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1 **Climate Change Responses among the Maasai Community in Kenya**

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19 **Abstract**

20
21 The impacts of climate change to the dryland areas of East Africa are especially strong,
22 especially if it is considered that these areas have weak institutions and governance systems.
23 Climate change has also affected many rural communities in a severe way, reducing crop yields
24 and sometimes causing crop failure. In Kenya and Tanzania, where drylands cover over around
25 80% and 50% of their respective land areas, rural populations have been especially affected.
26 Among them is the tribal group of the Maasai, legendary nomad warriors, who have been
27 suffering from persistent droughts and the negative impacts on their cattle herds. This paper
28 describes how climate change affects the Maasai communities in Kenya, and the changes seen in
29 their habits and diet, in order to adapt to a changing climate.
30

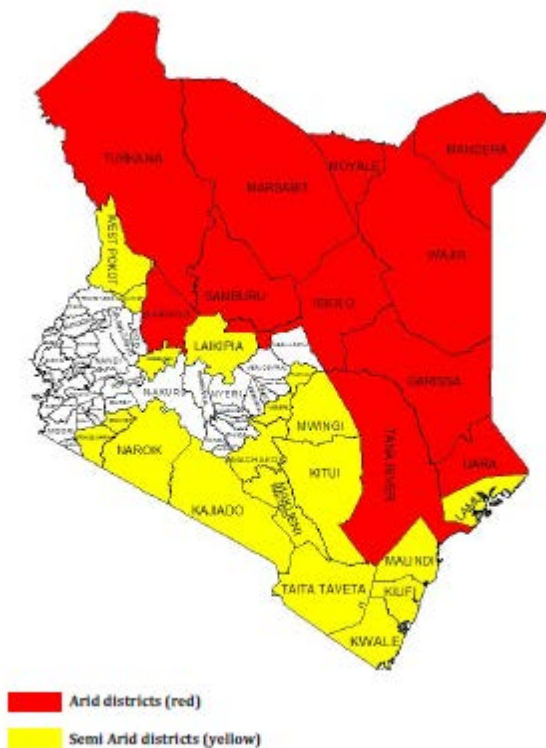
31 **Key-words: Climate change – Africa – Maasai - Adaptation**

32
33 **Introduction and theoretical referential: climate change trends in Kenya**
34

35 Kenya is a country located in eastern Africa, characterized by arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs)
36 which cover more than 80% (Mwang'ombe et. al., 2011) of its total land area. Semi-arid areas are
37 often vulnerable to climate change because they are already climatically stressed with high
38 temperatures, low rainfall and long dry seasons (New, 2015). These zones exhibit ecological

39 constraints which set limits mainly to nomadic pastoralism. This is because the areas are
40 characterized by low erratic rainfall, periodic droughts and different associations of vegetative
41 cover, soils and high rate of potential evapotranspiration (Zwaagstra, 2010). Moreover, weeds
42 grow more vigorously than cultivated crops and compete for scarce reserves of moisture. Weeds
43 also pose a great challenge to rehabilitation programmes in the ASALs as they compete with sown
44 grasses for the available soil nutrients and limited soil moisture in the semi-arid environment
45 (Mganga et al., 2010). Other constraints in the region include low organic matter levels (Githae et
46 al. 2011), except for short periods after harvesting or manure applications; and highly variable
47 responses to fertilizer. Figure 1 shows the arid and semi arid areas of Kenya

48



50

Figure 1 Arid and Semi arid areas of Kenya (Source: GoK, 2012)

51 The theoretical reference of this paper bears in mind a variety of publications (e.g. IPCC 2014,
52 Leal Filho 2015) and studies (e.g. World Bank 2013) which have shown that the African continent
53 will be the most hit by impacts of climatic change. Kenya has not been spared with over the past
54 decades having faced extreme climatic events especially floods and droughts. Since climate change
55 policy-making in Kenya is slow, and its implementation is irregular (Njoroge, Ratter, Atieno,
56 2017), the country faces a rather big challenge in coping with problems such as drought.

57 Historical data shows that major droughts occur about every 10 years with moderate droughts or
58 floods occurring every three to four years (AEA Group, 2008a). This has led to loss of human lives
59 as well as costing the government approximately 8.0 per cent of GDP every five years (AEA
60 Group, 2008b). Interestingly, studies have shown that there has not been significant change in
61 maximum and daily maximum temperatures since 1905. However, there has been significant rise
62 in daily minimum temperatures (Christy and McNider, 2009). According to McSweeney (et al.
63 2009) mean annual temperatures have increased by 1.0°C since 1960. This is an average rate of
64 0.21°C per decade. It is also noted that, both the average and maximum temperatures are likely to
65 increase in the range of 1-3 °C by 2050s (SEI, 2011), 1 °C by 2020s and 4°C by 2100 (AEA Group,
66 2008a). Depending on the scenario, under high emissions, mean annual temperature may increase
67 by 4.5 °C between 1990 – 2100 (WHO, 2016). In coastal region, it has become warmer with
68 cooling near the large water bodies between the year 1961 – 1993 (Mwanga, 2015, NCCRS, 2009).
69 This has led to depletion of glaciers in Mount Kenya (IPCC 2007, UNEP, 2009, NCCRS, 2009).
70 However, according to Funk (et al., 2010), the projected warming will vary from one County to
71 another.

72 The short rains have become wetter (October – December) (GoK, 2010) with overall decrease in
73 mean annual precipitation (AEA Group, 2008a; Funk et al., 2010). Five out of seven models show
74 an increase of rainfall from month of March to May in Wajir County in Northern Kenya (Bowden
75 et al (2005), SEI, 2011). However, different models have mixed results for increase or decrease of
76 precipitation between December and January, with a tendency of early rainy season in September
77 and October (SEI, 2009). Overall, many models indicate probability of heavy rainfall and increase
78 of flood risks (AEA Group, 2008a; SEI, 2009).Seventeen percent of Mombasa area may be
79 submerged by 30cm sea rise by 2100 (Orindi and Adwera, 2008).

80
81 Indigenous peoples of Kajiado County have lived within these constraints for centuries. Just like
82
83 other indigenous peoples in Kenya Masaai community are mainly pastoralists who are mostly
84
85 confined predominantly in the arid and semi-arid regions of the country (Hughes,2006). They
86
87 have existed on the productivity provided locally and have used their knowledge to devise
88
89 coping and adaptive strategies. One of these coping strategies is use of sand dams (Opiyo et. al.,
90
91 2011).
92

93 Keeping large herds of cattle has been the culture of the Maasai community as it associated with
94 wealth (GoK, 2007b). However, with diminishing grazing land, Maasai have adjusted the number
95 of their herds (Butt et al. 2009) while embracing the expansion of grazing land. Expansion of
96 grazing land is accompanied by conflicts as well as instances of violence among the grazing groups

97 (Maasai Chief 2011; Maasai Elder 2011). In extreme occasion, the community practice regional
98 raiding in order to secure watering and pasture points, as well as slaughtering their animals when
99 there is no folder (Schilling and Remlinga, 2014).

100 Thus, it is increasingly becoming urgent to do more to integrate community based climate
101 adaptation into agricultural, social and economic developments for sustainability.

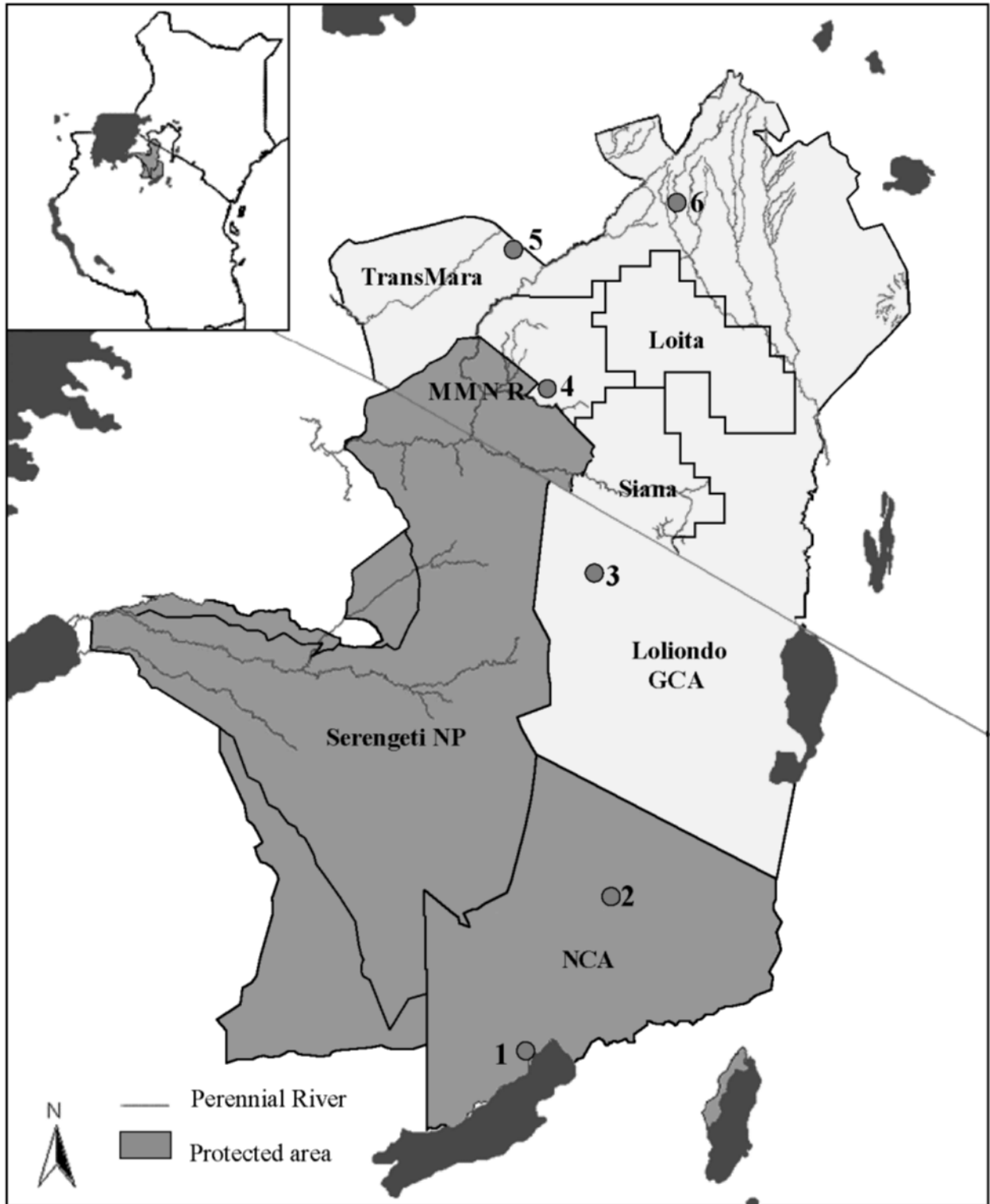
102

103 **Approaches used amongst Maasai agro-pastoralists in East Africa**

104 The Maasai are a Nilotic ethnic group, whose population is estimated to be about 15 million.
105 They have traditionally inhabited the rangelands that straddle across the southern part of Kenya
106 and northern part of Tanzania (see Figure 2) (Galvin et al., 2004; Homewood, 2004), along the
107 Great Rift Valley, distributed over a total of 16.000 km² of semi-arid and arid lands. The Maasai
108 society is comprised of sixteen sections (known in Maasai as Iloshon): Ildamat, Ipurko,
109 Ilkeekonyokie, Iloitai, Ilkaputiei, Ilkankere, Isiria, Ilmoitanik, Iloodokilani, Iloitokitoki, Ilarusa,
110 Iimatatapato, Ilwuasinkishu, Kore, Parakuyu, and Ilkisonko, also known as Isikirari (Tanzania's
111 Maasai) (Maasai Association 2017). The majority of the Maasai populaton lives in Kenya.

112 Maasai agro-pastoralists have in the past been able to successfully discern and track climate
113 variability and employed a diversity of adaptation strategies to secure their livelihoods. The
114 strategies included, for example, transhumance and migration; herd splitting and keeping species
115 specific herds. These activities were interspersed with minimal cultivation (Galvin, 2001;
116 Homewood et al., 2009). Increasingly, most of these adaptation strategies have become
117 untenable due to major demographic, economic and environmental changes that have taken or
118 are taking place within the ecosystem (Ekaya, 2005; Homewood et al., 2009; Musimba and
119 Nyariki, 2003; Wangui, 2008). A rapid expansion of human population, shift in livelihoods from
120 agro-pastoralism to more sedentary mixed crop-livestock production, change in land tenure from
121 communal to individual, destruction of natural vegetation and soil degradation, are some of the
122 changes that seriously threaten the ability of Maasai agro-pastoralists to cope and adjust to
123 climate change. Furthermore, the nature of climate variability currently being experienced has
124 changed. The magnitude of variability, frequency of extreme weather events (floods and
125 drought) and rate of change within climate systems has exacerbated the situation. (Dessai and
126 Hulme 2003; Hulme 2003).

127 Maasai agro-pastoralists like other smallholder farmers across sub-Sahara Africa are highly
128 diverse and heterogeneous (Tittonell et al, 2011). Much of the heterogeneity is caused by spatial
129 variability in climate, soils, landscape and their interactions with complex socio-economic and
130 environmental conditions. This heterogeneity influences farmers' decisions and choice of
131 adaptation options to climate variability and change. A wide array of coping and adaptation
132 strategies have been reported across sites within the Maasai ecosystem. Change in crop variety in
133 favor of drought tolerant and disease resistant types, early land preparation, early and staggered
134 planting, crop rotation, destocking, breed improvement and diversification of livestock to include



135

136 Source: Homewood et al., 2004.

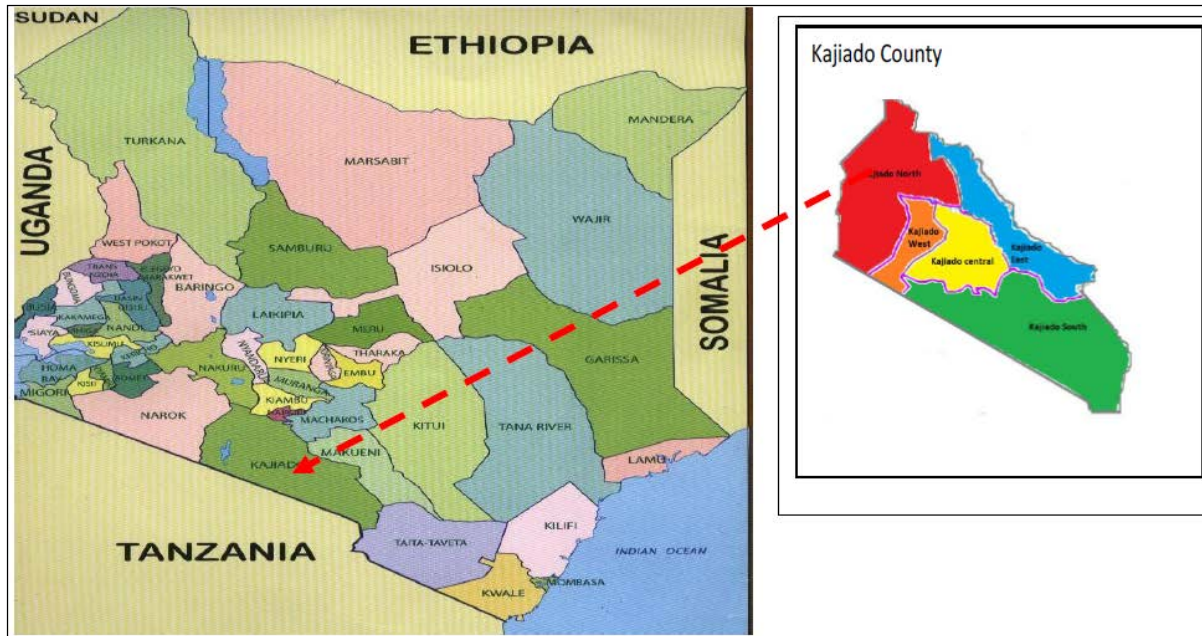
137 Figure 2: The Tanzania/Kenya border showing the East African rangelands

138 non-traditional livestock species has been documented (Bobadoye et al., 2016; Chemuliti et al.,
139 2015). For example, in Kajiado County in Kenya, camels were introduced as a means of
140 mitigating the devastating impacts of prolonged drought (Bukachi et al., 2003). Migration and
141 diversification of livelihoods has also been used to spread the risk of climate-induced
142 catastrophes on livelihoods (Yanda and Williams, 2010; McCabe et al., 2014, Rufino et al,
143 2013).

144 In many parts within of Maasai land, farmers have diversified from traditional livelihood
145 activities of livestock keeping and crop cultivation into various income generating enterprises
146 including for example, bee-keeping, farm forestry (exotic fast-growing species), artisanal
147 mining, off-farm wage employment mainly in the informal sector and small business. Most of
148 these adaptations are occurring autonomously with very minimal support from government and
149 policies but clearly transcend the climate dimension (Vermuelen et al., 2008; Ziervogel et al.,
150 2008; Berrang-Ford et al., 2011). For example, the reduction in herd size may be correlated to
151 subdivision of the previously communal land or breed improvement may be profit- driven rather
152 than a response to the changing weather pattern. The entwined nature of disturbances and
153 change-inducing factors in livelihoods cannot be ignored and is widely recognized in the
154 literature (Campbell, 1999), including attempts to disaggregate the effects and show their
155 linkages (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987). Adaptation to climate change occurs alongside other
156 livelihood pressures and therefore cannot be easily disaggregated. However, it is important for
157 climate change to be recognized as a significant factor, and for the subtle dimensions of climate
158 parameter change, which are the experienced realities, to be understood and reacted to.

159 **Methodology**

160
161
162 The study was carried out in selected villages in Kajiado County in Kenya. Kajiado County borders
163 Nairobi County to the North and Tanzania to the South. The county is also predominantly inhabited
164 by Maasai whose main source of livelihood is pastoral with few being agro-pastoral (GoK 2007b;
165 Maasai Chief 2011; Maasai Elder 2011, Nyariki et al. 2009). The County is located between
166 longitudes 36°5 and 37°5 and latitudes 100 and 300 South (Amwata, 2013). Figure 3 shows the
167 map of Kajiado County.
168



169
170 Figure 3 Location of Kajiado County in Kenya.

171
172 Data in the study area was collected primarily through 50 randomly selected respondents. Thus
173 fifty (50) household questionnaires were administered between January 2017 and March 2017.
174 The households selected were of Masaai community involved majority in pastoralist. A two-way
175 analysis of variance, percentage analysis and Garrett ranking technique were applied to a set of
176 primary data collected from 50 randomly sampled farmers with the aid of questionnaires from
177 Kajiado County.

178
179
180 **Results and Discussions**

181
182 **An empirical assessment of perceptions of climate change among the Maasai**

183
184 The Maasai people perceive climate change as one the greatest threats to the livelihood. When
185 asked about the three top threats, a frequent response was drought and famine, inadequate
186 pasture, inadequate rainfall and too much sun. In fact, when asked about the number one threat to
187 Maasai livestock keeping, majority of the respondents will mention increased prevalence of
188 droughts. These perceptions are held across men and women alike. Results of a preliminary
189 survey with 44 randomly selected respondents comprising 34.1% females and 65.1% males,
190 participants were asked to what extent they perceived changes in temperature. Perceptions of
191 temperature variability consisted four items, namely, 1) daytime temperature have increased
192 during the last twenty years; the number of hot days has increased during the last twenty years;
193 the number of warm nights has increased during the last twenty years; and finally, the degree of
194 coldness or cold seasons had increased during the last twenty years. The participants were asked
195 to indicate their perceptions according to scale provided 5 = to a great extent to 1 = Not observed
196 or experienced this at all. The mean scores of participants' responses to each item are
197 summarized in Table 1.

198
199 It is apparent that majority of respondents strongly perceive that the number of hot days have
200 increased significantly during the last twenty years. Also, majority of participants strongly
201 perceive day time temperature to have increased during the last twenty years. Perceptions related
202 to increase in the number of warm nights and the degree of coldness of cold seasons having
203 increased during the last 20 years seem moderate. Maasai community rely on pastoral
204 livelihoods, thus they are likely to notice changes in day time temperatures and also increase in
205 the number of hot days, hence the observed results. While men spent the day time looking after
206 cattle, sheep and goats, women, on the other hand, spent the day time looking for water for
207 drinking and cooking. Thus, both women and men are likely to perceive changes in day time
208 temperatures and increase in the number of hot days. Participants did not seem to perceive
209 changes in warm nights, nor changes in the degree of coldness of cold seasons during the last 15
210 years. There are probable reasons for this. The Maasai people, especially those who live in rural
211 villages, still rely on traditionally grass thatched mud houses. These are usually designed to
212 insulate people from cold nights and warm from cooking traditional three stone firewood stoves
213 is likely to remain over nights. This may be a probable reason why respondents seemed to
214 indicate that there were not sure if there have been changes in warm nights or degree of coldness
215 of cold seasons.

216
217 Results of a two-way ANOVA analysis, with gender and education level as independent
218 variables, and a composite of variability in temperature as the dependent variable, show that
219 perceptions of changes in temperature varied significantly among participants' levels of
220 education, $F(2,38) = 5.64, p < 0.05$. However, perceptions do not differ significantly between
221 male and female respondents, $F(1, 38) = 0.23, p > 0.05$. Also, interactions effects between
222 participant's gender and education level were not statistically significant, $F(2, 38) = 0.03, p >$
223 0.05 .

224
225 Another indicator of climate change was perceptions of changes in rainfall patterns. Perceptions
226 of rainfall variability consisted seven items, namely, the onset of rainfall has become more and
227 more unpredictable; the cessation of rainfall has become more and more unpredictable; the
228 frequency of occurrence of droughts has increased; the number of rainy days has decreased; the
229 amount of rainfall has decreased; the occurrence of untimely rainfall has increased; the intensity
230 of rainfall has increased. Recent studies on perceptions and adaption to climate variability and
231 change amongst Maasai show an increased recognition of the changing climatic trends
232 (Bobadoye et al., 2016; Chemuliti et al., 2015). Similar to this study, rainfall was found to be the
233 most significant parameter through which the farmers perceived long term changes in climate.
234 Understandably so because variations in pattern and intensity of precipitation affects crop and
235 livestock productivity with direct implications on livelihoods, food and nutrition security.
236 Perceived changes in rainfall have been variously described as insufficient, unpredictable, short
237 and intense, delayed onset, poorly distributed, increased frequency of droughts and prolonged
238 drought. Among these descriptions, unpredictability of intra-seasonal factors and frequency of
239 occurrence of extreme weather events (especially drought) were the most common parameters
240 that farmers associated with long-term changes in climate in the past 30 to 50 years. Farmers'
241 observations and assessments of the weather conditions correlate with precipitation data for

242 eastern Africa which show a general decrease in rainfall) in the region during the same period.
 243 (Williams and Funk, 2011; Funk et al., 2008).

244
 245
 246
 247
 248

249 For each item, the respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions according to scale
 250 provided 5 = to a great extent to 1 = not observed or experienced this at all. The mean scores of
 251 the responses are summarized in Table 1.

252
 253

Table 1: Mean Score of Respondents Perceptions of Climate Variability Indicators (n = 44)

Item	Mean Score
Perception of Temperature Variability	
Day time temperature have increased	4.80
Number of hot days has increased	4.68
The degree of coldness of cold seasons has increased	3.60
The number of warm nights has increased	2.93
Perception of Rainfall Variability Indicators	
The onset of rainfall has become more and more unpredictable	4.80
The cessation of rainfall has become more and more unpredictable	4.68
The frequency of occurrence of droughts has increased	4.66
The number of rainy days has decreased	4.57
The amount of rainfall has decreased	4.30
The occurrence of untimely rainfall has increased	3.75
The intensity of rainfall has increased	2.36

254 Source: Author's Survey Data, 2017

255

256 According to the results obtained, it is evident that Maasai people perceive that there have
 257 been changes in rainfall during the last fifteen years. However, perceptions relating the specific
 258 indicator, *increases in the intensity of rainfall* seem low. There are probable reasons to this.
 259 Intensity of rainfall generally refers to the increasing incidences of increased intensity in rainfall
 260 often over a short period of time, usually generating to huge amounts of run-offs and floods.
 261 However, while this phenomenon is readily observable using meteorological instruments, , this
 262 may not register in the memory of ordinary people who may not be paying attention to duration
 263 of outpours and intensity.

264 Results of a two-way ANOVA analysis on gender and education level, as independent
 265 variables and a composite of variability of rainfall as the dependent variable, show that
 266 perceptions of variability of rainfall varied significantly among levels of participant's education,
 267 $F(2,38) = 4.65, p < 0.05$. However, perceptions did not differ significantly by gender, $F(1, 38)$
 268 $= 0.01, p > 0.05$. Also, interactions effects between participant's gender and education level in
 269 relation to perceptions of variability of rainfall were not statistically significant, $F(2, 38) = 0.12,$
 270 $p > 0.05$.

271

272 4) Challenges to secure their livelihoods

273
274 A common saying among the Maasai people is that “all cows belong to the Maasai people,
275 and all grass belongs to cows”. This saying underscores the importance of cattle keeping as the
276 backbone of Maasai sources of livelihood. The Maasai community have traditionally relied
277 largely on pastoralism for their livelihood. The Maasai people occupy arid and semi-arid (asals)
278 in East Africa. Traditionally the Maasai people relied on rely on migratory strategies to cope
279 with scarcity of pasture of water and pasture for their cattle, sheep and goats. With plenty of land
280 to roam, the Maasai were able to designate low-lying areas for grazing during high rainy seasons,
281 and relatively wet and cold mountainous areas for grazing during dry seasons (Lesorogol, 2008).

282
283 Unfortunately, asals have been shrinking remarkably for a variety of reasons that include:
284 increased human population, urbanization, privatization and illegal sub-division of communal
285 ranchers (Lesorogol, 2008; Kinyenze & Irungu 2016). For years other tribes in East Africa used
286 to regard asals unattractive for settlement, thus with low population, Maasai people were left to
287 roam in these lands with their cattle. Sadly, with dramatic population growth in East Africa, and
288 the resulting shortage of land, people from other communities have moved to settle in these
289 marginal lands. Also, asals have been targets by large scale farmers who have bought huge
290 chunks of lands for irrigated commercial wheat and vegetable production (Galaty, 1992;
291 Lesorogol, 2008, Galaty 2016). Consequently, the pastoral land has shrunk dramatically in the
292 recent years.

293 Arid and semi-arid lands are ecologically fragile ecosystems (UNDP, 2013). Thus, increased
294 moisture stress from extreme and prevalent droughts have exacerbated increased loss of
295 vegetation cover, exposing asals to accelerated soil loss from wind and water erosion (UNDP,
296 2013). This has set in motion a positive feedback with increasing demand for wood leading to
297 more harvests, hence vulnerability to prevalent and extreme droughts, further leading to less and
298 less capacity of land to support vegetation cover, further driving the pressure to harvest whatever
299 is available for survival (UNDP, 2013). Incidentally, the Maasai population has grown
300 remarkably over the years (KNBS, 2009)

301
302 From a few hundred thousand of people, the population of Maasai in Kenya today is
303 estimated to be close to 2 million people (KNBS, 2009). That has reduced remarkably the per
304 capita acreage of land per Maasai household. Sadly, with little room to roam, it means the
305 pressure on the land from grazing has increased loss of vegetation cover due to overgrazing. The
306 forces of privatization of land have further accelerated increased loss of Maasai land from illegal
307 land sub-division. Weakening cultural and traditional values among the Maasai are partly to
308 blame for this negative trend (Molua. & Kagwanja, 2015). Land in Maasai community was
309 traditionally held under communal tenure systems. However, with land privatization, cartels have
310 poured money and Maasai men, unable to resist the temptation, have resulted in the sale of
311 communal land, often without their wives and children knowledge, often leading into
312 landlessness and squatters (Kinyenze & Irungu 2016). Corruption, poor governance of the land
313 sector in Kenya has also contributed to this illegal land sub-division (Molua. & Kagwanja,
314 2015).

315

316 Urbanization especially in Narok and Kajiado counties in Kenya have also driven up land
317 prices. With little land for urban expansion, the communal land on the urban fringe has been
318 targeted by land developers often offering amazingly huge sums of money (Mwangi, 2005;
319 Kinyenze & Irungu 2016). Today, much of the run-away huge Chinese enterprises and
320 establishment in East Africa is thriving on land that was traditionally designated as Maasai
321 communal land. Although recently, there have been claims suggesting that that climate change is
322 forcing a shift in the sources of livelihood for the Maasai people, there seems to be little
323 empirical evidence on this (Mutsotso, Bikuri, & Mutsotso, 2015). In one of the leading print
324 media paper, Muiruri (2017) featured an article titled “livestock giving way to crop farming in
325 Maasailand: vanishing pastures, caused by severe drought forced this pastoralist community to
326 rethink its options in the face of dwindling fortunes”, the author claimed that Maasai people were
327 shifting to crop farming to cope with the effects of climate change. However, findings from
328 interviews with 50 randomly selected respondents summarized in table 2 do not suggest crop
329 farming to be an attractive way of coping with droughts among the Maasai.
330 Data for Table 2 was obtained by asking Maasai rural households to what extent households had
331 considered the measures mentioned as ways of coping with prevalent and extreme droughts.
332 Responses were ranked according to scale: 5 = To a great extent to 1 = Not considered this at all
333
334

335 Table 2: Maasai households' coping strategies with prevalent and extreme droughts (n = 44)
 336

Item	Mean Score
Strategy for coping with prevalent and extreme droughts	
Start water harvesting and storage for livestock	4.61
Make arrangements for fodder / hay	4.11
Reduce the number of cattle	3.89
Shift from keeping cattle to small businesses	3.60
Shift from cattle keeping to crop farming	2.93
Shift from cattle keeping to irrigated farming	2.73
Shift from cattle keeping to growing fruits / vegetables	2.48
Shift from cattle keeping to keeping goats and sheep	2.57
Shift from cattle keeping to keeping poultry	2.30
Shift from cattle keeping to bee keeping	2.00
Shift from cattle keeping to keeping camels	1.50
Shift from cattle keeping to keeping donkeys	1.41
Shift from cattle keeping to keeping pigs	1.25

337
 338 Source: Authors' survey, 2017

339
 340 Keeping camels and donkeys are ranked lowest among the options that the Maasai people are
 341 pursuing to cope with droughts. Interestingly, water harvesting, reducing number of cattle,
 342 adopting fodder and hay are still ranked highly among the ways of coping with drought. Pursuing
 343 small business is ranked fourthly among coping strategies.

344
 345
 346 **Conclusions**

347
 348 This paper describes trends on climate change in the drylands of Kenya and focused on a case
 349 study from the Maasai. There were various financial (e.g. limited funding for the study and for
 350 the stays in the field), logistical (problems related to travel and access to the Maasai areas) and
 351 cultural differences seen in the undertaking of study, which reflect the difficulties seen in
 352 performing climate-related field research in Africa. Nonetheless, the information gathered and
 353 presented on this paper provides a welcome addition to the knowledge on the impacts of climate
 354 change on indigenous groups in Africa, and offers valuable insights into the mechanisms they
 355 use to adapt.

356
 357 As this paper, has tried to illustrate, the studied problem, namely the impacts of climate change
 358 to the dryland areas of Eastern Africa are strong, and many rural populations have been
 359 especially affected. Among them, the Maasai have been suffering from persistent droughts and
 360 the negative impacts on their cattle herds, and have implemented a variety of changes in their
 361 traditional pastoral migration patterns, which have been partly disrupted. The respondents clearly
 362 indicated that they had perceived that temperatures had increased with rainfall becoming more

363 and more unpredictable. As a result, they have been compelled to use smaller areas of land for
364 their cattle, and overgrazing has become a real problem.

365
366 The consequences of this trend are manifold. One of them is the loss of traditional cultures,
367 since the Maasai's way of life and traditional farming methods have been changing. In addition,
368 disruptions in water cycles and intensive use of water reserves (e.g. by the diversion of scarce
369 water resources for tourists), has been leaving the Maasai and other local people short of water.
370 In order to alleviate the impacts of climate change water harvesting and storage for livestock use
371 as well as making arrangements for fodder / hay is ranked as the most appropriate measures to deal
372 with these impacts. Finally, as a result of the pressures posed by climate change crop growing
373 which could allow them to capitalize on the market for grain and hence diversify their income, is
374 made very difficult.

375
376 In terms of future perspectives, one of the means to address the problem may include the provision
377 of climate services to reach the Maasai and warn them of forthcoming periods of dry spell, so they
378 may plan. Also, a diversification of livestock as a mean to ensure food and economic security
379 could be useful, as a way for the Maasai to confront frequent droughts. By doing so, some degree
380 of resilience may be achieved, consequently reducing their vulnerability.

381

382

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