change is a major challenge as the certainty of rainfall and regular seasons allowed pastoralists to rely on green regenerated pastures and replenishing water sources. The lack of regular rainfall and unpredictable climate has increased pressure and continuity of the pastoralist lifestyle. Livestock are now vulnerable to hunger and disease due to more frequent and longer droughts. In addition to the erratic and unpredictable weather due to climate change contributing to the drying up of rivers and natural water sources, the available boreholes are few and far from each other. This uncertainty caused cattle food insecurity, market timing issues, and seasonal migration.

### ***Overgrazing and pasture depletion.***

With reduced mobility and less land available, participants reported being forced to graze animals repeatedly on the same overused plots, leading to visible environmental degradation. The limited mobility has had a knock-on effect of necessitating pastoralists to have their herds grazing in sparse pockets of land that quickly becomes bare and eroded. This problem was also observed in community areas previously reserved for shared use. Overgrazing not only weakens livestock but exacerbates the long-term viability of the pasturelands, creating a vicious cycle of degradation.

### ***Water scarcity and increased reliance on boreholes.***

Water access was frequently mentioned as a daily challenge, particularly during the dry season. Participants explained how natural water sources like rivers and streams have become unreliable, forcing communities to depend on boreholes, many of which are expensive to

maintain or located far from settlements. Others spoke of long daily treks to reach water or having to queue for hours. These pressures compound the strain on herders, often reducing productivity and leading to conflict over shared water points.

### **Modernization and Technological Adaptation**

Despite the numerous challenges facing pastoralism in Kajiado County, many participants described the increasing role of digital and technological tools in supporting their livelihoods. While the adoption of technology is uneven, especially in more remote regions, those who have access to mobile phones and online platforms reported improved herd management, market engagement, and weather preparedness. This theme captures the ways in which modernization is being woven into traditional practices, not as a replacement, but as a set of tools for adaptation and resilience.

#### ***Mobile phones and digital tools for herd management.***

In the face of shifting terrain and herd dynamics, mobile phones have become essential tools in the change of pastoral practices in Kajiado County, enabling collaboration, communication, and decision-making. In all focus groups and interviews, participants regularly mentioned how they depend on their mobile phones to manage scattered herds, obtain market data, and resolve resource-related disputes.

#### Box 2: Excerpts from Discussion on Mobile Phones and Digital tools

*“Phones have helped us track livestock and communicate with other herders.” – Pastoralist from Oloosirkon*

*“ I use my phone to check on livestock prices and talk to buyers before taking animals to market.” – Pastoralist from Kitengela*

*“ Through mobile phones, we coordinate grazing areas and get weather updates.” – Pastoralist from Olkeri*

*“Mobile phones help us coordinate grazing movements and avoid clashes over limited resources.” – Pastoralist from Enkorika ward*

*“Phones are useful for getting market updates and coordinating with other herders.” – Pastoralist from Oloosirkon/Sholinke ward*

Mobile phones have improved herd management efficiency and economic reactivity in Kajiado County by providing real-time livestock prices, market coordination, and weather updates. This allows strategic decision-making and livelihood diversification amid shrinking rangelands and variable climates. Communication to avert land and water disputes and monitoring dispersed herds and family members in semi-sedentary and seasonal lifestyles reduce land fragmentation conflicts. However, poor phone connections and network availability may exclude some pastoralists, exacerbating disparities. Mobile phones combine tradition and innovation, strengthening herd management while creating new dependencies.

### ***Online livestock markets improving trade access.***

Online platforms are altering animal transactions and reducing the need for livestock markets, as many participants pointed out. This modification was particularly helpful when there was insufficient road access or insecurity. Pastoralists use social media apps as platforms to market their livestock for sale. Time and money are saved. Online organizations have grown their buyer networks expanding their reach outside Kajiado. These modifications reflect more control over pricing and time, as well as wider market access and convenience.

Pastoralists now have more efficiency and reach thanks to the modernization of trading brought about by online livestock markets. The use of Facebook and WhatsApp by Focus Groups Digital tools reduce logistical expenses and time, which is crucial in a scenario where poor roads or security might make it difficult to travel to markets. These platforms link pastoralists with buyers who live far away, disrupting traditional trade networks and maybe boosting profit margins through competitive pricing. Economic resilience is strengthened by diversifying sales channels, but less tech-savvy or remote pastoralists may not be able to use the internet or digital literacy. Online marketplaces therefore give certain people more power but also draw attention to differences in technological adoption, suggesting that more assistance is required to guarantee equitable benefits.

### ***Use of climate monitoring apps for pasture tracking.***

A smaller but growing number of pastoralists reported using mobile apps or digital platforms to access weather updates and pasture conditions. These tools helped guide migration decisions

or prepare for droughts. Pastoralists use pasture apps to decide where to take the animals, especially during dry seasons. While not all participants had access to smartphones or knew how to use such apps, those who did saw them as powerful tools for anticipating and responding to environmental changes. Knowing in advance where the rain might fall can be the defining factor between livelihood continuity and economic strain.

Pastoral adaptation is entering a new era with climate monitoring apps that combine ecological knowledge with digital precision. Pastoralists use pasture tracking applications to prepare for unpredictable rainfall and pasture supplies, a major issue amid extended droughts and decreasing grazing pastures. The practical use of these apps emphasizes the life-or-death stakes of such instruments, which can reduce cattle losses by guiding timely movements. The digital divide—not all pastoralists have cellphones, data plans, or app literacy—restricts its adaption to a tech-savvy few. These technologies improve decision-making and resilience for those who can access them, but their limited availability implies that modernization is uneven, benefiting some while leaving others to rely on conventional ways.

#### **4.4.2 Land Tenure Systems and Legal Frameworks in Kajiado County**

The second research question for the study was: What policy and legal frameworks of land tenure exist at both the national and county levels in Kajiado County? The findings of the study show that the legal and policy landscape in Kajiado County reflects a shift from traditional communal landholding to more formalized, individual ownership models. Although various laws have been introduced to safeguard pastoral land rights, their implementation has been inconsistent and often excludes the perspectives of pastoralist communities. Legal complexities, governance gaps, and conflicting tenure systems contribute to insecurity and limited access.

Box 3: Excerpts from Discussion on Ownership, policy and land use

##### **Transition to Private Land Ownership**

“Traditionally, land was communal and shared by all. Now, individual ownership is becoming more common, which creates challenges for pastoralists.” – *Pastoralist from Namanga*

“Policies promoting private land ownership have reduced communal grazing lands and complicated migration routes *Pastoralist from Kiserian*

“Some land is owned by group ranches, others by individuals. We used to graze freely, now we have to ask permission or pay. That wasn’t how it worked before.” – *Pastoralist from Ngong*

### **Policy and Governance Barriers**

“Although the policies aim to safeguard community land, bureaucratic hurdles prevent effective registration.” - *Pastoralist from Olooloitikosh*

“Land registration takes too long and is too expensive, so many people just give up.” – *Pastoralist from Entonet Ward*

“The government talks about pastoralist rights, but nothing is really enforced on the ground.”– *Pastoralist from Oloosirkon/Sholinke ward*

“We are rarely consulted during zoning or land meetings. They decide without asking us.”– *Pastoralist from Imbirikani ward*

### **Zoning and Land Use Planning**

“Zoning has potential, but it often limits our flexibility to move freely and doesn’t fully consider pastoralist needs.” – *Pastoralist from Ewaso ward*

“Zoning can help reduce conflicts, but it often ignores the needs of pastoralists and favors urban expansion.”– *Pastoralist from Namanga ward*

“Even when land is taken for development, we are not compensated fairly.”  
– *Pastoralist from Ilmarba ward*

### **Transition to Private Land Ownership**

Kajiado County's communal to private land ownership has changed pastoralist land access and mobility. Land was traditionally held collectively and managed by customs, allowing seasonal mobility and flexibility. Participants described how legal reforms and land adjudication procedures have introduced private ownership, fragmenting, restricting movement, and increasing conflicts. Policy and demographic forces caused this transformation, which disrupted pastoralist living. In interviews and focus groups, pastoralists voiced worry that they are being forced into smaller, enclosed regions and excluded from land use and tenure reform decisions, compromising their viability.

#### ***Traditional communal land tenure disrupted by privatization.***

The majority of participants spoke about the shift away from shared land systems that once underpinned pastoralism in Kajiado. For many, the move toward individual land ownership marked a departure from culturally embedded communal practices. Traditionally, land was communal and shared by all. Now, individual ownership is becoming more common, which creates challenges for pastoralists.

Another participant explained how the ethos of shared use has given way to territorial control and exclusion. Land is considered a pastoralist's lifeline. Traditionally, it was communal, meant for grazing and water access, and no one claimed exclusive ownership.

This transition has not only disrupted traditional grazing but also contributed to increased disputes and social tensions.

These participant tales show how communal to individual land ownership disrupted life. The statements communicate emotional and cultural exile as well as practical concerns like restricted grazing access. As a "lifeline" or "shared by all," land represents a longstanding system of reciprocal access, reciprocity, and social duty. Exclusive ownership and fencing alter land from a common resource sustaining collective survival to a private asset administered by individuals. This transformation has broken pastoralism's social coherence, replacing partnership with negotiation and exclusion. Participants describe a growing sense of limitation and alienation, showing how legal and physical barriers are changing relationships, identities, and lifestyles.

***Land adjudication policies enforcing individual land titles.***

Several participants directly connected changes in land access to specific government-driven policies that promote land subdivision and titling. They noted that these legal changes have reinforced private landholding and displaced traditional forms of land management.

Policies promoting private land ownership have reduced communal grazing lands and complicated migration routes. Subdivision of group ranches has limited access to grazing corridors. Policies encouraging private ownership are slowly eroding their traditional way of life.

Participants expressed that the push for titling and formal registration, while intended to secure tenure, has often worked against pastoralist systems that rely on fluid and seasonal access across wide territories.

***Conflict between customary and legal land tenure systems.***

The mismatch between customary land use and the formal legal framework emerged as a source of confusion and contestation. Some land is owned by group ranches, others by individuals. Grazing was done freely, now we have to ask permission or pay. Some participants

also expressed a sense of loss and displacement under the new system, which they felt marginalized traditional authorities and land-sharing agreements. Land subdivision laws have reduced available grazing areas. There is also a lack of legal recognition for migratory grazing routes. This demonstrates how formal land rules have interrupted pastoral land use's fluidity. Ownership, boundaries, and legal entitlements now govern access, replacing trust, shared norms, and informal agreements.

Pastoralists lose autonomy when grazing becomes restricted or requires payment. Participants' references to “*small parcels of land*” and the lack of acknowledgment for “migratory grazing routes” show that the new system restricts physical movement and invalidates traditional pastoral governance principles. As customary rights are squeezed out by statutory claims, pastoralists feel frustrated and disempowered as their knowledge, methods, and authority lose legitimacy. The divergence between customary standards and formal systems is more than administrative—it affects identity, community, and land.

### **Policy and Governance Barriers**

Pastoralists in Kajiado County have complained that national and county governments have failed to protect their land rights. The Community Land Act (2016) is progressive, but its delayed implementation, administrative complexity, and insufficient enforcement have limited its influence. Land registration processes are expensive, time-consuming, and poorly understood by communities, disempowering participants. Government agencies routinely ignore pastoralists' opinions in zoning and land-use planning. Thus, the absence of meaningful engagement and the gap between legislative frameworks and pastoralist living frustrate many.

#### ***Delays in implementation of the Community Land Act (2016).***

Many participants worried that whereas the Community Land Act protects pastoralist rights, its impact is restricted by delayed and inconsistent enforcement. Although the policies aim to safeguard community land, bureaucratic hurdles prevent effective registration. Pastoralists worry that their land is vulnerable to privatization and external purchase because communal tenure has not realized. It appears government promises are not being fulfilled.

#### ***Complex land registration processes.***

Even when pastoralists endeavour to formalize their land rights, the process is perceived as inaccessible. The protracted duration and exorbitant costs associated with land registration led many individuals to abandon the process. Others reported difficulties with documentation, the necessity for legal intermediaries, and a deficiency in understanding how to traverse the system. These obstacles disproportionately impact rural communities, particularly elderly individuals and women with little literacy or formal legal education, hence exacerbating inequality.

### ***Weak enforcement mechanisms for pastoralist land rights.***

The participants observed a notable disparity between the legal rights and the absence of mechanisms to uphold them. The government talks about pastoralist rights, but nothing is really enforced on the ground. Others who spoke about unresolved land issues and a lack of follow-through after rules are introduced highlighted this disconnect. Legal frameworks are useless instruments for enforcing justice if there are no trustworthy procedures for reporting infractions and obtaining compensation.

### ***Poor inclusion of pastoralists in land governance structures.***

Pastoralists were often excluded from land choices. Urban offices typically developed zoning plans without involving those most affected, according to several participants. Formal governing institutions are seen as favouring developers or agricultural settlers over traditional land users, causing alienation and distrust.

## **Zoning and Land Use Planning**

In Kajiado County, zoning and land use planning have been introduced as formalized mechanisms to organize development and reduce land-related conflicts. For pastoralists, however, these measures often impose new spatial and social constraints, clashing with the mobile, adaptive nature of their livelihoods. While some participants recognize zoning's potential to ease tensions, most expressed frustration over its restrictive impact, exclusionary processes, and lack of compensation for displacement. Their voices reveal a planning system that struggles to reconcile its goals with the realities of pastoralism.

### ***Zoning restricts pastoralist flexibility and grazing routes.***

Pastoralists worry that zoning limits their range and disrupts customary grazing paths, threatening their existence. There is a mismatch between regulatory aim and pastoralist practice, where tight limits limit seasonal mobility. Interviewee 6 noted that community zoning hinders access to traditional grazing pastures. They cannot enter urban or conservation zones, even amid drought. This loss of access undermines pastoral resilience and they feel boxed in and without fair access to land for their livelihoods.. Zoning is a rigid structure that limits pastoralists' ecological and social adaptability.

***Mixed perceptions: protective yet restrictive.***

While zoning frustrates pastoralists, it can reduce land-use conflicts if it emphasizes their requirements, revealing its dual nature. Zoning can help reduce conflicts, but it often ignores pastoralists and favors urban expansion. This reflects a wider belief that zoning favors metropolitan or commercial interests over mobile livelihoods. Zoning has provided pastoralists and farmers harmony in some regions *and* temporarily settles issues but gradually displaces pastoralists. Zoning helps plan towns and roads. Where should we take our animals? The part is missing. These conflicting views show that zoning may regulate and decrease friction, but its inability to accommodate pastoralist mobility makes it more restrictive than protective.

***Lack of adequate compensation for displaced pastoralists.***

A major issue was displacement without appropriate compensation, which deepened zoning exclusion. Even when land is taken for development, they are not compensated fairly. Economic distress exacerbates grazing space loss. Interviewee 7 said, Unsupported pastoralists are vulnerable and displaced. Displacement without compensation has become too common. We seem to be ignored in growth plans. These voices reveal a zoning system that displaces pastoralists and refuses remedy, making it exclusionary and unjust.

**4.4.3 Implications of Land Policies for Pastoralist Livelihoods**

Research question three was: What are the implications of these land policies and legal frameworks on pastoralism in Kajiado County? This study found that land policies and legal frameworks have had far-reaching impacts on the socio-economic wellbeing of pastoralists.

The reduction of communal grazing space, increased privatization, and urban sprawl have led to displacement, economic instability, and heightened competition for resources. These consequences manifest in pastoralists' daily struggles for mobility, productivity, and conflict resolution.

Box 4: Excerpts from Discussion on Access, conflicts and economic strain

#### **Restricted Land Access and Displacement**

*"In the past, we could move freely without worrying about land ownership, but now the situation has changed. Land is being fenced, and we can't graze as we used to."*

**Pastoralist from Magadi**

*"Urban growth around areas like Kitengela has affected our pastoral routes. It's difficult to find open spaces for grazing anymore." - Pastoralist from Isinya*

*"We now have to negotiate more with landowners to pass through their land, which has made pastoralism much more difficult." - Pastoralist from Kiserian*

#### **Rising Land Conflicts**

*"More families are now settling in areas that used to be grazing land, making it harder for us to find resources for our livestock." - Pastoralist from Kitengela*

*"We tend to move to areas where other pastoralists are not, to avoid conflicts over grazing and water resources." – Pastoralist from Olkeri*

*"Increased urbanization has cut us off from our traditional grazing routes, and there's a lot of conflict with new settlers." Pastoralist from Enkorika ward*

#### **Economic Strain and Market Instability**

*"Restricted movement means animals get weaker and fetch lower prices in the market." – Pastoralist from Namanga ward*

*"We now have to take our animals further to reach a market, and that means more cost and more risk." – Pastoralist from Kitengela ward*

*"Sometimes we prepare animals for sale and then a policy changes or demand drops. We lose money."  
– Pastoralist from Namanga ward*

#### **Restricted Land Access and Displacement**

The transition from communal to privatized land systems has dramatically altered access to grazing resources for pastoralists in Kajiado County. Participants frequently expressed concern about the shrinking availability of land, the growing barriers to movement, and the rising financial and logistical burdens associated with accessing what was once freely available. The

implications are not only spatial but also economic and cultural, as pastoralists are increasingly excluded from lands essential to their survival.

***Shrinking communal rangelands due to privatization.***

Many participants detailed the fencing off of formerly open rangelands, which has decreased grazing access and pastoral mobility. The privatization of previous communal lands has resulted in a growing restriction of the traditional freedom of movement that defined nomadic existence. Participants explained that they are unable to graze as they formerly could because the land is being fenced. Many herders now have fewer options for their animals during droughts or seasonal shortages as a result of this change.

***Urban expansion pushing pastoralists out.***

Another important factor that was mentioned as driving pastoralists to outskirts was urbanization. Participants observed that accessible grazing pasture has been progressively reduced as settlements and infrastructure have grown into once pastoral areas. In addition to encroaching on important corridors, the quick growth has also resulted in permanent settlements and fencing that block traditional migration routes, forcing herders into arid and overused areas.

***Need for costly negotiations to access private land.***

Negotiating access with individual landowners has been a particularly challenging consequence of land privatization. Previously a common practice of communal movement, crossing or using land today necessitates intricate and frequently expensive negotiations. Informal payments, short-term agreements, or outright rejections are all possible outcomes of these conversations, which further erode the stability of an already precarious system of subsistence.

***Economic instability from reduced land availability.***

Restricted access to land has the overall effect of increasing economic instability. Less land translates into fewer animals, less herd movement flexibility, and more risk during dry spells.

Some have been compelled by these limitations to completely give up on customs or lower herd sizes below what is sustainable. This encapsulates how physical and legal boundaries are changing the internal logic of pastoralist economies and the knock-on implications of spatial constraint.

## **Rising Land Conflicts**

The intensification of land use in Kajiado County has led to frequent and increasingly complex conflicts between pastoralists and other land users. Participants consistently pointed to rising tensions stemming from overlapping claims, land scarcity, and a growing mismatch between traditional land use patterns and emerging private interests. These conflicts are most pronounced at the interface between pastoralists and private landowners, other pastoralist groups, and agricultural settlers.

### ***Disputes between pastoralists and private landowners***

Many participants reported being locked in frequent disputes with private landowners over access to land that was once communal. The privatization and fencing of such land have led to tensions that, in some cases, escalate into open confrontation. More families are now settling in areas that used to be grazing land, making it harder for us to find resources for our livestock. These disputes are often exacerbated by the absence of clear migration routes and by a lack of effective mediation mechanisms, leading to increased vulnerability among pastoralist households.

### ***Increased competition over water and grazing resources***

Limited access to critical resources such as water and pasture has heightened competition not only between pastoralists and landowners, but also among pastoralists themselves. As climate pressures and land subdivision converge, available grazing land has diminished, forcing pastoralists into overlapping zones. This effort to avoid conflict, while logical, highlights the shrinking safe zones available to herders and the necessity of increasingly strategic movements that were not needed in the past.

### ***Tensions with agricultural settlers***

Interactions with agricultural settlers, who frequently have distinct land use priorities and legal support, add another layer of land dispute. Pastoralists and agricultural communities are at odds as a result of the transition from communal grazing to mixed-use and privately held lands. There is a lot of conflict with new settlers, and increased urbanization has cut them off from our traditional grazing routes. Space is only one aspect of these disputes; they reflect a wider fight between opposing land ideologies, one focused on public usage and mobility and the other on fixed, walled, privately owned parcels.

### **Economic Strain and Market Instability**

The focus group discussions and individual interviews revealed two important themes: market uncertainty and economic pressure. Although the cattle trade has historically been a source of income for pastoralists, market involvement has become unstable due to changes in land access and mobility, governmental changes, and infrastructure deficiencies. There have been numerous repercussions, from deteriorating animal quality to higher transportation expenses and erratic market conditions.

#### ***Decline in Livestock Quality and Market Value.***

Restricted mobility and shrinking access to grazing areas have compromised animal health, directly affecting market performance. Participants consistently linked land fragmentation and overgrazing to weaker livestock. Restricted movement means animals get weaker and fetch lower prices in the market. It's difficult to fatten animals when grazing areas are small and overused. Buyers don't want skinny cows." Subsequently, the animals are not as strong as before. Because we can't move them far, they feed on the same land, which has no grass left. This deterioration in animal quality has both economic and social implications, as livestock value determines not just income but also social standing within the pastoralist community.

#### ***Increased Costs of Market Participation.***

The rising cost of reaching markets was a challenge as urban expansion consumes formerly communal grazing land and trading hubs. Pastoralists must travel longer distances—often at high expense—to sell their livestock. They now have to take our animals further to reach a

market, and that means more cost and more risk. Sometimes pastoralists have to hire trucks to move animals, especially during droughts, which is very expensive. This underscores how infrastructure gaps, land loss, and environmental strain intersect to make market participation increasingly burdensome.

### ***Unpredictable Demand and Policy-Induced Volatility.***

Beyond logistics, instability in market demand—often triggered by shifting regulations or inadequate policy communication, resulted in unpredictable business environment. Pastoralists prepare animals for sale and then a policy change resulting in a decline in demand for livestock. Pastoralists therefore work in an unpredictable business environment hence they lose money or cannot predict their cashflows as it's not possible to know how much one will earn. A Pastoralist complained that "...one day, there's demand, and the next day, prices crash, it's not sustainable". Several pastoralists also reported that delays in government support or failure to regulate buyers' practices contribute to economic insecurity. "The middlemen take advantage because they know we are desperate. The prices they give us are extremely low.

#### **4.4.4 Policy Recommendations for Supporting Pastoralism**

Several policy recommendations can be instituted to mitigate the challenges or strengthen the opportunities experienced by pastoralists in Kajiado County. These policy interventions must extend beyond legislative frameworks in order to solve the issues that pastoralists face. In order to ensure long-term sustainability, encourage inclusive planning, and strengthen land rights, they must actively engage with local realities. The study's recommendations represent the opinions of pastoralists and offer strategies to improve their participation and resilience.

#### Box 5: Excerpts from Land tenure, urbanisation and resilience

##### **Strengthening Land Tenure Systems**

*"We want the government to officially recognise our grazing areas as communal land, so they are protected." – Pastoralist from Ilmarba ward*

*"Animals need to move freely. If we don't have legal corridors, we'll lose the whole practice." – Pastoralist from Ewaso ward*

*"Even when there are policies for us, they're not enforced. We need the law to work for us, not just sit in books." – Pastoralist from Imbirikani ward*

##### **Integrating Urbanization and Pastoralism**

*“Towns keep growing into grazing land. If we had proper boundaries or zones, it would reduce conflict” - Pastoralist from Isinya*

*“They never include us when planning developments. We need to be at the table too”. - Pastoralist from Kiserian*

*“Development should not mean eviction. There must be a way for us to keep our land even as towns grow.” – Pastoralist from Oloosirkon*

### **Building Resilience Through Networks and Support**

*“If we had cooperatives, we could negotiate better prices and get support as a group.” - Pastoralist from Entonet ward*

*“We walk far for water, and we lose animals on bad roads. We need real investment, not just promises.” – Pastoralist from Oloolotikosh*

*“We use phones to check prices now. If we had a proper platform, it would help us reach more buyers” Pastoralist from Ngong*

### **Strengthening Land Tenure Systems**

Across interviews and focus group discussions, participants strongly emphasized that strengthening pastoral land tenure is foundational to securing pastoralist livelihoods. Many people believed that the present tenure system, which is characterized by increasing privatization and inadequate protection of communal land, was the main cause of pastoralists' vulnerability and displacement. Many participants requested for legislative changes that would guarantee the enforcement of pastoralists' land rights, establish legal protections for movement, and acknowledge community grazing areas.

It was emphasized repeatedly that communal grazing areas must be formally recognized. Participants explained how these lands are vulnerable to appropriation and fragmentation due to legal ambiguity. There is a need for pastoralist land to be acknowledged in legally binding structures, not only in theory.

The demand for migratory corridors, which are crucial to the sustainability of pastoralist production systems, was closely tied to this. A persistent worry was the loss of these corridors as a result of fencing or land use changes. The ecological reality of pastoralism is reflected in this statement: cattle migration is a survival tactic rather than a choice. Pastoralists are compelled to graze in smaller, frequently overused regions in the absence of legally protected corridors, which exacerbates social and environmental pressures.

In addition to legal recognition, participants stressed the importance of enforcing pastoralist rights, noting that policies often exist on paper but are not implemented. There is a critical policy gap—not the absence of legal provisions, but the lack of political will and administrative action to activate those provisions. Without practical enforcement mechanisms, pastoralists remain at the margins of land governance.

### **Integrating Urbanization and Pastoralism**

The relationship between urban growth and pastoralism emerged as a critical area of concern for participants. While acknowledging some benefits from urbanization—such as improved access to markets and services—pastoralists consistently emphasized the *unplanned and exclusionary nature* of urban expansion. The need to integrate urban and pastoral land-use strategies was voiced repeatedly, with participants calling for designated buffer zones, participatory planning, and legal safeguards for pastoralist land use.

#### ***Creating buffer zones between urban and pastoral land.***

Participants noted that the absence of spatial boundaries between urban settlements and pastoral lands has led to frequent displacement and conflict. This call for buffer zones is not simply about preventing overlap; it reflects a deeper need for recognition of pastoralist land as legitimate and worthy of protection within urban planning frameworks. Without such zoning, pastoralists face continual encroachment from real estate, infrastructure, and agricultural expansion.

#### ***Involving pastoralist representatives in planning processes.***

The absence of pastoralist input in decision-making was another concern. This lack of consultation led to incorrect zoning, eviction threats, and migratory route loss. Pastoralists wanted participatory planning to impact land, water, and market decisions. Inclusion meant being informed and involved from the start.

#### ***Protecting pastoralist land use amid urban development.***

Policy that protects pastoral land usage as settlements grow was stressed beyond zoning and participation. Pastoralists call for integrated development strategies that include pastoralist systems rather than marginalizing them. Participants supported urban growth but wanted safeguards for pastoralism in shifting settings.

### **Building Resilience Through Networks and Support**

Although structural issues still exist, participants underlined that there are obvious methods to strengthen the pastoralist economy's resilience. They pointed out that these pathways rely on improving infrastructure and technology as well as social and institutional networks. Cooperative formation, government service expansion, risk-reduction tactics, and the use of mobile technologies to assist pastoralists were among the recommendations. The emphasis was not only on survival, but on establishing systems that could help pastoralists thrive in the face of drought, market volatility, and land loss.

#### ***Formation of pastoralist cooperatives and associations.***

A recurring recommendation was the establishment of organized groups that could amplify pastoralists' voices and improve their bargaining power. They mentioned that if they had cooperatives, they could negotiate better prices and get support as a group. This highlights the potential of collective organization not only for trade, but also for securing land rights, accessing services, and participating in planning processes. Cooperatives were seen as platforms for shared learning, pooled resources, and stronger representation in policy spaces.

#### ***Investment in water infrastructure, veterinary services, and roads.***

Participants identified infrastructure gaps as a major vulnerability, particularly during droughts or disease outbreaks. The emotional weight of their calls for basic livelihood needs such as water reflects both physical hardship and frustration with unfulfilled policy commitments. Several participants connected infrastructure directly to livestock survival and productivity, arguing that basic services like boreholes, veterinary care, and accessible roads would vastly improve resilience.

### ***Livestock insurance schemes for drought resilience.***

The idea of insurance as a buffer against shocks was supported by multiple participants. During drought, many animals die. Insurance could help them recover. This succinct statement captures a critical gap in risk mitigation. Losses during droughts can devastate entire herds and erase years of livelihood-building. Participants viewed livestock insurance as not only a recovery tool, but also as a way to encourage investment in higher-quality animals and long-term planning.

### ***Use of digital platforms for trade and information-sharing.***

Technology emerged as a crucial enabler of adaptation. While many already use mobile phones for basic communication, participants expressed interest in expanding digital solutions for trade and resource tracking. This reflects both innovation and aspiration—a readiness to engage with digital tools if systems are designed with pastoralists in mind. Platforms that support real-time price updates, weather forecasting, and pasture availability could empower pastoralists to make informed decisions.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study's findings in regard to the research questions and previous literature. Using thematic analysis from Chapter Four, this chapter interprets and synthesizes the findings to better understand pastoralists' lives. Based on the study's four research questions, the chapter links themes to academic viewpoints, theoretical frameworks, and socio-political dynamics affecting land tenure and pastoral livelihoods. This chapter connects empirical data with scholarship and contextual knowledge to discuss the findings, draw conclusions about pastoralism, land governance, and adaptation strategies in Kajiado, and propose policy and practical recommendations based on participant voices. Moreover, this chapter acknowledges the study's shortcomings and offers future investigation.

#### 5.2 Summary

This study explored the evolving dynamics of pastoralism in Kajiado County. It specifically focused on how land policy, legal frameworks, and urbanization influence pastoralist livelihoods. The data was collected through one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions. Through a thematic analysis, the lived experiences and voices of the pastoralists were examined. A total of thirteen themes were generated from the initial codes. The findings have helped to answer the four research questions of the study.

On the current status of pastoralism in Kajiado County, the study found that traditional pastoral practices are undergoing significant transformation. Due to land shortage and environmental stress, participants switched from complete nomadism to semi-sedentary and seasonal pastoralism. Land fragmentation, urban encroachment, and regulatory impediments remained concerns, reducing mobility. Mixed livelihood options and digital tools like mobile phones and climate tracking applications are helping pastoralists adapt.

Findings on Land Tenure Systems and Legal Frameworks in Kajiado County showed that there is a policy environment in transition. This is characterized by a move from communal to individual land ownership. Customary systems have been upset by this change, and there is now tension between formal legal frameworks and customary practices. Land insecurity has been made worse by slow enforcement, a lack of pastoralist involvement in planning processes, and delays in enforcing laws like the Community Land Act (2016).

Implications of Land Policies for Pastoralist Livelihoods have been significant because pastoralists experienced forced displacement, land access restrictions, and confrontations with private landowners and agricultural settlers. The economic impacts include reduced cattle output, market instability, and higher transportation costs to reach distant markets. Many pastoralist households are vulnerable under these conditions.

Several policy recommendations were put forward by participants to support pastoralism; they recommended strengthening communal land rights, creating legally protected migratory corridors, and involving pastoralists in land use planning. Cooperative formation, infrastructure and veterinary service investments, and the use of digital platforms to improve trade and information access were among recommendations. In the face of mounting pressures from urbanization, privatization, and climate change, these tactics seek to strengthen resilience and ensure the survival of pastoralism.

Besides the four main research questions, the study found other themes that shed light on pastoralist communities' socio-cultural changes. A common topic is generational detachment from pastoralism, since younger people choose urban lifestyles, formal work, and education and view pastoralism as outmoded or unsustainable. Women's growing role in livestock management, decision-making, and digital communication is another important subject. These findings indicate that pastoralism will need responsive legislative reform, social innovation, intergenerational participation, and inclusive community development to survive.

### **5.3 Discussion**

This section critically discusses the findings presented in Chapter Four, relating them to existing literature and theoretical frameworks. It is structured around the four guiding research questions and includes a supplementary section exploring emergent themes. The discussion highlights both consistencies and divergences with prior research, shedding light on how land policy evolution, legal frameworks, and urbanization are reshaping pastoralism in Kajiado County.

#### **5.3.1 Current Status of Pastoralism in Kajiado County**

The findings show that pastoralism in Kajiado County is shifting from full nomadism to semi-sedentary and seasonal behaviors due to diminishing mobility, environmental pressures, and technological adaptations. According to Fratkin (2001) and Nyariki and Amwata (2019), land loss and modernization have caused similar changes in Maasai, Boran, and Rendille

pastoralism. Semi-sedentary systems reflect spatial limits, which Nyariki and Ngugi (2002) and Turner and Schlecht (2019) link to declining rangelands in African pastoral regions. Mobility's role in resilience makes them more vulnerable to localized environmental shocks (Unks et al., 2023).

This study showed that land fragmentation and urban growth have limited grazing access, echoing Hardin's (1968) "Tragedy of the Commons," where privatization and overuse deplete community resources (Schareika et al., 2021). This spatial confinement has caused overgrazing and lowered herd sizes, according to Scoones (2020), who link limited mobility to productivity decreases. Pastoralists face erratic rainfall and water scarcity, and boreholes represent a shift from natural water sources. Climate variability is an increasing stressor in East African drylands (Turner & Schlecht, 2019), and drought and pasture depletion are key vulnerabilities in places like Kajiado, reinforcing ecological constraints.

Similar to the current study, Bobadoye et al. (2016) found that Maasai pastoralists are modernizing through technology, particularly cell phones for market information. Thornton et al. (2007) also see East African herders employing innovation to manage livelihood stress, whereas Oteros-Rozas et al. (2018) see a digital divide in rural transitions due to unequal access to climate apps. The pastoral system balances resilience through diversification and innovation against spatial and ecological limits, which Scoones (1995) calls "exploiting heterogeneity" in dryland contexts.

According to Amwata et al. (2016), livelihood diversification is important to respond to food insecurity in Kenya's drylands. Participants' accounts of "boda boda" transport and fodder crop cultivation show a shift from pastoral to socio-economic responsibilities. Diversification boosts short-term survival but undermines pastoral ideals and economic structures (Jeppesen & Hassan, 2022). Technology is increasingly used in pastoral practices, according to research. Mobile phones and climate apps are utilized for market coordination, dispute avoidance, and pasture tracking. This is "technological pastoralism," where digital tools are integrated into traditional livelihoods to boost resilience (Unks et al., 2019). This innovation, however rare, shows pastoralists' adaptability. It also builds on Behnke and Muthami (2011) and Schareika et al. (2021), who focused on economic adaptation but not digital elements. Thus, while Kajiado pastoralists encounter many obstacles, they also innovate and adapt to their changing environment (Unks et al., 2023).

Thus, emerging land uses, global economic pressures, and local disputes are shaping 'new frontiers of land control,' defined as practices that establish or reinforce access, claims, and exclusion (Jeppesen & Hassan, 2022). In pastoralist settings, understanding shifts in resource access and control is complex due to diverse resource distribution, intricate social networks, varied property concepts, and labor practices (Scoones, 2021). Rising commodification of labor, livestock, and resources, alongside land privatization, signals changes in these systems (Bassett, 2009; Korf et al., 2015). Local accumulation, such as through pasture or sand commodification, deepens socio-economic divides and reshapes territorial dynamics (Korf et al., 2015; Jeppesen & Hassan, 2022).

### **5.3.2 Discussion: Connecting Findings to Objectives and Literature**

#### *Objective 1: Evaluating the Contemporary Status of Pastoralism in Kajiado County*

The field information represents a pastoral system undergoing revolutionary change. Having had its history of mobility and open rangeland, Kajiado pastoralists are currently embracing hybrid models of livelihood that hybridize semi-sedentary livestock husbandry with agriculture, commerce, and cyber linkages. This is consistent with research that maintains pastoralism is inherently adaptive and resilient, particularly in ASAL zones (Scoones, 2020; Dong et al., 2016). Pastoralists interviewed mentioned lowering herd numbers and diversifying their income with non-livestock-related ventures, for example, boda boda transportation or subsistence agriculture.

Environmental stressors—largely unseasonal rains and river drying—were often cited, again resonating with Turner and Schlecht's (2019) evidence of additive climatic variability risks in East Africa. Adaptation through diversification and technology application are conceivable avenues in accordance with the Social-Ecological Systems (SES) theory (Berkes & Folke, 1998). Indeed, the reasons for their reliance on mobile phones to get livestock price data, monitor weather patterns, and access markets virtually have been described by Unks et al. (2023) as "technological pastoralism."

However, these adaptations are built upon concealed weaknesses. Land access grows more circumscribed by physical fencing, state constraint, and urban sprawl. Decreasing mobility—traditionally understood as a core component of pastoral resilience—is increasingly rendering communities vulnerable to localized environmental perturbation and limiting herd

productivity. This trend aligns with previous critique by Hardin (1968) and subsequent reprises by Schareika et al. (2021), which identify the spatial restriction impacts of privatised land tenure on common property users.

*Objective 2: The Evaluation of the Policy and Legal Regime of Land Tenure*

Proof exists of an enormous policy-practice divide. While the 2010 Constitution and the Community Land Act (2016) institutionalize the legal protection of communal land rights in legislation, the incremental, administrative, and sometimes expensive utilization of the laws has disfranchised most pastoralists. This goes in line with Toulmin's (2009) contention that most land reforms in Africa are symbolic and not functional.

Tillers explained how the decline of group ranches and the expansion of private titling have actually fragmented rangelands and made traditional migratory routes inaccessible. Mwangi and Dohrn (2008) further recorded how strict legal codes ignore the fluid logic of pastoral land use. As the research participants confirmed, fencing open spaces and charging fees or requesting permits to cross private property have dislocated customary networks of communal visit and return

Moreover, zoning regulations and spatial plans—designed to rationalize land use—have been inclined to keep pastoralists out of the planning process. Top-down planning regimes, Jeppesen and Hassan (2022) discover, favor urbanization and business ventures against culturally rooted land systems. Pastoralists' non-involvement in zoning has not only excluded them from access to grazing land of strategic importance but also resulted in displacement, poverty, and increased conflict with new farmers and private land owners

*Objective 3: Building the Impacts of Land Policy and Legal Frameworks*

The evidence attests that land tenure reforms—particularly those leaning towards privatization and sedentarization—have weakened the socio-economic foundations of pastoralism in Kajiado. The interviewees narrated a range of effects from reduced herds and loss of pasture routes to increased transport charges and market ups and downs. This is in line with broader political ecology critique, wherein it has been contended that policy transitions have a tendency to entrench power imbalances and market forces against the interests of marginalized land users (Peluso & Lund, 2011; Galaty, 2013).

Growing land conflicts, displacement and non-payment, and exclusion from development planning were focus group and interview themes. This is consistent with Bobadoye et al. (2016) and Nyariki and Ngugi (2002), who point to the connection between insecure tenure and a rise in conflict amongst pastoralist communities. Remarkably, informants elaborated on the mechanisms whereby even zoning schemes for "community purposes" were employed to exclude pastoralists from traditional grazing lands.

However, in spite of these challenges, pastoralists exhibited good adaptive capacity. They called for collaborative governance, legal education, and integration of technology into their livelihood systems. These calls align with resilience theory and SES models that put the spotlight on local knowledge, social relations, and innovation in building adaptive capacity (Scoones, 2020; Ostrom, 1990).

#### *General Objective: Informing Policy Through Lived Experience*

Overall, the common purpose of sensitizing pastoralist-sensitive policy in ASALs is sufficiently evidenced. Qualitative data offered robust evidence that Kenya's current land governance regime—while rhetorically inclusive—is in practice frequently not responsive to the mobility, flexibility, and collectivist culture that characterise pastoralist life. As in the literature review, the optimum pastoral land governance framework is one that is both statutory and customary (Robinson & Flintan, 2022), and this was echoed in the views of participants in the study in advocating hybrid tenure systems, community zoning, and more participatory planning instruments.

This research offers a rights-based, mobility-enhancing land management framework that can be implemented nationwide in ASALs in Kenya and throughout the region. Policy reform needs to acknowledge pastoralism as a sustainable and viable way of life well-suited to the ecological and economic conditions of arid lands and not an anachronism. This enables Kenya to shift its land policy from one of conflict to one of inclusion, resilience, and environmental sustainability.

### **5.3.3 Land Tenure Systems and Legal Frameworks in Kajiado County**

The legal framework is complex, with formal rules that promote private land ownership overshadowing traditional communal tenure structures. The flexible, social logic of pastoral land use is often neglected in statutory reforms, according to Mwangi and Dohrn (2008). Land

adjudication and the disintegration of group ranches in Kajiado have fragmented common areas into individual pieces. Seasonal mobility has been hampered by this legal change, blocking grazing lanes that supported pastoral resilience (Rutten, 2008; Unks et al., 2021; Hassan et al., 2022).

The Community Land Act (2016) protected communal rights, although participants complained about its delayed implementation. Administrative delays, hefty registration costs, and insufficient enforcement have rendered the law ineffectual in defending pastoralist claims (Unks et al., 2023). Similar to the current study, Toulmin (2009) found that African land reforms are often symbolic rather than implemented. Participants reported paying informal fees or negotiating access across private land, which erodes legal trust and exposes them to abuse.

This study, in alignment to previous findings (Robinson, 2019; Nkedianye et al., 2020), has shown how zoning and land use planning, meant to organize development and reduce land conflicts, have sidelined pastoralists. Zoning often limits access to traditional grazing sites and migratory routes, according to several participants (Mwanyumba et al., 2015). Their omission from planning increases their susceptibility. Top-down planning mechanisms promote urban and commercial interests above customary land practices (Silvestri et al., 2013). Zoning choices made without pastoralist input have limited mobile herders' mobility, flexibility, and cultural identity in Kajiado (Jeppesen & Hassan, 2022).

### **5.3.3 Implications of Land Policies for Pastoralist Livelihoods**

Kajiado pastoralists have suffered from changing land policy, including displacement, mobility restrictions, and increased violence. Participants described how enclosed and fragmented rangelands restrict drought response and grazing supply. This has caused pastoralists to graze on smaller, overused plots, degrading pastures and cattle health. Unks et al. (2023) agree that policy-induced spatial restrictions impair pastoral system ecological sustainability and herd productivity.

This study also found economic effects to be significant. Without appropriate pasture and water, animals are weaker and sell for less (Unks et al., 2019). Participants in this study also noted higher transportation costs as they must carry livestock farther to purchasers. This strains the economy, especially without official backing. Market volatility and unclear government policies have left many pastoralists feeling economically vulnerable. Delgado (2005) and Behnke and Muthami (2011) both note that livestock-dependent economies are hampered by

insufficient infrastructure and transportation. To survive and adapt, pastoralists have turned to other economic activities (Unks et al., 2023). Honey, gum resin, firewood, fishing, and tourism are helping pastoral livelihoods (Hemingway et al., 2022). Traditional values like cattle and related items still make up most of pastoral economic worth (Nyariki & Amwata, 2019).

Since land claims overlap and resources are scarce, conflict is becoming more likely (Galaty, 2013). Conflicts with private landowners, agricultural settlers, and pastoralist tribes were common. The experiences of participants are consistent with Nyariki and Ngugi (2002) and Bobadoye et al. (2016), who argue that land disputes promote violence without institutional procedures. Thus, land tenure frameworks limit pastoral production and increase social tensions, threatening community sustainability and peace (Robinson & Flintan, 2022; Ombati, 2025). Past research among East African pastoralists has demonstrated how different abilities to access and benefit from land are shaped by privatization, wildlife conservation strategies that restrict access to land, shifting social relationships, and new livestock mobility practices (Unks et al. 2019; Nkedianye et al., 2020).

### **5.3.4 Supplementary Findings: Generational Shifts and Gender Roles**

Supplementary findings on generational disengagement and evolving gender roles deepen the analysis of pastoralism's trajectory. The shift of younger generations away from herding aligns with Fratkin (2001), who notes education and urbanization drawing youth from pastoralism in East Africa. This trend risks disrupting knowledge transmission, a concern Cronk (1991) ties to behavioral ecology shifts, though combining education with herding echoes Kibue and Auerbach (2013), who see modernization as a potential revitalization tool.

Women's increasing involvement in livestock management and digital networks reflects a socio-cultural shift where Maasai women adapt to economic changes (Lind et al., 2020). Dong et al. (2016) highlight gender dynamics as critical to resilience, suggesting that policy must address these evolving roles. These findings indicate that sustaining pastoralism requires attention to intergenerational and gender dimensions, a gap Scoones (2020) notes in traditional carrying capacity frameworks.

### **5.4 Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to investigate how urbanization, legal frameworks, and changes in land policy affected pastoralism in Kajiado County. The study used qualitative methods, including focus groups and one-on-one interviews with pastoralists from different sub-

counties, to uncover the lived realities, adaptive strategies, and concerns of communities whose livelihoods depend on rangeland ecosystem sustainability, mobility, and access to communal land. The results offer strong proof that, while pastoralism in Kajiado is not going extinct, it is fast evolving in response to a complex web of socioeconomic, legal, and environmental constraints.

One of the study's most notable findings is that traditional pastoralism, which was formerly defined by movement across communal lands, is evolving into more regional, hybrid forms. In addition to small-scale farming and informal trade, several pastoralists saw a move toward semi-sedentary and seasonal grazing patterns. Reduced grazing areas, limits imposed by policy, and shifting climate patterns are the main causes of this change. Once one of pastoralism's distinguishing characteristics, movement has been increasingly restricted due to zoning laws, fences, and land fragmentation. Decreased livestock output, overgrazing in permanent regions, and increased drought susceptibility have all been directly impacted by these spatial constraints.

A misalignment between formal legal systems and traditional land tenure is at the core of this shift. Pastoralists explained how their traditional land use methods have been weakened by laws that encourage private land ownership and the privatization of once community lands. Despite their progressive nature, legal frameworks like the Community Land Act have not yet been effectively applied at the local level. Several participants expressed their annoyance with the slow implementation of policies, their isolation from planning procedures, and the rising expenses of grazing field access and animal transportation to markets. Restoring trust and inclusion in pastoralist communities requires addressing a larger governance vacuum, which is reflected in these findings, and in previous studies (Unks, 2022).

However, the study also shows indications of inventiveness and resilience. Several pastoralists are adapting in spite of the lack of assistance. More effective herd management, market monitoring, and grazing coordination are all being done with mobile phones. Although they are frequently uninterested in conventional herding, younger generations are interacting with technology and market systems in novel ways. In digital information-sharing platforms and livestock management, women are becoming more involved. These shifts indicate that pastoralism is changing—not going extinct—but in ways that call for specific assistance to maintain sustainability and justice (Unks et al., 2021).

In summary, Kajiado County pastoralism is at a turning point. The long-term sustainability of pastoralist livelihoods is still in doubt in the absence of democratic land governance, improved infrastructure, and the implementation of legal safeguards for communal land and migratory pathways. However, pastoralism may continue to adapt and flourish in the face of contemporary problems if the proper mix of legislative reform, community involvement, and investment in local capacities is made. Pastoralism is a vibrant and productive livelihood system that merits protection, support, and incorporation into Kenya's larger development goal. This study adds to the expanding body of evidence advocating for its renewed recognition.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

This section offers targeted recommendations to address the challenges faced by pastoralists in Kajiado County and to strengthen the opportunities identified. These recommendations are divided into policy-oriented strategies, aimed at shaping legal and institutional frameworks, and practical measures, designed for implementation by communities, county authorities, and supporting organizations.

In this study, Participants repeatedly demanded legal acknowledgment of communal grazing grounds and migratory routes, which underpin pastoral livelihoods. These recommendations are based on resilience-based management (Dong et al., 2016), which emphasizes flexibility and resource adaptation. Kitchell et al. (2014) advise mapping and legalizing historic grazing paths to restore mobility and prevent conflict, especially during droughts when pastoralists must relocate for pasture and water.

Participants also advocated for buffer zones between urban and pastoral lands to prevent encroachment. In semi-arid locations, Jobbins et al. (2016) recommend integrated planning that balances rural and urban demands. Several interviewees underlined the importance of inclusive governance, especially pastoralist representation in zoning and land use decisions. This supports Toulmin's (2009) call for participatory policy-making and local institutions to protect marginalized people's land rights.

Practical pastoral resilience initiatives were mentioned outside land rights. Forming collective bargaining cooperatives, investing in water infrastructure and veterinary services, and increasing livestock insurance are examples. Lind et al. (2020) stress that institutional and technological support protects pastoralists from shocks. This study found that digital platforms for trade and climate forecasting are ripe for policy scaling. Policymakers can make pastoralism

more resilient, adaptable, and future-ready by building on grassroots innovations and distributing them fairly (Mwanyumba et al., 2015; Kimiti et al., 2018).

The insights from this qualitative study led to the following policy recommendations.

**1. Formal Recognition and Protection of Communal Grazing Lands.** The national and county governments should expedite the implementation of the Community Land Act (2016) by registering communal grazing lands in Kajiado as legally protected areas under community ownership. This would safeguard rangelands from privatization and urban encroachment, preserving the spatial flexibility essential for nomadic pastoralism. As participants emphasized, legal recognition is a foundational step to counter the fragmentation documented since the dissolution of group ranches.

**2. Establishment of Legally Protected Migratory Corridors.** Legislation should designate and enforce migratory corridors that connect key grazing areas and water points across Kajiado and neighboring counties. These corridors, informed by pastoralists' traditional routes, would mitigate the mobility constraints and reduce conflicts with private landowners (Unks et al., 2021). This aligns with Kitchell et al. (2014), who advocate for mapping pastoral pathways to restore ecological balance in semi-arid regions.

**3. Inclusive Land Use Planning with Pastoralist Representation.** The County Government of Kajiado should mandate the inclusion of pastoralist representatives in zoning and spatial planning processes, as per the spatial plan (2019-2029). This participatory approach, endorsed by participants (Theme 12), would ensure that urban development accommodates pastoral needs, such as buffer zones between settlements and grazing lands, preventing the displacement noted in the findings.

**4. Strengthening Enforcement Mechanisms for Pastoralist Rights.** Both national and county authorities must enhance administrative capacity and political will to enforce existing laws protecting pastoral land rights. This includes establishing clear accountability mechanisms to address violations, such as illegal fencing or land grabbing, which participants identified as persistent barriers (Theme 11). Robust enforcement would bridge the gap between policy intent and on-ground impact, as critiqued by Toulmin (2009).

**5. Integration of Pastoralism into National Economic and Climate Strategies.** The Government of Kenya should explicitly recognize pastoralism's contributions to the meat value chain and carbon sequestration (UNEP, 2015) within national economic and climate policies.

Incentives such as tax breaks for communal land preservation or subsidies for climate-smart practices could bolster pastoral resilience, addressing the economic strain outlined in Theme 10.

**6. Formation of Pastoralist Cooperatives.** Pastoralist communities, supported by NGOs and the County Department of Trade, should establish cooperatives to enhance collective bargaining power in markets and access to resources like veterinary services. As suggested by participants (Theme 13), cooperatives could pool resources to negotiate better prices, reducing the economic instability caused by middlemen and market volatility.

**7. Investment in Infrastructure and Services.** The County Government, in collaboration with development partners, should prioritize investments in water infrastructure (e.g., boreholes), veterinary services, and road networks linking pastoral areas to markets. These interventions, repeatedly called for in Theme 13, would address the logistical challenges of livestock transport and health, directly improving animal quality and market value.

**8. Development of Digital Platforms for Trade and Information Sharing.** NGOs and the County Department of Trade should develop and scale digital platforms—building on existing mobile phone use (Theme 3)—to provide real-time market prices, weather forecasts, and pasture availability. This practical tool, inspired by participant innovations, would empower pastoralists to make informed decisions, enhancing trade efficiency and resilience.

**9. Community-Led Zoning Initiatives.** Pastoralist communities should expand informal zoning practices, as seen in the Maasai's 30,000-acre communal system, with support from the County Department of Lands. These initiatives could serve as pilot projects to demonstrate scalable models for balancing grazing needs with land preservation, reducing sales and overgrazing as reported in the YESS (2018) findings.

**10. Livestock Insurance and Drought Mitigation Programs.** In partnership with organizations like IBLI, the county should roll out accessible livestock insurance schemes tailored to pastoralists' needs, as recommended in Theme 13. Coupled with drought preparedness training and fodder storage systems, these measures would mitigate the devastating losses experienced during dry spells, offering a safety net for economic recovery.

## **5.6 Limitations of the Study**

While this study provides valuable insights into the dynamics of pastoralism in Kajiado County, several limitations must be acknowledged. First, its focus on Kajiado limits the generalizability of findings to other ASAL regions in Kenya, where ecological, cultural, and policy contexts may differ. As noted in Chapter One, the heterogeneity of pastoralist

experiences means that some conclusions may be context-specific rather than universally applicable.

Second, the qualitative methodology, while rich in depth, relied on a relatively small sample of pastoralists, county officials, and key informants. This may not fully capture the diversity of perspectives within Kajiado's 1.1 million residents, particularly those in less accessible wards or sub-counties not represented in the study. Quantitative data on livestock numbers, land sales, or economic outputs could have complemented the findings but were beyond the study's scope.

Third, the timing of data collection—prior to April 2025—may not reflect subsequent policy shifts or environmental changes, such as droughts or new legislation, that could alter pastoralist realities. The rapidly evolving nature of urbanization and climate impacts in Kajiado underscores this temporal constraint.

Finally, the study faced challenges in quantifying the pastoralist population due to their mobility, a difficulty acknowledged by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. This inherent limitation may have affected the precision of demographic insights, relying instead on estimates and participant self-reporting.

### **5.7 Areas for Further Studies**

The findings and limitations of this research highlight several avenues for future investigation to deepen the understanding of pastoralism and inform policy in Kajiado and beyond:

- 1. Comparative Studies Across ASAL Counties.** A comparative analysis of pastoralism in other Kenyan ASAL counties (e.g., Marsabit, Turkana) could reveal how varying ecological and governance contexts shape land tenure challenges and adaptation strategies, building on Kajiado's case study to develop a national framework.
- 2. Impact of Digital Technology on Pastoral Resilience.** Given the emerging use of mobile phones and climate apps, a longitudinal study could assess the scalability and long-term impact of digital tools on pastoralist decision-making, trade outcomes, and conflict avoidance, addressing the digital divide noted by Oteros-Rozas et al. (2018).
- 3. Gender and Generational Dynamics in Pastoralism.** The supplementary findings on evolving gender roles and youth disengagement warrant deeper exploration. Future research could examine how women's increasing involvement and the exodus of

younger generations reshape pastoral economies and knowledge systems, informing inclusive policy design.

4. **Economic Valuation of Pastoral Contributions.** Building on Amwata's (2019) estimates, a quantitative study could comprehensively assess pastoralism's economic contributions—beyond meat production—to include ecological services like carbon sequestration and biodiversity, strengthening the case for policy support.

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## APPENDICES

### Questionnaires For Pastoralists

#### 1. Introduction

Name:

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Physical Area situated/ Ward/ Sub County:

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Number of Livestock and types:

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2. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in? Completely all year round nomadic pastoralism, Seasonal pastoralism?
3. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?
4. What dictates movements and where do you move to?
5. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?
6. How does having a pastoralists network help livelihoods?
7. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?
8. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?
9. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?

#### 2. Land tenure

1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?
2. Who owns the land you move on/through?
3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?
4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?
5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?
6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?
7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?
8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?

### **3. Urbanisation**

1. How has urbanisation affected your pastoralism?
2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanisation challenges?
3. As urbanisation increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado
4. Have there been any benefits to urbanisation

### **4. Trade and Markets**

1. How do you profit from your livestock?
2. Where are the markets you trade in?
3. How often do you trade?
4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?
5. Do land tenure and urbanisation challenges affect trade and markets? How?
6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?
7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?

### **5. Relationships with National and County Government**

1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?
2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?
3. Do they manage any urbanisation issues in Kajiado and how?
4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanisation and land policy and law?
5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?
6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?
7. How do they manage any urbanisation issues in Kajiado and how?
8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanisation and land policy and law?

### **6. Support from Community based organisations and other Non-Governmental Organisations**

1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?
2. What kind of support is this?
3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?

## Focus Group Questions For Pastoralists

\*Exploring the consensus and incidences of lack of consensus, commonalities and differences.

### 1. Introduction

Name:

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Physical Area situated/ Ward/ Sub County:

---

Number of Livestock and types:

---

1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in? Completely all year round nomadic pastoralism, Seasonal pastoralism?
2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?
3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?
4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?
5. How does having a pastoralists network help livelihoods?
6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?
7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?
8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?

### 2. Land tenure

1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?
2. Who owns the land you move on/through?
3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?
4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?
5. Where do you get information about land policies and law from?
6. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?
7. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?
8. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?
9. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?

### 3. Urbanisation

1. How has urbanisation affected your pastoralism?
2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanisation challenges?
3. As urbanisation increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?
4. Have there been any benefits to urbanisation?

5. Where do you get information about any new developments/urbanisation and how they will affect you?

#### **4. Trade and Markets**

1. How do you profit from your livestock?
2. Where are the markets you trade in?
3. Where do you get information on trade standards, regulations and policy from?
4. How often do you trade?
5. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?
6. Do land tenure and urbanisation challenges affect trade and markets? How?
7. How do you estimate the demand for your products?
8. How do you envision your trade business in the future?

#### **5. Relationships with National and County Government**

1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?
2. Where do you get policy and legal information from?
3. Does the county address and manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?
4. Does the county address and manage any urbanisation issues in Kajiado and how?
5. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanisation and land policy and law?
6. What are your interactions with County Government officials?
7. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?
8. How do they manage any urbanisation issues in Kajiado and how?
9. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanisation and land policy and law?

#### **6. Support from Community based organisations and other Non-Governmental Organisations**

1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?
2. What kind of support is this?
3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?
4. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR COUNTY OF KAJIADO OFFICIALS

\*Getting as much information as well as County Data from all departments interviewed

#### **Introduction**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

County Position: \_\_\_\_\_

Department: \_\_\_\_\_

1. What is your overview of pastoralism in your county? How do you view it? Dated, sustainable, profitable?
2. What is the future for pastoralism in the County and how is the county managing pastoralist affairs?
3. Have there been any insights, learnings and evolving approaches to pastoralist policies in the County? What has changed if anything?

### **County Department of Lands, Physical Planning and Urban Development**

1. What is the department's approach to pastoralists, how are they viewed by the County Government?
2. How does the county balance the pressures between pastoralism and urbanisation?
3. What is your assessment of the success of land policy in Kajiado? What works well?
4. What are some of the challenges faced by the County government Land department in pastoral issues?
5. How is the nomadic aspect of pastoralism captured in Kajiado Land policy? Challenges and adaptations?
6. How do you work with pastoral networks in Kajiado County?
7. What is the future for pastoralism in Kajiado?
8. What are your thoughts on community zoning?
9. Can this be replicated in other counties?
10. What are the gaps between the County and pastoralists that would be mutually beneficial?

### **County Department of Agriculture, Livestock, Veterinary Services and Fisheries**

1. What is the department's approach to pastoralists, how are they viewed by the County Government?
2. What is your assessment of the success of agricultural, livestock and veterinary policies in Kajiado? What works well?
3. What are some of the challenges faced by the County government agricultural, livestock and veterinary department in pastoral issues?
4. How is the nomadic aspect of pastoralism captured in Kajiado agricultural, livestock and veterinary policy? Challenges and adaptations?
5. How do you work with pastoral networks in Kajiado County?
6. What is the future for pastoralism in Kajiado?
7. What are your thoughts on community zoning?
8. Can this be replicated in other counties?
9. What are the gaps between the County and pastoralists that would be mutually beneficial?

### **County Department of Trade Cooperatives and Enterprise Development**

1. What is the department's approach to pastoralists, how are they viewed by the County Government?
2. How does the county balance the pressures between pastoralism and trade/market requirements?
3. What is your assessment of the success of trade policy in Kajiado? What works well?
4. What are some of the challenges faced by the County government trade department in pastoral issues?
5. How do you work with pastoral networks in Kajiado County?
6. What is the future for pastoralism in Kajiado?
7. What are your thoughts on how pastoralists could better access and thrive in markets and increase their production?
8. Can this be replicated in other counties?
9. What are the gaps between the County and pastoralists that would be mutually beneficial?

## Transcripts of the One-on-one interviews

### INTERVIEW 1

#### 1. Introduction

- **Name:** John Ole Sampai
  - **Physical Area situated/ Ward/ Sub County:** Enkorika Ward, Kajiado Central Sub-County
  - **Number of Livestock and Types:** Approximately 200 livestock, including 150 cattle, 30 goats, and 20 sheep
1. **Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**  
Seasonal pastoralism, where we move during the dry season in search of water and pasture but remain near the homestead during the rainy season.
  2. **How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**  
Over the years, access to grazing land has reduced due to increased urbanization, privatization of land, and changing weather patterns, forcing us to move farther for pasture.
  3. **What dictates movements and where do you move to?**  
Movement is dictated by the availability of pasture and water. During dry seasons, we move toward areas like Namanga and Kilimanjaro, where water points are available.
  4. **How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
Through informal networks using mobile phones, word of mouth at local markets, and community gatherings.
  5. **How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**  
It helps us share information on pasture availability, secure safety during movements, and negotiate grazing agreements.
  6. **How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**  
The use of mobile phones and social media platforms like WhatsApp groups has made communication faster and more efficient, replacing older face-to-face methods.
  7. **What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**  
Poor network coverage in remote areas, limited access to phones for some households, and occasional mistrust between groups.
  8. **What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**  
With improved infrastructure and more affordable technology, these networks will become stronger, enabling better coordination and resource sharing.

#### 2. Land Tenure

1. **Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**  
Traditionally, land is considered communal property, meant for shared use by the community for grazing and water access.
2. **Who owns the land you move on/through?**  
Some land is owned by individual families or group ranches, while other areas are government-owned or open communal grazing lands.
3. **How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**  
By forming agreements with landowners, offering small fees, or exchanging livestock as a token of goodwill.
4. **How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**  
Policies promoting land privatization and subdivision have reduced communal grazing areas, limiting our mobility.
5. **What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**  
Conflicts over land boundaries, reduced access to traditional grazing routes, and increased competition for resources.
6. **What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**  
Policies that protect communal grazing lands, provide clear guidelines on grazing rights, and support rotational grazing practices.
7. **What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**  
Zoning has potential, but it often limits our flexibility to move freely and doesn't fully consider pastoralist needs.
8. **What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**  
Limited access to high-quality grazing land and lack of inclusion in zoning decisions.

### **3. Urbanization**

1. **How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**  
Urbanization has reduced grazing lands and increased competition for water resources, making it harder to sustain large herds.
2. **What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**
  - o **Reducing herd sizes**
  - o **Diversifying into other income-generating activities like trade or casual labor**
  - o **Investing in more resilient livestock breeds**
3. **As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws that balance development with conservation of grazing lands and policies that provide access to affordable water sources.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, it has brought better infrastructure, access to markets, and education opportunities for our children.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

By selling livestock at local markets, supplying milk to nearby towns, and occasionally selling hides and skins.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Markets in Kiserian, Bissil, and Namanga.

**3. How often do you trade?**

At least twice a month, depending on market conditions and herd needs.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

Fluctuating prices, limited market access, and high transport costs.

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, reduced grazing areas lead to lower livestock quality, which affects prices. Urbanization also increases transportation costs.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

By observing market trends and discussing with traders and fellow pastoralists.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

Expanding into value-added products like packaged milk or processed meat to diversify income.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Limited, mostly during meetings or when addressing land conflicts.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

Yes, through land commissions and policies that regulate group ranch subdivisions.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not effectively; urban development often encroaches on grazing lands without consulting pastoralists.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Involve pastoralists in decision-making and ensure a balance between development and preserving grazing lands.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

More frequent, especially during community forums or livestock-related projects.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

By facilitating land-use planning and resolving disputes among communities.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

By zoning and planning, but often without sufficient consultation with pastoralists.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Provide better support for communal grazing rights and include pastoralist representatives in urban planning.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, organizations like World Vision and ILRI provide support.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

Access to water infrastructure, drought resilience programs, and training on sustainable grazing.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- **Improved market access**
- **Grazing land protection policies**
- **More investment in drought mitigation and livestock healthcare**

**INTERVIEW 2**

**1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Gideon Ntaiya
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Namanga Ward, Kajiado South Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 80 livestock, including 50 goats, 20 sheep, and 10 cattle

**1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

Seasonal pastoralism, but I also practice small-scale farming near the homestead during the rainy season.

2. **How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**  
It has become harder due to population growth, urbanization, and changing rainfall patterns, which have reduced grazing areas.
3. **What dictates movements and where do you move to?**  
Movements are dictated by the availability of water and pasture. During the dry season, I move toward Amboseli or the foothills of Mount Kilimanjaro.
4. **How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
I use mobile phones and attend local meetings or barazas where pastoralists gather to share information.
5. **How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**  
It helps us know where resources like pasture and water are available, warn about conflicts or disease outbreaks, and coordinate grazing agreements.
6. **How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**  
Mobile phones and social media apps like WhatsApp have improved communication, but some older pastoralists still rely on traditional word-of-mouth methods.
7. **What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**  
Poor mobile network coverage in remote areas, high cost of airtime, and occasional disputes between communities.
8. **What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**  
I think they will become more reliable and widespread as technology improves, making it easier to coordinate and share information.

## 2. Land Tenure

1. **Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**  
Land is viewed as a communal resource, meant to support the livelihoods of the whole community, not for individual ownership.
2. **Who owns the land you move on/through?**  
Some land is owned by group ranches, while other areas are government reserves or communal grazing lands.
3. **How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**  
We usually seek permission from local leaders or elders, and sometimes we offer livestock as a gesture of goodwill.
4. **How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**  
Policies promoting land subdivision have reduced communal grazing areas and made it harder to access traditional migration routes.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

Increased land conflicts, restricted access to grazing routes, and a lack of clarity on land ownership in some areas.

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that protect communal grazing lands, establish drought reserves, and provide legal recognition for traditional grazing practices.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

It has some benefits, like better land management, but it often limits our flexibility and doesn't always prioritize pastoralist needs.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

Zoning creates competition for limited grazing areas and often excludes us from decision-making processes.

### **3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has led to shrinking grazing lands and increased competition for resources like water, forcing some pastoralists to sell off livestock.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- o **Investing in fewer but more productive livestock**
- o **Starting small businesses in trading centers**
- o **Participating in group ranches to secure land ownership**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws that provide access to shared grazing spaces and regulate land use to ensure pastoralist livelihoods are protected.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, better access to schools, hospitals, and markets for selling livestock.

### **4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

By selling milk and live animals at local markets, and sometimes selling hides and skins.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

I trade in Namanga, Emali, and Kajiado town.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Weekly during the dry season and less frequently when grazing conditions are good.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- o **Unpredictable livestock prices**
- o **Lack of proper infrastructure in markets**
- o **Transport costs to distant markets**

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, they reduce grazing land, which impacts livestock quality, and urban expansion increases the cost of accessing markets.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

By observing market trends, talking to traders, and relying on information from local networks.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

Expanding to include processed livestock products like milk and meat, which can fetch higher prices.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Minimal, mostly during meetings about drought relief or livestock health programs.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

Yes, through the Ministry of Lands and government agencies responsible for group ranches and land disputes.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not directly; urbanization is mostly driven by private developers, with little regulation to protect grazing lands.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Introduce laws to regulate land use and protect communal grazing routes while balancing development needs.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

More frequent than with the national government, especially during livestock vaccination campaigns and community forums.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

By supporting group ranch committees and resolving disputes, though their capacity is limited.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Mostly through zoning plans, but these often fail to include pastoralists in the decision-making process.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Provide more consultation with pastoralist communities and ensure zoning plans allocate sufficient grazing areas.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, from organizations like Kenya Red Cross and SNV.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

Training on livestock health, provision of water tanks, and financial assistance during droughts.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- o Better market access
- o Improved grazing land management
- o Support for value-added livestock products

**INTERVIEW 3**

**1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Peter Saitoti
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Kitengela Ward, Kajiado North Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 40 cattle, 30 goats, and 25 sheep

**1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

Semi-nomadic pastoralism. I stay near Kitengela during the wet season and move toward the Kaputiei plains during the dry season.

**2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

There's less land for grazing because of urban development and land subdivisions. Rainfall is also less predictable, making migration more challenging.

3. **What dictates movements and where do you move to?**  
Availability of pasture and water are the main factors. I also avoid areas where conflicts over land or resources are frequent.
4. **How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
Mobile phones are the main method. I also use community meetings and market days to share updates.
5. **How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**  
Networks are critical for accessing information on grazing areas, water points, and animal health services. They also help during emergencies like droughts.
6. **How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**  
Social media and mobile money services have made coordination and resource-sharing easier, even across long distances.
7. **What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**  
Conflicts over resource access, unreliable phone networks in remote areas, and a lack of support from authorities to formalize networks.
8. **What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**  
They will likely expand and incorporate better technology, like early-warning systems for drought or disease outbreaks.

## 2. Land Tenure

1. **Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**  
Traditionally, land was a shared resource meant for communal use to support grazing. Individual ownership was uncommon.
2. **Who owns the land you move on/through?**  
Some of it is private land that has been subdivided, while other areas belong to group ranches or are government reserves.
3. **How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**  
I rely on agreements with landowners or elders. Sometimes, I offer small payments or help with tasks like herding their livestock.
4. **How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**  
Policies promoting private land ownership have reduced communal grazing lands and complicated migration routes.
5. **What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**
  - o **Loss of migration routes due to land fencing**
  - o **Increased land disputes**
  - o **Inadequate enforcement of laws that protect grazing rights**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that preserve grazing corridors, promote communal land management, and regulate land subdivision.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

Zoning can help reduce conflicts, but it often ignores the needs of pastoralists and prioritizes urban expansion.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- o **Limited grazing areas**
- o **Poor implementation of zoning plans**
- o **Lack of involvement in zoning decisions**

**3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has reduced grazing lands, increased competition for water, and forced some pastoralists to adopt other livelihoods.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- o **Keeping fewer but more productive livestock**
- o **Diversifying income through small businesses or casual labor**
- o **Participating in cooperative groups to access resources**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws that reserve specific areas for grazing and ensure water access for both urban and rural communities.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, better access to markets, schools, and health services, though these benefits are not evenly distributed.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell milk, meat, and live animals at local markets. Occasionally, I also sell manure for farming.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Kitengela, Isinya, and Emali markets are the main ones.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Every two weeks, depending on the season and market demand.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- o **Low and fluctuating prices for livestock**
- o **Lack of cold storage for perishable products like milk**
- o **High transport costs**

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, urbanization has increased competition for space in markets, while land subdivision has made it harder to move livestock to trading areas.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

By observing trends in market attendance and talking to traders about what customers are buying.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

Expanding to include value-added products, like cheese or processed meat, to reach more urban customers.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Limited, but I occasionally attend forums on drought management or livestock health initiatives.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

Yes, through land registration and settlement programs, though these sometimes create more conflicts.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not effectively. Urban planning is often left to private developers, and pastoralists are not consulted.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Protect communal grazing lands and provide clear guidelines on land use to avoid conflicts.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

More frequent, especially for issues like vaccination campaigns and drought relief programs.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

By supporting group ranches and resolving disputes, but they lack the capacity to enforce agreements consistently.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

They focus on zoning plans but rarely address the impact of urban growth on pastoralists.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Involve pastoralists in decision-making and allocate funds to protect grazing lands.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, I receive support from organizations like World Vision and SNV.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

Provision of water tanks, training on livestock health, and financial grants during droughts.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- Affordable veterinary services
- Support for pasture improvement and water harvesting
- Assistance in accessing better markets

**INTERVIEW 4**

**1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Naanyu Leshao
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Namanga Ward, Kajiado Central Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 60 cattle, 50 goats, and 40 sheep

**1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

I practice seasonal pastoralism. We move during the dry season to areas with better grazing and return during the wet season.

**2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

Increased land privatization and urban sprawl have limited grazing areas. The weather has also become less predictable, forcing us to move further for pasture.

**3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**

The availability of pasture and water is the primary factor. During dry seasons, we head toward the Loitokitok region, where grazing is usually better.

- 4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
We rely on mobile phones and in-person meetings during market days or community gatherings.
- 5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**  
Networks help us share critical information about grazing areas, water points, and disease outbreaks. They also provide mutual support during crises.
- 6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**  
Mobile technology has made it easier to coordinate movements and share updates, but traditional methods like word of mouth are still used.
- 7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**  
Poor mobile network coverage in remote areas, conflicts over resources, and a lack of formal recognition or support from authorities.
- 8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**  
They will likely rely more on digital platforms, but traditional structures like elders' councils will remain important for conflict resolution.

## **2. Land Tenure**

- 1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**  
Traditionally, land was communal and shared by all. Now, individual ownership is becoming more common, which creates challenges for pastoralists.
- 2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**  
Some land is owned by group ranches, while other areas belong to private individuals. We also pass through government-protected areas occasionally.
- 3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**  
We negotiate with landowners, offering tokens of appreciation or temporary services, such as herding their livestock.
- 4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**  
Policies promoting land subdivision have reduced communal grazing areas, and some laws are unclear about access to water points.
- 5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**
  - **Limited access to grazing corridors**
  - **Increased disputes with private landowners**
  - **Inadequate enforcement of grazing rights**
- 6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**  
Policies that protect grazing lands, establish clear migration routes, and promote community land ownership.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

They can be useful if pastoralists are included in the planning process. Otherwise, they often favor urban development at our expense.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- o **Lack of consideration for migratory routes**
- o **Conflicts with other land users**
- o **Reduced access to critical resources like water points**

**3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has reduced grazing lands and increased conflicts over water and land resources. Livestock migration has also become more difficult due to fenced properties.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- o **Reducing the size of livestock herds**
- o **Focusing on quality over quantity, such as keeping high-yield breeds**
- o **Diversifying income through small businesses or crop farming**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws that reserve grazing corridors, regulate land subdivision, and provide access to water resources for both urban and rural communities.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, we now have better access to markets, schools, and healthcare facilities. However, these benefits do not outweigh the challenges.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell live animals, milk, and hides. During festivals, demand for livestock is higher, which brings in more income.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Namanga, Kajiado town, and occasionally Nairobi markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Once a month on average, but more frequently during the dry season when we need additional income for water and feed.

4. **What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**
  - o **Low prices during periods of oversupply**
  - o **High transportation costs to reach larger markets**
  - o **Exploitation by middlemen**
5. **Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**  
Yes, they limit access to markets and increase the cost of moving livestock. Urban expansion also reduces the spaces available for trading livestock.
6. **How do you estimate the demand for your products?**  
By observing seasonal trends and talking to buyers and traders in the market.
7. **How do you envision your trade business in the future?**  
Expanding to include more value-added products like processed milk and leather goods.

## **5. Relationships with National and County Government**

1. **What are your interactions with National Government officials?**  
Mostly during vaccination campaigns or drought relief efforts.
2. **Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**  
They have policies for land management, but enforcement is weak, especially for grazing rights.
3. **Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
Their focus is mainly on urban planning, which often sidelines pastoralists' needs.
4. **What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**  
Create policies that balance urban development with the preservation of grazing lands and ensure pastoralists are consulted.
5. **What are your interactions with County Government officials?**  
More frequent than with the National Government. They help with vaccination programs and sometimes mediate land disputes.
6. **How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**  
By supporting group ranches and providing land-use planning advice, though implementation is inconsistent.
7. **How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
They focus on zoning plans but rarely consider the impact on pastoralist livelihoods.
8. **What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Increase support for grazing corridors and involve pastoralists in urban planning processes.

## **6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

- 1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**  
Yes, organizations like ILRI and Oxfam provide assistance.
- 2. What kind of support is this?**  
Veterinary services, training on sustainable grazing practices, and water point rehabilitation.
- 3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**
  - o **Better access to markets**
  - o **More boreholes for water**
  - o **Training on modern livestock practices**

## **INTERVIEW 5**

### **Introduction**

- **Name:** Joseph T. Ole Salaton
  - **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Ilmarba Ward, Kajiado South Sub-County
  - **Number of Livestock and Types:** 45 cattle, 70 goats, and 20 donkeys
- 1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**  
I practice semi-nomadic pastoralism. We move livestock seasonally based on grazing and water availability but maintain a home base in Ilmarba.
  - 2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**  
Climate change has made the seasons unpredictable, reducing the availability of pasture. Fencing and land subdivision have made traditional migration routes inaccessible, forcing us to find alternative grazing lands.
  - 3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**  
Availability of pasture, water, and the condition of livestock markets. We often move toward the Amboseli area during dry seasons but avoid areas with conflicts over resources.
  - 4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
Mobile phones are our main communication tool now. We also share information during market days or through community elders.

**5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**

It helps us coordinate movements, access shared resources, and get advice on managing challenges like droughts or disease outbreaks.

**6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**

Technology has played a big role. Mobile money and messaging platforms have made it easier to share information and support each other financially during crises.

**7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

Poor infrastructure, lack of network coverage in remote areas, and occasional misinformation or conflicts between different groups.

**8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

They will continue to evolve with technology, but we also need formal recognition and support from the government to strengthen these networks.

## **2. Land Tenure**

**1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Traditionally, land was seen as communal property, meant for the benefit of everyone. It was used for grazing, water access, and ceremonies.

**2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Some areas are owned by group ranches, while others belong to private individuals or are government lands.

**3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

Negotiations are often done through elders or local leaders. Sometimes we pay fees or assist with work like herding or water fetching.

**4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Land subdivision policies have significantly reduced grazing areas. In some cases, access to communal land has been restricted due to unclear boundaries.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- **Loss of communal grazing lands**
- **Conflicts with private landowners**
- **High costs of leasing grazing areas during droughts**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that protect communal grazing corridors, regulate land sales, and prioritize pastoralist needs in land-use planning.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

They are good in theory but often implemented without consulting us. This leads to zoning plans that disrupt traditional grazing patterns.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- **Inflexible boundaries that don't account for seasonal migrations**
- **Increased competition for limited resources**
- **Lack of government enforcement of zoning regulations**

**3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has taken over grazing lands and introduced new challenges like conflicts with urban settlers. It has also increased the cost of accessing water and other resources.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- **Keeping smaller, more productive herds**
- **Diversifying income through small businesses like charcoal sales**
- **Building partnerships with urban centers for market access**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws to preserve grazing lands near urban areas, ensure affordable access to water, and protect pastoralist rights during urban planning.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, access to better markets, schools, and healthcare facilities has improved our quality of life in some ways.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell milk, meat, and live animals. Occasionally, I sell hides and skins for extra income.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

I trade at Emali, Kajiado town, and Ilbisil markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

I trade monthly, but during droughts, I trade more frequently to sustain my family's needs.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- **Unpredictable market prices**

- o **Exploitation by middlemen**
  - o **Poor infrastructure, such as bad roads to markets**
5. **Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**  
Yes, reduced grazing areas lower livestock quality, and urban expansion limits access to traditional trading centers.
  6. **How do you estimate the demand for your products?**  
By observing market trends, such as increased demand during festive seasons and cultural ceremonies.
  7. **How do you envision your trade business in the future?**  
I hope to expand into selling processed products like yogurt and leather goods.

## **5. Relationships with National and County Government**

1. **What are your interactions with National Government officials?**  
I interact with them during vaccination campaigns and drought-relief initiatives.
2. **Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**  
They establish grazing reserves but don't enforce policies consistently, leaving pastoralists to resolve disputes themselves.
3. **Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
Not effectively. Urban planning often ignores pastoralist concerns.
4. **What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**  
Include pastoralists in decision-making processes and develop policies that balance urban growth with pastoralist livelihoods.
5. **What are your interactions with County Government officials?**  
I meet with them during livestock vaccination drives and when resolving community land disputes.
6. **How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**  
They provide some support for grazing land preservation but often focus more on urban development projects.
7. **How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
By zoning areas for urban use, but they rarely consider the needs of pastoralists.
8. **What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**  
Protect grazing corridors and allocate resources to pastoralist-friendly infrastructure like water points.

## **6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

### **1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, I get support from organizations like World Vision and the Kenya Livestock Marketing Council.

### **2. What kind of support is this?**

They provide veterinary services, training on climate-resilient practices, and assistance during droughts.

### **3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- **Access to affordable animal feed**
- **More boreholes for water**
- **Training on modern livestock rearing techniques**

## **INTERVIEW 6**

### **1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Naipanoi N. Ole Merian
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Ewaso Ward, Kajiado Central Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 120 sheep, 50 goats, 30 cows, and 5 camels

#### **1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

I practice seasonal transhumance pastoralism. We move to different grazing areas during the dry season but return to our home area when the rains come.

#### **2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

Over the past two decades, grazing has become more challenging. Droughts are harsher and last longer, while competition for grazing land has intensified due to population growth and land subdivision.

#### **3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**

Rain patterns, availability of water and pasture, and conflict levels in neighboring areas dictate our movements. During dry seasons, we often move toward the hills near Kajiado Central or cross over to Tanzania for better grazing.

#### **4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**

Through local barazas (community meetings) and mobile phones. Social media platforms like WhatsApp are also becoming useful for sharing information about pasture and water availability.

#### **5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**

The network allows us to share critical information, like safe routes, grazing

opportunities, and even market trends. It also provides social support during crises like droughts or livestock diseases.

**6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**

The use of mobile phones and online platforms has transformed how we communicate. We no longer have to rely solely on word of mouth or physical meetings.

**7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

- o **Inconsistent mobile network coverage in remote areas**
- o **Lack of trust between different groups**
- o **Limited access to affordable communication tools for some families**

**8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

I think they will become even more digital, perhaps incorporating advanced technologies like satellite imagery for tracking grazing conditions.

## **2. Land Tenure**

**1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Traditionally, land was communal, and everyone had access to grazing areas. It was not seen as something to own but something to share.

**2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Some of it is still communal, while other parts are privately owned. In some cases, we pass through government lands, especially forest reserves.

**3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

We negotiate with the owners, often through elders. Sometimes we pay in kind, like providing milk or labor, to secure access.

**4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Subdivision of group ranches has limited access to grazing corridors. Policies encouraging private ownership are slowly eroding our traditional way of life.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- o **Loss of communal grazing areas**
- o **Increased conflicts over land ownership**
- o **Limited access to water points due to privatization**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

- o **Protection of communal grazing corridors**
- o **Incentives for maintaining open grazing lands**

- **Policies that prevent land grabbing**
- 7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**  
They could work if they were designed with pastoralists' input, but right now, they feel imposed and don't reflect our needs.
  - 8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**
    - **Reduced mobility**
    - **Conflicts between pastoralists and farmers over zoned lands**
    - **Poor enforcement of agreed zoning rules**

### **3. Urbanization**

- 1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**  
Urban centers have encroached on grazing lands, making it harder to find pasture. Water sources are also being diverted to towns, leaving less for livestock.
- 2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**
  - **Keeping smaller herds of more resilient breeds**
  - **Investing in water storage systems**
  - **Diversifying income through small businesses like beadwork or charcoal sales**
- 3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**  
Policies that ensure pastoralists have access to shared resources like water points and grazing lands, even in urban areas.
- 4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**  
Yes, access to better markets and healthcare has improved, and some of us have found opportunities to educate our children in urban schools.

### **4. Trade and Markets**

- 1. How do you profit from your livestock?**  
I sell live animals, milk, and occasionally sheep wool. During droughts, I also sell charcoal to supplement my income.
- 2. Where are the markets you trade in?**  
I trade in Namanga, Bissil, and occasionally cross over to Longido in Tanzania.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Usually once every two weeks, but more frequently during festive seasons when demand is higher.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- o **Fluctuating prices**
- o **High transport costs**
- o **Limited access to larger, more profitable markets**

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, reduced grazing lands lower livestock quality, making them less valuable in the market. Urbanization has also increased competition for nearby trading spaces.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

By observing market patterns, listening to brokers, and relying on information from pastoralist networks.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

I plan to invest in value addition, like selling processed milk or hides, to earn higher profits.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Mostly during vaccination drives and drought-relief distributions.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

They occasionally intervene in disputes, but their presence is minimal.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not much. Urban planning often ignores the needs of pastoralists.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Focus on balancing urban development with pastoralist needs and protect grazing corridors.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

I work with them during market days and when accessing veterinary services.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

They attempt to mediate disputes, but their efforts are often slow and inefficient.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

By zoning areas, but they rarely enforce the regulations effectively.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Improve enforcement of zoning policies and consult pastoralists before making decisions.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, I receive support from the African Wildlife Foundation and the Pastoralists Alliance of Kenya.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

They provide drought-relief supplies, veterinary services, and training on sustainable grazing practices.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- Affordable livestock insurance
- Boreholes and water reservoirs
- More government recognition of our role in the economy

**INTERVIEW 7**

**1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Loiptip S. Enkong'u
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Imbirikani Ward, Kajiado South Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 80 cattle, 60 goats, 40 sheep, and 3 donkeys

**1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

We practice all-year-round nomadic pastoralism. My family relies heavily on constant movement to sustain our herds and avoid overgrazing.

**2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

The changes have been dramatic. There is less land for grazing due to increasing land privatization and conservation areas. In the past, the grass would last through most of the year, but now we face longer dry spells and conflicts with other communities.

**3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**

We are guided by water availability and the condition of pastures. Sometimes, we head toward Amboseli National Park, but access there is restricted, so we avoid it unless necessary.

**4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**

Face-to-face interactions during grazing and barazas remain common, but I also use radio announcements and mobile phone calls to coordinate movements.

**5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**

It allows us to share critical information, trade livestock, and even collaborate during times of crisis like droughts.

**6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**

The networks are now more dependent on mobile technology. For example, people use apps to find grazing lands and livestock prices in nearby markets.

**7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

- o **Misinformation shared through unverified sources**
- o **Limited access to mobile devices in some households**
- o **Language barriers between communities**

**8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

They will likely grow stronger with more technology, but we must ensure everyone has equal access to these tools.

**2. Land Tenure**

**1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Land is our lifeline. Traditionally, it was communal, meant for grazing and water access, and no one claimed exclusive ownership.

**2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Some parts are still communal, but more and more areas are now privately owned. Conservation zones are another challenge because they restrict grazing.

**3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

Negotiations are done through elders. We offer tokens of appreciation like livestock or milk to gain access temporarily.

**4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Policies have made land use more complicated. The subdivision of group ranches and the creation of conservation areas have significantly reduced our grazing options.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- o **Reduced grazing land**
- o **Increased land disputes**
- o **Lack of consultation before land use policies are implemented**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that encourage communal grazing land preservation and ensure pastoralists are part of decision-making processes.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

I think they are more suited to farmers than pastoralists. They reduce our mobility and ignore our grazing cycles.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- o **Loss of access to traditional grazing areas**
- o **Increased conflicts with other land users**
- o **Bureaucracy in accessing zoned lands**

**3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has reduced the size of grazing areas and diverted water sources for human use. It's also brought more competition for resources.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- o **Keeping smaller, drought-resistant herds**
- o **Leasing grazing land in areas further from urban centers**
- o **Diversifying income sources through businesses like boda boda riding or running small shops**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws to protect pastoralist corridors and provide alternative water sources for livestock.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, we now have better access to schools for our children and markets for our livestock.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell live animals, milk, and skins. During festive seasons, there is also high demand for goats.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Namanga, Kimana, and Oloitokitok markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Once a week, but during peak seasons, I go to the market more often.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- o Unpredictable prices
- o Poor infrastructure, making transportation expensive
- o Brokers who exploit pastoralists by offering low prices

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, as grazing land decreases, our animals are weaker and fetch lower prices. Urbanization also increases the cost of transporting livestock to distant markets.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

I monitor demand by observing market trends and relying on feedback from middlemen.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

I want to start a meat-processing business to add value and earn more profit.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Mostly through livestock vaccination programs and drought-relief aid.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

They are involved in land disputes and creating policies, but their presence is often minimal in rural areas.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not effectively. Urban planning rarely considers pastoralist needs.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Involve pastoralists in policymaking and ensure urban development does not encroach on grazing land.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

I engage with them during market days and water resource management meetings.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

They try to mediate disputes but often lack the resources or capacity to implement sustainable solutions.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

They attempt to enforce zoning policies but often fail due to corruption and poor planning.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Create flexible zoning plans that accommodate pastoralist mobility and protect grazing corridors.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, from organizations like World Vision and the Kenya Red Cross.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

They provide drought-relief food, water tanks, and veterinary services.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- o **Training on modern grazing techniques**
- o **Affordable microloans for pastoralists**
- o **Improved infrastructure like roads and water points**

INTERVIEW 8

**1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Eunoto Ole Kenta
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Oloosirkon/Sholinke Ward, Kajiado East Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 120 goats, 80 sheep, and 25 cattle

**1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

Seasonal pastoralism. We move depending on weather patterns, typically to avoid drought-stricken areas during the dry season.

**2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

It has become harder to sustain. The weather is less predictable, and grazing land has shrunk because of fencing and land sales.

**3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**

Movements are dictated by rainfall patterns and the availability of water points. We often move toward the Kaputiei plains or occasionally into Maasai Mara during droughts.

**4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**

Traditionally, we used word of mouth and messengers, but now mobile phones and WhatsApp groups have become essential tools.

**5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**

It helps in resource sharing, conflict resolution, and coordinating herd movements to avoid overgrazing.

**6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**

They are now faster and more organized due to technology. Information about grazing areas or markets spreads much quicker than before.

**7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

- **Mistrust between clans or groups**
- **Inaccessibility of mobile networks in remote areas**
- **Lack of coordination with government institutions**

**8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

The networks will grow stronger if they integrate modern tools like GIS mapping and collaborate more with development partners.

## **2. Land Tenure**

**1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Land is seen as communal and sacred. It belongs to everyone, not just one person.

**2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Much of it is still community-owned, but some parcels are now privately owned or leased to conservancies.

**3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

We approach the landowners with elders. Sometimes, we offer payment in the form of livestock or labor for temporary access.

**4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Policies have restricted access to traditional grazing areas. Land subdivision has disrupted migration routes, and laws favor private ownership.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- **Difficulty in accessing communal grazing lands**
- **Increased land disputes and boundary conflicts**
- **Lack of consultation with pastoralists during policymaking**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that protect communal lands, designate migration corridors, and provide financial support during droughts.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

They are not practical for pastoralists because they don't align with our seasonal grazing needs.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- o **Restricted movement**
- o **Increased competition for resources**
- o **Conflicts with landowners or farmers**

**3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

Urbanization has brought fencing and restricted access to grazing lands and water points. It has also increased conflicts between pastoralists and land developers.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- o **Diversifying income by selling milk or opening small businesses**
- o **Leasing grazing land further away from urban centers**
- o **Reducing herd sizes to match available resources**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws protecting migratory corridors and water access, and policies that balance urban development with pastoralist needs.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, we now have better access to health facilities, schools for children, and livestock markets.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell livestock at the market, and during droughts, I sell hay to other pastoralists. Milk sales also contribute to my income.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Kiserian, Isinya, and Kitengela markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Every two weeks, unless there's an urgent need like school fees or medical bills.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- o **Fluctuating prices due to oversupply during droughts**
  - o **Exploitation by brokers**
  - o **Poor market infrastructure**
5. **Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**  
Yes, urbanization increases transportation costs, and land tenure issues reduce the quality and quantity of livestock for sale.
  6. **How do you estimate the demand for your products?**  
By observing trends during specific seasons like weddings or religious holidays.
  7. **How do you envision your trade business in the future?**  
I plan to partner with cooperatives to access larger markets and better prices.

## **5. Relationships with National and County Government**

1. **What are your interactions with National Government officials?**  
Mainly through livestock vaccination drives and food relief programs.
2. **Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**  
Yes, but their involvement is limited. They focus more on resolving disputes rather than preventing them.
3. **Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
No, urban development is largely left to private developers with minimal government oversight.
4. **What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**  
Involve pastoralist leaders in drafting policies and ensure fair allocation of resources for grazing.
5. **What are your interactions with County Government officials?**  
The county helps with infrastructure development, but their efforts often don't prioritize pastoralists.
6. **How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**  
They mediate disputes but don't address long-term issues like land grabbing or zoning conflicts.
7. **How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**  
Poorly. They allow unregulated development that harms grazing lands.
8. **What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**  
Focus on sustainable urban planning that includes grazing corridors and water points.

## 6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs

1. **Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**  
Yes, from AMREF and the African Wildlife Foundation.
2. **What kind of support is this?**  
They provide boreholes, veterinary services, and grazing rights negotiation support.
3. **What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**
  - o **More advocacy for pastoralist-friendly policies**
  - o **Investment in drought-resistant fodder programs**
  - o **Training on livestock value addition**

## INTERVIEW 9

### 1. Introduction

- **Name:** Namelok Ene Lesinko
  - **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Entonet Ward, Kajiado South Sub-County
  - **Number of Livestock and Types:** 60 cattle, 40 sheep, and 35 goats
1. **Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**  
I practice a hybrid model. My family keeps livestock but also grows fodder crops on a small piece of land to reduce dependence on migration.
  2. **How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**  
There has been a shift from large herds to smaller, more manageable ones. More families are experimenting with mixed livelihoods, including small-scale farming.
  3. **What dictates movements and where do you move to?**  
Movements are guided by the availability of water and pasture. In drought seasons, we move toward Amboseli National Park areas or along seasonal rivers.
  4. **How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**  
Through family networks, local chiefs, and more recently, village WhatsApp groups.
  5. **How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**  
It provides critical information about grazing spots, markets, and security issues. It also strengthens our bargaining power when negotiating access to resources.
  6. **How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**  
Traditional networks have merged with digital tools. Women and youth are now more active in these networks, which has introduced new perspectives.

**7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

- **Weak representation in decision-making bodies**
- **High costs of mobile data in remote areas**
- **Language barriers for older members unfamiliar with technology**

**8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

They need to evolve to include digital mapping of grazing routes and better coordination with government land management systems.

**2. Land Tenure**

**1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Land is a shared inheritance that belongs to the community. It's considered sacred and integral to our identity.

**2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Most of it is community land, but some sections are leased or owned by private individuals.

**3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

We rely on clan elders to negotiate on our behalf. Sometimes, we offer milk or livestock in exchange for temporary access.

**4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Subdivision and privatization policies have limited our grazing options and made access more expensive.

**5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- **Rising land conflicts due to unclear boundaries**
- **Limited participation in land-related decision-making**
- **Difficulty accessing communal grazing reserves**

**6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that recognize communal land ownership and provide legal protections for migration routes.

**7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

They disrupt traditional grazing patterns and favor sedentary lifestyles, which don't work for pastoralists.

**8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- **Loss of critical grazing corridors**
- **Increased resource competition**

- **Bureaucratic processes that exclude pastoralist voices**

### **3. Urbanization**

**1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

It has fragmented grazing lands and made water sources less accessible. Urban centers also bring conflicts between herders and urban dwellers.

**2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- **Keeping smaller herds**
- **Investing in water tanks and boreholes**
- **Exploring new markets within urban centers**

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that protect grazing lands and ensure pastoralists are included in urban planning processes.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, better access to veterinary services, schools, and trade opportunities.

### **4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

I sell milk locally and occasionally sell livestock during festivals or market days.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

Kimana and Emali livestock markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

Once a month unless there's an urgent need.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- **Middlemen driving down prices**
- **Lack of proper weighing systems to determine livestock value**
- **Poor road infrastructure to markets**

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, they increase the cost of transportation and limit market access during droughts.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

Through feedback from regular customers and observing market trends during specific seasons.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

I plan to focus more on milk processing and packaging to target urban consumers.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Minimal, but they occasionally assist with livestock vaccinations and drought relief.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

Not effectively. Their focus seems to be on commercial land projects rather than pastoralist needs.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

They leave it mostly to county governments, who also lack clear policies.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Protect grazing corridors and consult pastoralists when drafting land laws.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

More frequent, especially during vaccination drives or when resolving land disputes.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

By holding public forums, but these often exclude remote communities.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Poorly. They tend to favor private developers over pastoralist communities.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Include pastoralists in urban planning and ensure equitable access to resources.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, from Kenya Red Cross and World Vision.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

They provide water tanks, drought-resistant seeds, and training on sustainable grazing practices.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- **Long-term solutions like irrigation schemes**
- **Access to affordable veterinary care**
- **Better representation in policy discussions**

## **INTERVIEW 10**

### **1. Introduction**

- **Name:** Parsimei Ole Kuntai
- **Physical Area Situated/Ward/Sub-County:** Ilmarba Ward, Kajiado Central Sub-County
- **Number of Livestock and Types:** 45 cattle, 55 goats, and 30 sheep

#### **1. Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in:**

I practice mobile pastoralism. My family moves seasonally to access better grazing lands, but we also invest in water harvesting to support the livestock during dry spells.

#### **2. How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?**

More pastoralists are adopting water storage techniques and keeping fewer animals. We also now supplement livestock feed with purchased hay during prolonged droughts.

#### **3. What dictates movements and where do you move to?**

Movement depends on the rainfall patterns. During the dry season, we move toward the Ngong Hills or the Loitokitok region, where water points and pasture are more reliable.

#### **4. How do you communicate with other pastoralists?**

We use traditional gatherings like community meetings, and increasingly, mobile phones to exchange information about grazing conditions and market prices.

#### **5. How does having a pastoralist network help livelihoods?**

It allows us to share critical resources, coordinate grazing patterns, and receive early warnings about drought or disease outbreaks.

#### **6. How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?**

More young people are involved, bringing new technology like satellite weather tracking. This helps us plan movements more effectively.

#### **7. What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?**

- Limited internet coverage in remote areas
- Older generations struggle with using digital tools
- Inconsistent government support for community initiatives

#### **8. What is the future for the pastoralist communication networks?**

They need to integrate better weather prediction tools and develop community-based platforms for sharing grazing data in real-time.

## **2. Land Tenure**

### **1. Describe your relationship to land? What is the traditional concept of land?**

Land is communal and regarded as a gift passed through generations. It is shared by everyone and forms the core of our pastoral identity.

### **2. Who owns the land you move on/through?**

Most of it is still under communal ownership, but private enclosures are becoming more common, restricting free movement.

### **3. How do you negotiate passage through lands you do not own?**

We rely on mutual agreements through elders and sometimes offer livestock products like milk as a gesture of goodwill.

### **4. How have the various policies and laws affected your access to land?**

Land subdivision laws have reduced available grazing areas. There is also a lack of legal recognition for migratory grazing routes.

### **5. What challenges do you face caused by land policies and laws?**

- Reduced access to water points
- Increased disputes with private landowners
- Bureaucratic challenges in recognizing communal claims

### **6. What policies would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Policies that secure communal grazing rights and formalize traditional access routes.

### **7. What do you think of the new community zoning techniques?**

They limit mobility and disrupt centuries-old migration practices, which makes it harder to sustain large herds.

### **8. What challenges are faced by pastoralists under community zoning?**

- Fragmented grazing areas
- Increased competition for resources
- Lack of consultation with pastoral communities

## **3. Urbanization**

### **1. How has urbanization affected your pastoralism?**

It has caused the loss of grazing areas and created conflicts between herders and urban developers. Water points near urban areas are often overused.

### **2. What are the adaptation mechanisms used to address urbanization challenges?**

- Rotational grazing to protect pasture

- Diversifying income through small-scale trading
- Establishing community water reservoirs

**3. As urbanization increases, what policy and laws would help pastoralists in Kajiado?**

Laws that safeguard traditional grazing corridors and ensure pastoralists are included in urban planning.

**4. Have there been any benefits to urbanization?**

Yes, it has improved access to healthcare, better education for our children, and new trading opportunities.

**4. Trade and Markets**

**1. How do you profit from your livestock?**

We sell goats during festive seasons and produce milk for local distribution. Occasionally, we sell hides and skins.

**2. Where are the markets you trade in?**

We trade in Kajiado town and Isinya livestock markets.

**3. How often do you trade?**

We trade every two months or as needed to cover family expenses.

**4. What are the challenges within the trade and markets?**

- Unpredictable livestock prices
- Limited market access during rainy seasons
- Exploitative middlemen

**5. Do land tenure and urbanization challenges affect trade and markets? How?**

Yes, they reduce the areas where we can graze livestock, increasing production costs and reducing market supply during dry seasons.

**6. How do you estimate the demand for your products?**

We monitor sales trends during holidays and gather insights from livestock traders in our networks.

**7. How do you envision your trade business in the future?**

I plan to establish direct partnerships with urban butcheries and expand into producing value-added dairy products.

**5. Relationships with National and County Government**

**1. What are your interactions with National Government officials?**

Occasionally, they organize vaccination drives and provide emergency livestock feed during droughts.

**2. Do they manage any land issues in Kajiado and how?**

Their involvement is limited, and they prioritize commercial land development over pastoral concerns.

**3. Do they manage any urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

County governments handle most urbanization issues, but decisions rarely reflect pastoralists' needs.

**4. What would you recommend to the National Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Recognize and protect migratory routes and engage pastoralists in the decision-making process.

**5. What are your interactions with County Government officials?**

We engage with them during community forums on grazing and water rights, but our views are not always prioritized.

**6. How do they manage any land issues in Kajiado?**

They consult with communities but often side with private developers.

**7. How do they manage urbanization issues in Kajiado and how?**

Poorly. Urban expansion is prioritized over protecting grazing areas.

**8. What would you recommend to the County Government on urbanization and land policy and law?**

Create joint committees with pastoralist leaders to oversee land-use planning.

**6. Support from Community-Based Organizations and NGOs**

**1. Do you get any support from any CSO or NGO?**

Yes, from AMREF and the Indigenous Livelihoods Network.

**2. What kind of support is this?**

They provide veterinary services, drought relief, and support for women's cooperative initiatives.

**3. What more would you require to enhance pastoralism in Kajiado?**

- Better infrastructure for accessing remote grazing areas
- More inclusive land policy discussions
- Technical training on sustainable livestock management

## FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION - 10 PARTICIPANTS

### Introduction

#### Participant 1

Name: Musa Ole Ntimama

Physical Area: Kajiado Central, Olooloitikosh Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 120 cattle, 80 goats, 50 sheep

#### Participant 2

Name: Amina Naserian

Physical Area: Kajiado North, Ngong Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 200 goats, 40 cattle, 15 donkeys

#### Participant 3

Name: Saitoti Lempus

Physical Area: Kajiado East, Kiserian Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 50 cattle, 30 goats, 25 sheep

#### Participant 4

Name: Eunice Lempus

Physical Area: Kajiado South, Namanga Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 150 cattle, 100 sheep, 50 goats

#### Participant 5

Name: Mose Ole Karei

Physical Area: Kajiado West, Magadi Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 100 goats, 120 cattle, 60 sheep

#### Participant 6

Name: Maria Ntimama

Physical Area: Kajiado Central, Isinya Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 90 cattle, 70 goats, 30 sheep

#### Participant 7

Name: Daniel Ololchani

Physical Area: Kajiado North, Kiserian Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 150 cattle, 40 goats

#### Participant 8

Name: Joseph Lempus

Physical Area: Kajiado East, Oloosirkon Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 200 sheep, 100 cattle, 50 goats

Participant 9

Name: Mercy Ole Tena

Physical Area: Kajiado South, Kitengela Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 80 goats, 40 cattle, 60 sheep

Participant 10

Name: Peter Ole Sirma

Physical Area: Kajiado West, Olkeri Sub-County

Number of Livestock: 250 cattle, 100 sheep, 30 goats

### 1. Pastoralism: Type and Changes Over Time

Describe what kind of pastoralism you engage in? Completely all year round nomadic pastoralism, seasonal pastoralism?

Musa Ole Ntimama: I engage in seasonal pastoralism. We move based on seasonal rains and the availability of grazing land.

Amina Naserian: I also practice seasonal pastoralism. We move during dry periods to areas where water and pasture are available.

Saitoti Lempus: I do nomadic pastoralism, moving all year round to find the best grazing areas for my cattle.

Eunice Lempus: We have shifted to more semi-sedentary pastoralism in recent years due to the shrinking grazing land.

Mose Ole Karei: I also do seasonal pastoralism, moving based on the rains. But it's becoming more difficult due to land fragmentation.

Maria Ntimama: I practice seasonal pastoralism. The land is less available, so we have to plan our movements more carefully.

Daniel Ololchani: I follow a combination of seasonal and nomadic patterns depending on water availability and grazing needs.

Joseph Lempus: We are semi-nomadic. The shift to settled life has been influenced by urbanization around us.

Mercy Ole Tena: I practice seasonal pastoralism, but I feel we are gradually being forced into sedentary living due to the expansion of urban areas.

Peter Ole Sirma: I still practice nomadic pastoralism, though I can see it becoming harder as the land around me gets subdivided.

How has this way of life changed over the years in Kajiado?

Musa Ole Ntimama: In the past, we could move freely without worrying about land ownership, but now the situation has changed. Land is being fenced, and we can't graze as we used to.

Amina Naserian: The biggest change is the loss of grazing land. We have less space to move, and it's difficult to find water during droughts.

Saitoti Lempus: Land fragmentation has affected our traditional nomadic life. It's now harder to find enough grazing areas for the cattle.

Eunice Lempus: We now have to negotiate more with landowners to pass through their land, which has made pastoralism much more difficult.

Mose Ole Karei: Increased urbanization has cut us off from our traditional grazing routes, and there's a lot of conflict with new settlers.

Maria Ntimama: We used to move across vast areas, but now we are confined to small parcels of land due to population pressure.

Daniel Ololchani: More families are now settling in areas that used to be grazing land, making it harder for us to find resources for our livestock.

Joseph Lempus: Urban growth around areas like Kitengela has affected our pastoral routes. It's difficult to find open spaces for grazing anymore.

Mercy Ole Tena: There's been a big reduction in the size of communal land, and this has forced us to change how we move and manage our livestock.

Peter Ole Sirma: We've had to adapt to the changing land ownership system. It's becoming harder to access grazing land that was once communal.

What dictates movements and where do you move to?

Musa Ole Ntimama: The availability of water and pasture during the dry seasons dictate where we move.

Amina Naserian: We move based on where the rains have fallen and where there is enough grazing land for our animals.

Saitoti Lempus: My movement is determined by the health of the livestock and the availability of resources. During the dry season, I move closer to rivers or dams.

Eunice Lempus: We tend to move to areas where other pastoralists are not, to avoid conflicts over grazing and water resources.

Mose Ole Karei: Water availability is the main factor. We also follow the dry season pattern to avoid drought conditions.

Maria Ntimama: We move to areas with abundant pasture, usually highland areas during the rainy seasons and lowland areas during the dry season.

Daniel Ololchani: The availability of water sources for our cattle is the primary driver for movement.

Joseph Lempus: We move to areas with adequate pasture and water, avoiding areas with large numbers of settled communities.

Mercy Ole Tena: We move based on weather patterns, particularly rainfall and wind direction, which indicate the best grazing spots.

Peter Ole Sirma: We traditionally follow river valleys and seasonal water points, though land ownership is increasingly restricting us.

#### 4. Communication and Networks

How do you communicate with other pastoralists?

Musa Ole Ntimama: We mostly communicate through word of mouth, visiting one another's settlements, or through family members who live in different areas.

Amina Naserian: We use mobile phones to stay in touch, especially with pastoralist groups in different parts of the region. We also have community meetings.

Saitoti Lempus: We communicate through word of mouth and through local elders who act as messengers to inform other groups about movement and grazing areas.

Eunice Lempus: We rely on our networks of pastoralist groups and often get information through mobile phones and community radio stations.

Mose Ole Karei: Most of our communication is done through personal visits or using phones to share information about where there's enough pasture and water.

Maria Ntimama: Our communication is increasingly mobile, using SMS and calls to coordinate movement and find resources for our livestock.

Daniel Ololchani: We have informal communication systems, using word of mouth and sometimes local radio programs to find out where the best grazing areas are.

Joseph Lempus: I communicate with other pastoralists mostly through social media groups on platforms like WhatsApp, as well as traditional meetings.

Mercy Ole Tena: I use my network of neighbors and local pastoralists to communicate. We have an active WhatsApp group for information sharing.

Peter Ole Sirma: We have long-standing connections, and our elders still maintain strong communication channels within and across villages.

How does having a pastoralists' network help livelihoods?

Musa Ole Ntimama: It allows us to share grazing land and water sources, and when one group is struggling, others come together to support them.

Amina Naserian: Having a network is essential for survival. If I run out of pasture or water, I know which pastoralist to contact for help.

Saitoti Lempus: Through networks, we share information on better grazing areas and avoid conflicts over resources, helping to protect our livelihoods.

Eunice Lempus: It helps in pooling resources during difficult times, such as during droughts when collective support is needed to survive.

Mose Ole Karei: It's a way to mitigate the impact of resource scarcity. We work together, which ensures we don't lose our herds entirely during bad times.

Maria Ntimama: Our networks provide a sense of solidarity and security. If one of us is in trouble, we can all come together to help.

Daniel Ololchani: Pastoralist networks give us bargaining power when selling our livestock and ensure we can access better trade opportunities.

Joseph Lempus: When one group is struggling, others can help them find grazing land or water, ensuring the community thrives as a whole.

Mercy Ole Tena: Our network helps us adapt to environmental changes. If there's a disease outbreak, we can exchange information to prevent its spread.

Peter Ole Sirma: Through communication within the network, we can better manage our livestock, organize movements, and access better markets.

How have pastoralist communication networks changed in recent times?

Musa Ole Ntimama: The use of mobile phones has made communication much faster. We can now plan movements in advance and avoid conflicts.

Amina Naserian: The use of technology has improved how we share information. We can now find out about available grazing land through messages or calls.

Saitoti Lempus: We now have more formalized networks using technology. Mobile phones have been key in keeping us connected across wider distances.

Eunice Lempus: The networks have expanded due to mobile phones and the internet. We now have WhatsApp groups and use social media to share news on grazing areas and markets.

Mose Ole Karei: Mobile technology has allowed us to get real-time updates. We no longer wait for word of mouth, but check updates on our phones.

Maria Ntimama: Communication has become more organized. We now use platforms like WhatsApp to coordinate better, especially in finding water and pasture.

Daniel Ololchani: The addition of community radio broadcasts and mobile communication has made pastoral networks more effective and responsive.

Joseph Lempus: It's easier to stay connected with people in far-off places now. Technology has helped us be more organized in managing livestock and moving them effectively.

Mercy Ole Tena: We've been able to access more information on weather patterns, trade prices, and even livestock diseases, thanks to technology.

Peter Ole Sirma: Our traditional methods are still valuable, but technology has made our communication more timely and effective.

What are the challenges faced by pastoralist networks?

Musa Ole Ntimama: The main challenge is the fragmentation of land and the lack of free movement. We are increasingly having to negotiate access, which causes delays in communication.

Amina Naserian: Landowners now demand compensation before we can use their land, which has made access to grazing areas more difficult.

Saitoti Lempus: We still face communication breakdowns during emergencies. Some groups are not connected or don't have access to modern technology.

Eunice Lempus: Urbanization and land ownership disputes also hinder our ability to move freely. Some pastoralists have been forced to settle without any options to move for grazing.

Mose Ole Karei: Sometimes, the network is fragmented because not all pastoralists are familiar with new technology or don't have access to it.

Maria Ntimama: Conflicts with farmers and settled communities disrupt our movements, leading to disputes that affect our networks.

Daniel Ololchani: There is a lack of proper leadership within some pastoralist groups. This makes coordination and information sharing difficult.

Joseph Lempus: Some pastoralists are reluctant to join or share information within networks, which can cause problems during crises like drought.

Mercy Ole Tena: The lack of centralized coordination means that sometimes critical information doesn't reach all members of the network.

Peter Ole Sirma: Competition for land and water with other groups, especially with non-pastoralists, is a serious challenge to maintaining effective communication networks.

What is the future for pastoralist communication networks?

Musa Ole Ntimama: I believe the future of pastoralist networks is tied to the continued growth of mobile technology. With better communication tools, we'll be able to better manage our livestock and grazing land.

Amina Naserian: The networks will need to be more formalized, perhaps with specific leaders designated to coordinate information across groups.

Saitoti Lempus: We hope to have a more structured communication network that integrates mobile apps, radio broadcasts, and even satellite technology.

Eunice Lempus: I think the future will see even greater integration of technology. If we could have mobile apps specifically designed for pastoralists, that would be great.

Mose Ole Karei: With increasing urbanization, the future networks will likely have to include both pastoralists and settled farmers to reduce conflicts.

Maria Ntimama: The future of pastoralist communication lies in better access to the internet and affordable mobile communication for all pastoralists, especially in remote areas.

Daniel Ololchani: If we can overcome the digital divide, the future of our networks will be much more efficient, improving our livelihoods and the sustainability of pastoralism.

Joseph Lempus: I see more cross-border communication, with networks extending beyond Kenya, helping us share knowledge and resources with pastoralists in neighboring countries.

Mercy Ole Tena: If we have more training on digital tools, the future of communication will be more organized, reducing misunderstandings and enhancing the sharing of vital resources.

Peter Ole Sirma: I think the future will see stronger networks that can advocate for better policies and create more opportunities for pastoralists to thrive.





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30<sup>th</sup> December 2024

Amina Amal Mohamed  
amal.mohamed@strathmore.edu

Dear Amina,

**RE: Assessing the Evolution of Kenya's Land Policy, Legal Framework and its Impact on Pastoralism in Kajiado, Kenya**

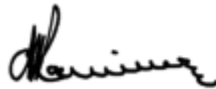
This is to inform you that SU-ISERC has reviewed and **approved** your above **SU-masters** proposal. Your application reference number is **SU-ISERC2471/24**. The approval period is from **30<sup>th</sup> December 2024 to 29<sup>th</sup> December 2025**.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements:

- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used.
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by SU-ISERC.
- iii. Death and life-threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to SU-ISERC within 72 hours of notification.
- iv. Any changes anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to SU-ISERC within 72 hours.
- v. Clearance for the export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to the expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days of completion of the study to SU-ISERC.

Before commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://research-portal.nacosti.go.ke/> and obtain other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely,



**Mr Ambrose Rachier,**  
Chairperson; SU-ISERC



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

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