Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 15/10/2019

Respondents Name: Paulin

Household ID: 4680221

Age: 55

Title status: Solo title

Occupation: Famer

Highest level of education: S.2

Marital status: Married

Number of years lived in the village:

Number of children: 7

Number of people living in the HH: 10

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: mud and poles

Interview start time: 09:20 am

Interview end time: 10:35 am

Duration: 01:14:16

The interview took at the respondent’s home. He was not at home at the time we reached there, he had gone to pick tomato seedlings from the neighbor. He has one plot land which is about 1 hectare according to the title and it is the plot that was titled. He has a coffee and banana plantation and plants other crops like beans. He also rents land outside for cultivation. He has mud and poles house with iron sheets and judging for the structure his house and the household items he has and the sources of income, he is poor. He was casually dressed because he was from the garden.

He is married and living with the wife and children, they have 8 children together bur 3 of their children do not stay a home. They seem to have a lot of disagreements with the wife according to my observation because the man does not seem to trust the wife because she is bossy and want to take control of everything. He received a solo title for his land because he felt that if he had included the wife on the title, she might turn against the children when the man is dead and chase the children away from the land. Because he thinks that if the woman can be as authoritative and controlling as she is when he is still alive, what will happen to the children when he is dead

**Warm-up**

I: Let me start this chat by thanking you for taking your time today to talk to us again though we did not find you home

R: I gone to get tomatoes seedlings from another tomato farmer behind here

I: So, you are a tomato farmer, tell me about it, do you get good yields in this village?

R: Yes, if the rain is not too much you can get profits

I: So, you have planted tomatoes before or it you first time?

R: I have been planting them it’s not the first time

I: How is the market for tomatoes in this village?

R: The market is there. You see I stay by the roadside, so buyers always pass by. If the tomatoes are scarce like now, a basin of tomatoes is at 40,000shillngs and when they many on the market the basin is at 25,000 shillings and a box is at 60,000 shilling.

I: I’m wondering is this a planting season for tomatoes?

R: Tomatoes do not have a season if you have a place that is downhill and watery, even in the dry season you can plant them but now we plant them uphill because it is a rainy season.

I: Ok, tell about your normal day, where there are no specials events

R: Normally, I wake up with my days plan that I make at night. For example, I will do this or the other and, in the morning, I get my hoe and start working or if you have a journey that’s what you do.

I: I mean the normal day when you don’t have travel plans, how does it go for you?

R: I wake and go for digging and after digging I go for weeding for example in beans and later if there is coffee, you go and harvest it.

I: Ok, so, how was your day yesterday?

R: Yesterday was not the best because it rained a lot the whole day, we could not work

I: In some village where I have been people have crying that the rains aren’t coming

R: Yes, we need rain but not raining for the whole day like yesterday because if it rains too much and there is much water in the soil the crops can’t grow well. It needs to rain, and we have sunshine like today then we can have rain tomorrow and sunshine the next day that’s when our crops grow very first and well. But if it rained continuously then the crops don’t grow well

I: Tell me about your village in general

R: The village is ok; people are supportive of one another that why I can go to the neighbor and get tomato seedling for free. although we also have some bad characters but generally, the village would be bad

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I: So, in this village, do you have any position of leadership?

R: I was the “secretary manager” for the coffee cooperative but since they were suspended by the government, I left the position but in the local council, I don’t have any position there.

I: Did the coffee cooperative have a name?

R: Yes, it was called Omukagyera cooperative society limited

I: Can you tell me why you think the government suspended the cooperatives?

R: I don’t know, the president decided that everyone should sell their coffee the way they prefer because the market for is there anyway, but I can’t tell why cooperatives were suspended

I: What year were the cooperatives suspended?

R: It’s been long because they were suspended in the 90s

I: So, are there many coffee farmers in this village?

R: Yes, there are more coffee farmers in this village almost all families have coffee

I: So, tell about coffee farming in this village?

R: We have coffee and it gives us money but the challenge we have is that there are two types of coffee, the robuster coffee and nasaland coffee but the nasaland coffee no longer yield well like before. I don’t know where it is the soil, or the coffee trees are themselves old.

I: when did you plant the nasaland coffee trees

R: They are no like twenty years old

Thank for explaining this to me. I would like to ask you about you family

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

So, tell me about your family, whom do live with?

R: I stay with my wife and children

I: How many children do you have?

R: I have eight children, 5 girls and 3 boys

I: Ok, of the eight children how many are in school

R: Let me see, I have one child who is in S.4, another one in Nyamitamga business school and the last one is P.1

I: Is the one in P.1 your biological child or a grandchild?

R: No, he is my biological child but the others like my 2 girls got married and one of my sons studied building and construction and he works in Kampala

I: So, how many people live in this house now?

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R: We are 5 members in this house now

I: You have told me about the child in S.4 and I know they started their final exams yesterday

R: No, I made a mistake she is in S.3

I: Ok, I see you have children in higher levels of education, how is it difficult for you to find school fees?

R: Actually, the end of this interview, I wanted to ask you how I should handle the school fees problem. Because school fees really disturb me because earnings are low, and expenditure is very high. If you look at the general prices of good and the income we earn, surely school fees becomes a serious problem and my child recently called me that they are about send him home for school fees because I had paid half of it. Because the whole amount is supposed to 280,000 and I had only given him 80,000 at the beginning of the term. I have been thinking about going to the bank to get a loan and I decided to wait for you, and you give me advice on how to go about it

I: So how long have you stayed in this home?

R: It has been long because I was born here, my father was buried here, I group in this home and married my wife in this home. And I’m now 58 years old. So, I have not gone anywhere else in the last 58 years

I: So, what is the highest level of education you have completed?

R: I studied and stopped in S.2 and your money those days, my father lack enough school fees and I decided to start working for myself

I: Ok, because I see you have a good handwriting

R: Yes, because after S.2 I first taught at Kajera primary school that’s why I can write well, I guess. I was a mathematics teacher but later decide to quit teaching and got married and started a family because at that time they wanted “qualified teachers” and I was not qualified. There were even my fellow teachers who wanted me to go to college and get qualifications, but I needed to have completed S.4. However, one of the teachers told me that if was I S.3 at least they would forge a certificate and I go to college, but I said no, because it was not possible.

I: Other than mathematics is there any thing else you were teaching?

R: No, I was mainly teaching mathematic because science subjects I could not handle them

I: So, how many plots of land do you own?

R: I have only one plot that was titled

I: How did you acquire this plot?

R: I inherited it from my father. We would have bought other plots but because of children’s education, we can’t save money because when you have saved like 500,000 before you know it another term begins, and you give it to the children to go to school

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I: So, how big is your plot?

R: It’s about 1 hectare and some points, that’s what I see on the title

I: You have told me you have coffee, what else do you use this land for?

R: I have a banana plantation and we also plant other crops like beans and tomatoes

I: So, do you have people who work on this land?

R: No, if I put workers what can I pay them? Schools fees is a problem sometimes children come for holidays when I still have a school debt so, I can afford to have workers

Ok, thank you for explaining this to me. I would like to change the topic and ask you about land in general

**General land**

I: How do people in this village come to own land?

R: Some people buy land and others inherit land from their fathers

I: Is there any other ways people come to own land in this village?

R: No, I don’t know any other way

I: Ok, tell me about buying and in this village, what is the process of buying land in this village?

R: For example if am selling my land, I can call my neighbor and tell him that I have a plot for sale if we agree, we call the chairman and make an agreement the chairman stamp and we mark the boundaries that the way we go through to acquire land in this village

I: How much does land cost in this village?

R: Most people sell land in pieces, it’s rare to find some one selling acres of land. So, they usually sell quarter an acre and it depends on where the land is and what is on the land for example a banana or coffee plantation. So, quarter an acre ranges from 700,000 to 1,000,000 shillings

I: What are the ways people can access land that they do not own?

R: They rent land elsewhere. You go to someone and rent land, usually it is 50,000 shillings per quarter an acre per season. after the season you can either pay more or leave the land

I: Do you make agreement for renting land?

R: Not often but some people do write agreement especially those who rent land for cattle grazing. They make agreements because they usually rent land a longer period but for cultivation you just pay, and they measure for you the land and you start working

I: So, you have told me that renting land for cultivation is 50,000 shilling, how about renting land for cattle grazing?

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R: I do not know that because they usually rent for a long period of time. You hear some has rented the whole hill for 3 million for like 3 years

I: Is it common for people in this village to rent for cattle grazing?

R: No, people don’t have much land for cattle grazing in this village. they only rent and for cultivation. The people who rent land for cattle grazing go to *Nyabushozi (*(subcounty in the neighboring district of Kiruhura)

I: And is it common for people to rent land in this village for cultivation?

R: It also not very common most people use their own land

I: Has there been a change in renting land in the recent history?

R: No, it has been the same as before because people have their own land where they can work. They only go to rent out when their soil has lost fertility and they want to leave it to fallow for some time and some who have small pieces of land

I: If a person wants to sell his own land, does he need to consult other people in the village?

R: If he is wise, he can consult other people, but most people just put announcements to get buyers

I: So, what do you think about people who do not consult?

R: Those the people who sell land without a plan because in everything we do, you need to consult others you don’t have to just jump into things

I: What do you think about consulting your wife about selling the land?

R: That is the first person you should consult and the then children. You can give them reasons for example, I want to sell this land and look for a bigger plot of land. If the woman disagrees you cannot sell even when the children disagree you don’t sell the land.

I: Ok, if a person owns land but does not stay in the village, how does he maintain control of the land?

R: He can leave the land someone to take care of it because if he has proof of it and the boundaries are clearly marked then there can’t be a problem. It’s like if you bought land in *Kyaaka* (neighboring village) and you stay here. You can keep going there from time to time if the chairman of the village knows it’s your land

I: So, what happens when a person wants to use this land?

R: You tell the chairman and the chairman informs the owner of the land and if he agrees then you start using the land

I: If a person told you that this is family land, what would you understand it to mean?

R: It means land for the whole family

I: Tell me more, what do you mean by land for the whole family?

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R: It means it is land for all the people in the family, it does not belong to one person

I: Can you tell what you mean by it does not belong to one person?

R: It means the wife has authority over this land and the children also have authority, it does not belong to one person for example that’s why you find that if the household head dies, the children have a share of this land and the wife also has her share of the land

I: What does land ownership mean t you?

R: It means that you have documents that show that you own that land e.g. land title or agreement

I: Thank you for explaining this to me, and I had asked you about renting land, how about you have you ever rented land or bought land or sold land?

R: I have never bought or sold land, but I have rented land elsewhere and cultivated because I have enough land although it not very big but sometimes it loses fertility and we have to rent land elsewhere so, I have rented land before

I: Can you remind me of how big your land is?

R: It is about one hectare and some points that I don’t remember but it’s written on the title

I: Ok, can you tell me about the process of renting land in this village?

R: There nothing much about renting land you just go to the person who has land and pay him and the measure for you that land and you start working maybe your land has lost fertility or the type of crop you want to grow does not yield well on your land

I: I wanted to know if maybe you sign an agreement for renting land

R: No, I did not sign an agreement

I: So, how do you get to know some one has land for rent?

R: We know people who have land for rent n the village because we have been in the same village or some other times, the owners of the land put an announcement

I: You had explained to me what land ownership is, can you tell me the different ways to show ownership of the land?

R: The first one a land title, the second one is a written agreement form the seller and the last one is a will that shouts the boundaries of the land you inherited from your father

I: What is the difference between a land title, an agreement and a will?

R: The land title is different because it is proof of ownership from the government and an agreement is made by people in the community but anyway it is also equivalent because nobody can enter your land if it has marked boundaries

I: In your view, what are the advantages of including a woman’s name on such documents like a title or an agreement?

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R: You might die and if she is not included on the title, she might have some issues on that land but if she is included on the title then it means she has authority over this land and it also helps your children to you know that this land belonged to their father. And you know authority on land is for two people the man and the wife. Therefore, the woman should also be included on the documents. That’s why even when you want a loan from the bank, you wife must sign for you to get this loan because the “loans officer” talks to the woman and asks her if the land you have used as security belongs to the both of you and if the woman says no, then you can’t get the loan. So, you include her so that when they ask you for the agreements as security, thy also find her name included

I: I’m wondering, have you ever taken a loan?

R: Yes, but small loans only that school children’s fees are becoming heavy on me

I: Where before, have you acquired a loan from?

R: I have acquired loans from ASSIA and ABLE SACCOs but it always small money like 300,000 or 500,000

I: Tell me about the process of acquiring a loan from these SACCOs

R: If you want a loan you go and fill the form, then you look for 2 guarantors who have “accounts “in that SACCO and they sign for you and the woman also signs. If the woman does not sign, then they can’t give you the loan. After the wife has signed you take back the form and the loans officer comes and visits you and sees what you want to use as security for the loan and asks the wife if she agreed that you take the loan and then he goes back and wait for call to pick you money.

I: Thank you for explaining this to me, what are the disadvantages of including the woman’s name on the title or agreement?

R: There are no disadvantages but my title I include only my name and the reason why I decided to include only my name is because women are cleaver, after you die she can tells the children that the land was hers alone and she might even chase them away from the land that’s why me I decided to include my name and the title only has only my name

I: I will ask you about that in detail later. You have told me that you inherited this land from you father, so tell me about it, how did it go?

R: Before our that died, he made a will and gave us our shares. We were two boys and our father had left the will to his friend and after his death, it was read to us and I took my part and my brother took his part and we later also divided our land and gave to the girls.

I: How many were the girls?

R: They were four girls

I: I’m curious, why didn’t your father give the girls?

R: Our father had not given them land, but we looked at it and decided to give them land because you know the Museven things have changed and the girls wanted to take us to court so we

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Decided that instead of us going to court and wasting time and money why not give land to our sisters

I: So, why do you think people in the past people like your father never gave land to the girls?

R: I don’t know why but even today it happens, if you don’t want to give land to someone, then you can decide not to give it to them. Even when it’s a boy and he is misbehaving; I can’t give him land. If I have educated you, you can go and work and buy yourself land

I: I thought people in the past had a certain thing about giving land to girl children

R: They had this thinking that a girl must get married and when she does, she is no longer part of the family and has no authority over her father’s land. She has authority at the husband’s home.

I: I would like to know your opinion on this, should girls after marriage, inherited land from their fathers?

R: These things are for disturbing the boys because if a girl gets married, she should share on the husbands land not coming back to share on their father land with the boys

I: For example, your wife is not included on your title and according to you she should not share land from her father

R: Reason why I did this is because women are cleaver and she can tell my children that the plot is hers but all in all she has authority over the land

I: Are there some reasons why you felt like women are clear I should not include her on my title?

R: But I have given the reason

I: I mean could there be something that your wife did that made you think like that?

R: No, I consulted a few people and they advised me against it, but the land is both ours, it’s just the title that is in my names

I: Now I’m wondering, who makes decisions on this land for example what to plant

R: We don’t have to discuss that, if she wants to cultivate, she can cultivate anywhere and if I also want, I can dig where I want

Thank you for explaining all this to me. I would like to change the topic and ask about your knowledge of titles and titling

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: What does mean to have a land title?

R: A land title is proof that the government knows that the land is yours

I: What is the purpose of having a land title?

R: The first one is security for your land. The second one is when you want to take a loan from a bigger bank, it becomes easy because you go straight and the give the loan you don’t have to go

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to the chairman to get a stamp because the chairman stamped on it already

I: So, you have told me that on the title, there is only your name, so, is there any other reasons why you decided not to include anybody else on the title?

R: Like I have told you I didn’t want to die and my wife and my wife refuses to give the land to my children because she has the right to say that the land was hers alone and she sells it leaves a small piece for my children but it’s not that I chased away my wife from the land.

I: But she the mother your children too and I wonder why you would think she could do that to her own children

R: By the time I decided to do this, I was seeing her behavior because if you find the woman who wants control and have authority over everything, you worry what if you are not around because I saw my wife wanting to have more authority than me and I got worried for my children but in the will that I have made she has her share of the land

I: I understand that you are offered a title for your land which you accepted, I’m carious, what are some of the reasons why you decided to accept this title

R: The first reason was because of the boundaries for my land because people used to encroach on my land so, when I got this opportunity, I accepted. And I knew that if you have a title and you want a loan, it becomes easy. And other reason is that is if government wanted to do its projects on my land or these telecom masks they build, you can stop them because you have the authority if you have a land title. Because they know that the land is yours and if they insist on doing their projects on your land, they can give you all the money you want

I: So, you have told me that people used to encroach on your land, tell about it.

R: For example, behind there, they used to remove my *omugorora* and they dig a few meters into you land but now they no longer do it ever since I got the title. there is a neighbor who had planted trees on the boundary of my land, and I told the chairman. And the chairman told the man that I have a land title and he cut down the trees and we are ok

I: So, he had planted the trees on your land or his boundary?

R: He gave people to plant for him the trees and did not show them the boundary, so they planted some trees on my plot

I: So, is there anything else that has changed since you got the title?

R: Only the encroachment on may land has changed but nothing else has changed because we haven’t gone to the bank to get a loan

I: So, why do you think other men choose to include their wives on the title?

R: Now that depends on if the woman behaves well and doesn’t want to rule over the man because they agree with each other but if you see as a man you say this and your wife does the other and she want to control everything then you can’t not include her on the title

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I: Historically before your recent encounter with the titling people, are there people in this village who were able to get titles?

R: No, there was no one with a title in this village

I: So, you were first people to get titles in this village?

R: Yes, people were surprised

I: Why were they surprised?

R: Because they wondered where we could have gotten the money to title our land

I: So, how much money do people think a land title cost?

R: It should be a lot of money because from the chairman to the subcounty to the lands office and the bringing a “surveyor”

I: So, how much do you think it can cost?

R: It should be between 6-7 million shillings

Thank you for explaining all the above, I would like to change the topic and ask you about your marriage and the discussions you had with your wife about the title if any

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

I: How long have you been living with your wife?

R: We have been living together for last 32 years

I: Would be willing to tell me about your experience in marriage?

R: Families are difficult. The good family is the one that you don’t live in but every family has it problems because sometimes you quarrel but since we have managed to live together and have 8 children, they I can say the marriage has been fair because the quarrels are part of the marriage and you can not stop them

I: Are you officially married?

R: Yes, and we have a “marriage certificate”

I: So, you would you say that your wife supports you?

R: Yes, she has been supportive to me

I: Can you give like an example of how your wife has been supportive

R: For example, when I was getting loans from SACCOs she has been supporting me and signing for me and she supports generally because we have children and she also wants her children to study

I: So, you also feel that you support you wife and encourage her?

R: Yes, why would I support her?

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I: Can you give me an example of how you support your wife?

R: How I support her is she sees me putting in all my energy to pay school fees for our children and it encourages her too and proving all the necessities at home

I: Ok, why do you think other couple feel that their partners don’t support and encourage them?

R: You see a lot of men drink alcohol and women know that men always waste a lot of money in alcohol and the women start working and putting in their own pockets. Then the man also accuses women that they no longer keep at home and they are having affairs outside the marriage and you find that there is no agreement in the family

I: Who makes major decisions for your household?

R: Its two people, the man and the wife because the children however much you go in the meeting with them, in the end when a man and wife go in their bedroom and agree, the children cannot do anything about it. So, it two people that decide

I: What was the last major decision you and your wife have made about?

R: It was about the loan that we took for the SACCO and the children were asking why we need the loan but we told them it was for their school fees and when we went to the bedroom we agreed to pick the forms and my wife signed and we took the children back to school

I: Ok, do you think other marriages are similar when it comes to decision making or they are different

R: It would have been better if they agreed together but most of the families the man goes and looks for another woman when he needs a loan and she sign for him and later when he fails to pay back the money, he comes and disturbs the family

I: Has happened before in this village that another woman signs for a man to acquire a loan?

R: They happen even women do it for example if the man has gone to work from outside the village for some time, the woman can get another man and he signs for her and she gets a loan when the man comes, he does not know about the transaction.

I: I’m curious, would you be willing to tell me about the discussions you had with you wife about the title if any? How did they start?

R: We talked about our boundaries and what we should do about them and five months later that when we got the opportunity to have the title but in the first place, we did not what was going to happen but they later told us that were going to get a land title

I: So, after they told you that you were going to get a title did you and your wife discuss about it?

R: Yes, I asked her whether we should accept the title and she asked me why we shouldn’t, and I also saw that it was an important thing and expensive, that one might die without getting so we agreed to accept the title

I: I’m curious, did you discuss about including her name on the title?

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R: No, we did not discuss that because when the lady from “lands” came here she asked me which names should be included on the title and I told her my name they were together the subcounty lands people. they asked for the reason and I told them that I can die, and my wife claim the land and take away the land from the children. Just like you have come, that’s how I explained to the lands people and they put only my name, but we did not discuss with my wife

I: So, when the title came, didn’t she ask why there was only your name and maybe had a discussion

R: She is actually the one with it now because she was wondering why there was only my name and I gave it her. If we need to use to get a loan and she agrees, she can bring and we take the loan, if she don’t want then she can keep it but that was a trick to avoid misunderstandings

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. But I’m wondering, what you think it would have meant for you and you your marriage, if you have included her on the title?

R: It would have meant that we are one and even now we are one but the only reason, I have explained it to you otherwise I would have included her name on the title

I: So, what do you think it would have changed about your marriage if you had included her on the title?

R: It wouldn’t have changed a lot but I feared the other thing I told because there is a man in *Nyabuhikye* (nearby village)who included the wife on the title and when the man died the children suffered because the woman took away their land and kept selling it piece by piece until it was finished and the children could say anything about it. Because this man died “accidentally” he was knocked by the car. So, when I thought about this, I decided to have only my name but “meanwhile” if she finds herself in the will with her share of the land, she will have not find way of refusing to give the land to my children and she sells it

I: I’m wondering, what do you think it means for you and your marriage, her not being on the title?

R: It has no problem to our marriage because everything we do, we first discuss and agree about them and recent I have suggested her that we use the title and get a loan and do a big business for buying and selling coffee and she said we shall talk about it more

Thank you for explaining all this to me. I would like to change the topic and ask you about gender norms on land

**Gender norms around land**

We understand the most land is owned by men in Uganda. There are some aspects to this system that we would like to understand, especially concerning women. We do not have an opinion in on way or the other, but we would like to know what you think about this subject. There are not right or wrong answers

I: Do women own land in this village? how did they acquire the land?

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R: Yes, there are women you work for a season and save like 400,000 shilling and work for another season and save another 400,000 shillings and buy quarter an acre of land “separate” but the man knows about and has no authority over this land although the woman might have used the man’s land to acquire her own land.

I: Is there an example of a woman who ahs bought land for herself in this village?

R: Yes, there is a woman there at the main road who bought her own land but unfortunately, she separated with the husband and she is now on her own land and the man is also on his land. And I think that’s where the problem comes from because when they woman gets her own plot of land, she feels proud

I: Reflecting on women feeling proud after getting their own land, in your view should women be allowed to own land in this village?

R: Yes, they should have their own land because that’s income for the family for example, you have children at the university, and she sells that land and pays school fees for the child. So, it right for women to have their own land. It is also a way of saving money instead of wasting it.

I: Do you think women want to own land with their husbands or they prefer to own their own land separate from their husbands?

R: That depends on ones thinking because if a woman thinks about getting her own land, she already knows how the man is behaving for example you don’t pay school fees for children. she also decided to get her own land on the side. And if your bad behaviors continue, she also goes and builds on her own land, but it would be better if a man and woman are going to buy land, you buy it together

I: I’m curious, does your wife have her own land?

R: No, she doesn’t have

I: Hasn’t she inherited land from her parents?

R: No, she did not get land from her parents

I: Ok, so, we have talked about aspects on land, women and men, land use and ownership etc. what about family land how can these aspect work around family land? For example, are women included in family land?

R: Yes, women are included in family land and if you are making a will you must include her share of the land because if the man dies, the woman take care of the land and the children and she should know that this my children’s share and I also have my own share

I: So, in marriage, if man wants to sell family land, does he need approval from the woman?

R: Yes, that’s right because you need to sit and agree and know the reason why you want to sell the land maybe its because of school fees or something like that

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. Are widows generally allowed to stay on the land after their husbands die?

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R: Yes, she must stay on the land because the land is hers now.

I: What if the woman does not have children and the husband dies?

R: If a woman has children, she can stay on the land, but if a woman does not have children, she takes a small piece of the land sell it and go away but a woman who has children must stay on that land

I: So, what if the man is officially married to the woman and the man dies before they have children, can she stay on the land?

R: What keep women on the land are children but if you are officially married, then that land is hers

I: So, what happens to the woman after the death of the husband if they are not officially married and have no children

R: That one can leave the land and go elsewhere because there is nothing that can prove she was married to the man

I: I’m wondering, what if they bought the land together and then man dies before they have children and they are not officially married?

R: If you have worked for the land together then it is her land too and she can stay on that land but if she found the man already with his land, she can take a small piece of that land for the time she has been taking care of the man, and she goes away

I: So, do widows sometimes remarry?

R: Yes, if she is still young, she can remarry

I: Can she remarry and stay on the land with the new husband?

R: I don’t know about that because most of the widows that remarry go elsewhere with their new husbands

I: Aren’t there widow in this village who have remarried and stayed on the same land?

R: No, I not seen them in this village but there a man in this village who lost a wife and married another wife. The new wife also had her own children but later, the man also died but he did have any children with the new wife. So, the children of the old wife chased away the new wife and her children from the land.

I: What about the male relatives, has is happened in this village that the male relatives try to grab land from the widow?

R: No, they do have where to begin and try to grab land of the widow. If the will was clearly showing that the wife takes authority of the land, they must accept the will of the deceased

I: I’m wondering, what if the man died without making the will, can the relatives chase away the woman?

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R: If he dies without making a will the chairman and the community divide the land of the deceased to his children and the wife in presence of the relatives, but the relatives have no right to chase away the woman

I: But I hear it happens in some villages that the male relatives chase away the widow from the land

R: No, it has not happened in this village

I: So, has the treatment of widows changed in recent history?

R: It’s the same because if the widow has children, she stays on the land with children but if the widow does not have children, she is also compensated with a small piece of land and she goes away and that was has always happened to widows in this village

I: We hear that widows in the past were never allowed to stay in the land

R: They could stay on the land if they remarry in the same family but most widows that I have seen, stay on their land and raise their children

I: So, in your view, what do you think should happen to women when their husbands die?

R: I will answer you like this. A man should write a will before he dies and clearly state the share of the land for the wife and for the woman who did not have children

I: In your view what should happen to a woman whose husband dies without making a will

R: The local council, the community and the relatives should sit and give a small piece of land to that widow

I: Would you say the local councils do resolve such cases fairly?

R: Yes, because the local council is the first judge in the community and if the local council decide on a case, even the if you take the case elsewhere, they will always first read the judgement of the local council and in most cases even the judges in higher courts, do not differ from the local council’s judgment and if they are to add something, it is always a small thing

I: Ok, how about the wills, do people follow them

R: Yes, in respect of the wishes of the deceased people follow the wills and others fear the dead and must follow

I: So, would you say that the general practice by others towards widows in this village is ok?

R: Yes, it is very ok because I see in this village when a man dies the widows stay on the land with their children

I: What happens to women who divorce or separate with their husbands in terms of their land?

R: Most of the women when they separate, they do back to their father homes and the man stays on the land. If she refuses to come back, then she stays there, and the man keeps the land

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I: So, if she separates and does not want to get back with the husband, what authority would she have on the land

R: She does not have any authority on the land because she left because most of the women, I see that separate, they go and never come to claim land

I: Just wondering, can a woman separate and stay on the land?

R: No, I haven’t seen that. Women who separate go away and when the man dies that when the children can bring her back on the land

I: So, is there anything that you would like to see change about what happens to the woman when she separates with the husband

R: I think that if a woman had children and they separate with the husband; they should share the land and take care of the children together. If not, if the children want to bring their mother back on the land then she should come back and stay on the land

I: Ok, what do you think is the common cause of separations in marriages?

R: The common cause of separations in families if violence. You can have disagreements but if there is fighting in the home then people can separate. And neglecting that family where men do not pay school fees for their children and maybe unfaithfulness.

I: So, if the cause of separation is entirely dependent on the man, can the woman’s possessions and children be taken away from her

R: These days there is a marriage court if the man is in wrong, the woman can go to FIDA and they come and divide the things. Even if it’s the woman who was the cause FIDA can best decide what to share and how to share it

I: Has there been marriage case in this village that FIDA has resolved?

R: No

I: And do you think most people in this village know about FIDA?

R: I don’t know that

I: You have talked about conflicts in families and separations. I’m wondering, do you think if women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, do you think this would increase or decrease conflicts in the marriage

R: It does not increase conflicts in the marriage, but you see, when a woman buys her own plot of land, she becomes disrespectful of the man. That if you chase me, I go to my land, things like that but what would be ok if couples were understanding, is to jointly own land with your wife and agree in everything that you do on that land

I: I would like to understand, does joint ownership of the land increase or decrease conflicts in the marriage

R: If you understand each other it does not increase conflicts because even it was only the

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woman’s name or the man’s name on the title it would have any problem because if you are an understanding man, you can’t chase the woman because her name is not on the title

I: If am getting you right, are you saying that joint ownership of the land does not increase or decrease conflicts in the marriage?

R: Yes, because these are different matters because even in marriages where they have a joint land title you find them quarreling but it not the title that cause the conflicts

I: But can a joint title help to reduce conflicts in marriages

R: Yes, but to a smaller extent because disagreement do not depend on the title

Thank you for explaining all this so far. I would like to change the topic and ask you about land disputes

**Land disputes**

I: What is the common cause of disputes on land?

R: They common cause of land disputes is selling of the land. A man can say I bought this land myself so I can sell anytime and the woman if she also has her plot she says if you sell, I can go my plot. And the biggest problem come on land that was purchased after marriage because both the man and woman can claim ownership of that land

I: Can you give an example of the last there was a land dispute in this village?

R: I haven’t heard any land disputes

I: But you told me about your boundaries with your neighbor who planted tree on you plot

R: Yes, that was sorted because when I reported to the chairman, the chairman told the neighbor that I had a land title and the man directed me to cut down the trees that were on my side of the plot and I got someone and he cut them

I: What is the common cause of conflicts with the neighbors on land?

R: It commonly exceeding their boundary and encroaching on your land. You fin that a person has been digging and they enter your land, or someone intentionally removes *omugorora* from where is and plants a few meters into your land from it original position

I: Is there any other land disputes that has happened in this village?

R: No

I: So, what happens to when there are land disputes

R: We go to the local councils that where we begin from and if you are not satisfied you continue to local council 11 and LC111

I: And how would land conflicts get resolved within a family?

R: You just have to reach an understanding with you family members if you sit with your family,

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that is your wife and children, whichever side that has majority, is the side you should take as a family for example if the wife agrees with the children and the children take her side, me the man should agree with that and move forwards and if the woman is also not supported, she should also support the majority

I: So, when must the community become involved in the in the land dispute?

R: If they you get to a point of separation with the wife or children so at that point, the chairman and a few people in the community can come in

I: If one of the parties in the dispute has a freehold title, does that influence how the dispute is resolved?

R: Yes, it can help resolve the conflict because the boundaries of the person with the title are clearly marked which makes it easy to resolve the dispute because you can measure from one stone to the other and clear the boundary because there are people who dig round and enter into you land but with the title, all that can be fixed

I: Other the dispute you had with the neighbor who planted trees in your plot, have you had any other disagreements on land

R: No, I haven’t had any other disagreements and all the disputes I have had on my land, I have been able to only use the chairperson to resolve them. I have not gone to higher levels for example court to resolve my disputes

I: What about other disputes on land in this village, have most of them been generally resolves by the local council

R: Generally, most case in this village are handled by the local councils and they usually get resolve unless someone is not satisfied and goes to the next level but also their judgment at higher level does not change from the chairman’s in most cases. And most of the cases on land in this village are small cases for example a person putting up a fence without consulting the neighbor and maybe he puts on the neighbor’s land.

I: Lastly, who do you think we are?

R: I see world bank group and I think you are from the world bank

R: So, if you have a question you can ask me

I: What I would like to ask is; the last people to come told us that we keep the land titles safely because they might be important to use in the future, so, my question is what program does the world bank have for us in terms of borrowing us money because like I have told you we have school fees problems

I: Well, the world bank can not help you with school fees you can use your other local banks to borrow money for school loans that you can afford to pay back.

R: Another question, what should we expect in the future with all the questions you have asked us

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I: You have told that you did not what was going to happen the first time the asked you these questions, so, I also do know what will happen next but you have a land title now and today, we only wanted to understand how it has helped you since you received it

Thank you very much for you time today

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