Mapping stakeholder positions in the Kenyan land reform process

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ABSTRACT
The debate on land reform in sub-Saharan Africa has moved from the purpose and direction of reforms to the reasons why proposed reforms are not being implemented. The literature shows that one of the reasons for failure to implement reforms is conflicting stakeholder interests. This article proposes stakeholder analysis as a management tool that may be used to solve this problem. It goes ahead to apply the tool as a demonstration of how stakeholder analysis can resolve some of the conflicts involving stakeholder actions. These include a multi-level mapping of stakeholder characteristics for the land reform process in Kenya, a tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder characteristics, and a stakeholder mapping according to the six generic management strategies. This would help the implementing agency in carrying out the reform process successfully in Kenya.

KEYWORDS
stakeholder theory
rational mapping
transactional mapping
public management
land reform
Kenya

INTRODUCTION
Land reform can be understood as direct state intervention in property relations. Whereas the state is the major actor as the implementor, reform prescriptions and implementation can be multi-actor processes. In sub-Saharan Africa Manji (2001) observed that the debate on land reform has moved from the purpose and direction of reform prescriptions to failure to implement prescribed reforms. The contemporary issue now is the barrier to
implementation. The barriers to implementation, such as shortage of qualified personnel, are obvious; however, some of the subtle barriers identified by Manji (2001) are the lack of political will on the part of the government, conflicts at community level and the actions of individual bureaucrats. This leads us to the inevitable conclusion that stakeholders matter in the reform process.

This article therefore proceeds from the premise that for land reforms to succeed stakeholder actions must be guided to the path of success. One of the management techniques for guiding stakeholder energies towards a desired objective is stakeholder analysis. The article proposes stakeholder analysis as an important technique for land reform implementation and goes ahead to perform the analysis as a demonstration of how the technique may work for Kenya.

In this context the key question the article is responding to is: who are the stakeholders in the land reform process in Kenya and why do they matter? Answers to this compound question will give policy implementors insights into how to manage the stakeholders in order to successfully carry through the reform process. Therefore, the objectives of this article are multiple, but overall it seeks to demonstrate that stakeholder management strategies spawned in the private sector may apply in the public management situations such as the land reform process in Kenya. The analytical road map (methodology) therefore can be applied to similar public management situations.

Using stakeholder analysis techniques the article seeks to:

1. Identify and classify stakeholders in the land reform process using the rational stakeholder mapping; and
2. Classify stakeholders in the land reform process using transactional stakeholder mapping.

The second technique would allow for generic strategies to be applied in the management of stakeholders for a successful land reform process.

THE STAKEHOLDER THEORY AND APPROACH

A stakeholder theoretic approach is a framework consisting of stakeholder theory and, to use Bryson’s words, ‘an array of techniques’ of stakeholder analysis. The popularity of the application of the stakeholder theoretic approach to modern strategic challenges in management practice both in the private and public sectors owes its lease to Freeman’s (1984) publication: *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*. Freeman himself is reluctant to be labelled the father of modern stakeholder theory, although following the publication of his book stakeholder theory and applications took new turns. In this ground-breaking publication Freeman defined three main canons of stakeholder management framework (see Chapter 3) as follows: the rational, the processual and the transactional. Since stakeholder theory is a methodological theory, these canons represent steps (Freeman refers to them as ‘levels’) of stakeholder analysis.

**The rational stakeholder canon**

Under step one, or the rational level, of stakeholder analysis the main objectives are to identify who the stakeholders of an organization are and consequently construct the organization’s stakeholder map. Freeman defined
stakeholder as ‘any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organization’s objectives’ (1984: 46). This is by far the most popular definition in modern stakeholder literature. Part of this definition’s weakness is that it defines a stakeholder for the sake of it. It does not capture that compelling need to define a stakeholder, something that Bryson (2004: 23) deems necessary when he defines stakeholders as ‘persons, groups or organizations that must somehow be taken into account by leaders, managers and front-line staff’. This definition, on the other hand, misses on why stakeholders must be taken into account. More specific to the subject matter (i.e. policy reform process in this case) is the definition contained in a document ‘Policy toolkit for strengthening health sector reform’ developed for the Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) countries, in which Schmeer (2000) observed that ‘Stakeholders in a process are actors (persons or organizations) with a vested interest in the policy being promoted’ (see also Schmeer 1999, on the same subject). This definition too is inadequate because the term ‘vested interests’ is rather obscure. Fortunately, the three definitions can be integrated into one; therefore, for the purpose of this discussion, a stakeholder will be any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the attainment of the goals of policy reform and hence requires consideration by those in charge of the implementation process. A clearer definition is imperative for the proper identification and consequent mapping of stakeholders. Since Freeman (1984), other writers have elaborated on how stakeholder identification and mapping could be carried out; examples include Mitchell et al. (1997), Bunn et al. (2002), Bryson (2004) and Bryson et al. (2011), among others.

Few authors have attempted to define what stakeholder mapping is. One definition available in the literature is by Nwankwo and Richardson

![Mendelow Stakeholder Framework (Power versus Interest Strategy Grid)](image-url)

*Source: After Johnson and Scholes (1999)*

*Figure 1: Mendelow Stakeholder Framework (Power versus Interest Strategy Grid).*
who have considered the term ‘Systematic stakeholder mapping’, which they see as

a formal process of identifying those people who are likely to have an interest (or stake) in a proposed development and the mapping of these people to create a diagram which indicates their relationship with the strategist at the centre of the proposed or actual development.

(1996: 44)

This may only conform to what Freeman referred to as ‘the construction of a rational stakeholder map’ (1984: 57), with the strategist at the centre substituting for the firm. Further, it is the model that has been criticized in Fassin (2008), although the criticisms thereon lie outside the scope of this discussion. However, in modern practices, stakeholder mapping goes beyond the so-called construction of a rational stakeholder map. In this context, stakeholder mapping simply involves the plotting of stakeholder positions in relationship to the firm, an issue, or attribute(s).

**The tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder salience**

Williams and Duncan (2008) have singled out stakeholder mapping as one of the private sector strategic management tools that can be applied in the public sector situations. However, they only consider the Mendelow Stakeholder Framework (see Figure 1) that involves a bi-attribute matrix of power and interest strategic analysis. Nevertheless, Bryson (2004) and Bryson et al. (2011) have indicated that bi-attribute matrices involving other attributes or a combination of attributes may also be considered in stakeholder mapping. On the other hand, Mitchell et al. (1997) contributed a tri-attribute stakeholder mapping framework involving power, legitimacy and urgency (see Figure 2)

![Tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder salience](image-url)


*Figure 2: Tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder salience.*
that Bunn et al. (2002) applied to the analysis of the stakeholder environment for firms involved in the multi-sector technological innovations for an integrated traffic management and emergency response system in the United States. The same tri-attribute stakeholder mapping is possible also in the context of land policy implementation in Kenya.

Mitchell et al. (1997) sought to clarify two issues within Freeman’s rational level of analysis: stakeholder identification and stakeholder salience. Depending on the issue of concern, not all stakeholders deserve equal managerial attention. To this end, Mitchell et al. (1997) came up with the tri-attribute technique of evaluation of stakeholder salience (Figure 2). As already mentioned, the technique involves the three stakeholder attributes of power, legitimacy and urgency. Using this technique, stakeholders can be classified according to whether they have:

1. Any one of the attributes – latent stakeholders
2. Any two of the attributes – expectant stakeholders
3. All three of the attributes – definitive stakeholders

Further classification depending on the combinations or non-combinations of the attributes yields seven different stakeholder categories indicating their salience; for details, see the summary in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder types</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Legitimacy</th>
<th>Urgency</th>
<th>Short description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latent (one attribute)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Have low salience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Managers may ignore them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>They may ignore the firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dormant Stakeholder</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Possess power to impose their will on the firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Power remains unused owing to lack of legitimacy or urgency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Have little or no interaction with the firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Have potential to gain salience by getting another attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discretionary Stakeholder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>Have legitimacy but lack power to influence the firm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Likely beneficiaries of corporate social responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No pressure on managers to engage in active relationship; engagement optional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: A typology description of stakeholder characteristics according to tri-attribute mapping.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Demand</th>
<th>Expectant</th>
<th>Dominant</th>
<th>Dependent</th>
<th>Dangerous</th>
<th>Definitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low</td>
<td>(two attributes)</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
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<td>high</td>
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<td>high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Demanding Stakeholder**
  - low urgency
  - low legitimacy
  - high importance
  - Lacks power and legitimacy
  - Irksome but not dangerous
  - Bothersome but not warranting more than passing management attention

- **Expectant (two attributes)**
  - Moderate salience
  - They are expecting something from the firm
  - They have an active stance
  - Level of stakeholder-manager engagement is high

- **Dominant Stakeholder**
  - High urgency
  - High legitimacy
  - Low importance
  - Have claims and power to act on them
  - Command managers’ attention
  - Represents the group that other scholars refer to as primary stakeholders

- **Dependent Stakeholder**
  - Low urgency
  - High legitimacy
  - High importance
  - Lack power
  - Depend upon others to actualize their claims

- **Dangerous Stakeholder**
  - Low urgency
  - Low legitimacy
  - High importance
  - Coerce and possibly violent
  - May use violence to call attention to their claims

- **Definitive (all three attributes)**
  - High urgency
  - High legitimacy
  - High importance
  - Have high salience
  - Gets managers’ priority
  - Dominant stakeholders are likely to move to definitive category by gaining the urgency attribute

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Table 1: A typology description of stakeholder characteristics according to tri-attribute mapping.
The processual stakeholder canon

Freeman’s stakeholder theory was conceptualized as a theory of the firm as has been discussed by writers like Donaldson and Preston (1996), Kochan and Rubinstein (2000), Key (1999), Asher et al. (2005) and Hosseini and Brenner (1992). In the endeavour to isolate strands of stakeholder theory, Steurer (2006) differentiated between corporate-centric and stakeholder-oriented theoretical perspectives. The processual canon can be classified as part of the corporate-centric approach because it is principally concerned with the evaluation of the firm in terms of whether or not it applies stakeholder analytic techniques (what Freeman referred to as ‘processes’).

Freeman considered the firm to be stakeholder compliant if it was found to apply the following: Portfolio Analysis Processes; Strategic Review Processes; and Environmental Scanning Processes (1984: 64). However, such processes may not apply in the public management context of land policy reform; hence, the processual level of stakeholder analysis is skipped here. Similarly, Merrilees et al. found difficulties with Freeman’s stakeholder model (what they termed ‘the four-step Freeman process’), reckoning that

a re-orientation of stakeholder analysis from one of judging the social responsibility of organizations, with an expectation that many organizations fall short of a social standard, to that of a more proactive tool in which organizations have a potentially strong inclination to enhance stakeholder relations in order to optimize organizational performance was necessary.

(2005: 1064)

Therefore, our analysis proceeds straight to the transactional level.

The transactional stakeholder canon

According to Freeman (1984) the transactional level of stakeholder analysis involves a set of transactions that managers in organizations conduct with stakeholders. This involves answering questions such as: How do the organizations and its managers interact with stakeholders? This question is posed in the corporate-centric way as though we are analysing the organization on an ex post facto basis. Other scholars have posed the question on an ex-ante basis – that is, how should the organization and its managers relate with its stakeholders so as to achieve its objective? Answers to this question have led to the generation of stakeholder management strategies. Some of the notable contributions to the literature on strategies include those of Savage et al. (1991), Harrison and St. John (1996), Frooman (1999), Kaptein and Tulder (2003), Preble (2005), Frooman and Murrell (2005), Backer (2007) and Harrison et al. (2010).

In this context Bunn et al. (2002) came up with six generic stakeholder management strategies by supposedly synthesizing the works of Savage et al. (1991) and Harrison and St John (1996) that they found appropriate for firms dealing with multi-sector innovation. Nevertheless these strategies are relevant also to the land reform process.
Strategy | Applications
--- | ---
Lead | When other stakeholders are dragging their feet on the deployment of a certain issue or action, managers may take the leading role in the implementation process
Collaborate | The managers may decide to form strategic alliance or partnerships with certain stakeholders where these alliances are crucial for the success of the firm
Involve | Where necessary, the managers may want to build friendly relations with certain stakeholders. Involvement can take many options including decision making, or action taking, employment or volunteering
Defend | In the case of a detrimental stakeholder, the managers may defend the firm by reducing dependence on such a stakeholder
Educate | The managers may want to engage in information dissemination so as to explain the correct position of an issue or action to the stakeholders who require such education. Education of the general public also is necessary because the firm may face politically instigated controversies, hence the need for giving correct information to the general public to help sway public opinion
Monitor | It can be necessary for the managers to monitor certain stakeholders whose actions may be detrimental to the firm. This is necessary so as to counter their actions with other strategies like defend or educate before such actions can jeopardize the firm

Table 2: Six generic stakeholder management strategies.

**The stakeholder theoretic approach to public management**

As noted earlier, Freeman’s stakeholder model was conceived with corporate-centric focus. However, its applications to public management situations have been considered also in the literature. The works related to author Bryson are among the most outstanding in this respect. For instance, Bryson and Roering (1987) discussed the applications of ‘corporate-style strategic planning’ or strategic planning approaches developed for the management of private sector organizations to government corporation or agency, communities and functions; see related works, Bryson et al. (1986, 1987). They concluded that Freeman’s stakeholder model was one of the strategic planning approaches that could work for government organizations, communities and functions ‘as long as agreement is possible among key decision makers over who the stakeholders are and what the organization’s responses to them should be’ (Bryson et al. 1986, Bryson and Roering 1987: 12–13). Further Bryson et al. (2002) applied stakeholder analysis techniques to a public or community situation involving the African American Men Project of Hennepin County, Minnesota, USA. Bryson (2004), on the other hand, explicated generic techniques that may be applied by the public sector to identify stakeholders and map their positions regarding an issue according to their attributes. In the same vein, Williams and Duncan (2008) identified stakeholder mapping as one of the strategic management tools from the private sector that could prove useful for the public sector.
The increasing popularity of the stakeholder theoretic approach to management problems in the public sector owes its credit to the new public management paradigm that emphasizes private sector approaches to public management. One area where the stakeholder model has been applied so much in the public realm concerns environmental/natural resources management as evidenced in the works of Grimble (1998), Grimble and Wellard (1997), Reed et al. (2009) and Prell et al. (2009), among others. Land is one of the natural resources with public policy implications; hence, the application of the stakeholder theoretic approach to it is appropriate. However, as advised by writers who have suggested application of corporate-centric tools in the public sector, such as Bryson and Roering (1987) and Williams and Duncan (2008), not everything is applicable across board, only some aspects. In our case we have noted that the processual analysis does not apply. Second, borrowing the cue from Merrilees et al. (2005), as cited above, we need to abandon the corporate-centric for the stakeholder-centric focus. One of the weaknesses of the corporate-centric focus, for instance, concerns the discretionary stakeholder in the tri-attribute mapping. Mitchell et al. (1997) state that these stakeholders have legitimacy but lack power to influence the firm, meaning that they can put no pressure on managers to engage in active relationship; hence, engagement with them is optional and they are the likely beneficiaries of corporate social responsibility. In summary, they mean to say that these are the stakeholders whose interests the managers can easily ignore. However, this is not the case for public programmes where stakeholders who have legitimacy but lack power – for example, the landless in a land redistribution project – are the primary group of stakeholders who should receive the project managers’ attention; otherwise the project would fail in its primary objective of settling the landless when the targeted stakeholders do not benefit.

Way forward

In the discussion of canons of stakeholder analysis we have noted that there are three steps or levels of stakeholder analysis. It has been correctly noted that the processual canon is not applicable in a public management issue like land reform. Therefore, the article will apply only the remaining two canons – that is, the rational and the transactional techniques. Under the rational technique the classical stakeholder map (after Freeman 1984) will be used to classify stakeholders according to their sector origins or affiliations. Additionally, in order to get a clearer view, the stakeholders will be mapped according to their stakes/interests and the resources they offer through these stakes (after Grimble and Wellard 1997). Further the tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder salience will be used to map stakeholders who matter in the process (after Mitchell et al. 1997). Lastly, the transactional technique will be applied in the context of Bunn et al. (2002) in order to generate management strategies for the land reform stakeholders.

THE LAND REFORM QUESTION IN KENYA

Land reform in Kenya has been ongoing since the 1950s. During the transitional period (pre- and early post-independence) land reform took place through two programmes (see Adams 1995; Harbeson 1970):

- The Swynnerton Plan of 1954
- Resettlement of Africans in former European holdings
The Swynerton Plan involved the commodification of land that was still under African communal tenure through adjudication, survey and registration of land (see Barber 1970; Coldham 1979). Resettlement of Africans on the other hand happened within the first ten to fifteen years of independence in 1963 (Adams 1990). It involved parcelling out some of the land left behind by the departing colonial farmers for immediate occupation by the ‘landless’ African population in a programme popularly known as the ‘one million acre scheme’.

Ironically both reform programmes complicated the land question in Kenya, and their consequences have led to another round of land reforms as prescribed in Sessional Paper No. 3 of 2009 on National Land Policy and the 2010 Constitution, the subject of this article. The resettlement programme has been criticized by many scholars for social and political woes in Kenya. For instance, Kanyinga (2009) has strongly argued that the reforms pursued through the settlement schemes ethnicized the land question and thus laid the foundation for political conflict that ignited in the 2007–2008 post-election violence in Kenya. As a derivative of the resettlement programme, land quickly became a political commodity in Kenya, and the state actors went ahead to allocate land to themselves and their cronies by corrupt means. Thereby, the woes of land ‘grabbing’ quickly spread from the White Highlands to the coastal region and to urban areas. Klopp (2000) gives detailed examples of land grabbing in urban areas in the 1990s. Since the resettlement days public land has been at risk in Kenya.

The registration of indigenous land had its complications too, particularly in the pastoralist areas where group ranches were created and many indigenous Africans were rendered landless through the corrupt dealings of registered representatives. Land that remained under communal tenure (known as Trust land) was held by the local authority (county council) in trust for the local people and this too was not free from grabbers. The question of who has access to communal or public land therefore became pertinent in Kenya and was to be addressed by the second round of reforms.

The land reform process was instituted in Kenya through a multi-stakeholder consultative policy formulation process that culminated in the policy document, Sessional Paper No. 3 of 2009 on National Land Policy. The process to the National Land Policy started in February 2004; the aim was to promote positive land reforms for the improvement of the livelihood of Kenyans through the establishment of accountable and transparent institutions dealing with land (Nzioki et al. 2009). The policy document has codified the strategies that need to be put in place in order to give Kenyans better services from the land as a natural resource.

In order to implement these strategies it is necessary to implement some adjustment to the legal environment. Consequently, the implementation of the policy strategies depends upon the enactment of the new constitution and new statutes proposed in the Sessional paper. The Sessional paper has noted that the current constitution does not set an ideal situation for good governance of the land resource (Sections 35 and 36). The new Constitution on the other hand has set the ideal condition for the good governance of the land resource in Chapter 5 Part 1. The new Constitution therefore provides an enabling environment for the implementation of the land policy. Further the Sessional paper proposes the enactment of two crucial statutes for the operationalization of its policy strategies: Land Act (Section 58) and Land Registration Act (Section 150). These two statutes will repeal existing land administration and land registration statutes.
In order to achieve the above reform milestones the policy established the Land Reform Transformation Unit (LRTU) in the Ministry of Lands to be led by a Land Reform Coordinator. The specific tasks of the Unit are as follows:

1. Facilitating the drafting and enactment of the legislation necessary to implement the policy
2. Establishing relevant institutions
3. Recruiting and training required personnel
4. Mobilizing financial and other resources
5. Organizing civic education and
6. Ensuring a smooth transition to the policy

Hence, the main intention of land reform is to implement the National Land Policy by enacting the proposed legislations. However, the successful implementation of the national land policy requires the engagement of all stakeholders in the land process. This article uses the case of the land policy reform in Kenya to test the applicability of stakeholder management strategies spawned by the private sector to a public process.

THE RATIONAL MAP OF LAND REFORM STAKEHOLDERS

Freeman (1984) proposed the rational stakeholder mapping as the first step in stakeholder identification. Figure 3 presents the rational map of stakeholder groups involved in the land reform process. The groups include state actors (local authorities, central government and parastatal users) and non-state actors (donors, private users, advocacy groups, training institutions, NEMA, professional organizations and private owners).

Local authorities

A local authority is defined by the Local Government Act (Cap 265) to mean a municipal, county, town or urban council in the context of Kenya. Local
Local authorities are also responsible for land use planning and development control in urban jurisdictions. The policy framework is proposing far-reaching changes in the regime of land use planning and development control; see, for instance, sections 103–117. The policy framework is also proposing a review of the Local Government Act (LGA Cap 265) and the Physical Planning Act (PPA Cap 286) so as to harmonize them with the provisions of the National Land Policy (see for instance section 105), which will affect the local authorities’ role in land use management. They associate collectively under the Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya (ALGAK). Therefore, ALGAK is an appropriate stakeholder for this group in the land reform process.

Central government

Central government includes the state and its employees. The central government owns or uses substantial amounts of land, which makes it a key stakeholder. The government is a stakeholder also, as the financier of the reform process. In the policy document, the government has committed ‘to provide an enabling policy environment through the establishment of essential institutions and provision of sufficient financial support’ (Republic of Kenya 2009 p. viii). As a major stakeholder the government acts in the land reform process as the initiator, the steward and the financier of the process. The stewardship has been delegated to the LRTU under the Ministry of Lands.

The government has noted that financing the Land Sector Reforms will cost it about 9.6 billion Kenya shillings over the first six years. A significant portion of this money will be channelled through the National Land Commission (NLC) once it is established. However, the government also expects to gain financially from the reforms as it estimates that its land-based annual revenue will increase by Kenya Shilling 6.0 billion once the reforms are fully implemented.

However, some of the employees of the government, including the Head of State and the Commissioner of Lands, stand to lose their powers over the allocation of public land as was granted by the Government Lands Act (Cap 280). Such duties will be taken up by the NLC, and the Government Lands Act is due for repeal.

Other government stakeholders include all civil servants involved in the administration of land who are working in the departments of Lands, Physical Planning, Survey and Land Adjudication and Settlement. They include technical officers, clerical officers and subordinate staff. Owing to the weaknesses in the existing legal and policy environment, some of the staff have been making corrupt and or illegal gains in the allocation, registration
and transaction of land. When the reforms are implemented they stand to lose these sources of income, and for this reason they may not be willing to support the reforms.

Second, some of the reform objectives (e.g. computerization) will completely change the working environment, and staff who are not technologically skilled or occupationally flexible risk being declared redundant. This category of stakeholders may also not be willing to support the reforms. These stakeholders may be represented by the Union of Kenya Civil Servants’ (UKCS) in the land reform process.

There is a special central government agency responsible for slum upgrading – i.e. the Kenya Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP), which is a special stakeholder where the land reform tackles slum upgrading. Another central government agency is the National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA), which has to complement the reforms by helping in the achievement of sustainability goals of the land policy.

Apart from the central government actors, there is a group of semi-autonomous state corporations, popularly known in Kenya as ‘parastatals’, whose activities require them to own or use land extensively. These include Kenya Railways (KR), Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC) and National Irrigation Board (NIB).

**Non-state actors**

Donors are among the non-state actors. The financial obligations of the central government discussed above could be complemented by resources from the donor community in terms of monetary donation, particularly to non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The donor could also assist in the reform process through technological transfer. For example, SIDA and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung sponsored a communicative publication for the Land Sector Non State Actors (LSNSA) on the National Land Policy. Most of the LSNSA are sponsored by external donors; for instance, KENASVIT has been sponsored in the past by Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC) and War on Want, an international organization dedicated to fighting poverty globally. In cases of slum-upgrading issues, for example, COHRE is a potential sponsor of awareness creation projects.

Private users of land include the general public, but some users have special interests and have formed advocacy groups. These include Kenya Alliance of Residential Associations (KARA), which is generally concerned with the state of residential land use. Other users of special note include slum residents represented, for example, by Muungano wa Wanavijiji (Muungano), squatters, informal sector operators such as street vendors, and informal traders represented by the Kenya National Alliance of Street Vendors and Informal Traders (KENASVIT).

There are also several advocacy groups that are interested in fighting land-related and other social injustices. These include the Kenya Land Alliance (KLA), Mars Group Kenya (MGK), Operation Firimbi Action Network, Kituo Cha Sheria (KCS), FIDA (concerned with fighting injustices against women) and anti-eviction advocacy groups such as Hakijamii Trust, Jamii Bora, Pamoja Trust, the Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) and the Housing Rights Coalition. There are also business
advocacy groups who are not concerned with fighting injustices but rather with the establishment of a business friendly environment. These include Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA), Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) and Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE). The land-based advocacy groups coalesce under the banner of Land Sector Non State Actors (LSNSA), an umbrella stakeholder.

Forming a part of non-state stakeholder groups are the training institutions. There are several institutions that are concerned with the training of land administration and management staff who work in the professions of surveying, planning and property management. These include Kenya Institute of Surveying and Mapping (KISM), the national polytechnics, and universities – namely, Nairobi (land surveying, land economics/management, planning disciplines), Maseno (urban and regional planning), JKUAT (land surveying). Their role is to train the extra personnel needed to implement the reforms. For instance, Nzioki et al. (2009) have indicated that the University of Nairobi’s Department of Real Estate is already preparing new course and curricula in response to the capacity-building needs for the new land policy.

Political groups are also active in the land reform process. According to Klopp (2000), the injustices associated with the land delivery system in the past involved political patronage. The ruling and the political class gained from this patronage will be keen to shoot down the reforms. Attempts to do this were already evident in the campaigns for the new constitution in which the anti-reform politicians called for the rejection of the constitution on the basis that the land reform clauses entrenched in the law were unacceptable. Nevertheless the pro-reform politicians were keen to initiate the implementation of the land reform proposals.

Professional organizations too are active in the land reform process. These are trade associations of professionals who deal with land administration and management, such as the Institution of Surveyors of Kenya (ISK), Kenya Institute of Planners (KIP) and Law Society of Kenya (LSK).

Lastly we have the private owners. Land owners are generally private individuals, but there are also corporate owners with substantial holdings. Examples of corporate owners include land-buying companies. There are individuals and families with substantial holdings too. Of particular concern for the success of the reforms are the absentee landlords at the coast and the European owners in the highlands. There are mainly two private landowners’ associations that have come to the fore against the provisions of the National Land Policy or the new Constitution of Kenya that intends to give the former legal basis. These are the Kenya Landowners Federation (KLF) and the Kenya Landowners Association (KELA), also known as Kenya Landowners and Users Association. The two may be included as representative stakeholders in this category.

Some of these stakeholders overlap, although their identities may be distinct. For example, KARA, ISK, KAM are members of KEPSA. From the above profile of stakeholders the list of stakeholders may be derived as follows:

Of these stakeholders, only the civil servants and the private landowners who benefited from the unfair system may oppose the reforms directly or indirectly. Otherwise the reforms are likely to be supported by the rest of the stakeholders. Further, profiles of selected stakeholder are discussed in the next section.
Table 3: Mapping of stakeholder identities for the land reform process in Kenya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder group</th>
<th>Examples of stakeholders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Local Authorities</td>
<td>The Association of Local Government Authorities of Kenya (ALGAK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Government</td>
<td>Central Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LRTU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Union of Kenya Civil Servants (UKCS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The national environmental management authority (NEMA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parastatals</td>
<td>Kenya Railways (KR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultural Development Corporation (ADC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>National Irrigation Board (NIB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donors</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), UN-Habitat, World Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy Groups</td>
<td>Muungano wa Wanavijiji (Muungano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya National Alliance of Street Vendors and Informal Traders (KENASVIT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya Land Alliance (KLA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mars Group Kenya (MG-K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Operation Firimbi Action Network (OFAN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kituo Cha Sheria (KCS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FIDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakijamii Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamii Bora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pamoja Trust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE-Kenya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Housing Rights Coalition (HRC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Land Sector Non State Actors (LSNSA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Federation of Kenya Employers (FKE).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training Institutions</td>
<td>The Kenya Institute of Surveying and Mapping (KISM) and other institutions of landed education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Groups</td>
<td>Political parties (pro-reform, and anti-reform politicians or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Organizations</td>
<td>The Institution of Surveyors of Kenya (ISK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya Institute of Planners (KIP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Law Society of Kenya (LSK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Land Owners</td>
<td>The Kenya Landowners Federation (KLF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Kenya Landowners Association (KELA)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mapping of the Land Reform Stakeholder Characteristics

Mapping of characteristics can help the comprehension of the nature of the identified stakeholders and give an indication of whether they should be considered further in the analysis (Bunn et al. 2002). The process involves the
A description of stakeholders in terms of their scope (local, regional, national and international), why they might be interested in the land reform process (benefits or risks to stakeholder group) and the contributions they could make to influence the implementation of the project (resources offered). Borrowing from Grimble and Wellard (1997) and Bunn et al. (2002) the stakeholders of the land reform process may be described as shown in Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institutional level</th>
<th>Examples of stake/stakeholders interest</th>
<th>Resources offered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Global and</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
<td>sustainable development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>UN-Habitat</td>
<td>sustainable urban housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SIDA</td>
<td>sustainable development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>ALGAK</td>
<td>management of local resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>good governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LRTU</td>
<td>successful completion of process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UKCS</td>
<td>job security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NEMA</td>
<td>sustainable land use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KR</td>
<td>security of tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ADC</td>
<td>security of tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NIB</td>
<td>security of tenure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KENASVIT</td>
<td>space for members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KLA</td>
<td>land right for members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MG-K</td>
<td>against corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KCS</td>
<td>land rights for the unrepresented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FIDA</td>
<td>land rights for women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hakijamii Trust</td>
<td>land rights for the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COHRE-Kenya</td>
<td>land for housing the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HRC</td>
<td>land for housing the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSNSA</td>
<td>equitable management of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KEPSA</td>
<td>easy access to land for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KAM</td>
<td>easy access to land for industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FKE</td>
<td>easy access to land for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KISM</td>
<td>training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>votes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ISK</td>
<td>fair land transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KIP</td>
<td>fair land management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LSK</td>
<td>fair land transactions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KLF</td>
<td>against redistribution of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KELA</td>
<td>against redistribution of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>Muungano</td>
<td>land rights for the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OFAN</td>
<td>against land grabbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamii Bora</td>
<td>land rights for the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pamoja Trust</td>
<td>land rights for the poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: A multi-level mapping of stakeholder characteristics for the land reform process in Kenya.
THE TRI-ATTRIBUTE MAPPING OF THE LAND REFORM
STAKEHOLDERS

The tri-attribute mapping, as discussed earlier and represented in Figure 2
and Table 1, is a technique of stakeholder analysis and classification based
on the descriptive theory of stakeholder salience by Mitchell et al. (1997) that
considers power against two other attributes: legitimacy and urgency. Table 5
gives the positions of stakeholders according to the tri-attribute mapping.

From the analysis of stakeholder positions, we can see that there are no
dormant or demanding stakeholders. KLA and politicians pass as the definitive
stakeholders as they possess all three attributes. In general, politicians always
express urgency in whatever they are interested in; yet they have power to move
their audiences and legitimately speak on issues that affect them. ALGAK,
Central Government, NEMA, SIDA, UN-Habitat and the World Bank pass as
dominant stakeholders with both power and legitimacy. Apart from the KLA and
politicians, this is a group that must be relied on to make the process succeed.
OFAN, on the other hand is an only dependent stakeholder with legitimacy and
urgency but without power, while KLF and KELA, with the attributes of power
and urgency, are the only dangerous stakeholders. The rest of the stakeholders
are discretionary in nature, having the only attribute: legitimacy.

APPLICATION OF STAKEHOLDER MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES

The essence of undertaking stakeholder analysis in the land reform process is
to device strategies for managing the stakeholder relationship with the proc-
ess or the policy implementation agency. Depending on the outcomes of the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder types</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Legitimacy</th>
<th>Urgency</th>
<th>Stakeholder identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latent (one attribute)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discretionary Stakeholder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demanding Stakeholder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>ALGAK, Central Government, NEMA, SIDA, UN-Habitat, World Bank, KLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expectant (two attributes)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant Stakeholder</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>ALGAK, Central Government, NEMA, SIDA, UN-Habitat, World Bank, KLA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Stakeholder</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>OFAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dangerous Stakeholder</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>KLF, KELA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitive (all three attributes)</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>KLA, Politicians</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: A tri-attribute mapping of stakeholder characteristics.
From the mapping in Table 6 it is recommended that the agency should lead ALGAK, Central Government, NEMA, SIDA, UN-Habitat and World Bank through the implementation process. Although these are the dominant stakeholders with power and legitimacy to implement land reforms, they lack the urgency to do it; hence, they need to be pushed to act. KLA and politicians, on the other hand, possess all the attributes; hence, the agency only needs to collaborate with them on issues.

Muungano, KENSAVIT, MG-K, KCS, FIDA, Hakijamii Trust, Jamii Bora, Pamoja Trust, COHRE-K, HRC, LSNSA, KEPSA, KAM, FKE, KISM, ISK, KIP and LSK are stakeholders who are well meaning but lack power and urgency to implement the reforms. However, with reference to Table 4, they are well meaning, and hence there is need to involve them in the process. On the other hand the agency needs to defend the policy process from KLF and KELA who have been classified as dangerous. KR, ADC and NIB have to be educated as they are passive about the reforms, while UKCS should be monitored since their members have the potential to undermine the reforms from within.

Bunn et al. (2002) have noted that the stakeholder maps achieved by analysis done in the sections above are very static and do not capture the dynamic situation regarding stakeholder relationships. They observed that it is not safe to assume simply that a stakeholder either has an attribute or not because, in reality, stakeholders have varying degrees of any of the three attributes at constantly changing degrees. This dynamism is likely to result from three main causes:

1. When a stakeholder acquires another attribute (i.e. when a latent stakeholder acquires another attribute it becomes expectant, whereas the expectant one becomes definitive).
2. When a stakeholder loses an attribute (i.e. the reverse in 1 occurs).
3. When a stakeholder from one category gains an attribute by proxy (i.e. works through or by influencing another stakeholder who possesses the desired attribute).

Bunn et al. (2002) noted that examination of stakeholder dynamics is important for understanding how and when a stakeholder is likely to change to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Stakeholder identification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lead ALGAK, Central Government, NEMA, SIDA, UN-Habitat, World Bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborate KLA, Politicians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involve Muungano, KENSAVIT, MG-K, KCS, FIDA, Hakijamii Trust, Jamii Bora, Pamoja Trust, COHRE-K, HRC, LSNSA, KEPSA, KAM, FKE, KISM, ISK, KIP, LSK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defend KLF, KELA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educate KR, ADC, NIB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitor UKCS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Stakeholder mapping according to the six generic management strategies.
a different group, implying a different stakeholder management strategy, or how managers can strategically initiate change in stakeholder positions. Therefore, the managers of the policy implementation agency must be on the lookout for any positions that may change overtime, thereby calling for alteration in management strategy.

CONCLUSION

This article has applied the stakeholder-mapping tools developed for private sector management to a public sector involving the land policy implementation process in Kenya. Using graphic and tabular mapping techniques the article has demonstrated that procedures such as stakeholder identification, description of stakeholder characteristics, analysis of stakeholder salience and generation of stakeholder management strategies can be undertaken in the public policy reform process to help enhance its successful implementation. However, this being a critical theoretic approach, the positions demonstrated in the mappings are not necessarily exact but only helps to demonstrate what can be done by policy implementers in the management of the stakeholder environment. Therefore, this article provides vital lessons on the applications of the stakeholder theoretic approach to policy reform processes.

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—— (2000), ‘Policy toolkit for strengthening health sector reform’ (Stakeholder analysis guidelines), Latin America and Caribbean Health Sector Reform Initiative.


**SUGGESTED CITATION**


**CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS**

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