**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 7/11/2019

Name of respondent: Ritah

H.H I. D: 3980411

Title status: Drop out

Interview start time: 8:54 am

Interview stop time: 10:33 am

Age: 39

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 5

No. of people living in the household: 7

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Casual labor in people’s plantations

Highest level of education: None

No. of years living in the village: 16

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles, cement, bricks, painting, solar

Interview Duration: 1:39:33

The interview was conducted in the respondent’s living room. Their house is made of cement, bricks, mud and poles on some part, painted, they have solar lighting, a small television. She lives alone with the children, the husband works in Kampala and started this year in May, he rides a motorcycle for transport business. She had just lost her baby after giving birth in hospital, she was in pain but told me that she is recovering. She was engaged, not lively because of the pain I think and she got tired at the end as she would say that her head was paining but the interview was also ending. She told me that they dropped out from the title because the land they are on is for her father in-law and he hasn’t yet officially given it to them. They dropped out because of this, the father in-law said that before he died, there is no child who has right of ownership over his land. He just gives them land to build and work on but it doesn’t mean that he has given it to them as theirs.

She lives with her husband and their 5 children plus here relative who came to help her through her sickness but said she would sooner go back. She doesn’t have land on her own but she told me that she owns land with the husband. They have 2 plots of land they bought together; one is a quarter acre and the other is a half quarter of an acre of land and both are banana plantations. They cut banana plantations and sell them, she also works in other people’s plantations to earn extra money aside the season’s harvest. She said that she would have loved the title because it keeps the land from anyone who would want to steal it.

**Warm up**

I: Mama, you have said that you are not yet fine, it must have been a big shock for you.

R: Yes.

I: Had you finished giving birth or the baby died in the womb?

R: It lived for 3 days after birth, I was still in hospital they had not yet released me.

I: What reason did they tell you?

R: The baby had this illness that is common whereby by the head was full of water.

I: They were not able to see it all through the scans.

R: No, I didn’t go for scans so the doctors didn’t know about it.

I: You have other children Mama?

R: Yes.

I: Their birth was okay?

R: It was okay.

I: Sorry about this, it was not easy. But we hope that all will be well and you will heal and be well.

R: I am better now than I was last week.

I: You husband came here to see you.

R: He came and went back.

I: Do you usually go to Kampala to visit him?

R: Some times.

I: I know you have not been able to also go to the gardens.

R: I haven’t done anything; my caesarean scar is still paining.

I: Do you have people that help you with all this digging.

R: Yes, I pay workers.

I: How did yesterday go for you?

R: It ended well.

00:01:53

I: Have you gone back to hospital?

R: I went back when they were removing the threads, a week has past now.

I: Do you still have to go back?

R: When you continue feeling the pain that is when you go back again but if you don’t have any issue you stay home and heal progressively.

I: Are there any herbal medications you have tried to use?

R: No, the doctors tell you not to use them because you are not yet healed inside so you use the medicine they have recommended for you only.

I: Is there any one you are staying with currently that is helping you with the work here?

R: Yes, there is my relative.

I: We hope that you heal well, and this will be over too.

**Background information, Household structure and Land ownership.**

In our first part, we will talk about your family, how you live and about your land. How many people are you that live here?

R: I have 5 children and this woman I have who is helping me but she will leave.

I: How are you related to the woman that is helping you?

R: She is our relative.

I: On your side or on the man’s side?

R: She is from my side.

I: Do you stay with all your children here?

R: Yes, I live with them.

I: How is old is your first born Mama?

R: Now she has made 15 years.

I: And how old is your last born?

R: That one is making 11 years.

I: You have moved though this fast. So now, how many are you that sleep here?

R: We were 6 with the one who takes care of me because the first born is in primary 7 and was sleeping at school but now he is on holiday. We were 7 and now we are 8.

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I: Okay. How old are you Mama?

R: I am 38 years old but I must have gone into my 39th year. I was born in 1986.

I: You studied up to what class?

R: I didn’t study.

I: You didn’t even pass by school?

R: Like you know, there are families that are hard, my mother was not able and she was not married to my father. There are some parents who refuse and want to remain with their child, when my father wanted to take me, my mother refused and decided to stay with me and yet she wasn’t able to educate me. When time came, she passed on and by the time I went to my father’s home, I wouldn’t go to school to study because I was already 15 years.

I: Yes, she wasn’t able. So your mother and your father had only you.

R: My father has other children but my mother gave birth to only me.

I: What activities do you do that give you money?

R: We plant gardens and we harvest and sell we get the money.

I: What do you usually harvest that gives you money?

R: Beans and groundnuts and we plant millet.

I: Do you get your money only from cultivation or here are other things that bring in money for you?

R: When work would come I would go and work when I had the energy.

I: Where is this Mama?

R: You can find a person who has many plantations, so if you are done with your gardens and you don’t have a lot of work, you go there and work in their plantations and they pay you.

I: But you were not able to in the recent time.

R: No, I had stopped.

I: How long have you lived here?

R: I am in 16th year.

I: Where is your birth home?

R: I am from Bushenyi

I: Do you usually go back home?

00:07:57

R: Yes, I do.

I: After how long?

R: A year is almost ending now because this pregnancy didn’t go well for me. So I last went some time back now.

I: Like what reasons would make you go back home.

R: I go to just see them only.

I: When you go there, do you sleep there or you leave after?

R: I sleep there.

I: Mama, is there land that you own personally?

R: Yes

I: How many plots of land do you have?

R: We have here where Mzeei (father in-law) gave us and we built on then we have others that we bought that are out there.

I: Do you have any that is yours alone minus these ones that you have with your husband?

R: No, I have this one that we have acquired together with the man.

I: At home, you haven’t yet received any share?

R: No, I didn’t receive any.

I: You said he got this one from his father. How big is it?

R: It is not big; it is a quarter acre.

I: What else is on this land apart from the house?

R: There is a house and the plantation. We go from here and stop there at the road side. He didn’t give it to him officially because he even refused us to get the title saying that he can’t allow his land to be titled because he hasn’t yet given the children their shares.

I: So he just told you to build here.

R: He said that before he dies, he will not give any one any share.

I: There is no child he has given any piece of land?

R: He just shows you where to build only that.

I: Does your husband have both parents or he has only the father?

00:10:41

R: He also has his father only.

I: And the banana plantation, you just cut from there?

R: He just showed us and said that we dig, he told us where to stop and pass.

I: Did he put this anywhere in writing?

R: No, he doesn’t even put *migorora*

I: Mama, where does your father in-law live?

R: He stays there down; at that nice house you saw.

I: Is this whole hill his too?

R: Yes, it is his.

I: Let us talk about the land that you have bought. How many plots are they?

R: We bought 2 of them.

I: How big are they in size?

R: One is like a quarter acre and the second is half of a quarter of land.

I: What activities do you do on them?

R: Both of them are banana plantations.

I: Do you get money from these bananas?

R: Yes, we cut and sell.

I: I would love to know; why didn’t you consider any of these two plots for titling?

R: At that time, he had bought the half quarter of an acre. We had not yet bought the other one.

I: How much did you pay for them?

R: We had bought the quarter acre at 3 million and the other one we bought it at 1.2 million shillings.

I: As you got these agreements from the people you bought from land, did you sign as a buyer or a witness?

R: I signed as a witness.

I: Is there any other land you have apart from this?

R: No.

00:13:00

I: Who else works on you land?

R: It is only us.

I: Even the ones that you bought?

R: Yes, it is only us who work on them.

I: Does your husband have brothers?

R: Yes

I: Also them Mzeei gave the land?

R: He showed them too where they can build.

**General land**

I: Okay. Let us get into our next part, it is about land in general. We want to get your thoughts on this in general. How have people acquired land that they own in this village?

R: You find a person whose father has given them land and told them to work and stop here, he puts for the son *miogorora* to show where his land stops. Others you find them on only the land they have received from their father while others have land they have received from their father and he also buys land on the side.

I: In this village, have many bought land or many own land that they received from their fathers?

R: Many have bought land.

I: How can someone use land they don’t own. Let us say that you want to cultivate, can you get land and use it?

R: If you want cultivate and you don’t have land you can rent land.

I: Here in this village, can you use land but not pay rent for it?

R: No.

I: This system of someone cultivating on the land and they share the harvest with the land owner, is it here?

R: Those things are no there anymore. You have to pay money.

I: If someone wants to sell land that they own, do they have to first ask people in the village?

R: If the land is his and he bought it by himself, all he needs to do is find a buyer.

I: How about if it is your husband, and he wants to sell the land?

00:15:31

R: If it is his land and he bought it by himself he can sell. It depends also.

I: On what?

R: Sometimes he will ask his spouse first and tell her what will be done after selling the land and they both advise each other but not that he will leave here and go maybe to the chairman and tell him that he wants to sell his land.

I: There is something that you have said about the land that he bought, what did you mean?

R: For me we have to agree together even though the land is in his names alone.

I: Okay. If someone days that this is family land, how do you understand it?

R: I think like how someone says that a thing belongs to me therefore I can use it the way I want.

I: So everyone can use this family land or?

R: No, not everyone can just say that they want to dig here and then they dig. They have first to talk and agree with the family head.

I: Which one do you consider to be your family land?

R: This one here.

I: Now that it is you, your husband and the children, is there anyone who has control over it or all of you have control over the land?

R: The family head is the one who has the control over it.

I: Now that the family head has the control over it, everyone has to ask him before using it.

R: Yes, he can tell you to cultivate there or not.

I: Supposing the family head is not there tomorrow, who will have the control over this family land?

R: He makes a will and after his death, the person who has this will read it according to what he had written. Most of the time when an old person in a home leaves, they divide for the children the land and other property he has left behind so that each child will know what is theirs. They even put *migorora* on their land to show where each of them passes and stops.

I: Okay. I would love to know whether you have sold land?

R: No, we have never sold.

I: Do you usually rent land?

R: Yes, where I cultivate I rent the land.

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I: Now where you have your gardens, how much land did you rent?

R: I have a quarter acre of beans and another quarter acre of millet.

I: Every season you rent land.

R: Yes, every season we pay 70,000 per quarter acre of land.

I: Thanks for telling me about that Mama. Let us say that you have land that you own and it is in your names, maybe you have received it from your father. What would this ownership mean to you?

R: I also see it as an important thing knowing that I have my land. These days’ life can go wrong, the man can go there and you find him having another family there. This land can help me for example if it is a banana plantation I can sell the bananas and educate my children and if I fail I can sell part of this land and my child goes through school.

I: What are the different ways that can show ownership of land. To know that this land is owned by so and so, what can show this?

R: Many of the times us here in the village know that if it is your land that you have bought, the person who sold for you should have made for you an agreement and the wife signed on it and if they have any old children they also sign for you, you take it to the chairman and they out a stamp for you. This is the proof we trust.

I: Apart from the agreement, is there any other proof of ownership on land that you know?

R: Yes. I hear that some people put titles in their land.

I: In your view, what good things do you think can be there in having a woman’s name listed on these documents on land.

R: It is shows that you acquired that land with your husband meaning that both of you worked for it together.

I: Is there any other way it is good to find that a woman was listed on the land documents?

R: Sometimes if the man wants to sell the land where you don’t know, you can also stand and oppose the person who is going to buy it because you didn’t agree and you didn’t sign for the buyer which means that he is not allowed to sell the land.

I: Do you think that there are issues that could come from having a woman’s name listed on these land documents?

R: I don’t see any.

I: You had told me that you haven’t inherited any land from home. Do you hope to inherit land later?

R: It don’t know because I don’t know what will my father has made.

00:23:13

I: There is not knowing but you could have hope.

R: I have the hope because I see that he has the land. You see some families say that they don’t give girls land or someone can decide for themselves what they will do because everyone has a way they control their things. Sometimes you find a family saying that girls are given land but him he says that he will not leave land to the girls but he gives only the boys. So I don’t know this very well.

I: So he got another wife and children.

R: He has another wife.

I: You went and stayed with them?

R: When my mother died, they took me that side though I didn’t live with them. I lived with my aunty, sister to my father.

I: In your view, is there any way people are fearful of losing their land?

R: People are fine; I haven’t heard about this here.

I: Hasn’t it ever happened like people trey to take other people’s land.

R: These ones sometimes happen, there are people you may find that have issues like when someone is digging like in this banana plantation, he goes and cuts on the other person’s land but also this is not so much here.

I: Why do you think that there is no fear of losing land, people are fine?

R: I think people are satisfied with what they have and everyone is on their land.

I: If you are able to get more land now, how would you go about it?

R: This is known by God; these days I see the children are also holding me by the neck so buying land would be hard. But I would buy land, I hear someone selling and then I go and buy from them.

I: You have said that the children ae holding you by the neck now, are you the only one who pays their school fees?

R: No, we pay together.

I: Why do you get worried yet you are two of you?

R: I can see our income and the things we have to do.

I: What does your husband do in Kampala?

R: He is there trying to find work; he drives a motorcycle for transport.

I: When did he go??

00:27:12

R: He has just gone; he went in May this year.

I: This is so recent. You had said that you count this to be your family land?

R: I think we count the ones that we have bought for ourselves.

I: Do you have approved shares on these plots that you bought?

R: I have the share because I use the land, it helps me give me food to eat and sometimes I sell bananas from there. Like I had told you, you never know fully.

I: I would love to ask you this if you don’t mind. You told me that some land you bought it at 3 million and the other at 1.2 million, did you also add money to this money?

R: We had worked for it together because I dig and harvest then he adds what he has or if we have got a loan we have to pay it back together.

I: Do you usually use loans; I see the Ebo Sacco calendar here.

R: Most of the times, if you don’t have any debts or things to disturb you when you find land to buy you go and get a loan and pay for the land. Then you repay the loan in bits because you don’t have the money to buy land in one bundle.

I: Who makes the decisions on your land, like we should plant this and plant it here?

R: Us as a family, the way we use that land.

I: Yes, on the decisions of what should be done on the land, who makes those decisions?

R: He doesn’t mind so much to say that he doesn’t want us to put this and that there. We agree together and plan to put beans this season and sometimes he tells us that we should leave them and out them in the next season like that.

I: Thanks for telling me about this Mama.

R: Yes.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Our next part is about titles. Even though you were not able to get the title, we still want to get your thoughts as a person on this. What does a title mean?

R: The title as I hear others say is that if you put a title in your land it means that tomorrow even if someone wants to take it or like how life is today that you might be there and you hear that a family has died in an accident and the man and woman have died. When you have this title and your children know where it is, no one can come to try and steal the land from them or claim it as theirs. This is what I know.

I: What uses does the title have?

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R: It is that it will keep your land from anyone who might come tomorrow to steal it or pass on the side and take off some of your land.

I: Are there other uses that it has?

R: That is what I know.

I: Even though you didn’t get the title, what have you liked about this titling journey?

R: According to how they came and would explain to us; in this family my husband is an outside child, his mother wasn’t married here. And my father in law has very many children from different women, and you know that if it is like this there are always quarrels, the family can’t settle. I knew that if they out for us a title, tomorrow we can be safe and helped but it didn’t happen.

I: I would love to know whether you dropped out during the first visit or the other ones.

R: They had visited us many times. I remember a woman first came then after a man came and the next time another person came and then finally the last time a team came and that is when Mzeei refused. They had told us before that when they are coming we should tell Mzeei to come and they find him there because they would want to talk to him. We told Mzeei, when they came they talked to him and explained to him then he told them no he doesn’t allow to put a title in his land.

I: What reason did he give them?

R: He told them that he hasn’t given land to any child but he has given them where to build only.

I: So this is here it stopped.

R: Yes.

I: From behind you had allowed?

R: We had accepted it.

I: When you knew that you were going to get a title, did you first talk to Mzeei or you continued with the process?

R: No we had not told him but he would hear it because we were not the only people in the village. The other thing, we had not known his real thoughts because when he was giving us that land, he didn’t tell us that we will only be there and nothing else he just gave it to us and said that we can build there. We didn’t know what his program was like how you would be knowing what someone’s thought is about something.

I: Okay, this is how you dropped out. I am wondering whether you told them about the other land you had no matter how small it was or they picked here?

R: Not that they picked here, because we have young children now and our son was in primary

00:35:10

6 or 5, you see how you buy your cows and then you say that should you get a problem an emergence then you can sell the cow and it helps you. So I don’t know if I can sell that land when it is already in a title, I would hear that it is hard to cut off land and sell it if it is in a title so that land was like an emergence go to should we fail to educate the children then we can sell it and pay school fees.

I: I have seen stones here outside; do you sell them?

R: The stones are on Mzeei’s land, so we also gather them and sell them.

I: He allows you to sell them?

R: Yes.

I: From these stones, do you get money as a woman or it is for the man?

R: Actually h doesn’t know that it is the children who gather those stones.

I: In your view, is there any difference between a title and other documents to show proof that someone owns land?

R: I think the difference is there.

I: How is it?

R: Like what I had told you that someone can’t come and they to steal land but also the agreement works. All that matters is to be transparent and tell your family whatever you are doing, like now we have children that are old, we have to tell them and they know that maybe we keep our agreements in this bank and everything else so that should something happen tomorrow then the children can find where to start from.

I: Thanks for telling me about that Mama. In your view, do you think women love it to be on titles with their husbands?

R: Me personally, I love it.

I: Why do you think you and other women would love it?

R: Because tomorrow it can help me when things can change. Should my husband want to leave me there and neglect me and the children then I will also have where to start from because I have authority on that land therefore I can get something.

I: In your view, what good thigs will be there in having both a man and wife listed on the land tittle?

R: It can be helpful in any problem and it gives you a starting point to even explain about that land should any issue come up. They will know that the land was for the both of you.

I: What do you think makes men not to put their wives on the land title with them?

R: There are many reasons.

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I: Tell me about them.

R: There are sometimes when you find that the man has his own plans ahead that are in his heart and he doesn’t show it to his wife or to the family. He may want to sell this land tomorrow in hiding where you don’t know and he uses then the way he wants or there are some men who don’t have a loving heart towards their children. You find him thinking that the land is his personally and not for his children. There are times where us as women have hearts with intention to cheat the man off this land because she is on that title.

I: You mean that there are women who come to get married with the intent of cheating their husband’s things.

R: Yes.

I: Are there other reasons you think a man would refuse to add his wife on the title?

R: They are the reasons like those ones.

I: Do you think that there are reasons that come from the women for the man to refuse adding her on the title?

R: It can happen; the man will have seen her manipulative ways of misusing the land tomorrow.

I: How can the man see this in the woman? Tell me of an example.

R: H can be seeing her in the way she works. He can see that instead of working to bring in the family, she takes off things to her home and yet they have children. He can see this and know that tomorrow she will make a bad decision when he is not around.

I: Okay. Mama, before you met these people that were telling you about titles, were there people that had got titles from before on their own, how did they get them?

R: They are there but they are few.

I: In your view, how do you think they got them?

R: I don’t know this one.

I: Okay, you may not know it but how do you imagine and think they got them?

R: The people who have titles, like I have said they are few. They are the ones whose father got land long time ago when it was not buying but booking big land and owning it. You find people saying that so and so’s land has a title but you don’t know how he got it. Sometimes I think they bought the title. This is what I think.

I: Where will he have bought it from?

R: I don’t know where.

I: Which place would you think that they get them from?

00:41:56

R: I have never bothered to ask this; I don’t want to lie.

I: Generally, what do people think about titles in your village?

R: About titles in this village, it is not often you find someone talking about it. There those that would have loved them but they can’t afford to put them in their lands. In this village people are many now, someone may find it hard to put a title on his land yet they have plans to shift and go to another place later. I think this is why many don’t mind much about them.

**Intra household Discussion and Bargaining.**

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about that. We are going to our next part where we want to know if you had conversations with your husband throughout the visits and how you are here. After they visited you for the first and second times, what would you talk about with your husband after?

R: Our talking, we had hope that we would be given a title because of the nature of their family like I had told you, we knew it would help us tomorrow when we are not around because they are many children at my husband’s side.

I: Are all the other children old?

R: Yes, they are.

I: Altogether how many children are they that Mzeei has?

R: He has many children; they are more than 15.

I: Did he grow all the children from here or there are some that are still with their mother’s?

R: Some are with their mothers and the others are here.

I: In your view, do you a title can have a change on in a marriage?

R: I think it doesn’t bring any change, it according to how you were living even before you got the title that matters.

I: I would love to understand this, supposing the man decided to title alone and didn’t put a woman and she gets to know about it, will this change their marriage?

R: The change will happen here there will be something in your heart knowing that you don’t trust each other and you the women will start to think that he has other plans.

I: So you are saying that having the title doesn’t change the marriage at all?

R: Yes, there is no change, the change will not only happen when the man puts himself alone on the title not even considering to add his child.

I: Do you think that the decision not to add the woman on the title is of there at that time?

R: Like I had told you it is when in his heart he has plans to do other things alone.

00:47:32

And at times it is how he has been seeing the woman’s ways so this makes him decide like this because they don’t trust each other.

I: How have these 16 years been with your husband here?

R: Sometimes you find good things and other times you find bad things.

I: We know that many women don’t make these years, they leave and go back home but you are still here. What has kept you going?

R: It is enduring because wherever you live, problems can’t fail to come.

I: Mama, have you ever separated in these 16 years?

R: No, I have never left.

I: Are you the only woman in the home?

R: Yes, I am and we are wedded. But I don’t know surely if I am the only woman because I may say that it is me alone but you find that there is another one but for now I know am the only one.

I: In your view, why do you think that some people are not able to last in their marriage?

R: I think there are many things that can interfere in a home, it all depends on how you can endure. You may find a woman who will say that she can’t handle a man who will go and work in Kampala therefore she leaves the home. Others get to know that their spouse is cheating so they separate.

I: You have talked about a spouse working from far away. How did you allow and trust him to go and work away from you?

R: Even if you have him here, if he wants to marry another woman or cheat on you he will do it. It also doesn’t help you to have him beside you yet the children need many things and the money is scarce. You seeing him near you doesn’t stop him from doing what he wants to, you just have to endure and trust God to help you.

I: In what ways does your husband support you in the things you do?

R: I see that when I explain to him about something now that he is there, he puts all strength to provide and solve whatever fails us here. Also the gardens I have now that I have no energy and like I had told you that my pregnancy was not very good, I see that he takes care to send me money to pay workers to help in the gardens.

I: How do you compare this to other marriages?

R: Things are not the same, they change put there. When he starts looking on the side at other women or if he wants to have another family, he shifts all his thoughts from you and puts them on his new bride and family.

00:52:39

I: How about you, in what ways do you encourage our husband?

R: It is enduring situations even when you know about the bad things about him, you don’t put you heart on them. Also showing him a good heart because it can happen and people come to bring you rumors about what they saw him do. When he comes, I ask him well, I don’t put a lot of force on him, we talk as if we are conversing and we discuss. If he allows his mistake, we look for a solution or I forgive him after him telling me how it all happened.

I: If you don’t mind telling me, like what Mama?

R: Most of the times what disturbs us in marriage, it is knowing that your husband has got another woman or is sleeping with another woman. This is what disorganizes a man and a woman in marriage most of the times.

I: And people come running to give you rumors about this.

R: Yes

I: When he comes, you tell him about this?

R: I ask him slowly with care or I first decrease my pressure for some days so that the anger I had goes away and my heart is back to normal then I ask him well about this and that then he also explains to me. Depending on how you approach him, he can get shy and he also tells you about the thing and you move on.

I: So this has happened.

R: These things can’t fail to be there.

I: Do you think that they were speaking the truth or the rumors were lies?

R: I can’t know well because God is the one who knows. I may not know what is on his heart for sure, he may lie to me at times yet it was the truth. But according to how you have discussed about it, if he tells you that he was in it or he doesn’t know about it, you see that the change that was there comes back again.

I: In your view, is this the same out there or it is in other marriages?

R: The way we don’t resemble on the face that is how we don’t resemble in the hearts. You can find someone saying that she can’t handle such and she leaves. Sometimes no one wants to forgive and let go, the man decides to harden since the woman doesn’t want to let go.

I: In your marriage, who makes the decision on the things you take to be important in your home?

R: We agree with each other because if we have like goats or other animals that are kept in a home like chicken; if I have even bought them for myself, I don’t keep this money for myself. If the children have no school fees or like how the festive season is coming in, I can’t go and buy clothes for myself just because it is my animal therefore I can sell it without his knowledge.

00:57:26

I will tell him that I want this and I am thinking of selling my goat so that it helps me, we agree on it. He can allow me to sell it or tell me that I shouldn’t then he advises me on how to go about it so we agree on it.

I: Mama, do you have goats?

R: No, they were there then I sold them later.

I: How many were they?

R: I had 3 goats.

I: What reason made you sell them?

R: Sometimes you find that you are going to buy something or at times you know that he doesn’t have money yet the children want to be paid for school fees then we agree and sell them.

I: What is the latest important decision you made in your family?

R: It is the one where we sold our animals to buy land.

I: What did you sell?

R: We had sheep and goats.

I: Were the goats for you both or they were yours even though they were here?

R: They were mine.

I: How many sheep did you have?

R: They were 8 sheep.

I: Do you think that this decision making is similar in other homes or there is a difference?

R: Others also agree; you think where do we get all this wisdom. You can have your friend and when you have an issue you talk to them and they advise you but not in all homes they agree. There are some homes where the man talks to the wife and they call their children if they are old and tell them and they agree as a family but this is not in all marriages.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks Mama for talking to me up to now. Allow me take us to the next part. We are going to talk about women and land. We have grown up seeing that land is mostly a man’s thing and there are some aspects we want to know about this. We have no truth but we would like to pick your thoughts. In this village, are there women who own land on their own?

R: Yes, they are there.

I: How did they acquire them?

1:00:13

R: Some you find received it from their parents, they go and sell it then they come and buy land here and she makes her own agreement in her names and then it is her land. Also like I had told you, some families agree while others don’t agree, sometimes us women we do our work of digging or working shifts in other people’s gardens so she gets her money and takes to her savings group since this is the one that gives us the most money. When time for getting her share from the group comes, she buys her land and she doesn’t want her husband to even sign for her as a witness. At times if the man gets to know about this land, it is later. Btr there are others who have land with the men.

I: For the women who own their land, do the husbands know about it or they have the land in secret?

R: Most of the times, women have this land in hiding. Some buy and lie to their husbands that their brothers gave them money to buy for them land yet it is her land.

I: Do some men come to know about this?

R: He can know about it though it is not common he can stay in the lie thinking that it is her brother’s land.

I: How about the inherited land, do men know about it or women also have this one in hiding?

R: If she wants she can keep quiet in the same way.

I: Are there women who own land with their husbands?

R: They can agree together and he gets her land from her home sometimes if there is no one looking after it and she buys from nearby land with her husband. The way you live with your spouse you can know that their ways so they can buy this land together and make an agreement together. For someone to hide land is because they know that their spouse might sell the land and use the money for their own things.

I: In your view, should women be allowed to own land in this village?

R: It should be allowed because it is good.

I: Why do you say that it should be allowed?

R: You know that you have your own land. Most of the times what makes us do this is because men can change themselves later. I can pick my land from home and sell it them we buy land with him here and because he has put his signature like a buyer, he marrieds another woman and then my children suffer while the other woman is in the land which I paid for from my inheritance.

I: Okay. Do you think that women want to own land with their husbands or they want to own land alone?

R: According to how you see your marriage and how you have been is what will give you a picture whether to buy your own land or to keep on working together with your husband.

1:04:15

I: You mean that there are some women who want to have it alone and there are those who want to have it with their husbands.

R: Depending on how they have walked and lived in their family.

I: Why do you think some women want to own land with their husbands?

R: That one hasn’t yet found any issues that can make her think otherwise. If you are on a journey and you haven’t met anything to scare you then you can’t have any fear. If something scares you then you start walking with care to avoid finding another thing to scare you.

I: I know we have already talked about family land and how you understand it. Do you think that women have shares on this family land?

R: No, it depends on the will the man has left behind, there is one who will say that if he dies, all the land should be divided among all the children and the women will be taken care of by her children. There is also one who says that the land should be divided by the children but a certain part that he identified should be given to his wife. If he is alive, he can’t divide for you and tell you that this is your land so you should do whatever you want on the land. This rarely happens.

I: Let us say that in marriage the man wants to sell this family land, does he need to consult the wife first or he can sell as he wants?

R: For the ones who work together as one can ask the wife but if the man has a big head he can say that it is his land therefore he can decide for himself. He says that when he is selling the wife doesn’t need to have a say. He will even go and look for his own buyers then they come home and find you there then they ask you to sign in the book and he tells you forcefully to sign and he sells. If you refuse he can even scare to murder you. If the woman has fear and she signs quickly they will sell. There is a woman who will refuse to sign and runs away but she refuses.

I: Are widows allowed to stay on land after the husband’s death?

R: She is allowed. The man may have been given the land and he didn’t buy it but all the same they have been working on the land together. After his death, they chase her so that she goes to where?

I: And when the widow dies, whose is it?

R: It will now be for the children.

I: Let us say that the children are still young.

R: It will still be for the children because there is proof to show that it is their land. There may be relatives who may take care of them but the land remains theirs.

I: Like you see life today, men may be working that side and he dies like in an accident without leaving a will. Does the widow remain on the land still?

R: 1:08:25

R: If the land has proof to show that it is your land then you can remain on the land but when you find that it is like us who are on our father in-laws land which is not ours officially; someone cans say that he doesn’t want to give his son’s land so the widow will have to leave that land.

I: Supposing the widow didn’t give birth to children, will she stay?

R: Most of the time it is the way you have been working with your spouse and how you agree on things that matters. If the man has not left a will, it then also depends on them. If the family has no heart of taking the land, they can leave her and the land takes care of her and the children or they give her a part of the land to take care of her family too because she was living with her husband and took care of him so they shouldn’t chase her without anything.

I: After this widow dies, does the land go back to the family?

R: If she has no children the land will go back into the hands of the family of the man.

I: Whether they got the land together or it is his inheritance and whether she gave birth to children or not, the widow can stay.

R: I think that she will remain because now they chase her then she goes where.

I: Okay. Do widows sometimes remarry?

R: Yes, they can.

I: Can she bring the man on the land or she has to go elsewhere?

R: Let us say that they had not given birth but even though they gave birth, it wouldn’t be right to bring a man o the land. When you see what happens to your neighbor, you never know it may happen to you. We have seen many men who have worked to leave land for their children so that it can help them tomorrow in their education and even though they have studied they have to find where to start from. You find after his death, the man brings the man and they sell the land and wat the money and even the children sit and stop going to school.

I: Has this happened in this village Mama?

R: Yes.

I: Tell me how it went Mama.

R: There is one who worked hard to get money because he had no education to qualify him for any job, he bought his cows and goats and had his land. They killed him actually, the woman then brought another man and they sold the land under the hiding that she was reporting the people who had murdered the husband. She kept saying that she was spending money on the case yet she was eating the money with the man. This caused her children to sit, they didn’t continue with school, they are there trying to work and have a life.

I: The family came to know that she was selling the land with her new husband.

1:12:50

R: Yes.

I: And the new man also had bad manners, he mistreated the children to the point of them leaving the home. You know how a man behaves when he wants to marry another woman that is how the woman treated her children. When they would talk she would say that they have bad manners. When you see it, it is not good.

I: Why do you think some widows get married again and not stay there?

R: It is in her blood. Because you find that her need is not giving birth in the case that the husband has left her with one child but she has not got married gain to have more children. Other have their manners in the blood and they love to be with men. I no longer see that when a woman loses her husband she gets married again so that the other man can take care of her children, most men don’t come to do much for you as a widow instead they even come to take the little that you have.

I: How about for the ones who don’t get married again, what makes them not to?

R: It can be heart of enduring and he says that she will not get married again but rather take care of her children and work for her things so that she can leave her children somewhere tomorrow. Sometimes this getting married can make you forget your children, so there is nothing much in this thing.

I: Has it happened in this village whereby after her husband’s death the male relatives come and try to grab land from the widow?

R: They are also there.

I: Tell me how it happened Mama.

R: Also this one after the man died the in-laws wanted to grab some land from her. The husband died from an accident he didn’t fall sick like for 3 days, after they told the woman that the land was for their mother and not her husband so she didn’t have a share on the land. But because the chairman and the other village people knew how things were, she went to the authorities and won the case finally but it took a long time.

I: They argued that the land was for his mother.

R: Yes, that she had just given him to build there so they asked the in-laws that if the mother had given her the land and now she has passed away does it mean that it should be taken away from her.

I: But even if the mother gave him the land it was for him and the wife.

R: Yes, and she had to stay on it.

I: In your view, has the treatment of widows changed in the recent days from what it was in the past?

R: Yes, it is changing because the world has changed people are manipulators these days.

1:17:30

I: So were widows treated better in the past times?

R: I think in the past because people had their things they were satisfied and whole with their land and things. When a woman would lose her husband, she would remain in her things with her children and you find no one disturbing her. These days’ people are double minded, someone will be knowing that the land is yours but want to take it away and if they find you soft hearted and fearful they will take it.

I: So you think in the past they were treated better than they are now?

R: In general, what is opinion on all the things that happen to women after losing their husbands?

R: What I think is that I should get my own land which I know that I can live on for all time and make sure it gets the right proof so that should something happen tomorrow then I know that I have my hope somewhere.

I: In your village, are widows treated well or not in your view?

R: Not all of them it depends on how the family is. The way we don’t resemble on the face is the way we don’t resemble in the heart; there are some homes that have bad hearts if the marriage had some fights after the man’s death you find his family trying to interfere with the widow wanting to chase here away so that even the children she has whether it is one or two they say that they will take care of them yet they just want to take the land.

I: Let us talk about the women that have separated or divorced with their husbands, what happens to them on the issue of land?

R: What I see even if you are wedded and you say that you don’t agree anymore, you can separate and everyone will remain on their land. Others like I had told you when the woman wants to cheat the man off his land, she can tell the man that they have to share because she is the woman with ring therefore she has to get a share of the land. She refuses to go without a share saying that everyone knows her as his wife and for all the years like how I have spent 16 years here, she will say that she was also working and he wasn’t paying her so they have to share the land. At times you may have worked to buy the land by bringing money together, she can refuse to go saying that she can’t go and then he brings another woman on the land so they have to share the land. There is also a woman who will just let go and separate with the man then she goes to start afresh and do her thing.

I: So in your view, the land is dependent on what the woman decides?

R: Yes.

I: Has it happened before whereby they separate but the man leaves the house to the woman is the one who leaves the home even if the fault is for the man?

R: There are men who also decide to leave to calm his anger because he knows that if he stays there he might kill the woman. He goes away for years and years.

I: He leaves her with the land and house.

1:23:09

R: Even the children.

I: You told me about the wedded women, how about the ones that are not wedded?

R: It also happens there instead of the women leaving the man leaves, they are also there.

I: Do you think that there is a difference between the wedded woman and the one who is not wedded to get land?

R: It depends on the ways of a person, there is a woman who will go saying that the world changes so she goes to start afresh but there is also one who will not leave but decide to fight with the man until she gets the land.

I: When women separate, do they have a right to go and report?

R: Some can go and report but others let go.

I: When she goes to report does she get the land or there are times when she doesn’t get the land even though she has reported?

R: Most of the time it depends on how they separated. There is when the man has married another woman so he wants to now take the land and give it to the other women yet this woman he has separated with has children who need to be taken care of. In this disagreement the man wants the woman to leave the home but leave the children behind, the women will now decide to go to the authorities to get help. They will also decide who has the biggest fault and if it is the man, they come and divide the land and the woman also gets some but she gets it so that she can take care of the children from there.

I: And when the fault is for the woman?

R: If it is for the woman it depends on how they find the issue to be.

I: When the woman separates with the man, does she go with the children or she has to leave them with the man?

R: Many women eave the children behind.

I: In all the ways these women are treated that separate with their husbands, is there anything you would like to see change or the current way is acceptable?

R: The issues are not the same; depending on the issue that has taken her I still don’t think that it is good for them to separate. But the issue that causes them to separate is the one that brings about sharing the land or not sharing it.

I: The way you have seen these women treated, is it good or it is not in some way?

R: Most of the times they are bad.

I: What would you want to see change about these?

R: I think it would be good if people knew that there is no place you can go to and find only

1:26:56

good things. So you should be easy and live together. It normally happens that your animals may go and eat someone’s garden, after this that person comes with a lot of anger to talk to you because you have spoilt their garden. When they come in this way, you should soften and show that you are sorry about their gardens then in this way you can find a solution whether you repay their spoilt food or they forgive you but after decreasing the pressure of the anger they came with in the first place. This is the same in marriage, I say that one of the two needs to tome down and they solve the issue that has come than separating. This I also think doesn’t happen all the time depending on how someone takes their life.

I: In your view, why do you think men will want or not want to add their wives on the title.

R: Like I had told you it is one of the two, to find that there is heart that the man doesn’t show the woman or how he sees his wife being double minded and he knows that tomorrow she might do otherwise should a change happen to them.

I: Supposing this man doesn’t add the wife on the title and she gets to know about it, are there any problems that will come out of this?

R: There is a woman who will be offended by this that the husband didn’t add her on the title because it may not help her tomorrow should the man chase her away but there is also one who doesn’t care according to the time they have lived together she sees that the man has not shown her any bad picture.

I: In your view, if a woman is able to own land with their husbands, can this decrease conflict in their marriage?

R: No it can’t, think if there is no change then nothing can disturb you.

I: Do you think it can increase conflict in a marriage?

R: No, this is right from the beginning where you agree or not agree. We all don’t have the same hearts too so you just have to pray because no one can say they have experience in marriage or in doing something and it always works. Only grace can keep you.

**Land disputes**

I: Let us get in our last part which is about disputes on land. I would love to know what you think is the most common cause of disputes on land.

R: What causes the most disputes on land is when you have parents; some parents divide the land when they are still alive and give the children all equal parts but later he keeps on adding some land. At times you find a father who wants to sell the land but the children don’t want him to sell yet he had already given them their parts. These bring about disputes and fights.

I: Let us say that these disputes are there, what usually happens?

R: The family now has darkness and there will be no agreement.

1:33:23

I: When these fights come, is there a way they can be resolved within the family?

R: I think that if they decide to agree then they can end it after resolving the issue that led to the dispute.

I: Is there a time when it can’t be resolved in the family?

R: There is when they even kill each other.

I: When do you call the village people to help in such disputes?

R: In most times when there is such a dispute, even though the village people come. They can call them but one of the people in the dispute will stand up and tell the village person that he can’t come to resolve his land because he doesn’t have a share on it and doesn’t know it. The authorities are the ones that can come to resolve such issues.

I: Mama, is there a dispute that has happened recently here?

R: It isn’t here.

I: You people here don’t have land disputes.

R: We have people who quarrel about *migorora* when someone extends their land like that.

I: These are the most common issues here?

R: Yes, but they don’t become big. Most times they call the chairman and the people who know where the boundaries were passing or the ones that planted the *migorora* and they organize it again.

I: Supposing that one side of the people in a dispute has a land title, can this help go resolve the dispute?

R: It can help them.

I: In what way Mama?

R: The title can help to show where its owner was passing and how their land goes.

I: In general, what do you advise be done to help people with land security problems like the unequal shares given by parents an all these problems.

R: I am getting tired now, my head is now not well.

I: Sorry Mama, this is the last one.

R: I think that if they find something that they can’t resolve they should go to the chairman and get help in resolving the issue.

I: How about for the parents who don’t give their children equal shares, what can be done?

1:37:15

R: This one can’t be removed because all parents have their own hearts and thought. The parent can say that they will decide what they want therefore no one can decide for them.

I: Mama, have you ever been involved in any land dispute?

R: No, I have never.

I: Thanks for talking to me even though you were weak, my last question is where do you think we come from?

R: I know that you are from the world bank organization because some days ago there is a man who called me and he came here first and told me that you would come and then he gave me another date. He wanted my husband to come but the dates were changed, he called me and I had just come from the hospital so I told him that I am always home at all times.

I: Mama, do you have any questions on what we have discussed today?

R: I don’t have it; my head is also not well now.

I: Okay Mama, we can end there. Here is a small gift to thank you for your time.

R: Thank you, I appreciate it.

1:39:33