**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 31/10/2019

Name of respondent: Consolanta

H.H I. D: 4540231

Title status: Joint title

Interview start time: 11:51 am

Interview stop time: 2:06 pm

Age: 42

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 4

No. of people living in the household: 4

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: None

Highest level of education: Primary 4

No. of years living in the village: 20

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: mud, sand, poles, solar

Interview Duration: 2:15:51

We had the interview in the respondent’s house, it rained but we managed to work through it. Their house is made of mud, sand, poles and they have solar for lighting. She knows about titling and told me that she was the skeptic because the land they had picked to title was the biggest and seeing that they had worked to buy their land and there could be a possibility that the biggest land that they had worked hard to buy with the husband could be going away right under their eyes worried her but her husband was calm about it and told her that it is a good thing and should their land be stolen, then they can start again from zero and work again for more. She told me that her husband was never given any inheritance therefore they worked together to buy the 3 plots of land that they have. One is close to a half acre, the second is acres, and the third one is a quarter acre of land.

They have only 4 children and they are all in boarding school except for their first born who is working in Kamwengye. She told me that she looked after two other children one of them was her husband’s child that she found him with and the other their in-law brought the child for them and she raised them until they left to also go and work. They live only two of them at home until the holidays when their children come back. They look to be middle class according to the work they do and their ability to educate their children. She was engaged and very welcoming, she prepared for us lunch. She loved tilting mainly because it keeps their land and it had made her be firm in her marriage. They are primarily farmers and earn more income from the harvest through she also told me that her husband operates a grocery shop of charcoal, bananas and other small things in the trading centre.

**Warm up**

I: Tell me how your morning has begun today?

R: It is a good morning.

I: Today, you didn’t go to the garden, you remained here.

R: You can’t fail to pass by there. When they told us that you would come at 11 am, I went there early morning and left at 9 am.

I: How early did you go there?

R: You see we are in the weeding season for beans and millet.

I: I would rather weed beans than millet.

R: Now for us we can’t escape it because we dig all of them, beans, millet and ground nuts. So I went and worked and came back to prepare for you our visitors.

I: Okay. How was yesterday?

R: It ended well here we have no issue.

I: That is good to know. I am glad to meet you and thanks for welcoming us.

R: Thanks for coming.

I: I have found only you and your husband, where are the rest?

R: All our children are all at school, they all sleep there so we are here just the two of us.

I: I see there is no child to make you run around or cook lunch for.

R: I left that stage of cooking lunch.

I: Congratulations on that.

R: Yes, now all we do is try to work and get their school fees and buy their books.

I: I see the picture of your daughter up there, she graduated this year?

R: Yes, last year in November.

I: Is she your first born, congratulations to her.

R: She is my first born but I found my husband with one boy child.

I: Where is she as of now?

R: She is that side of Kamwengye, she is working with a water organization. She graduated,

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but she has not yet got a job.

I: Okay. What does she do at this water organization?

R: They normally call her when they are going to dig holes and the office calls her to help them.

I: What did she study Mama?

R: She did a diploma in civil engineering.

I: We hope she gets the job and she stays there for longer. Well done.

R: We have tried.

**Background information, household structure and land ownership**

I: Mama, our first part of the conversation is about your household, and land. How many children do you have?

R: I have 4 children

I: I see that they are not many.

R: It depends on the way you think and the way you work and the things you have. When you give birth to many children and put them there, now me and my husband didn’t go to school and we found that we had no land so we worked hard to buy land and live. So now you give birth to children and just put them there, don’t you see that you will carry a cross.

I: You have said that you found that your husband had no land, wasn’t he given land at his home?

R: No, they didn’t give him land.

I: What happened Mama?

R: The father was staying in the town so when they gave birth to him, his father left him with his grandmother and she is the one that grew him. When he was older, the grandmother fell sick and he decided to go and get work, when he was there working, his grandmother passed on. When his step mother had come to bury her mother in law she found that my husband had nowhere to go, she brought him to her home in Kabira and took care of him. She had bought her own land and given birth to 2 children, she looked after my husband until he grew up. When he grew up as a youth, he decided to build his house there on her land but she told him that she has not given him any land so he must go and look for his own land. His father sold off their land until it was done and this is how I found him with nothing. We worked and bought a quarter of a quarter acre of land and we built our house there and we continued cultivation, harvesting and buying land. This is how we moved on.

I: I see why the few number of children.

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R: Those are enough, you may give birth to many children and you fail to put them through school yet you also never went through school. Where will your children go? This is what made us decide to look after our few children and pray to have grace like other people.

I: So you said that you found him with a child, where is he?

R: I have taken care of him, I found him a very young baby so I took care of him he went to school. After senior 4, he went to Kampala to work. When his results came back, we called him to come he refused, the father went there to Kampala to check on him but he refused to come and go ahead in school. That is where he is.

I: Well done, some women don’t take care of the children they find in the home.

R: There is also my sister in law who also bought a child here, and I welcomed that child, he studied and finished senior 4 and he is also there working now. That is how we live in this village.

I: You said that you have 4 children, how many boys and girls are they?

R: The girls are 3 and 1 boy.

I: They are all in boarding school. In what class is your last born

R: In senior 1

I: Let me ask how old you are.

R: I am 42 years old.

I: I see some people saying that they can’t give birth to a few children because they might die so they give birth to more children because of this.

R: But you can give birth to 10 children and they all die and you can also give birth to 4 children and they all live. So whether you give birth to one child, that child can live. If you go by death, it was created so nothing you can do about it.

I: Mama, what activities bring you money?

R: I cultivate and harvest and pother times I go and dig for other people as casual labor and they pay me then I go back to my gardens.

I: What crops do you normally harvest to sell?

R: Beans, ground nuts and cassava and millet sometime. Millet is less these days, it no longer brings much yields like those days so sometimes we keep it for hunger times and sell other crops like beans.

I: What class did you study up to?

R: I stopped in primary 4 and I think our parents those days used not to mind about school,

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so it would be like one parent in many who would mind about schooling their children.

I: How long have you lived here?

R: I have been here since 1999, how many years are those.

I: Let me see, about 20 years. Before you came here, where were you coming from?

R: I am from Omukikaire there in Rubindi.

I: You told me that when you were getting married to your husband, you found him at his step mother’s home. For how long did you live there?

R: We spent about 1 year there.

I: So Mama, are these your marriage years?

R: No, I got married in 1995

I: Do you often go back home?

R: Yes, I go back.

I: What reasons cause you to go there?

R: I go to see my mother.

I: Okay. Does she live there with any one?

R: She stays with her mother. She doesn’t have any children who are still at home. The children that came after us have a chance of being educated. The first girls we didn’t study but the ones who came after, for them they have been in school for long. I think the years have changed and for them they got the chance.

I: Your mother is still able to go to the garden.

R: She is old.

I: So is he able to go to the gardens and dig?

R: Yes, she works, you know people who worked long ago, can work. She only got a back problem but the gardens she tells you that she cultivated you can’t believe that it is her. She works all the same.

I: After how long do you go there?

R: No, because I have remained here alone, I spend a long time. You find me in the gardens weeding doing the other work so I don’t get the time. If I don’t hear that my mother is sick or in any pain, I take some time to go there. I can take like 2 months without going there.

I: Okay 2 months. How about a year, can it end?

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R: No, not even 6 months. If I am there, I can ask myself whether she is okay then I run and go there. She has her mother there, so I go there to wash for them their clothes because I am the girl who got married near home. I go and wash for them since my mother has a back problem and she lives with my grandmother who can’t also do work.

I: Thank you for this. It is also rare to find two old women; mother and daughter still staying together. Mama, do you have land that you own?

R: No, I don’t have.

I: I am wondering whether you received a share from home?

R: My father gave us but one plot of land for all of us the girls. He gave us a quarter acre of land for all of 6 girls. Now how could we 6 share that small piece of land, we decided to leave it with our mother to dig it and use it.

I: Did he leave something with your mother?

R: Yes, she has her own land.

I: Okay. The boys were also given their shares.

R: Yes, but they got a chance and went to school so they bought their other land and added onto the shares that they had received from our father.

I: How many children were you?

R: We are 8 children, 2 passed on so we were 10.

I: What number were you?

R: I am the third born.

I: This means that everyone after you is the one who went to school.

R: Actually my followers didn’t also go to school but the ones after are the ones who were educated.

I: Okay thanks for telling me that. So you left your share for your mother.

R: Yes, now how could we share that land, we have 2 girls who are for my step mother, one wanted her share so we cut for her share and she took it but the rest of us decided to leave the land.

I: What proof of ownership do you have?

R: We have a will that our father left.

I: Is there land that you own with your husband?

R: Yes

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I: Sorry about your cough, may be you want to go and get something to chew on.

R: Let me go and get some ginger. I suffer with an allergy during the rainy season.

I: Sorry about this. You were still telling me about the land that you own with your husband.

R: We were buying different pieces of land so we have land in 4 places.

I: How big is this one where you are?

R: This is close to a half acre.

I: And the second one, how big is it?

R: It is a quarter acre of a banana plantation, the other one is 2 acres of land and the last one is a quarter acre.

I: How did you acquire all this land?

R: We bought it.

I: I would love to know whether you bought it together with your husband.

R: Yes, I would sign on the agreements.

I: Would you sign as a witness or as one who has bought?

R: I would sign as a buyer too.

I: Okay. I am wondering whether you have already shared for your children on this land.

R: No, we haven’t

I: What activities do you carry out on all the land? You said that one is a banana planation, how about the rest?

R: We plant beans somewhere and there is coffee too, millet and groundnuts.

I: So how much did you buy here for?

R: We first bought it at 120,000 because that time land was still bought at good prices so we added something small afterward which we bought 370,000. The banana plantation land we bought it at 500,000 shillings.

I: That was much money according to the times those days. How about the other two?

R: The one of 2 acres, we didn’t buy it all together. That person would sell to us a quarter to day, then he adds us a small piece another day. We bought some piece altogether on this land at 210,000 but the rest were small pieces that we kept adding to this big piece until it became bigger.

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I: Then the last one?

R: We bought it at 70,000 shillings. Those days in the 1990’s land was cheap but you had to also work and look for that money however small it was.

I: You know you can tell someone about the 70,000 shillings and they see it as little money but those days it was hard to get and more valuable. Thanks for telling me about this. Who works on your land?

R: We work on it by ourselves.

I: Is there a time when you bring workers to work for you or?

R: May be like now that the children are all gone. When the weeds are too much like now, we look for someone to weed for us and we pay them. Most of the time I cultivate with my husband because when you decide to invest in money you may fail to get what you are looking for so you have to put in your energy and work.

**General land**

I: In our next part, we will talk about land in general. Yours but also for others inclusive. I would love to know how people in this village come about to own land?

R: There are people who have bought land but I also heard something there in Buhweju, a rich man came and got a title of people’s land and he came after sometime and chased them away saying that the land is his. I think there are some people who do this and get land so if you don’t have money to report such a person, then you will lose your land.

I: Are there people who own land but from other ways than these?

R: There are some who receive land from their parents.

I: In this village in what way mostly have people acquired land?

R: There are those who have inheritance from their parents.

I: Okay. Can someone access and use land that is not theirs?

R: You can rent it. Someone can tell you that thy have their land that is half acre, so they ask you to pay 100,000 for it and then you pay and start digging.

I: Okay. Is it possible for someone to use the land for cultivation but not pay rent?

R: There are people who cheat the land owners and don’t pay the rent after the season.

I: So the rent money is paid before or after the season?

R: Land owners learnt this so they ask you for money before you get their land. In the recent past days, someone would come and you give them the land, they plant their crops and harvest and don’t pay the money. To rent land now, you first pay then you cultivate the land.

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I: Okay. Do you have people that give others free land?

R: No, you have to invest money.

I: How about this method of cultivating and you share the harvest, is it still working here?

R: This was here in the past days but now it is not there because someone will harvest just little out of the season and now what will they give the land owner. So they decided that you have to pay money only to rent land. If you get a good harvest, then that is it and if it is a bad then that is it but the land owner is not affected in any way.

I: If someone wants to sell their land that they own, do they need to consult with anyone in the village?

R: You can find that you have a friend of yours that you can ask and if you are buying you can ask the chairman that so and so is selling their land, do you know it very well. Because sometimes a man may have land that he is selling but he wants to sell it without the wife or children’s knowledge. So when you ask the chairman it is a good road because he will let you know about the land you are going to buy.

I: Supposing if it is your man who wants to sell land, does he need to consult with any on or he can go and sell as he wants?

R: He has to ask me the wife first and the children so that we know why he is going to sell that land.

I: Do you think that this is a law here?

R: I think it should even be a law.

I: What if the land is his inheritance and it is in his names, why does he have to consult you first since it is his alone?

R: The way I know I, many times when they are giving the man land, they do so when he has married and then they divide for him his share on the land. So this means that they have given the land to both the man and the wife.

I: This means that they can’t give a man land before he marries?

R: No, they can’t. He doesn’t have a home yet so after getting the wife that is when they give him this land.

I: And this means that the land is for both the husband and wife even though it tis in his name alone.

R: That is how it is and should be.

I: Okay. When someone says that this family land, how do you understand it?

R: Family land I think that it is land which has the man, wife and children living there.

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They all use it together.

I: Since they are using it together, does everyone do whatever they want on the land?

R: Now, if everyone wants to do whatever they want then it won’t help them because if let us say you have half acre of land and the one of goats says they want to put their goats here, the one of chicken says they want to put their chicken there. I think if you use it for one thing that you have agreed upon, it can give you better yields than everyone doing their own things.

I: Do you think that that there is someone who has authority over this land or everyone has the authority?

R: The authority should be for the man and woman.

I: Let us say that tomorrow the man and women are no longer there, does the family land stay like that or?

R: Without being used?

I: That when they want to do something, they all do it as one like you had said.

R: After the parents leaving, every child normally wants to do whatever they want and they have their way of thinking but I still think that if they sit on the table and agree to do the same thing it benefits them more. But I think most of the times, every child wants to get their own share, there is one who wants to sell so it takes the responsibility of the man and wide to write their will as how that land will be used so that when they are not around tomorrow, the children will not fight each other.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Have you rented land before?

R: To go out and I rent land and dig, yes.

I: How much land have you rented now?

R: I have rented a quarter of land.

I: What have you cultivated there?

R: I put millet.

I: I would love to know why you didn’t use your land.

R: My land is all cultivated so I went to get more for the millet because at mine I have out more beans.

I: When you are always renting land most of the time, how much do you normally get?

R: We would usually rent land and cultivate then harvest and sell then buy our land. So we would rent different pieces because we were also trying to get money and buy our own.

I: Mama, have you sold land before?

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R: Yes.

I: How big was the land you sold?

R: It was about to reach a quarter acre of land. Our daughter was going to study her diploma and we found out that we didn’t have enough money with us so we decided to sell and he goes to school instead of sitting at home.

I: When did you sell it?

R: It is about 3 years ago, because we sold when she was going to start school.

I: Did you cut off that land from this one?

R: No, it was some small piece we had bought as we were adding to the one I told you that they would sell to us in pieces.

I: How much money did they give you from it?

R: They gave us between 1.2 and 1.5 million.

I: What are the different ways to show that someone has ownership of land apart from the agreement and will?

R: It is this title because God has been gracious to help us so that you can come and help us.

I: In you view, to find that you have ownership over land, what does that mean to you?

R: It can help me as a person because as a woman you need it to get more income but like you know I didn’t get my own land.

I: As you get the extra income, does it help you alone or?

R: It helps us as the whole family but also it helps you as a woman because sometimes you want something so instead of going to dig for other people a shift to get the money, you get it from your own garden. You may find that you have a quarter acre of land with coffee and when you pick it, you sell it and get 200,000 so you contribute like 150,000 shillings to the children’s school fees and remain with 50,000 shillings. If I want vaseline, I buy it for myself from this money but if it is the land for the family, the budget changes and you may not think of getting your own vaseline. But if you have your own land then you can get something for yourself too.

I: So Mama, when you dig for a shift, how much do they pay you?

R: It is 4,000 shillings.

I: For you to dig and get the money you want; how many shifts do you normally do?

R: When you need money, you have to go to other people’s garden and work up to 1 pm then leave and got to work in your own gardens. If you need 10,000 shillings then you will work three shifts.

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I: Is it usual in this village that people go to dig for shifts in other people’s gardens?

R: Yes, it is there because the circumstances have changed and the village life can be hard at times so you have to go to the one who has money and work there.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. What advantages are there in having a woman’s names included on these land documents?

R: It helps me as a woman because if the man wants to sell the land, the buyer has to make sure that they first know that the wife is there. This is the good thing I know about this. He can’t go and sell the land from there because if I bring my agreement where my signature is if you re the buyer won’t you start pleading with me.

I: What other good things are there aprt from the one that the man can’t sell the land without you?

R: I think as a woman it helps me knowing that I have proof of ownership over that land as his wife. Even if he decides to get another woman out there like most men normally do, he can’t disturb me so much because I know that I have my signature on that land and he has to go and work for something new with his other wife.

I: Do you think that there are some problems that would come from having a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: I don’t see the problem there in truth.

I: You had told me that you inherited land but left it with your mother, do you hope to inherit more land in the days to come?

R: Yes, because I will get a share on this land with my husband.

I: Supposing your mother is not there tomorrow, who land will it that she has been having?

R: I don’t know because everyone has their own way of thinking.

I: So meaning that she will decide whom she will leave the land to or whom she will give it to.

R: Her land. I told you I have no hope because people who have gone to school are very clever and wise. You may find that one of my siblings has duplicated the land and says that she sold her land to educate her children, will I go there and argue against this that you want it. I don’t think to get land from there anymore.

I: Mama, tell me why you have the hope here to inherit more land?

R: Why I have the hope here is because we worked to attain this land and I know where we started from buying land and therefore I have the hope here.

I: Which land did you title?

R: It is where I told you that there it is 2 acres of land.

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I: So they toured all the pieces and picked this one.

R: Yes.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. You said that you hope and think to get more land here. I would love to know if you think that it is usual that if a woman is on the land with her husband, she then owns that land or will inherit it.

R: According to how I see myself working together with my husband, I have hope that I will get an inheritance here.

I: Okay. Is there any way that people in this village are fearful of losing their land?

R: Yes.

I: Tell me more.

R: It is there. You see the government works are coming here, they told us that they are bringing electricity, there are roads they are already cutting. If the road is passing near your house wont they just destroy your house and you go away.

I: Are you in the city council?

R: The electricity is going to pass here and go to Igorora (a town in Ibanda district).

I: So people are worried that they will cut off their land.

R: Yes, now like us who are near the road, we are worried.

I: What are the people doing to try and prevent their land loss?

R: We would have tried but you see in trying to get ownership over land it takes money which you may not have. You may be thinking about it to get money and keep you land from being taken away like that but yet you have not yet got the money.

I: How about the other people, are there any things they are trying to do to avoid losing their land?

R: Nothing.

I: If you are able to get more land, in what ways would you acquire it?

R: If I get money I will buy it but I am even laughing because this is far from me.

I: Why do you say that it is far Mama?

R: Yes, land these days is every expensive and it costs much money which I see I can’t work for and get it.

I: But may be also now that the children are finishing the higher education, you can get off some money to buy the land.

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R: Maybe when thy finish and they start working work also and they get for us land.

I: Mama, do you personally have family land according to how you explained it to me?

R: I think it is this one here.

I: What crops do you have here?

R: There is coffee, and we put beans down.

I: Is there a banana plantation here?

R: No, we planted it first but it uprooted itself after this we decided to put in coffee.

I: Who makes the decisions on your land like what to plant and where to plant it?

R: It is me.

I: Does your husband get to know about this or it is entirely you to decide?

R: We decide together he knows but I tell him that I would love to out millet here then we agree.

I: So most of the time they are your programs?

R: Yes.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks mama for telling me about that. I n our next part, we will talk about titles. We want to know about your thoughts an experience with these. What does a title mean to you Mama?

R: I think a title is to keep your land. If you have land and it has a title and the electricity we talked about is going to pass in your land, you feel firm.

I: Okay, so there are people that are scared of this. How about you?

R: Yes, because this is not the land in the title, so when they say that they are coming, we become sad worrying about our land.

I: Of what use id the title in your view?

R: To keep land. The other use I have seen in the title, if you go to get a loan from the bank and they know that you have a land title, they don’t over disturb you because they know that you are safe with your land so they give you the money in full and you use it and repay it back.

I: Have you used it to go and get a loan?

R: Yes, this term. Our coffee didn’t come out the way we thought and the season became hard so we asked ourselves what we would do. So we had very little coffee so went and filled the

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the forms and the person who came to tour our land said that our land has no problem since it is even title, he took the title and we got the money we wanted. We were happy because we got the money to help us. Sometimes before, they would come tour you land, you sign but the money takes longer.

I: Was this a bank or your savings group?

R: It is a savings group in Rubindi.

I: How much money did you get?

R: We got 500,000 shillings.

I: Have finished repaying it back?

R: Not yet, we are paying it back, slowly by slowly.

I: So I would love to know whether you took your original title or a photocopy.

R: I don’t know if he was able to do a photocopy because when we were taking back children to school, things were hard and he had gone to photocopy but the electricity was off. You see he sleeps in Kagongi and I sleep here, so I hadn’t asked him how he did it.

I: How come he sleep that side and not here?

R: He put there a business of a grocery shop, he sells charcoal and bananas.

I: So when do you link up here?

R: He is always here working with me during the day and after lunch he goes there.

I: If he stays here the whole day almost, what times does he open the shop?

R: It is not that the shop is very busy, he mostly sells charcoal and bananas and the cooking people have always have be leaving their work and they buy to prepare.

I: So how come he decided not to work during the day and come to sleep here?

R: You know you can’t keep leaving the shop and people know that you don’t sleep there, they will come and break into it and steal the things. So it is not every day that he sleeps there but sometimes he does and people know that he stays there.

I: I have understood that.

R: One week he will be here and then the next week he will be at the shop all the time.

I: In your view, what difference is there between a title and these other documents that show ownership of land?

R: I think the difference is there because to make the agreement, there will be our signature,

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some witness from the village people and the chairman LC 1 but for the title I think it comes from the district therefore it is more known from down here to up there at the district. I think this is the difference.

I: Is there any other difference?

R: Even in the way you use them, there is a difference. You can’t take the agreement and just get money easily like for the one with a title.

I: Tell me, do you mean in the amount of money one will get or the accessing of the money?

R: In making it easy to get the loan. It is like when you say that this one has a degree, the other one has a diploma, then the other one is getting a second degree. So I think this is how it is.

I: So Mama, were you able to sign on this title?

R: Yes, I signed too.

I: I would love to know how the decision for you to sign came about. Did you have any talk with your husband or?

R: When these people came to talk to us, I first refused and told my husband that we don’t understand these people, they have gone to school and they may have more wisdom and take the government will take our land. He first kept quiet and didn’t answer me so after some days he came told me that we allow the government to give us the title and if they take the land way then we can always work for more land. I first got scared and feared as a woman knowing that the government will take their title later and take away our land but he told me that it is okay let us allow and title the land.

I: Okay, so you were the one that first didn’t understand at first.

R: Yes, I didn’t understand.

I: Is there any other person you may have consulted about this title aside from your husband?

R: No, the people that were coming, I would ask them that are they sure that they will not take our land and they told me that no and their main aim is to give us the title.

I: After all this, you later allowed?

R: Yes.

I: Do you think that women love to be on the title with their husband?

R: The way I see it; they love it but it depends on the thinking of someone. You may find the woman trying to refuse and you find the title leaving you. I think that if you talk and discuss, you can get on it. But there are some who refuse depending on how they have been living together then you find that they are not agreeing with each other. You find every one going their own way so they fail to be on the title.

00:57:09

I: For what other reason do you think women love being on the title with their husband?

R: It helps one of the tow if the other is not alive, they will know that they have authority over the land than only one person being on the title.

I: How does this authority help the surviving spouse when they are on the title after their other spouse is gone?

R: If I want money, I can get it or if people are passing they know that the land is mine even though my husband is not alive any more.

I: Do you think that there are women who don’t love it to be on titles with their husbands?

R: Yes.

I: Why do you think this woman will not love it?

R: There are marriages that separate and they are in a mess with the husband and wife all doing their own thing. They are there but the man knows how he will cook and eat and the too will choose what she will cook and eat. You can’t get this family to be in a line and be on the title.

I: So Mama, have you preferred it being on the title?

R: Yes.

I: What has mad you love it being on the title?

R: Because when it old him my fears, he told me that the title will keep our land tomorrow if we get it. I knew that they are going to give us a title and out it in their names and take our land, this is the thinking I had.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. I would love to know what benefits you think will be there in having both the husband and wife listed on the title.

R: I think that if we are going to use our land in any way we have to talk about it together because we are both on the title. No one will use the land without the other person’s knowledge.

I: What other benefits are there or what you have seen since you are on the title with your husband?

R: What I also seen is getting a loan together and we take our children to school.

I: In your view, why do you think some men refuse to add their wives’ names on the title?

R: I think these issues come from way back. Whether you bought the land together or he inherited it, you find that in your working everyone works and takes his side. If you harvest like 200 kilograms of beans, the man wants to take 100 kilograms and the woman too wants to take 100 kilograms so you find that they had no oneness from way back so even when the title comes, the man will say that since the woman was dividing their produce wont she chase him out of the land. You find this way of thinking causing the man not to put his wife on the title.

1:01:30

I: Do you think that there are reasons that are from women that my lead the man not to add her on the title?

R: Yes. Like what these children normally say that itis dot com. You find that the man is there working but as he is working, whatever I am doing her as a woman, I keep hiding them. If he leaves coffee for me after harvesting it and it is one sack, by the time he comes back he finds that it is now half a sack. So when you are in this way of living, he decides not to put you on the title tomorrow.

I: Do you think that there are some reasons that are only from the men and they decide not to put their wife on the title?

R: If a man has two wives, you find that he began working with the older wife and they worked together so she wants to be on the title, and the man wants to instead put the younger wife. You find them pulling each other and they fail to go on the title.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Before you met the people that came here to talk to you about titles, were there people who had titles in this village?

R: I don’t know of anyone in this village.

I: In your view, how do you think people get titles apart from the people that visited you and gave you titles?

R: The greatest thing is when you have money, I think then you can know where they pass to get the title. But if you don’t have the money, you can’t even know where they go to.

I: Let us say that you had money, where would you start from to get this title?

R: I think if you go to the LC 1 chairman and at the sub county and you ask them then they will show you the way you should go through.

I: Okay. So there were no people with titles in this village.

R: They were not there.

I: In general, what do you think people in your village think about titles?

R: I think they think about them, also us we thought about it but we didn’t have the money. I hear them talking about the titles on radio saying that they require much money.

I: How much did they say it costs?

R: I don’t know but I hear that for a small plot starts from 500,000 shillings and more depending on the size of the land that is the money they will ask from you.

I: So they talk about titles on radio most of the time?

R: I just found it this one day, I don’t listen to radio most of the time because I be tired. But titles cost money.

1:05:11

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thanks for explaining all that to me. Allow me go to our next part which is about your experience in title and the conversations you had with your husband about titles according to what you remember. So Mama, after them coming the first time and talking to you, tell me about that conversation you had with your husband after.

R: After they left, that is when I told him that they are going to take our land. He told me that if they take the land then we shall find another way to live but in my heart I stayed with the thought that they are still going to take the land. But because we have always talked together, when he encouraged me saying that we go into this government programme because sometimes one can benefit from such programmes.

I: Okay. So he encouraged you more.

R: Yes.

I: So they came back the second time and visited you, would they talk to you both or they would talk to each of you separately?

R: Yes, we went out side with the woman and they remained inside.

I: After them leaving, what did you discuss with your husband?

R: I asked him what they were talking to him about but he didn’t tell me.

I: Okay. So after them also planting the stones, hat more did you talk about all this?

R: Still I told him that now since they have pout the stone it means that we have allowed the land to go like that. He said that how come I still had that thing of thinking that they would take our land, and he again told me that the land will not be taken away from us so I should leave it.

I: It seems he understand the whole process better, why do you think he was firm to accept?

R: He had much hope and I don’t know where he even got it from.

I: Finally, they brought your title, how did this go for you both?

R: We were just happy, we talked about it and he was saying that God is great to see that our land has a title. Because we bought this land in halves and pieces, the seller who sold us the land did so with his younger wife and his older wife had left. After the older wife came back and people started telling them that they should get back their land from us which the man had sold to us but the children and their mother never minded about these words. She was our friend but her and the children didn’t mind about all the talk. Actually we used to talk and say that won’t this woman come back with her children and they chase us away from this land. The man later on died and the agreements we had were signed by him and the younger wife. So we were happy that finally the land we have been worried about is the one that has been titled.

I: Okay, I see that you made the agreements with the younger wife.

1:09:30

I think that was a chance that the older wife was tour friend too.

R: Yes, I think she also understood the problems of her husband, and therefore she didn’t try to bother with anything. Actually she also sold to us another piece off that land and she shifted and left.

I: How has this experience of titling been for you all through? What would you say about it?

R: To get a title for our land yet I hear that a title costs money, I am happy to find that my small land that I have with my husband is in a title and protected well.

I: Do you hope to also get titles for the rest of your pieces of land?

R: That is what is aid especially for this land that is near the road. If God helps us like how he does and we get the money, this land should be titled.

I: Thanks for telling me about the conversations you had with your husband. So from the time you went on the title, is there anything that has changed in your home maybe in the way you make your decisions or talk these days?

R: We have had thankfulness mostly because our land in the title and even when we think and talk about this land, we know that our land is now safe.

I: How about for you as a woman, is there anything that has changed in the way you talk with your husband?

R: These days I also feel firm.

I: Tell me what you mean that you feel firm?

R: To find that me as a woman I am on the title, it shows that I am firm as a wife in the home since we now have land together with my husband on the title.

I: I would love to know; you have said that you feel firm now, weren’t you firm before? How was it then?

R: I was also firm knowing that the land is ours and we bought and we have been using it but because we had made an agreement and now we have a title for it, this causes me to be more firm on the land.

I: Has this changed anything in your marriage?

R: Yes.

I: How Mama?

R: Yes, we have been talking, working together but sometimes I would sit and think that should anything change, wont I find that he has built a building there and he has taken the agreement then we start running around. But now let us say that the agreement is not there and it is claimed that am not there, will I also not be there on the title. Therefore, I feel that my marriage is

1:14:11

becoming more firm and knowing that truly the land is mine and for my husband and no one can come now to interfere with it.

I: Do you think that in marriages, after a couple getting a title it changes them from how they were before?

R: Many times, yes you have the land and you know that it is yours and you have a signature on the agreement. But sometimes, the man shows you that the land you bought, you don’t have the authority over it. So as a woman you start thinking in the things you that what if this man changes the agreement one day and makes another, wont he bring another woman and this makes you stay unstable. If you have an agreement and now you also have a title, you also know that your marriage is now firm. It is like how you get married without a wedding and then later you wed and get a marriage certificate that is when you know that you can move on confidently.

I: So Mama, you wedded?

R: Yes.

I: Where is your ring Mama?

R: (She laughs), when it is wedding time, I remove it and put it there then I put it on Sunday when am going to church. If you are to work here and there you can’t be with it all the time.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. You told me that you have been with your husband since 1995, how has this been for you?

R: It has been good.

I: I understand that many people out there fail and separate but you are still here. Tell me about this.

R: From that time, I found that we had no land, but we have been renting land and plant crops. We harvest and whatever we have got we sell and buy land. I also see that this season I have cultivated; it hasn’t gone to alcohol or anything but we have gained something. We got our children and we harvest and sell then pay their school fees, where we fail we look for a way to borrow money from the savings groups. I see that it has been well.

I: What would you say are the reason that have kept you here and you sat down or made this journey easier for you?

R: First of all, I got married when I was young. I worked when I was a little girl and I have never known if it was my fault or for my parents but I stayed at someone else’s home and I found issues there and then I left and got married when I reached home. And I said that for all the things I faced in that home, if I get my husband whether we quarrel I will allow and after giving birth to mu children, I will work for them.

I: Mama, if you don’t mind, could you please tell me what happened. What difficulties did you face, if you don’t mind telling me?

1:18:31

R: Where I was. What if you put me on air? (she laughs)

I: No Mama, like I had told whatever you tell us is confidential and they are kept in secret. No one else has the right to your information.

R: So at the age of 14 years I started working. I was take to live with someone, we had some relationship but it was distant, the husband to that woman wanted to use me and I refused. (Respondent said the next words with tears flowing from her eyes and I think that she refused but this man managed to rape her though she didn’t real say it) I saw how old I was and how old he was, I started to hate myself and my life. I spent 3 years there and I never told his wife about it, I didn’t say of it ever. I have even never told my mother; you are the first person that I have told this to. I told myself that if my mother loved me, would she really send me to work when I was still a young child. I had a lot of hatred over myself and when I left, I told the women that I want to go home. She loved me very much, when oi told her she asked me why but I told her nothing and she again asked if there was anything that disturbed me and she does it for me but is stay there. I told her that there is nothing but I want to go home. The woman tried so much but I never told her.so when I came home that year in August, I met my husband in September and we got married in January of the next year and I had made 17 years. I prayed and told God to help me that I should take care of my children when I give birth to them and not allow them to go work like I worked and may be go through the things I went through.

I: So Mama, for you to leave home, your parents are the ones that sent you off?

R: Yes.

I: Were they not able to look after you or?

R: I didn’t ever know why they did this.

I: I am so sorry to hear this. Was your father alive?

R: He was still alive. I don’t know what happened and I can’t lie to you.

I: You left all your siblings home.

R: They were very young.

I: How about the older ones, where were they?

R: The first born finished primary seven and got married and the second born also stayed. My parents loved it for me to go and work there but I don’t know the reason as to why they even chose me to be the one to go there. This is why I always pray for God to help me to forgive me if I was ever the bad child to them or if it was their fault. I had a thought that if I get married, I will stay in my home and take care of my children so that they don’t suffer like I suffered.

I: That was not easy at all, welcome back from all that.

R: This is the main reason I moved from their home with self-hatred and he was an old man so I saw my age of 15 years and this disturbed me so much.

1:22:27

I: You can’t even have piece in such a situation.

R: It disturbed me so much.

I: And he didn’t do it once or twice.

R: No, it wasn’t once, he kept on. I think starting my marriage like this is what has made me be firm and stay. If a man disturbed me when I was 15 years, now if I think of leaving my home to go and work at this age, won’t they also disturb me. So I said that if I leave my man where will I go, I decided to stay whether we go through bad times because I will do good and remain in my marriage. So I am firm here, to work for my children and they all go through school while we give them what we are able to get. This story my husband doesn’t know about it neither does my mother. Why I refused to tell my mother is because I thought that if she loved me at all would she send me to go and work at 14 years so I kept it as my secret and stayed with it.

I: Sometimes Mama, when you also talk about things then you forgive and heal. Also me I know people we have lived with and I have seen go through rape by their relatives actually at their home yet they are still children. But it ended. And most times parents may not know that what they are doing may affect their children very badly. Sorry about this.

R: This has kept me strong and frim to take care of my children.

I: Have you ever separated with your husband?

R: It happened once, and I ran to home but because I was angry at my mother because of that issue I asked myself that how would I stay here. So when my husband came for me, I decided that this will be the first and last time, I will never leave again.

I: Mama, what was the reason for your separation?

R: He had started seeing another woman and I saw that this was going to disturb me, we quarreled and he said that he was going to beat me so I decided to run away and go home fearing to be beaten. But you see me here, he has never beaten me. I ran home because of fear.

I: How long did you spend home?

R: I slept there for only one night, I came back the next morning.

R: Did he leave that woman?

R: He left her.

I: So Mama, are you the only woman in this home?

R: Yes. He had only one child the one I found him with. I decided to stay and whatever comes my way I will endure through it.

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

1:26:47

R: For example, when we are harvesting, he doesn’t want me to do any hard work. Whatever work he sees that requires more energy he stops me from doing it and he does it. Like when we are uprooting beans, he tells me to uproot and then he carries and takes them home. When we dry the beans, he tells me to winnow them while he pounds them to get them out of their covers. From this, I see that he supports me.

I: Are there other ways he shows you that he supports you as a wife?

R: Now like that banana plantation is far from here, since the children started boarding school, I have never carried bananas from there to here.

I: How long is the distance from here to there?

R: I don’t know these ones.

I: Supposing you move on feet; how long will it take you to get there?

R: It takes like 20 minutes to get there and 20 to come back. It is there ahead in the centre.

I: Okay, still this journey is not near here. So mama, how would you compare this to other marriages?

R: No, I see it out there or when a woman is telling you her story, you also say that that is how it is at yours because you can’t show them a different answer than what they are telling you. So you also encourage then telling them to endure because that is how it is. But I see for me when he brings the banana he also brings charcoal for me saying that if I don’t have the time to use firewood, I can use the charcoal to cook. So I see him supporting him in the th9ing we do.

I: What ways do you show him that you support or encourage him too in the things he does?

R: As he is here, I don’t like him to eating food that is cold or that slept over and given the type of work he does and I do. So I remember what brought me here as his wife and I wake up early and prepare for him breakfast so that by the time he goes, he foes satisfied. When we leave the garden, I come and cook for him lunch and we eat it together. But I can’t give him slept over food, that is not marriage and the things I do like this are not right.

I: Are there other ways in which you encourage him?

R: The things are many, I wash his clothes and prepare for him as my husband generally.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages out there?

R: There are some women who are like me but there are others who are not.

I: Why do you think some women fail to encourage their husbands or some men don’t support their wives?

R: You may find sometimes that the man doesn’t give you the appetite to prepare for him. Sometimes, you don’t have a banana plantation, whatever you plant the man sells it and finishes

1:31:40

the food in the house so you fail to find what cook for him. Sometimes you find that the man is a drunkard, you go and spend the day working and you bring food and he throws it away so you keep looking at each other just like that and the woman doesn’t even have the appetite to do anything for him. You really prepare for the man depending, he may leave and spend the day in alcohol so you cook the food and he doesn’t come to eat it. The women then will wonder why the man doesn’t come to eat the food and he gets tired then decided to let go of cooking for him. Even the clothes he has put on, you fail to wash for him because he always comes back at night, will you wake up at night to wash for him so the woman fails. There are other men who will go and be adulterous and every time he comes back home he is quarreling so it becomes hard for you as a woman.

I: Okay, so who makes the important decisions about the major things in your home?

R: It is the man.

I: Is there a way you sit and discuss or he informs you about what he has decided.

R: He let me know.

I: What is the important decision that he has recently done?

R: The one I told you about getting money to take back the children to school.

I: So he is the one that brought this idea.

R: Yes, he came and told me that I also see that the coffee is no longer there so what shall we do. He told me then that he was thinking we get a loan and take back the children to school. I told him that there is no issue so he went and bought the forms and I signed on them and we got the money.

I: Is it usual that whenever you are getting alone, you sign?

R: Yes.

I: Let us say that you have harvested beans or millet and you sell, do you have one bag of income or you have each differently?

R: We have one.

I: Does this mean that you tell him every money that you get?

R: Most of the money we keep it as one. If we harvest a sack of beans and we sell it, he has the money.

I: Don’t you have any money aside for you as a woman?

R: That one is for me to keep here because if he is away and there is no salt and yet we have just paid school fees, I buy the salt and when he finds it there we cook and eat.

I: So he knows about the money you keep on the side?

1:35:07

R: Let me not lie to you, there is money that he doesn’t know as a woman I tie it and keep it away. Even when I keep it, it is ours because he will be away and checking in the house, I din that I have no soap yet I want to wash so I will go and buy soap and wash. When he comes, he will not ask me that now since there was no soap where did you get this one from.

I: In other marriages, do you think it is the same way they make decisions like you find that the family head is the one who makes most of the decisions?

R: There are some that are together and there are those that don’t agree.

I: Let us talk about other family heads, do you think they let their wives know or there are some who are don’t

R: There are some who like soldiers; they will tell you that how can you oppose what they have spoken. So there are others who are like us.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks for telling me about that, allow me go to the next part of our conversation. We have grown up seeing that land I more of a man thing than it is for the woman. There are some aspects we would like to understand about this and get your thoughts on them too. Are there women who own land in this village?

R: Yes

I: How do they come to acquire it?

R: There are some who get it from their parents. Like for the ones I know; you find that these are the homes that don’t work together. On the scale of us village people, you find that we don’t have that case where a man works and the woman works so they buy land. Us we dig, plant and harvest and after you find the woman saying that the groundnuts are mine and the man also says that the beans are his so you find the woman selling hers and buying land then also the man sells and he buys land.

I: When she buys it, does the man know about it or she has it in secret?

R: Sometimes the man knows about it but there is no nothing he can do about it. There is also the woman who starts with hiding but after a while it starts to come out in the light.

I: The women who buy their land, does she for with the man to sign for her or?

R: No, she doesn’t.

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

R: I think that if money is there, it is good for everyone to also buy land alone apart from the one they own together.

I: How does this help them?

1:38:57

R: Buying land alone it is good when you also take your husband with you and he signs for you. There are women that I know that started trading produce and you find her with her money. This shows that the woman has her own income and the man has his own income too.

I: So you would love for them to own land alone?

R: No, I want them to have that land but when the man knows about it too.

I: Why is this?

R: Always whatever you get in hiding will always remain in hiding. And the hidden thing is not good like the one that is seen.

I: I am curious to know whether you think that women want to own land with their husbands or if they want to own it alone?

R: In our village where we are, the women have land with their husbands.

I: Does this mean that many women want to land with their husbands?

R: I think that it is having it with the man. You sit on the table and you understand that since you have little money it doesn’t help anyone when you remove and take it here and he also removes the money and takes it there, this doesn’t help your home. But I also think that if a woman has land and the man has land and they bother know about this, then there will no problem.

I: To get you right, you are saying that the woman can own land but the husband should be knowing about it and the husband can own land but also the wife should be knowing about it.

R: Yes.

I: I know we had talked about family land; what it means and how you understand it. There is finding that a man owns land and the woman owns land too, is this related to family land in any way?

R: If you have bought the land with understanding where by when I went to buy it, the man signed for me and when he bought his I also signed for him. Or even if I got it at home as long as the man doesn’t hide and the woman doesn’t hide too, I think that it is on family but the hidden one is not related to the family at all.

I: I would love to know; do you think that many women have shares on the family land?

R: Yes, they have.

I: Is there any difference in how this land was got may be if he got it as inheritance or if you worked for it together?

R: As long as it is family land, the woman has a share.

I: Let us say that the man is going to sell this family land in a marriage, does he need to get

1:42:28

first get approval from the wife?

R: Yes, because it is family land and it has both the man and the wife. This shows that whoever is going to buy it will need the signature of the wife and the husband.

I: So the man can’t sell even if the land is in his names alone for example?

R: Yes.

I: Do you think that widows are allowed to stay on the land after losing their husband?

R: Yes, she can stay there.

I: Are there times when she may be chased away?

R: It can happen and they chase her away.

I: When do they chase her away stopping her from staying on the land?

R: I think for her not to stay on the land after losing her husband is depending on what she does. You may find that at times they see that when he was still alive it was the man taking care of the family generally, and the woman is there drinking alcohol so they know that now since your husband has died, you will mishandle the land. They treat you badly so that if you go to sell it, they stop you and you find that as a widow you are strained so you go away.

I: Is it usual that after a husband’s death, every widow must stay in the land whether the land was his inheritance or if they worked to acquire it together?

R: I think she has to stay on the land no matter what land it is.

I: Do you think that most men write wills leaving their land to their wives?

R: No, many don’t normally write wills. Lon ago we knew that old people are the ones who died so he would prepare himself and write his will but these days you find that the man has given birth to 2 or 3 children and he hasn’t yet written a will also you find that after his death there is no will.

I: What do they normally do in such cases?

R: If you are a woman who loves your family, you can stay there.

I: If the widow dies too, who owns the land then?

R: I think that if the man died without writing a will, if you have children, I think you as a widow you must learn from that and write your will since he died and he had left none. You write the will so that if you leave tomorrow then there is a will you left behind to keep your land.

I: So does the land go to the children?

R: I think it depends on how the person has decided to leave a will.

1:45:46

I: So there is a widow who may leave a will without leaving the land to her children?

R: I think you should leave land to the children and whoever else you want to because most of the times, when there is now will you find that everyone wants the land, everyone wants to do this on the land which may cause fights because there is now ill to guide them on what each of them will do or take.

I: Supposing that the widow has left young children, how do they go about this?

R: I think that if you have written a will and left it behind, when these children grow up they will find it there.

I: In your view, do you think there is a difference if the land was his before they got married or if there are children?

R: She stays there.

I: What if she has not given birth to children, is he allowed to stay there?

R: Even if they don’t allow, as the woman she can take herself away since she has no children.

I: Will she sell this land and go with it or?

R: It depends because when you found him with the land, your father in law gave him the land when you got married to him meaning that he gave you the land both when you were present or if you bought it together. She can still sell the land if she wants to.

I: Do these widows sometimes remarry?

R: Yes, some get married again.

I: For what reason do you think that some get married again?

R: I think it is just being adulterous. What else would make her get married again?

I: In your view, you don’t want the widow to get married again?

R: No.

I: Why do you say this?

R: Now someone who has given birth to children, the children need care and you also need to survive, what will you looking for again in marriage.

I: Okay, if she has chosen to remarry, does she need to go elsewhere or she can bring the man here?

R: Some go elsewhere while others bring the men there but in bringing the men there, you find that if she has the family living around her, there will be fights. You find that they start accusing her telling her that she can’t bring a man in the house of their late brother to start ruling their children. You find that there is hardship for her to get married again.

1:49:00

I: I am wondering whether you have widows that have remarried and brought the men there on the land.

R: Yes, but the widows here don’t bring only one man, she brings this one he sleeps there and when she is tired of him, she sends him away and brings another one.

I: How about the widow that chooses not to marry again, why do you think she refuses to get married again?

R: This one has the thought that since the man has died and left her with children and things, she decides to sit down and take care of her children and work for her herself

I: In your view, has it ever been the case in this village that after a widow losing her husband, the male relatives come and try to grab land from her?

R: No, it hasn’t happened.

I: Have you heard about it elsewhere?

R: Yes.

I: Tell me about how it happened Mama.

R: When the woman lost her husband, she wanted to sell and go but the in-laws told her that she is not allowed to sell the land and go. But they had seen in her the habit of liking other men, she had two children. They told her that if she gets married she might sell the land, tomorrow the children will grow they will ask for their land and they don’t have it. They told her that if she wants to go, she would leave the children and the land behind and go and if she wants the land she should remain there with her children. They were not about taking the land away from her like you had asked me, they just put a restriction on her not to sell because they didn’t want her to.

I: Okay. How come you don’t have it in your village where these relatives try to grab land from the widows?

R: The widows are not easy these days. But the widows we have here after losing their husbands, she befriends and sleeps with one of her in-laws and the in-law will not take the land from her since he has even slept with her.

I: The way widows are treated, has it changed in the recent years or?

R: There must be change. Because the widows of the past years, when she would lose her husband, the brother in law would want to forcefully remarry her and they would put a rule on her that she can’t bring another man from outside there. But these days, the widow has the freedom has the right to get whoever she wants to sleep with because you the in-law will not investigate her. So I see that the widow has the responsibility to keep her house and her land or if she doesn’t want any man then she can stay on her land, the in-law will not interfere with her.

I: Why do you think that the widows today have deicide dot do it like this?

1:52:39

R: The ones of these days.

I: Yes, what is it that has changed today that wasn’t there those days?

R: You see people of long time had their ways of if they said this then that is what will be done whether you want it or not. These days when you put a lot of this on the widow, she can use the government to come and reconcile you and the way things are.

I: Which government does she go to?

R: She starts from the chairman LC1 who will call the committee and they sit and talk through the issues from each side and listen to them then they decide for them with what they should do next.

I: In the way you see widows being treated in your village, is it okay or not?

R: I see that the widows in our village have no problems.

I: What do you think about all these things that happen to women after losing their husbands?

R: Some women suffer because losing a husband is not easy, you will face some burdens. But these days after the women losing their husband today, tomorrow she will get your husband and sleep with her. I don’t know what has brought about this.

I: You mean they start looking out for other women’s husbands?

R: Yes.

I: You said that when they lose their husband they have burdens; what burdens are these?

R: The burden they get is that if they were working the two of them then, now she is one, if they were digging both, now it is one. If you don’t work hard, the income will decrease and this will become a burden to you as a woman.

I: Okay. Let us talk about these women who separate or divorce with their husbands. What happens to them as regards land?

R: Many of them normally go and report, you hear her telling you that they worked for that land together and therefore she wants them to share I then the man asks her where she is going to out the land after sharing. Sometimes when the man feels over powered, he says he has no issue so the woman can come back in her home. This brings about killing each other because you may find that he didn’t even want you before and he didn’t want that land to be shared. He allows you to come back only because the case finds him guilty and he allows to share but you kill each other.

I: Have you see this happen in your village?

R: Yes

I: Tell me more about what happened.

1:55:55

R: The woman had a husband but she sided with the children more and they kept going to the garden son the land and digging even in the coffee garden they would pick it but then the man comes to pick coffee they tell him not to pick it. He has his land and planted trees, the wife sent the child to come and cut them and the man didn’t know. When the men came he found the trees were cut down. I think according to how he was already tired with what was happening, I think his mind froze and what he did, he got a panga and cut the wide and he also cut himself and they both died. The woman sided with the children and they all mistreated the man. For him to touch anything, they would tell him that he spoils things.

I: Are there any other people you have heard about who have separated and the woman went to report.

R: In the court?

I: Yes, how did it happen?

R: The things of the marriage always start from inside and when they are talking about their issues, everyone is just talking about the tip and not the real issue. For this man who killed the wife, all the issues were spilt after the dead bodies were there, everyone has their word to say and the children too also said that their parents had even separated beds. The woman would sleep in the bedroom and close it when it got to night time and the man would go and sleep in the chairs. These other ones, they fought, after the woman left and went home. When she left the children cam following her and she looked for where to put them and she couldn’t find a place. She went and reported then they started the case, they later on shared, she got her part and stayed with her children and the man go this and married another woman there.

I: Did they reach the court or?

R: They stooped at the sub county because they told the man that if he goes ahead, the case will win him. He will be the one in mistake because the woman has the children and they belong to him but she doesn’t have where to put them somewhere does he want her to put them.

I: Is it usual here that whether the cause of separation is for the man ore for the woman, they have to share the land?

R: There is a woman who will go and not go after the land but sometime she may report and get it or fail to get it. You may report, but this reporting needs money and you can’t sit the LC1 chairman and the committee when you don’t have money to give them so if you don’t have money to go through it and the man has money more than you, you leave the land because you see that you will not handle.

I: Okay. What if the cause is of the man, will he leave the wife or still he will chase the wife away?

R: Men don’t allow mistakes; he will say that the home is his whether it is his fault or not.

I: Most of the times, it is the woman who goes away?

R: Yes

1:59:42

I: Are there times when the man may be leaves the house and he leaves the women there?

R: It is very rare, it is not easy, the man will stick on the point that it is his home.

I: Mama, the way these women bara treated who separate with their husbands, is it acceptable or you would love to see something change about it?

R: These days it has already changed because now you can sit with maybe the LC1 chairman and you tell him your issues then he advises or decides for you or the committee sits and advises you on how to go about the issue. I see that it has changed.

I: This means that they are treated well.

R: Yes, they can report and get help.

I: In your view, do you think there will be problems when a man refuses to add his wife on the title?

R: Yes, when you fail as a woman and you find that that marriage has failed you then you go and the children follow you, the man can say that he doesn’t know you since your name is not on the title. Sometimes you want to come and he gives you some land to raise your children on because us women we love children very much, but he says that no, and he may not give it to you. By the time he makes the title alone that means you are not on the agreement too, whether you bought it together or if they gave it to you.

I: Is there any problem that would arise because the man added the wife’s name on the title?

R: I don’t see it.

I: If women were able to own land with their husbands, will this decrease conflict in the marriage?

R: Yes, because it shows that you agree and know each other in whatever you do. Even if you the wife gets a salary and the man gets his too, you tell him that maybe you saw land somewhere and you think that you should buy it and the mantels you that he thinks you should leave the land and do this. With this agreement it means that you will leave the land and do this other thing and buy the land later. But if there is this thing that I have seen land and I go and buy it means that everyone does their thing which means that there is no agreement in between.

I: So this means that having land together will help you decrease the disagreements?

R: Yes, because you started with agreement before getting the land that means that whatever comes you will talk about it and come through it well.

I: Do you think that having land together will increase conflict in marriage or?

R: In marriage, hardships can’t fail to be there but the land can’t increase conflict.

I: Why do you think so?

2:05:52

R: From the time you have talked and allowed to get land together it means that whatever conflict you get, you will still talk about it and it will get resolved.

**Land disputes**

I: Okay. Let us get into the last part of our conversation that is about disputes on land. In general, what do you think is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: The first one is, the woman has bought land and hidden it. When the man gets to know about this, for the land that you bought together if you planted there beans and you have now harvested because you didn’t want to show him the other land or bring the harvest home. The man will say that why do you want to take the harvest from this land yet you don’t want to share the one from the other land. This may bring the dispute and misunderstanding on that land.

I: Do you have a recent example of this dispute or any other land dispute that has happened in your village?

R: There is a couple who first bought their land and they had animals, and a banana plantation then the woman after on bought her own land on the side and they had children who were going to school. So she as going to buy more land, the man told her to first leave buying the land and they pay the school fees for the children. The woman told the man that if he doesn’t have a plan to pay the school fees for her she is on the program to buy land. The man was quiet so he went and got a loan and paid the school fees but their home has not been okay, they don’t agree because of that land.

I: Let us say that there is a dispute on land, is there a way it can resolved in the family?

R: Like when you neighbor with someone and you fight over *omugorora.*

I: Yes, has this also happened here?

R: Yes, I think it can be resolved there because no one is agreeing with the other therefore they have to involve authorities and they can’t hear each other.

I: How about those people who fight over *omugorora* is there a way they can involve the village people to help them resolve the conflict?

R: Yes, they can call the village people and they sit down.

I: Has this dispute happened here?

R: Yes. For example, here, we bought this land and our neighbors there said that the way we were sweeping our compound made stones to enter their boundary. But the person who sold to us was there so we told them that let us call the person who sold to us to come and plant for us new *migorora* because we may have passed in their land. We called them and when they came actually we found out that where they were saying was ours and instead they had taken our land. They planted them but I didn’t want them in my compound so they grew and got uprooted. They have now just started growing again.

2:10:41

I: Did you call your neighbors to help you?

R: We called the one that sold us, we were there and the neighbors were there too.

I: Let us say that during this dispute, one of you had a title, was there a way it would help resolve that dispute?

R: Yes, because even though you all decide to keep quiet, and you dig and enter their land and they also dig and enter your land, tomorrow you will bring the title even though they now think that it is their land, since sometimes the person who sold to you may no longer be living. That title will show the former boundaries of where each of you passed.

I: In general, what would you advise to be done to help for people who have land issues?

R: We would be asking to have titles for our land but it think getting them it is hard.

I: So for the ones who are not able to afford titles, what can be done to help them as of now.

R: The problem is money to go for titles.

I: Since they are not able to get the money, how can they be secure in the village?

R: I think to be secure we should have agreements that are solid and have the chairman LC1 put for us stamps but also we go to the sub county and get that stamp so that it also adds on keeping our land well tomorrow.

I: Thanks Mama for talking to me and giving me your time, my last question I want to know from where you think we come from?

R: Us who didn’t go to school find it hard to remember certain words but you come from the world bank. I don’t know if it is the one.

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

R: You gave us our title and we have it. But the thoughts I had from the start that you will take our land, is it so or not?

I: No Mama, we don’t take peoples land, that I why from the start your chairman was there and he knows about it and when they were even bringing the stones to plant in your land, the sub county people were there and they know about this. The government gave the organization the permission to come and that is why your leaders know about it.

R: Okay, because the sub county people came after some visits and said that when the titles come, whoever was registered must pay money to the sub county because how could we get titles when the sub county is not getting money and you people bring them to us.

I: Did they come for the money later?

R: No. they have never come.

I: I don’t think they will come for the money but also no one is coming to take your land.

2:15:32

I don’t think that asking you for money is right.

R: They had said that when they are going to give us the title, they will come and get the money. But when we got the tittle, they didn’t come so I asked myself if they had forgotten about it.

I: Okay Mama, here is your gift for appreciating you talking to me.

R: God bless you.

2:15:51