



**PERCEPTIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN ON GENDERED ACCESS AND CONTROL OF LAND AND DAIRY PRODUCTS
IN MURANG'A COUNTY, KENYA**

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KEY WORDS:

Access, Control, Dairy Products, Gendered, Land, Men, Perceptions, Women.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate men and women's perceptions on gendered access and control of land and dairy products in Murang'a County-Kenya. It was guided by the Marxist feminism theory advanced by Friedrich Engels (1884) and Women Empowerment Framework (WEF) by Sarah Longwe (1991). The study utilized a cross-sectional research design. Further, a purposive sampling technique was used to select Kigumo Sub-county as the area of the study, out of the six sub-counties in Murang'a County. Additionally, a simple random sampling technique was used to select four hundred and forty-two (442) male and female headed households, practicing dairy farming in the Sub-county to participate in the study. Also selected to participate in the study were the community leaders and key county officers as key informants. Study instruments utilized for the purpose of generating the required data were interview schedules for the selected male and female household heads, a guided questionnaire for the key informants and an observation checklist. Data was analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Data analysis revealed that male and female household heads held different perceptions in relation to gendered access and control to land and dairy products, with a bias against women. The perceptions were found to have been mostly influenced by culture, religion, lack of awareness on legal requirements and individuals' level of formal education.

1.1 INTRODUCTION.

Legal framework and instruments has been established to promote gender equality and equity in all sectors including land and dairy products. This legal framework include but they are not limed to the Constitution of Kenya (2010), International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights (ICESR) (1976), the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) and the Kenya National Policy on Gender and Development (2008). In addition conventions and conferences has been held to promote and bring into perspective the issues of gender inequality and inequity in all spheres such as the Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) (1995) among others. Despite all this the sexual discrimination, inequality and inequity still exist in all spheres. There is a global concern over the disadvantaged position of women in relation to access and control of resources. Generally, countries across the global have made some progress in promotion of gender equality in property ownership, access and control. However, it is important to note that there is no country worldwide that has achieved 100% gender parity which is mainly associated with their socio-cultural and religious beliefs, stereotypes and perceptions (Ode, 2007). In this perspective, the World Bank (2012) reports that it is clear that women's access and control over property still remains a worldwide issue as depicted mainly in the growing economies such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America where majority of the agricultural resources are held by men at the expense of women. Majority of countries in the global arena still lag behind in advancement of women equal access, control and ownership of resources despite being signatories to the international, regional and national legal instruments and policy guidelines that promote gender equity and equality in all spheres (World Bank, 2012).

Generally, individuals hold different perceptions on who should access or control resources at all levels in the society although it is biased against women. Yount et al. (2016) noted that masculinity is a form of traditional perceptions that reinforces and perpetuates women's inequality thus discriminating them and making married women's employment, education, income, sexuality and resources to be under their husbands control. This notwithstanding, Galiè et al. (2015) in their study in Tanzania observed that women felt that their control of livestock and their benefits enhanced their social standing, self-esteem, and appreciation from the public which in turn assured them a sense of self-worth and esteem. On the contrary, Galiè in the same study, reported that young men indicated that women were ordinarily fragile and thus if they are given ownership of properties and possessions they would not fulfil their families food requirements. In addition the study established that the traditional role of men as food provider was used to justify men's ownership to resources. In particular, one male respondent quoted a general law that defined woman's responsibilities as care givers and men's role as the bread weaner thus dismissing the possibility of women ownership of resources.

Additionally, Rabiul et al. (2018) found that men of all ages, educational and occupational background expressed fear of losing control and authority, loss of masculinity power and fear of being controlled by women as a result of increased women autonomy and economic independence. Additionally, the study established that men felt that encouraging women involvement in development would affect the existing status quo and consequently lead to increased family conflicts and problems. Therefore, they strongly opposed the principles of gender equality in all spheres arguing that it was interfering with the traditional beliefs and norms. On the contrary, Galiè et al found that young educated men believed that women involvement in development would lead into increased household income which would result into better livelihood for the family. In addition, Kabeer (2010) found that women involvement in development resulted into better healthcare services for the household. The study pointed out on women's contribution in vaccination and maternal healthcare which lead to improved family health as a whole. In spite of this, Kimani (2016) found that majority of the male youth were against women's right to own and control matrimonial properties, the study further reported that culture, religion and social economic status were the major influences of their perceptions and experiences on women control and ownership of matrimonial rights. Various studies have revealed the existence of inequality in access and control of resources by men and women which is mainly biased against women. This study is based on the assumption that despite the global progress in advancement of gender equality and equity through the ratification of policies, laws and convention proceedings on equality and equity in access and control of resources by both men and women the disparities still exist thus the need to unravel the perceptions of men and women on gendered access and control land and dairy products and the major determinants of this perceptions in Murang'a County, Kenya.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem in this study was anchored on the fact that in Africa, Kenya included, gendered access and control over resources and means of production has an obvious bias against women. This has translated into an inequality in access and control over land and dairy products between men and women. Given the role that women play in production, processing, preparation and distribution of food at the household level, the inequality is likely to influence the status of livelihood and household welfare. In Kenya this violates the principle of human rights as stipulated in the Kenya constitution (2010), global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other local, regional and international gender equality regulatory frameworks. The study problem thus draws from a concern on the differential perceptions held by men and women on gender equality in access and control over resources and specifically dairy products

and land, which remains an important factor in agriculture in Kenya.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study was to investigate the male and female household head's perceptions on gendered access and control of land and dairy products in Murang'a County. Specifically, the study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. To determine household head's perceptions on gendered access to land and dairy products in Murang'a County, Kenya
- ii. To investigate household head's perceptions on gendered control of land and dairy products in Murang'a County, Kenya
- iii. To examine the determinants of household head's perception on access and control of land and dairy products in Murang'a County, Kenya.

1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study was guided by Marxist Feminism Theory (MFT) advanced by Friedrich Engels in 1884, as well as the Women Empowerment Framework (WEF) advanced by Sarah Longwe in 1994.

Marxist Feminist theory focuses on the social institutions of private property and capitalism with a focus on gender inequality and oppression emanating from gendered access and control of economic resources. The theorist argues that the status that men and women hold in the society promotes economic disparity in ownership, access and control of resources and derived benefits. The relationship ultimately creates domestic struggle between men and women especially in situations of scarce resources. The theorist link social and economic disparity with the reproductive and productive roles that exist in any society and which are performed by either men or women based on the gender division of labor. Consequently, the highest percentage of the unpaid labor in agricultural production is usually provided by women although they have less control of agricultural resources and benefits. This is particularly true with agricultural activities done around the household and which include dairy production. Marxist feminists believe that barring women from decision making on resource use has resulted in male supremacy in control of resources in all spheres thus expanding the gender gaps in all spheres including agricultural production where land and dairy farming are major undertakings. It is in this respect that the study assumes that there exist biased perceptions against women in access and control of agricultural resources which determines who access and controls agricultural resources including land and dairy products.

On the other hand, Women empowerment framework developed by Sarah Longwe in 1994 focuses on strategies and measures that can be put in place to empowerment women. It is based on the assumption that women's ownership, control and access to resources is an important aspect of empowerment. As a framework it assist in assessing the impact of women's empowerment and advancement towards gender equality as a result of the development activities. The framework defines women's empowerment as allowing women to be in control of their lives and participate fully and equally in the development process in order to promote their potential and have full control over the economic factors. Thus the need to explore why women are not fully involved in development process by focusing on the perceptions of men and women on gendered access and control of land and dairy products and their major determinants as some of the forces that perpetuates and reinforces gender inequality and thus hindering women empowerment.

2.1 STUDY METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a cross-sectional research design which employed mixed study approaches based on the main variables namely perceptions of men and women on gendered access to and control of land and dairy products. The study was carried out in Murang'a County, Kenya. The study unit of analysis was all households in Murang'a County, Kenya practicing dairy farming. The study population also comprised of the male and female headed households that had engaged in dairy farming for more than three years prior to the study period and those who had two or more dairy cows. The study also targeted the following key informants: the three (3) Chiefs from the three locations in Kigumo Sub-county, one Sub-county livestock production officers, one Sub-county agricultural officers, and one milk collection manager. Sampling was done in stages through the use of multi stage sampling procedure. First, simple random sampling was used to select Kigumo Sub-County in Murang'a County out of the seven sub counties. Secondly, Kigumo Sub County is divided into three locations; all the three locations were selected for this study that is Kinyona, Kigumo and Muthithi Locations. Further a total of four hundred and forty two (442) respondents were selected from the list of dairy farmers obtained from the County Livestock Production Department. The key informants of the study comprised of all the chiefs' from the three locations of the study, one Sub- County Livestock production officer, one agricultural officers and one Milk Collection Manager. The study findings were generated through the use of secondary and primary data, the primary data was generated through the use of three instruments namely: an interview schedule for the household heads, guided questionnaire for the key informants and an observation checklist while the secondary data was collected from the reports, journals and newsletters accessed at the County Offices. The study used mixed research methodologies and therefore both qualitative and quantitative data was generated leading to use of

mixed methods of analysis. Ethical and logistical consideration and requirements were adhered to during data collection.

3.1 STUDY FINDINGS

The study findings focused on the perceptions of household heads on gendered access and control of land and dairy products in Murang'a County, Kenya. The study found that the dairy products existing in the study area were dairy cows, calves, milk, manure and biogas. In this regard therefore the study focused on men and women's perceptions on who should access and control land and various dairy products existing in the study area. The presentation of the study findings was based on the major themes derived from the study objectives, that is, the perceptions of male and female household heads on gendered access to land and dairy products; perceptions of male and female household heads on gendered control of land and dairy products and the determinants of men and women's perceptions on who should access and control land and dairy products.

3.1.1 PERCEPTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS ON GENDERED ACCESS TO LAND AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.

To establish the perception of male and female household heads on gendered access and control of land and dairy products the study focused on two subsections: the perceptions of household heads on gendered access to land and the perceptions of men and women on gendered access to various dairy products. Each subsection is further elaborated below:

1. Household heads' perception on access to land by men and women

To establish male and female household heads perceptions on gendered access to land, the household heads were requested to give their opinion on who they should have access to land at the household level. As shown in Table 1, majority of the male and female household heads selected for the study indicated that both men and women should have equal access to land. However, there were notable variations on perceptions of male and female household heads on men and women access to land as discussed.

Table 1 Household heads' perception on access to land by men and women

Households Heads	Men		Women		Both	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Male	89	30.8	0	0	200	69.2
Female	0	0	34	22.8	115	77.2
Total	89	13.2	34	7.8	315	71.9

Table 1 shows Majority of male and female household heads reported that access to land should be by both men and women. The study established that male and female household heads hold negative perceptions against the opposite gender in relation to access to land although majority believed that land as an agricultural resource should be accessed by both men and women for enhanced household welfare.

The study established that all household heads selected for the study believed that equal access to land by both men and women should enhance dairy production which in turn would lead to enhanced household welfare. It is important to note that very few household heads selected for the study reported that either men or women should have exclusive access to land as shown in Table 1. This was mainly reported by the single, separated and divorced male and female household heads who believed that access to land should be by either men or women depending on the household heads gender. The female household heads reported that exclusive access to land by men would affect food and milk production because they mainly focus on cash crops thus influencing the household welfare. This was confirmed by one divorced male household head from Kinyona Location who reported: ".....Land is for use by men as the bread weaners of the family. Women are 'helpers'....."

2. Household heads' perception on gendered access to various dairy product

To establish the male and female household heads perceptions of who should access various dairy products existing in the study area, the male and female household heads were requested to give their opinion on who should have access to the dairy products between men and women. As shown in Table 2 majority of the household heads' reported that access to the existing dairy products including milk, manure, and biogas, dairy cows and calves should be by both men and women equally.

Table 2 Household heads' perception on access to various dairy products by men and women

Various Dairy Products	Households Heads	Men		Women		Both	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Milk	Male	35	12.1	49	17.0	200	69.2
	Female	0	0	39	26.2	110	73.8
	Total	35	8.0	88	20.1	310	70.8
Manure	Male	31	10.7	56	19.4	202	69.9
	Female	0	0	36	24.6	113	75.8
	Total	31	7.1	92	21.0	315	71.9
Biogas	Male	42	14.5	59	20.4	188	65.1
	Female	0	0	39	26.2	110	73.8
	Total	34	7.8	98	22.4	298	68.0
Calves	Male	46	15.9	0	0	243	84.1
	Female	0	0	38	25.5	111	74.4
	Total	46	10.5	38	8.7	354	80.8
Dairy Cows	Male	46	15.9	0	0	243	84.1
	Female	0	0	40	26.8	109	73.2
	Total	46	10.5	40	9.1	352	80.4

The discussions of male and female household heads on each product has been elaborated in the subsequent sections:

a. Household heads' perception on access to milk by men and women

Table 2 shows that majority of male and female household heads supported access to milk should be by both men and women. They reported that this would lead to enhanced household welfare. However, a few minority of the male household heads reported that access to milk by women only would reduce the amount of money accrued from the sale of milk because they tend to focus more on family consumption compared to men who focus mainly on sale for income. This was confirmed by one male household head from Muthithi location who had this to say: ".....I make sure I milk and sell the milk myself because I do not trust my wife with it....."

b. Household heads' perception on access to manure by men and women

The study established that majority of the male and female household heads supported equal access of manure as a dairy product by both men and women. They believed that access to manure by both men and women could enhance the provision of household welfare through increased food production, save on fuel through production and use of biogas and increased household revenue stream through the sale of surplus food and cash crops. They indicated that exclusive focus on cash crop by men and food crop by women could have a negative influence on household welfare. Therefore, for enhanced food security and sustainable livelihood for the household, they advocated for equal access to manure by both men and women.

c. Household heads' perception on access to biogas by men and women

Although majority of male and female household heads selected for the study supported equal access to biogas by both men and women. It is important to note that a few male household heads reported exclusive access to biogas by men only as shown in Table 2. Interestingly, no female household head reported exclusive access to biogas by men. This could be associated to the fact that biogas is used for cooking which is mainly done by women in the study area.

d. Household heads' perception on access to calves by men and women

The study revealed that majority of the male and female household heads reported that both men and women should access calves equally as shown in Table 2. They believed that there is need for involvement of both men and women in taking care of calves to maximize dairy production and increase on accrued benefits. They all alluded that continuity and success of the dairy production depended on the nature of the calves that the households are able to feed and take care of thus the need for concerted effort by both men and women in taking care of calves. On the other hand, a minority of the female headed households advocated for exclusive access to calves by women. This could be associated with dissatisfaction displayed by married women who reported that they do a lot of work in taking care of the calves but they do not share in benefits accrued from the calves. This was confirmed by one female

household head from Muthithi Location who reported: *“I am the one who feed these calves but when they are sold I do not benefit directly ...”* The findings are in concurrence with Aregu (2014) that livestock management activities such as feeding the animal, watering and cleaning the calf pen remains to be women’s role mainly under mixed crop livestock system. This could have an implication on access to calves and other dairy products which in turn could influence the ability of men or women to provide household welfare for their families.

e. Household heads’ perception on access to dairy cows by men and women

The study established that majority of the household heads as shown in Table 2 reported that both men and women should have equal access to dairy cows for maximum productivity. They were of the opinion that both men and women play key roles in ensuring high profitability from dairy production for enhanced household welfare.

On the contrary, a few female household heads advocated for exclusive access to dairy cows by women. These were mainly the single, separated and divorced female household heads. They reported that women’s access to dairy cows will enhance their empowerment which in turn would influence their capacity to provide for their households. Additionally, some of the married female household heads reported that they are mainly left alone taking care of the dairy cows although they do not benefit from them. On the other hand a few male household heads advocated for exclusive access to dairy cows by men only. They argued that women are not able to take care of dairy cows and in most cases when the dairy cows are left solely in their hands, they tend to reduce their production because they (women) are not good at managing commercial agriculture. This was confirmed by one male household head from Kigumo location who reported: *“.... dairy cows cannot be left in the hands of women..... they do not know how to take care of them.”*

3.1.2 PERCEPTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD’S ON CONTROL OF LAND AND DAIRY PRODUCTS

To establish household head’s perceptions on control of land and dairy products, the household heads were requested to give their opinion on who should have control over land and dairy products. The presentation of the findings was further subdivided into two: the household heads’ perceptions on gendered control of land and the household heads’ perception on gendered control to various dairy products existing in the study area.

1. Household heads’ perception on control over land by men and women

In relation to male and female household heads perceptions on control of land the study established that majority of the household heads supported control of land exclusively by men and the expense of women. It is important to note that there were very few household heads who reported that women should control land and they were mainly women as shown in Table 3. Its implication is that male and female household heads still have negative perceptions and bias against women’s control over land thus a need for sensitization and awareness raising on the benefits of women’s control over land.

Table: 3 Household heads’ perception on control over land by men and women

Households heads	Men		Women		Both	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Male	236	81.7	1	0.3	52	18.0
Female	89	59.7	13	8.7	47	31.5
TOTAL	325	74.2	14	3.2	99	22.6

The finding revealed that majority of the household heads selected for the study reported that control of land should be by men shown in Table 3. Additionally, the finding also revealed that only very few male and female household heads supported exclusive control of land by women. This shows that there exists gender imbalance and discrimination of women in relation to control of land. In addition, majority of the household heads reported that major decision making in relation to land use should be made by men because the land belongs to them. It was clear that age and level of education of the household head determined the perception of men and women on who should control land. The study established that the elderly men were of the opinion that land should be controlled by men because changing the status quo would interfere with the cosmic balance. While some of the educated young men supported control of land by women with the explanation that it would lead to enhanced household food security because of their focus on food production. This was reported by one male household head from Kigumo location who had this to say: *“Land in Central Province belongs to men, it is what culture dictates and to change this perception by allowing women to own and control land will interfere with the existing peace. It can even lead to disintegration of the family unit”*. This concurs with the World Bank report (2012) on *‘The effects of women economic power in Latin America and the Caribbean’* that access and control over property by women still remains a worldwide issue as depicted mainly in the growing economies such as Asia, Latin America and Africa, Kenya included. As indicated in this report, women’s control over land is still an issue because they do not have ownership and they are not able to assert themselves in decision making especially those decisions that involve major changes on land use. This is likely to affect

women capability to provide adequate household welfare requirements such as food, education and health.

2. Household heads' perception on control over various dairy products by men and women

Majority of the household heads reported that the existing dairy products that is milk, manure, biogas, dairy cows and calves should be controlled by men with very few household heads reporting control by women as shown in table 4. This shows that the male and female household heads holds negative perceptions against women control of resources and specifically dairy products and their accrued benefits as discussed below.

Table: 4 Household heads' perception on control over various dairy products by men and women

Dairy Products	Households heads	Men		Women		Both	
		Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Milk	Male	128	44.3	53	18.3	108	37.4
	Female	39	26.2	53	35.6	57	38.3
	TOTAL	167	38.1	106	24.2	165	37.7
Manure	Male	123	45.6	33	11.4	133	46
	Female	39	26.2	42	28.2	68	45.6
	TOTAL	162	37.0	75	17.1	201	45.9
Biogas	Male	163	56.4	25	8.7	101	34.9
	Female	55	36.9	39	26.2	55	36.9
	TOTAL	218	49.8	64	14.6	156	35.6
Calves	Male	214	74.0	9	3.1	66	22.8
	Female	76	51.0	24	16.1	49	32.9
	TOTAL	290	66.2	33	7.5	115	26.3
Dairy Cows	Male	214	74.0	9	3.1	66	22.8
	Female	76	51.0	24	16.1	49	32.9
	TOTAL	290	66.2	33	7.5	115	26.3

a) Household heads' perception on control of milk

The findings revealed that majority of the male household heads believed that control of milk should be by men while majority of the female household heads reported that control of milk should be by both men and women as shown in table 4. This shows that with campaign awareness and sensitization equality in control over milk could finally be achieved. Those who reported control of milk by women felt that it would lead to improved education status, food security and better livelihood for the households. This was supported by one female household head from Kigumo location who reported that: *"Given that I am the one who stays at home looking after the dairy cows, I think if I am left in charge of the milk then I will be able to improve on its productivity which will boost my capability to provide household welfare."*

The study established that perception on the control of milk by men and women was mainly influenced by the level of education of the household head whereby the few men who had tertiary education and above felt that women should have control over the milk so that they can assist in provision of household welfare while those with no formal education felt that women should not be allowed to control milk because they will waste the money.

In addition, the study established that men and women's perception on milk was also influenced by the monthly income whereby when the milk accrued KS 20,000 and above, it was mainly controlled by men because it was considered a major undertaking which cannot be left under the care of the women. Further, the study established that women's control over milk would be beneficial to the quality of household welfare if women are allowed to decide what proportion of milk to be sold ensuring there is enough left for household consumption. This was reported by one male household head from Kinyona location who had this to say: *"I am able to cater for my household needs through the sale of milk. It is my main source of income."* The finding shows that there is an improvement between the current status and men and women's perception in relation to who should control milk. This shows that there is need for awareness campaign targeting both men and women for enhanced control of milk which in turn will assure the household a better livelihood.

b) Household heads' perception on control of Manure

In Murang'a County, the study established that manure was mostly used in farming and therefore majority of the household heads selected for the study reported that both men and women should have control over manure as shown in Table 4. The study established that the perception of men and women on control of manure was influenced by the level of education of the household head.

Educated household heads were of the opinion that manure should be controlled by both men and women for integration of both commercial and subsistence farming which would lead to food security and stable family income to cater for other household needs. This was supported by one female household head from Kigumo location who had this to say: *"In this era of hard economic times, I think it will be for the good of the household for the resources to be controlled by both men and women so that both of them can contribute to the family welfare."*

Further, the study established that household heads' perception was still biased against women in terms of control of manure because very few male household heads reported exclusive control of manure by women. This can be closely associated with the patriarchal family system which dictates that men should be the heads of the family and therefore they are the main decision makers at the household level. The findings are supported by Quisumbing, (2003) on *'Household decisions, gender and development'* that enhanced women empowerment and inclusion through increased control of the factors of production. This will result into greater advancement of health services, sustenance and reduction in economic deficiency for all in the community. This means that for enhanced household welfare, the society should ensure that men as well as women are allowed equal control to manure. This is likely to increase food security and dairy production which results in enhanced household welfare.

c) Household heads' perception on control of Biogas

The finding revealed that majority of the household heads supported the control over biogas exclusively by men as shown in Table 4. The household heads indicated that because biogas installation is a huge investment, then it should be controlled by men given that they are the ones who should ensure that it is installed, maintained and repaired when the need arises. The study established that the perceptions of the selected household heads shows that they are willing to embrace biogas as a technological advancement in dairy farming as a way of saving on fuel and income which results in enhanced livelihood for the households. However, it should be under the control of men.

Further, the finding revealed that a few of the male household heads supported exclusive control of biogas by women. Based on this, it is clear that there exists a bias against women in that the households selected for the study believe that control of biogas should be mainly by men. The selected male household heads reported that biogas is a technology which cannot be left in the hands of women because they do not have the potential to maintain it. One male household head from Muthithi location reported that: *"I invested heavily in the installation of biogas and I am the one who controls it because my wife cannot understand the complicated technology and safety measures associated with it but I know she is very okay with this arrangement."*

Further, the study established that men and women's control of biogas had a direct influence on household welfare in that majority of the households reported that women's control over biogas could lead to enhanced food security and education of the children because they felt that women are more involved in ensuring that the household had enough food and that the children have a conducive environment for learning. This was supported by one female household head from Muthithi location who reported that: *"Women's control over biogas will improve family livelihood because it will reduce the time taken in preparing food and improve household lighting for learners in the household for extra studies at night thus improving the education status."* This shows that there is bias against women in relation to male and female's perceptions on who should control of biogas between men and women. This is likely to be translated in the actual control of biogas and other dairy products. Thus there is need for measures to be put in place in order to address these biased perceptions for equality in control of biogas.

d) Household heads' perception on control of calves

The study established that majority of the household heads supported of calves exclusively by men the calves with very few of them supporting control of calves by women as shown in Table 4. On the other hand, majority of the female household heads supported exclusive control of calves by men. This shows that majority of the household heads including male and female still believe that control of calves should be by men at the expense of the female partner (wives). This could be associated to the fact that in traditional Kikuyu community, all domesticated animals belong to men and therefore any animal born or bought in the households automatically becomes men's property. This was reported by one female household head from Kinyona location who had this to say: *"My work is to take care of my husband's livestock. He does not live here but in case I want to sell a calf, he is the one to decide when and how much money the animal should fetch."* The findings are in concurrence with Rabiul et al. (2018) on *"Men's perceptions of women's participation in development initiatives in rural Bangladesh"* that ownership and control of livestock and land was associated with the traditional customs that favored men at the expense of women.

Further, a few household heads as shown in Table 4 reported that control of calves by women could have a significant influence on the quality of household food, education, water and health as compared to men whom the household heads felt that their control of calves could not influence on household welfare because majority of them spend the revenue from the sale of calves on their own expenses. One male household head from Kigumo location reported that: *"I have been rearing three calves which were born approximately four months ago. I sold one of them last week because I needed money urgently. The sale of calves helps me to raise money during such emergencies."* This is in line with the findings by Galiè et al. (2015) which found that majority of the women respondents felt that men often used income accruing from dairy farming on their own individual needs rather than family needs, while the income received by women through dairy farming, food and cash crops, and sale of milk was used to cater for family needs such as paying school fees for the school going children, buying utensils, medicines and other family needs, as well as saving for the future

family use. The women who responded, however, indicated that if they were given more control over resources and revenue accruing from them, they would be able to enhance food security for their families. This is a clear indication that there is need to advance and promote women control over the calves and its benefits for enhanced household welfare.

e) Household heads' perception on control of dairy cows

The study found that majority of the household heads supported exclusive control of dairy cows by men as shown in Table 4. Additionally, majority of the male household heads reported exclusive control of dairy cows by men compared to a few who supported exclusive control of dairy cows by women. On the other hand, majority of the female household heads supported exclusive control of dairy cows by men compared to a few of them who reported exclusive control of dairy cows by women who were mainly the single, divorced, separated and widowed. This shows that male and female household heads' perceptions on control of dairy cows is still biased against women thus a need for campaign awareness on the significance of equal control of dairy cows by men and women for improved household welfare. This could also be associated with the Kikuyu cultural belief that all domesticated animals at the household level belong to the household head who is definitely a man. This sentiment was also supported by the Chief Kigumo location who reported that: *"There are several cases of domestic violence due to ownership wrangles and sale of dairy cows especially when a woman buys the cow and there comes a time when she wants to sell it or when the man decides to sell it without the consent of his wife"*. The findings are in line with the study by Galiè et al. (2015) that traditional role of men as food providers was used to justify the ownership of resources. In particular, they quoted a natural law that establishes women's role as care givers and men's as bread weaners. Thus, for enhanced household welfare there is need to enhance women's control of dairy cows and other dairy products.

3.1.3 DETERMINANTS OF MEN AND WOMEN'S PERCEPTION ON ACCESS AND CONTROL OF LAND AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.

This sub-section gives detailed analysis and discussions on what the male and female household heads from the three locations selected for the study thought influenced the status of access and control of land and dairy products. As shown in Table 4, the determinants included culture, religious doctrines and beliefs, personal beliefs and convictions, legal requirements and level of formal education of the household heads as discussed.

Table 5 Determinants of household head's perceptions on access and control of land and dairy products.

Determinants	Male		Female		Total	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Culture	237	82.0	140	94.0	377	86.1
Religious doctrines and beliefs	230	79.6	128	85.9	358	81.7
Personal beliefs and convictions	201	69.5	112	75.2	313	71.5
Legal requirements	185	64.0	121	81.2	306	70.0
Level of formal education of the household heads	211	73.0	90	60.4	301	68.7

a) Culture.

The study established that majority of the male and female household heads reported culture as a major determinant of their perceptions on who should access and control land and dairy products as shown in Table 5. This can be closely attributed to the patriarchal culture in Kikuyu community that uplifts men at the expense of women. It can also be associated to the boys' and girls' upbringing and social orientations in the community that accords boys high regard compared to girls. The selected household heads reported that land and dairy products belonged to the household head who is mainly a man. In addition, in case of death of the household head these resources are left to the older son who according to the Kikuyu saying *'mwana mukuru no ta ithe'* that is *'the eldest son is like the father'*. This and other sayings and proverbs in the community reinforces and perpetuates discrimination against girls and women. The finding concurs with Kameri-Mbote (2002) that observed that traditional beliefs and religious expectations act as impediments to resources and birthrights of women within a social system which is complicated for all including the educated and informed. This implies that there is need to critically assess and address the cultural beliefs and expectations that the society holds that reinforces and perpetuates gender bias in access and control of resources including land and dairy products. This would result into equality and enhanced household welfare.

b) Religious doctrines and beliefs

The study findings revealed that religious doctrines and beliefs was also a major determinant of household heads perceptions on who should control and access land and dairy products between men and women in the study area as shown in Table 5. This could be associated to the fact that, majority of the household heads from the study area were Christians and a few Muslims. For the Christians, majority of the male and female household heads stated that they are strict adherents of the biblical teachings which exalt men as the heads of the family as confirmed by one female household head from Kinyona location that: *"The good book teaches us that women are the 'necks' and men are the 'heads'.* In relation to access and control of land and dairy products, the household heads observed that the Bible in the book of Genesis after man sinned against God, God gave men the mandate to till the ground until it

produces enough for them thus justifying the exclusive control of land and dairy products by men at the expense of women. This was supported by one male household head from Muthithi location who reported that: *".....God himself gave the man the responsibility to provide enough for his family....."*

As for the Muslims, they stated that the Koran expects men to provide leadership and headship in the family. They also reported that the Koran is very clear on matters of equality that one man is equal to two women. Even in inheritance, although the Koran advocates for inheritance by both men and women, it goes on to explain that one man shall receive an inheritance portion equal to that of two women. The findings are in concurrence with the study by Galiè et al. (2015) which identified religious beliefs as the major factors that influenced control of land and livestock. This clearly shows that there is need for awareness campaign against the use of Holy Books that is the Koran and the Bible to reinforce and perpetuate inequality in control of resources including land and dairy products

c) Personal beliefs and convictions.

The study established that Personal beliefs and convictions was also a major determinant of household heads perceptions on who should access and control land and dairy products by gender. It is important to note that majority of the households heads who reported personal beliefs and convictions as an important determinant of the perceptions of who should access and control land and dairy products were female. The study found that male and female household heads had their personal beliefs and convictions that determined who should access and control land and dairy products at the family level. Male household heads felt that if women were allowed to control land and dairy products, they would become domineering, very manipulative and controlling and this would affect men's ego and self-esteem. Other male household heads reported that if women were allowed to control land and dairy products, they would become independent and thus very difficult for men to uphold their power on them. Others still felt that increased women's access and control of land and dairy products would make men lose their authority over women thus affecting the family stability. This was reported by one male household head from Kinyona location who had this to say: *"I cannot allow my wife to control my land because she will be very domineering and I will lose my position in the society as a man"*

The study also established that women who tried to control land and dairy products were considered arrogant, 'not wife material' and were not respected in the society thus the household heads believed that those women who owned land were either divorced or separated. This is in concurrence with the findings by Rabiul et al (2018) on *'Men's perceptions of women's participation in development initiatives in rural Bangladesh'* that regardless of men's age, educational and occupational backgrounds they expressed fear of losing male's domination power, as an indication of male supremacy and fear of being under the control of women due to their increased independence and economic growth. This implies that there is necessity for increased awareness and civic education targeting both men and women for eradication of men's fear and women empowerment to embrace equality in land and dairy products as well as other resources for enhanced household welfare.

d) Legal requirements

Legal requirements was also reported by male and female household heads as a major factor influencing access and control of land and dairy products by gender as shown in Table 5 although majority of those who supported it were female household heads. The study established that male and female household heads selected for the study have heard about the constitutional requirements on inheritance for both daughters and sons based on the Constitution of Kenya (2010). However, majority felt that it would be difficult to implement the requirement because in their community it has never happened. In addition, they felt that it was against their culture as discussed in the preceding section. They also lacked understanding of the constitutional requirements and its implementation plan. The study found that only men and old unmarried women were allowed to inherit the family properties including land and livestock. This narration shows that either women are not conscious of their rights to own and control property or they have been forced by the circumstances to accept their situation of discrimination and insubordination. These sentiments are in line with Kame-ri-Mbote (2007) and KHRC (2006) report that most people do not conform to women's property rights because they are mainly uninformed or ignorant of women's constitutional rights and even the women themselves who are the victims are oblivious of them. This is because they have been socialized through a culture that holds women as inferior compared to men.

e) Level of education of household head.

Level of education was reported by male and female household heads as one of the determinant of their perceptions on who should access and control land and dairy products by gender as shown in Table 5. The study established that majority of the male household heads with secondary level of education and above reported they were willing to allow their female partners to access and control land and dairy products because through education they are aware of the benefits of equality. In addition, some educated married female household heads also reported that they have some level of autonomy in access and control of land and dairy products because their male partners are educated as well. This was supported by one of the male household head from Kigumo location who had this to say: *"I am a teacher in a nearby secondary school and my wife is the one in charge of dairy production. I have no problem with that because she is equally capable."* This closely relates to the findings by Galiè et al., (2015) that it is only education which can help women to take care of their families and at the same time be good managers over the household resources. This implies that there is need to improve on accessibility of education to both girls and boys for enhanced household welfare.

4.1 CONCLUSION

Based on the findings the study concludes that male and female household heads perceptions on gendered access to land and dairy products advocate for equal access to land and dairy products by both men and women. However, the perceptions of male and female household head is based against women in relation to control of land and dairy products. This is likely to have an influence on the provision of household welfare by men and women. The men and women perceptions on gendered access and control of land and dairy products was strongly influenced by cultural, religious beliefs and practices as espoused by the Feminist Marxist theory and women empowerment framework.

Acknowledgment

First and foremost I wish to acknowledge God for his guidance throughout the study. Secondly, my gratitude goes to my supervisors, Prof Elishiba Kimani and Dr. Casper Masigaboth from Department of Sociology, Gender and Development Studies in Kenyatta University, Kenya for diligently dedicating their time and energy in offering academic and professional support. Thirdly, I would also wish to acknowledge the lecturers in the Department of Sociology, Gender and Development Studies of Kenyatta University for their valuable comments which continuously improved this work. Fourthly, my special appreciation goes to all my study respondents from Kigumo Sub-County in Murang'a County for their time, commitment and unreserved responses during the field work. I feel obligated to single out my two research assistants Grace Muturi and Micheal Njuguna for their commitment in data collection and collation. In a special way I wish to appreciate the support given by the Chief Kangari Location as well the Sub County staff during data collection. Last but not the least my family and friends for their emotional and financial support.

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