**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 18/10/2019

Name of respondent: Jovia

H.H I. D: 4730091

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 11:30 am

Interview stop time: 1:34 pm

Age: 40

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 8

No. of people living in the household: 11

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Sells coffee and rents her shops

Highest level of education: None

No. of years living in the village: 19

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: bricks, poles, cement on the inside and on the outside

Interview Duration: 2:04:31

The interview happened in the respondent’s house in their living room. Their house is made of bricks, cement and poles with iron sheets for the roofing. We had no interruptions apart from her husband coming to ask her for her phone to call and a visitor she stopped to greet. They look to be middle class according to the conversation we had about their income, how they take care of the children, what the respondent does to get money and the general look of the home. She lives with her husband, mother in-law and children; 5 are hers while the other 3 are for the other woman whom the husband had married in the 7 years that they separated. She told me that the main reason for their separation was the mother in law who seemed not to like her yet she was living with them in the same house. The respondent told her husband to build for her own house that she no longer wanted to live with her mother in law if she was to come back in the home. About titling, she said that the man put his name alone on the plot they titled and that she thought her names would come on too since they asked for her national id but she didn’t see her names there. She told that she was okay with her husband being on the title alone because they do everything together as a couple. But I think from her body language especially the look on her face, she knew that the husband pour himself alone on the title and she knew why though she didn’t say the reason. I suspect that it is because the land he titled is the part that he was living on with his mother before so he may have felt that it belonged to him personally.

Together with the husband they have about 3 plots of land; the 1st one is where they live that was title and it is quarter and acre, the 2nd plot is half an acre and their 3rd plot is about 2 and a half acres of land which she said that they are almost together She told me that they have agreements for all of them and she signed on them because she would also add her money to the husband’s and they buy the land. Her husband never got any share form his father even though he was an only child. She looks to be settled now in her marriage ever since they got back together with the husband. At first she was engaging then when we reached in the section of household discussion she would hold back but I re assured her about her confidentiality and then she opened up about their marriage and throughout that section.

**Warm up**

I: How long have you been feeling the pain?

R: It is now about a week

I: Sorry about this, have you been able to get medication?

R: I just bought the medicine and I took it.

I: Have you realized some change for now?

R: Yes, I have.

I: We had passed but the other time and we found that you had gone somewhere else, your husband told us.

R: I wasn’t around; he had told me that you would come back on 22nd.

I: We rescheduled after and we were coming back this side so we called him and rescheduled the meeting to today so that we visit you too. Okay. How has this week been for you?

R: I have a breath and it is the most important thing so I am fine.

I: Have you been able to still go to the gardens or you had stopped.

R: I have started weeding now.

I: You have already got the energy to go back to weed?

R: You can’t allow your things to die from there, when you get some energy, you go and weed and if the energy is not there then you sit.

I: What crops are you weeding?

R: Beans, millet and ground nuts.

I: How has the day began today?

R: It is okay and we are well.

I: Thanks for welcoming us in your home today.

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

In this part, we shall talk about your household and land. How many people are you in this home?

R: We are 11 people.

I: I only know you and your husband in these people.

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R: We have our old woman (mother in law) and 8 children though some are in boarding school.

I: All the children have gone to school?

R: Only two young ones haven’t yet started.

I: The rest are in school. All of them, do they go to school and come back?

R: Yes, the ones in boarding school are two.

I: In all your children, how many boys and girls are they?

R: there are 4 boys and 4 girls.

I: You seem to have given birth to a boy then a girl.

R: Somehow and the last born is a girl.

I: No one else lives here with you?

R: No.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. How many years have you lived here?

R: I am in 19 years now.

I: These are also your marriage years.

R: Yes

I: Before you came here, where were you living before.

R: I am born in Ibanda (a neighboring district to Mbarara) and I got married in Kashari (a big county in Mbarara).

I: Do you often go back home to check on them?

R: I go back. I go back to check on both my parents and my other siblings.

I: When you go there, most times do you sleep there?

R: Yes, I sleep there but we also have a shop in Ibanda town where we work from.

I: What kind of shop do you operate there?

R: It is a shop selling tea and snacks and other small things.

I: The place where you shop is, is it your father’s land?

R: No, it is ours.

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I: You received it as share?

R: We bought it with my husband.

I: You bought the shop or?

R: We bought land and then we built there some shops.

I: Okay. In your shop, do the things you sell belong to you alone or?

R: It is for the both of us. If you have a husband, then you join together whatever you are doing.

I: You never know, there are some women who want to work and keep. So do you have a worker there?

R: No, sometimes were there ourselves and sometimes it is closed and we are here.

I: So now that you are here, it is closed.

R: Yes, maybe sometimes the children can sleep there and work.

I: When you go to work, do you come back every day?

R: Some days we sleep there.

I: Okay. After how long do you go back to your home?

R: There where my shop is, my parents’ home is very near there. A day can go by without me seeing them.

I: When you work every day, you pass by home and heck on them.

R: Yes, other times, they come to the centre and I see them.

I: Let us talk about land Mama. As a woman, do you have land that you own?

R: The land I told you about where my shops are, it is my own land in my name but I can’t say that this is mine and that is his because it will create a boundary in between us.

I: For me to understand better, was it your share from your home?

R: It is mine, I worked to buy it for myself. It is about quarter an acre of land of coffee called nasaland. Our father can’t give us land when he is still alive.

I: Okay, so when parents are still alive, they don’t give their children shares.

R: Yes, when they are gone then they can say that they left this piece to their child. But now that we are together with my husband this land belongs to the both of us.

I: you got this land during your marriage or before?

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R: Before.

I: Her where the shops are, how big is it in size?

R: There are 3 rooms of the shops. The one I am in has a kitchen and a small space behind where I put a bathroom. There is a small road that goes up where we bought a very small piece to build the toilet because this other side was not enough. It is half a quarter acre of land.

I: For both these pieces of land, do you have proof of ownership that you were given?

R: Yes, I have agreements in writing for the both of them. The chairman of the cell where I am born from came and put there a stamp.

I: When you got married, you brought all this to you husband?

R: Yes, I told him about them.

I: Some people hide and they don’t talk about it.

R: When you are hiding, then you are lying to yourself and that means that there is no agreement in between there. Everyone is doing their own thing alone.

I: Are there other pieces of land that you own with your husband?

R: Yes.

I: How many are they?

R: We have worked together to attain all things here. There is nothing he has ever bought where I wasn’t with him there.

I: Let us talk about the land, how many pieces are they?

R: We have here and it stretches to like quarter an acre to reach where you marked the stones. Then there is another part that is half an acre and don this side there is another piece that is about 2 and a half acres of land.

I: The downer part is it all together or?

R: We first bought the other land which is close to the down one, it is only divided by someone who came in the middle to reach this side. But starting from the corner to up this side it is one piece.

I: Is this the only land you have or there is another?

R: They are only these 3.

I: How did your husband acquire this land?

R: His father gave him no land. His mother is an old woman now so my father in law

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got another wife so all the land he had he owned it with the younger wife. When I was getting married I found my husband with his mother only where this house is. My husband is her only child, and after this her husband went to marry another woman. She decided not to get married again because she had her child., so I found them on this land that she had bought with her son. The rest of the plots of land we have worked together to acquire them.

I: So you have the agreements for the other plots of land.

R: Yes, we got them, if you don’t have an agreement someone can come tomorrow and chase you form the land because you have no proof. Whatever we have been buying, we would get the agreement.

I: Mama, I would love to know about these agreements, have you been able to sign there too or?

R: Yes, I can’t make the mistake of buying land and I don’t put there my signature. We would harvest and sell or we get a loan and buy the land then we work at repaying this money.

I: Thanks for telling me about the way you acquired your land. Who else works on your land?

R: It only us.

**General land**

I: In our next part we will talk about land in general. In your village, how do people in this village own land?

R: You work and cultivate, and not that there are loans you give whatever you have as leverage and you buy land. You keep on working as you return the money.

I: Are there other ways people come to own land apart from buying?

R: Only one and one give their children shares. If they give you free land, you can’t know how the other person sweated to get it. If you parent doesn’t give you land before they die, you can work to get yours. If they left you with a quarter acre, you find that some people have sold it instead of buying more land to add because at the end they never sweated to acquire it. But if you have worked to own your land, you will take it well even if you get a loan you will work to repay the money so that they don’t take your land but if you got the land for free, you will just misuse it.

I: Okay. In this village, cans someone access land and use it even though they don’t own it?

R: Yes, I can rent out land. I can go and meet with the land owner and they give me the land and I grow in my groundnuts, beans or millet. When I am done with harvesting, I leave and he rents it to other people and if I want to use it again, I pay him more money and I use it again.

I: Is there any form of agreement involved when you renting?

R: No, if I know you and you know and you give me land for rent, the land owner has a book where they write that they have rented land out to these people. If the land is less that he has,

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he will still note down how much he has given to each person.

I: Is it possible for someone to use land but not pay rent? Is this there in this village?

R: No, it is not there.

I: You don’t have this thing where someone can use the land but not pay rent?

R: No. But also for someone who tells you to dig, they will allow you to use the land and you bring the money later but they have to be trusting you. This means that they have never heard that you are in a cheat in the village. You cultivate on the land and after the harvest you pay them their money.

(The respondent’s husband comes to ask her if she has airtime so that he can use her phone to return a call)

I: If someone wants to sell their land can they do it?

R: Whoever wants to sell is of their own problem so they can sell their land.

I: Do they need to first consult with someone or.

R: They can ask in their family and check with their spouse and when they agree they can sell. If you have an older child in the home; they can also sign on the agreement.

I: Supposing the woman refuses, can the man go ahead and sell?

R: There is no way he can sell. If you have come to buy land her and I refuse because I know that money will not have any use like pay for the children school fees, or do something. Now he sells, can you pay him without me signing on the agreement. That means you have land to waste.

I: Meaning he consults his family and when they accept then he can sell.

R: Yes, he has to first agree with his family.

I: Let us say that someone has land here in the is village but he doesn’t live here, does he stay with control over it?

R: It is his land so it will keep there.

I: No one can come to disturb his land?

R: Whoever comes to enter his land without permission is a fool. How can you have your 5 senses and you go to enter someone’s land without them giving it to you.

R: Let me take you back a little bit Mama. What activities do you get from money as a woman?

R: It is mainly cultivation.

I: What crops do you normally sell?

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R: We grow beans and sometimes when the millet is ready you get like 3 sacks but you can keep it in the house to eat in a whole year so you sell some of it. We sell the beans and ground nuts too.

I: What other thing do you get money from?

R: Here, we are cassava farmers. Where you grow crops, you also put a cassava stick their and when it is ready, you harvest it and dry it.

I: After drying the cassava, do you take it to the mill to process it?

R: They come and buy from us a basin or for those that want to eat or cook for big groups, they come and buy. If you have harvested sweet potatoes, you also take them for sell or look for the market yourself.

I: And how about the shops that you had told me about?

R: They pay me, sometimes they give me money for 3 months at once and this helps us with something. And in season we also pick coffee and sell it.

I: When you get money from all these thing do you tell him how much it is?

R: I don’t keep money on these, when the coffee is ready, I tell him that it is ready then we go and pick. We dry and take it to the factory and after getting the money we decide how to use it maybe the children need school fees or we do something else. We can pay school fees and then we know that it is done.

I: Mama, how old are you?

R: 40 years, my first born is 19 years old

I: Okay.

R: Us who didn’t go to school we had to go and dig and got married much earlier. The ones who go to school are the ones who get married late. When she finishes school, she first works so that by the time she gets a man, there is something even at home.

I: What class did you study up to?

R: Speaking the truth I didn’t go to school. My father had a big family, he had 2 wives. In primary one I was there for only one term. Even though I go to the bank to get a loan, I sign by grace. To even read the bible it is by grace and yet I didn’t go to school.

I: You had said that if someone has land here though they don’t lie there, they have control over it. If someone comes and they want to use it, what can they do?

R: Still, the land owner must leave someone behind who will take care of his land and if someone comes who wants to use it, they can talk to that manager and he rents the land to him. But you can’t just go and use someone’s land like that.

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I: This means that many people leave land but they put someone to take care of it.

R: Yes.

I: If someone tells you that this is family land, how would you understand it?

R: It is for the family.

I: Who is in the family?

R: The husband, wife and his children.

I: Do all these people have shares on this family land?

R: They can only get shares after the parents are gone. You can’t put the parents on pressure let us say that you are like 20 children and you start asking them for land.

I: All these people have the right to do whatever they want on the land.

R: if you are still there and you don’t have a family yet, you can use it for growing crops.

I: In your view, does anyone have authority over this land?

R: The family head.

I: Let us say that the parents are no longer there tomorrow, who then has authority over this family land?

R: He leaves behind someone to go in his shoes. That is who has authority over it, even if it is a young child that he has left, that is the one who will sit in his chair, put on his shoes and hold his stick over the whole family now. That is the person you will respect.

I: Is the family land shared or not?

R: It depends on the parent, one can see that they are in the journey towards their last days on earth so they decide that for their piece of land every child will take this amount of the land. Then he writes his will, he goes to the chairman and he puts his tamp there and then he looks for someone that he trusts who may not live near there and he gives him his will to keep and being it out when he is dead. At the end of the funeral, this is the person will come and read the will and every child gets their share.

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

R: Yes, I have rented close to half an acre.

I: You don’t have enough land here to put your gardens on.

R: I rented out there but otherwise we are using our land too.

I: What have you grown on both lands?

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R: We have planted beans, millet and ground nuts and the rest is a banana plantation.

I: What have you planted on the land that you rented?

R: I planted beans there.

I: Have you sold land personally.

R: Selling land, no.

I: How about you and your husband?

R: We have sold.

I: How much did you sell off?

R: We sold a quarter of an acre. I remember when the woman came the other title to talk to us we had told her that we had a banana plantation behind this side but when we got land that more together, we sold it and bought this land I had told you where we have put land.

I: There where the banana plantation was that you sold, how big was it?

R: It was a little bit more than a quarter acre.

I: There is proof of selling with the person you sold to.

R: They have their agreement even our chairman of this cell put a stamp for this person.

I: Were you also able to sign on this agreement when you were selling?

R: I know that if I am buying land from so and so and their wife doesn’t sign for me, I can’t pay that money. Also me if I am selling, I have to put my signature there.

I: I am wondering, is this written anywhere or?

R: We just know it like that.

I: Mama, you had told me that you had bought some land in your name before coming to your husband. Owning this land, what does it mean to you?

R: Now that he found that it was already in names there is nothing I can do about it.

I: It is okay. But I would like to understand what ownership over that land means to you.

R: For it is about agreement with my husband, because if all of us decide to do our own thing this will cause disagreement in the family. Even if I received land on my own I count it with my husband. It is in my names but it is for me and my husband.

I: Apart from the agreement, what other documents would show that a person owns land?

R: To show that it is their land.

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I: Yes.

R: That is when they have got a title. If the agreement is not there, then the most important thing that is better than them all is to get a title.

I: In your view, what advantages are there in having a woman also listed on these land documents?

R: Tomorrow if he wants to go behind you there and sell, if someone asks him for the old agreement if the woman has refused to sign on the new one. If the person finds the woman’s signature on the old agreement, then he will fear. At times if the old agreement can’t be found, they can make a new agreement without first bringing the first one where the woman signed before when they were buying that land that he wants to sell. This is because tomorrow, you can sell that land and the man does a new agreement for the buyer but the woman didn’t allow so she goes to the court with the evidence of the old agreement and she can take back the land. Also me where I bought my plot form the woman, her father had two wives. All of us our gifts are not the same, so the father saw that his daughter was suffering where she got married they lived in stones so the father bought for her that land and told her to build a house there with her husband. When they had made 7 years in marriage, they got issues and the man didn’t agree with the woman so the woman walked out and left. She left him with their two sons, the man also decided to go and not stay on his father in-laws land. When she was still there, the people from her husband’s place came and removed the iron sheets from the house and took them away and left a bare plot of land. The father to the girl decided to sell the land and he had the old agreement, we agreed together and I looked for the money. After paying, he told me to go and gave me the old agreement so that the other children can’t find it or the husband to his daughter and they try claiming the land to be theirs. I went and he gave it to me so now I have two agreements; the old one where the people of those days signed that sold to him and the chairman who signed those days and the new one. There is no way these other people can come and start claiming that the land is theirs or his children to chase me away from the land. I can ask them to bring the agreement for proof if they have it and of course they don’t have it.

I: So this girl has never come back?

R: She stayed in Kampala and worked there, when I was going to pay the father, he called her and her that he wasn’t taking the land back from her but he was selling it to me. He called her and asked her to come and sign for me and had she not signed on the agreement I wouldn’t have bought it. She came and when I paid, the father got the money and gave it to her in the presence of my neighbors that I called to witness for me. He told her that she knew better if she used that money badly, it would be her fault because he has given her share early. So she now came to this town Igorora and she bought land and she built shops and her two boys are with her. She gave each boy a shop for them to own and then she also has her own. She left Kampala.

I: I would like to know if there is any other advantage in having a woman listed on these land documents?

R: If a man doesn’t call you to sign on these papers it means that you are not regarded as a wife in that home. But if he calls you, and you have worked for these things together you also settle in your heart. If he does his things from out there where you aren’t, you question what you are doing and this shows that in there he doesn’t trust you and this keeps you in doubt.

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I: I would love to understand this better, when a man calls you to sign on these documents, this means commitment in your marriage?

R: Yes, then you can settle.

I: Would you say that there would be any disadvantages in having a woman also listed on these documents.

R: I don’t think that there are any problems.

I: Do you hope to inherit land in the future?

R: No, I don’t think do because I am also growing old now.

I: The years are still here. You said that they have yet given you shares at your home, don’t you hope to get from there.

R: If God keeps me and I am still alive then I will get it but if it is not then that is it. Everything has its own time, if the time comes and God purposed that you will get on your parent’s share, you will bury them and take your share. But if he didn’t prepare it like this then you just leave it like that.

I: How about the one you own with your husband?

R: That will be for my children, when am not around they will take it do you think he can give it to other people yet we have children.

I: Do you think that people in this village are fearful of losing their land in any way?

R: The way we didn’t resemble on the face is the same way we didn’t resemble in the hearts. What I am thinking is not what you are thinking and it is not the same thing that another person is thinking of. I don’t want to lie to you that I know what other people are thinking about.

I: In general, are people scared of losing their land to any one?

R: I don’t think they are fearful, because if I have my boundary here with *omugorora* and no one has ever moved them I am okay and I don’t want to lie to you what other people are going through. Unless if they have neighbors that are always moving into their boundaries then that is questionable.

I: Let us that you are able to access more land, how would you go about it?

R: If I am to get it, then I will buy it. If I hear someone selling and I have the money, then I go and buy.

I: Do you personally have family land Mama?

R: Here.

I: So this is your family land with your husband. Who makes the decisions on this land?

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R: He makes the decision but I can tell him that we do this and he allows or we go with his decision.

I: When you talk with him and decide this but he says no, this means that you go with your husband’s decision.

R: He can tell me that we do this and I also tell him that I think we should do that and he see that what I have told him is more helpful then we go with it. We normally first put it on the table and talk about it.

**Basic awareness of titles**

I: Okay. In our next part we will talk about titles, we would like get your thoughts on titles and other thing still about titles. What does a title mean to you?

R: In the way I think if your land is in a title they cannot steal your land. When they find the stones in your land they know that it is not good for them.

I: Of what purpose is the tile in your view?

R: It is that one whereby if they know that someone’s land is in a title they can’t come to try and take it. Also if you want to get a loan these banks can give you some good money and you go and do what you want.

I: Are there any other uses you know apart from these ones.

R: It keeps your land if you don’t sell it. You can only sell it by yourself and no one else can say otherwise.

I: This journey of titling, what have you like about it?

R: I gave thanks for it because a title is an important thing and its’s not for everyone. Here we neighbor a church. There was a woman who lost his brother in law and that brother in law had not given birth. Her husband decided to give the land to the church as his brother had said when he was still alive. This woman later lost her husband left his land to the church and you know those days they used not to write agreements. This woman decided to go and fight with the church that she wanted her brother in law’s land because it was hers to take care of the church. They would fence it and he comes and removes the fence. Her daughter even brought prisoners to remove the fence on time after the priests had fenced it. They kept fighting like that and she said she will not rest until they give her brother in law’s land. What has cooled her down is when she has that they had titled it. She stopped like that and she said that if they had not put it in the title, they were going to fight with the church up to when she gets the land.

I: Someone can come to fight that they want their brother in-law’s land which not even for their husband at least.

R: My father was also saying that the man died without giving birth to a child and he was a good Christian so he left his land to the church. This is where I have seen that a title is important and it helps a lot.

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I: Have you found any concerns in this journey that you would like to let us know about?

R: There is nothing.

I: According to how you see, what differences does the title have from other land documents like the agreement?

R: The title has a difference because it is not like these agreements we have on paper. Someone can come and steal away the title abut can they steal the title. You may be walking with the agreement or they come and break into your house and they steal your agreement, how will you start arguing this case on the land. The title they can fear it.

I: Why do you think that they fear for the title.

R: The title is a very hard thing; it is not for everyone. If you are to move around our sub county of Kagongi and you find that like only 20 people out of 1000 people have their land titles. It is very hard for someone to come and try to break into your house looking for the title of your land to steal it. It is an impotent thing.

I: Is there any other difference apart from this?

R: No, it is that one.

I: I would love to know whether you got a title.

R: Yes, we got a title.

I: I would love to know whether your names were put on that title?

R: When they were visiting us they took both our names but on the title I don’t see my name, only his names came on it as a family head.

I: Meaning that he is the only one on the title.

R: Yes, while I was looking to understand, I only saw his names there. I don’t remember seeing my name or signature anywhere.

I: When they were asking for your signatures, did you give there yours?

R: When they last came here to visit us or.

I: When they were taking your national identity cards to bring the title.

R: I gave there my identity card but I don’t remember what happened next.

I: So, in bringing it back, you only saw your husband’s name.

R: Yes, I only saw his name, it is the first one I saw when they brought it. I don’t remember seeing my name there.

I: Okay, you only saw his name.

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R: I saw his quickly.

I: This means therefore that it is him on the title. After you seeing his name on the title and your name wasn’t there, how did you feel?

R: Telling you truth, nothing changed in my life after this.

I: I am wondering whether your husband asked you in any way before whether he would put you on the title or not.

R: No he didn’t ask me but I also don’t remember exactly what happened. Also the day they brought it I had lost my brother and I was travelling to go for the burial. He showed me the title and me I told him that I thought they were bringing a standing stone title and he said no. I saw his names and rushed to go for the burial.

I: Let us suppose that he is the one on it and your name truly is not there, how would this affect you as a woman?

R: There is nothing that will change me about this. You see the things of this world even if you fight for them you can’t go with them. Now that I am not there, do you think that he can bring another woman and put her there as his wide, it is not possible.

I: Do you think that many women prefer it to be on titles with their husbands?

R: There are some that like it and there are others that don’t like it.

I: Let us first talk about the ones that don’t like it. What makes them not to like it to be on the title with their husband?

R: They don’t have agreement in their between them. This is when you find some men buy land and ask their woman to go and sign and the woman tells him not to tell her about his things. This lady cannot be asked to be on the title and she accepts.

I: And for these ones who love it, what reasons lead them to this?

R: She is full in her marriage. If someone is buying a thing and they ask you to come and witness for them, you feel important and for these women they are part of their husbands plans.

I: In your view, what advantages will be there in finding that both a man and woman are on that title?

R: I haven’t yet seen the good things in this yet. (respondent first keeps quiet for some like 3 minutes)

I: You may have not seen them yet, but generally what do you think would be good about it?

R: It can help the family in that we give birth to 10 or 11 children, if there comes one out of them who has a bad heart and steals the agreement to go and sell the land, the title will stop him from selling it. If the children know that their father put this land in the title, none of them can just take this land and sell it without the family sitting together to agree.

00:57:58

I: Thanks for telling me about how it helps the children. How about for the man and woman, is there a way it can help them?

R: The man also can decide to cut off a piece and sell. It ties him down from this.

I: Why do you think that a man would decide not to include his wife on a title?

R: The problems in a home are many. If you find that you have quarrels all the time and when you fight you start calling your husband a dog, why would he put you on a title after calling him this. He will decide to do his things alone knowing that he left no wife behind and the woman also knows that she had no husband.

I: What other reasons would lead a man to decide like this?

R: It also depends how he is in his home. What has spoilt many homes is finding that the wife is adulterous, you find the man saying that he will not buried with this woman and he can’t count her in his things. You can find the man adulterous too and every time his eyes are moving out side, the woman also says she has no husband and that they nor bury her in this man’s home when she dies tomorrow. In this case, he can’t put your there.

I: Okay. Thanks for telling me about this. Before you met these people that were giving title in this villages, how ere people getting titles before?

R: In all truth, I had never seen people with a title only one old man at the upper side of the lake, he died and he is the one I used to hear that he put his land in a title but I also didn’t know what a title looked like. These people of the church have just put their title now.

I: in what ways did the church people go through in order to get the title?

R: I think they got money and they met with their bishop because he is the one that works on land issues.

I: In general, what do the people in this village think about titles?

R: I don’t really know because you may find that I like it and the other person doesn’t. So I think some love them while others don’t. for you to get more information is if you go to the bars. But if you go to your garden, dig and come back and cook food then eat and sleep you may not be able to hear people’s opinions that much. Where people gather is where you get to know what people think about certain things.

I: You may find that you have friends for example when you met in your women groups and talk.

R: It is not easy also, you go and meet talk for the reason you met then you go home. You may not have much time to be there and converse especially during weeding time, everyone will be busy going to their own things.

I: Okay Mama, thanks for telling me about this.

1:03:56

**Intra household discussion and bargaining.**

In this part we would love to know more about your titling experience and how it has been for you. Tell me what you remember and there is no right or wrong answer. From the first they came, they talked to the both of you?

R: I think they used to find us both here and talk to us.

I: After they left, what conversation did you have with your husband?

R: We just talked and agreed then they came back again. The time has been long so I don’t have many of the things in my head.

I: You can tell me what you remember.

R: It has already been like 5 or 6 years since they came.

I: When they came back and they told you that they would out you on the title, what did you talk about then?

R: We didn’t talk much but I have also grown old so I don’t remember what happened.

I: Did you husband ask you in any way about whether to put you on the title or not?

R: Yes, he asked me. (Respondent kept quiet for some minutes and she told me that she doesn’t remember much. According to her the look on her face she seemed to be knowing that the husband didn’t ask her anything). I don’t remember much.

I: After they brought the title, what conversation did you have there after?

R: We thanked God who had brought it. We got our title and kept it.

I: Didn’t you discuss how you will use it or where it will be kept.

R: We just got the title and kept it. I don’t remember the rest. By the time they brought it were preparing the garden for potatoes but we just thanked God. Many people were telling us that if they don’t bring the title wont our land be taken and told them that I wouldn’t. We also told them that when they look at the people that came, did they see them as thieves. We only said that the people that were laughing at us that our land would be taken if they know that we got it they will be amazed. We continued in our work.

I: For these 19 years of your marriage, how has it been for you through the journey. Tell me about it if you don’t mind.

R: It has not been easy at all. Sometimes it is good and sometimes it is not.

I: Most of the time some women fail and leave their marriages.

R: It is not one or two, they are many and they don’t wish to leave their homes and go away.

1:12:24

I: Tell me about what has kept you going foe this time.

R: It is only by grace and also me it first became hard for me. I had made 8 years and 3 months and I got a change and left. The land I told you that I bought and the shop, I did all this when I was away in the leave for 7 years and 8months.

I: You separated for 7 years and 8 months with your husband.

R: Yes, that is when I came after and you see it is a long journey. I went with a pregnancy that wasn’t even a month old for the 4th born because the third born died. I gave birth and after this I had my plantations of sweet potatoes, cassava and beans so I harvested them and I sold them then I bought the land in the centre and I started working in the shop. That is the girl on the picture in the dress with blue on that marriage picture. (The picture is in their sitting room)

I: Okay, I see her.

R: She is now in primary six, that boy is our first born and he is in senior 6, the next one is that other girl and then these 3 are the ones he gave birth to with another woman whom he married when I was gone, that girl is their last born and she is now in primary 2.

I: Mama, if you don’t mind telling me, what was the cause of the separation that you had to go.

R: (she draws the window curtain to see if her mother in law is nearby then she starts whispering because she wanted to make sure that she wasn’t in the store and could hear what she was saying) The whole issue was because of my mother in law. She didn’t want me and she had her bad ways. We used to sleep with her in the house and that was her bedroom, for all my marriage years before I left, she was sleeping here with us and we quarreled then I told my husband to build for me which she didn’t like. I told him to build for me my own house and he also gets her own house so he refused and I left. When I left, she told him to marry another woman. I remained home until one day when they separated with that woman and we got back together.

I: He came to pick you from your home?

R: Yes, he came.

I: So the woman left here children here and you found them?

R: She left them here and they are part of the 8 children. Mine are 5 and hers were 3 but I chose to mother them all. The youngest one, she left her when she was 1 year and 2 months so I took her on and stayed with her and because I cook tea at the shop, she would be with me there. It is me who has taken her to school with my other daughter, and she is now better. Only God will reward me and that is why I told you that this journey has not been easy.

I: It has not been easy and you got victory at last.

R: Those 7 years are close to 10 years.

I: After getting back together, what was the biggest reason that gave you peace of mind to decide on coming back here?

1:17:50

R: I think he used to see me as the bad one who didn’t fit with his mother. When I spent all those 8 years living with his mother, we used to cook together and she would sleep there while I slept here. When the other woman came she hated his mother and decided that she would cook her food. Before it was long enough not even one year, they had separated the rooms and food. She also didn’t like my children that I had left behind so their grandmother stayed with them while the other woman kept her children only. I think my mother in law saw and compared that I was better than this new woman. So they decided to bring me back and chase the other one away. He came to pick me and went for checkups because for all the time I had been away I had never slept with any other man. After the checkups we decided to wed.

I: Congratulations from that battle.

R: You see in that marriage journey; you find many issues. All the land I told you, the coffee garden and the shop I had. The other two shops we rent out we built them after got back together to make them three.

I: This is done by a patient woman like you, many don’t do like this.

R: If you came and found all the children here, you wouldn’t tell them apart or differentiate them. This is the world, and children are gifts from God, you can’t get angry at them because we are all just passing by in this world.

I: Mama, as a woman, do you feel that your husband supports you in the things that you do?

R: For whatever he is going to do, he has to first call me wherever I am to come and we talk about what is on the table. For example, when children want school fees and when they want clothes, I can’t tell him that he is buying clothes and that he shouldn’t buy for the other children, I don’t do it. Every child we decide that we shall buy them things worth this money but we leave none out.

I: In what ways do you provide encouragement to your husband.

R: Also me, when I am going to do anything I also first ask him how he thinks that it should be done then we go ahead and do it. Also, when you find that a man has children that are not yours then you start segregating them, his life doesn’t become happy about if he sees you do that. He sees that whenever we buy bread, we all eat it. When I get money, we plan for it together and for all children. Before, there was a boundary in the way we related, his mother didn’t want to share things.

I: As you have told me about this, how do you compare it both to other marriages out there?

R: It is not for everyone to see women persevering and some men will want to do their own thing. We had bought some of the land together with him. Only the banana plantation that I told you about which we sold he bought it alone and this house here. The rest of the land, I added my money there and got it together. I didn’t also keep the land I bought and the coffee thinking that tomorrow my children will take them, they will all share. He sees that in everything I do I don’t separate the children, that this one takes this and the other goes with a different thing. They all go with the same thing no matter what.

1:23:01

I: There are some women that may come back here like you did but whatever they got out there they put it in their children’s names and thy don’t do like you. Do you think this has any effect on their marriage?

R: It doesn’t help them because I grew up in a polygamous family where my mother was the older wife and I saw what my step mother was doing to us it wasn’t food. Many things were taken from us and they were given to her children because she wanted to educate her children. This is why we didn’t go to school but also her, all her children, none has gone beyond primary 5 in their education. She has cows, has more land and coffee, her children they did for them business so that they can develop but it failed. Only one of her sons managed to buy land in the trading centre and he built two rooms for shops, us for the older woman who is our mother are much better. When she sees what we have made, she sees what my sister and other siblings have done, she feels very low.

I: How many children were you for your mother?

R: She had given birth to 15 children and many of them died because of measles. There is a week we buried 4 of my siblings because of measles. Now we remained 8 of us, 5 girls and 3 boys. Our mother can’t want when we are still alive. Our father left our home and is besides his young bride but she fought us so much and we don’t want our mother drop any tear when we are alive. So growing up in this, you can fight for everything giving it to your children and they don’t benefit you tomorrow. And you find that the other children are way much better than yours.

I: It is quite hard to understand this. Wherever I have seen this stepmother and children situation the other children always turn out better than for the woman fighting. And even though the other children suffered when they were growing up, you find that they are much well off when they grow up.

R: Yes, they jump out and become much better. In all truth I pray that God will help me not to do the same to these children.

I: Mama, you said that you first both sit and talk about whatever decision you are going to make in your household. What major decision have you done lately concerning your household that you remember?

R: We had school fees that we had not paid for the children in the lower classes and we knew that we would fail to pay the money. I went where I have my account in a savings group, I got the form, filled it and I got the money and gave it to him then he went and paid the school fees.

I: Do you normally do the both of you to get this money?

R: Yes, he also goes and gets the money and when he gets the money we both work to pay back that money. He can get the loan or I can get the loan and we pay for the children fees.

I: Do you think that this similar in other marriages in the way they make their decisions?

R: For many it is not easy for them to do this. You may find that one has the upper hand and when that person gets money like 2 million they tell their spouse that they got only 200,000 shillings and they hide the rest. I am praying that I never get this heart of hiding money.

1:27:47

Whatever money I bring we sit and decide that we are going to use it for this and this, tomorrow should I fail to pay this money then he will know where I got it from and then he can pay. I see many women there where my home is, they go and get a loan and after a while you see the loan people coming to arrest the husband and he asks the wife what the money she got was for. The man pays the school fees and provides for the home so you find him wondering what she was going to use the money for. Even if someone gives me money I tell my husband that someone gave us money and it did this; you may be there tomorrow and something happens then he knows at least that you got money from here or there.

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about this.

**Gender norms around land**

In this part here, we have seen that land is associated more with men than women. There are some aspects about this that we would like to know, we don’t have any truth about it but we want to hear your thoughts on it. In this village, are there women that own land?

R: They are few. Many of them have it with their husbands.

I: For the ones that own it, how did they acquire it?

R: Many were given shares by their parents and others bought it.

I: I would love to understand about these women who own the land, do they have it in secret or their husbands are aware of it?

R: There are some whose husbands know about it but others have it in secret.

I: Do you think that women in this village should be allowed to own land?

R: In my thoughts, if you have your husband and sit on the table and decide to do one thing then you shouldn’t keep this land on the side. First of all, those are your children. The one who keeps land in secret, she doesn’t hope to stay with his man for long and she knows that if she decides to go tomorrow, she hopes to go to her land. If she knows that her shares are here, then she will decide to tell the husband that maybe she has this money or she sells her share of land at her home and they buy this land so that it can help them both. If one of them is sick, it can help them or if they have failed to get school fees for their children then it can also help them.

I: do you think there are somethings that men may do that will lead this woman to start thinking of keeping something on the side?

R: Yes, the man may get money but he hides it way yet they are poor and you find their children being sent back form school every day. You see the man with the money but he doesn’t want to pay so the woman starts to do her things in hiding too. Now like when the coffee season comes in, you find her also selling and keeping money on the side because they have no agreement with the man.

I: In your view, do you think women want to own land with their husbands more or they want to own it alone?

1:31:57

R: The biggest number they prefer to be with their men so that they know that this thing belongs to so and so’s family. But because men no longer want to show what they make, this is when you find them hiding from each other on the side. You can even find that someone has an account that their spouse doesn’t know about or they buy a cow and hey hide it at your home without the husband knowing. Now, tomorrow should death take either you or your husband, most of your things that you acquired end up being taken by those people out there. I had my neighbor there where I work from, her husband didn’t have any understanding with her. He had television screens, and other property and many of them he had decided to keep them in people’s homes even money. The woman had just finished giving birth after three weeks; the man was walking along the road and a car hit him, he was coming from the shop. He had 1 million shillings kept under the pillow by their bedside, He had left home to go and bury someone in Kazo, at the centre just below there, the car hit him at once. He didn’t speak again and they covered him. People went to his home shouting and the woman joined in shouting too but her uterus was not yet stable after giving birth so it risked being unstable. Some women went and held her and they comforted her. One of the women from mother’s union a Christian women group for the marrieds sat her down and told her how her husband had died but she should be strong because everyone has their time to go in this world, if they bring the body she shouldn’t just shout loud when people are shouting which might affect her uterus. She sat down and as they were getting his body from the hospital, the shop keys got lost so they told people to go and pick some things so that they may not be stolen from there. His siblings came to prepare his bedroom, they found the money he had kept under the pillow and they took it out. It all ended there, whoever had kept his things didn’t return them. He used to hide from the wife whatever he did and bought, he had bought motorcycles that he had given people to ride. The woman later on found out and she told me that her husband was hiding from her and maybe that meant that he had plans of marrying another woman later. Many of his things got lost like that and no one in his family benefited. The woman told me that she has 5 children, whatever she buys or does she tells all of them about it, 2 boys and 3 girls. Whoever she gives money she tells them too because their father’s death opened her eyes and warned her about such things. She said she can’t buy cows and hide them there or buy other things because if she dies tomorrow; instead of her children benefiting from whatever she did, they instead loose it all.

I: This was a very sad thing.

R: Women these days they buy things and keep them there in secret.

I: I would love to understand more about this family land and the way you explained it to me, do women have shares on it most times?

R: They have shares because if the man dies and he divided land for the children, where does he think his wife will go. And if you have given the children things they go except for the girl children, they keep looking after their parents but if they are boys they don’t follow their parents.

I: If the man wants to sell this family land, must he first get an approval from the wife?

R: in good terms, he should first consult with his wife. If the woman sees that the reason why they are selling is okay, then they can sell. But now if he goes behind and maybe talks to people on the side and he sells without the woman signing for him, it brings about a fight.

1:37:37

I: Okay, this will bring about other fights.

R: Yes.

I: As you told me that you have to first sit and agree, do you think there will a difference if you found this man with his land that maybe he got as share from his father or if you got the land together?

R: Maybe if I find that his father gave him land, I may not bother much but still if he is going to sell he should first ask me.

I: Meaning that when you find that he got land from his father then he can sell it?

R: You see when you are going to sell that means there is something that is too tight on you and then you are forced to sell. But if you are just selling like that then how about the children that you are giving birth to, where will they go tomorrow. It should be right to first consult.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. In your view, do you think that widows are allowed to remain on the land after losing their husband?

R: It is right for her to stay there because she was his wife and she gave birth to their children and even if she didn’t give birth. Where does the husband think that she will go after he is gone because she has to stay on that land and when she passes on too they bury her. She shouldn’t leave her husband’s home and go away.

I: Do you think that there is a difference because of how the land was acquired maybe it is his or they got it together or because there are children.

R: She must stay there no matter what.

I: Let us say that the way there is a title or agreement there are only the man’s names, he has them and they are in his names alone and he dies without writing a will. Does the widow remain on this land?

R: She should stay there still because I have my uncle although he passed away; his older wife passed on first then he remarried another wife who didn’t give birth to any child. But when he was about to die, his daughter were the ones taking care of him. He told them that since they had taken care of him, seeing that boys don’t take care of their parents and we just buried on of his sons last month. He told them that he had given the boys their share, the remaining land was all his. He told them when he dies, they should bury him and take care of his wife until she dies to and they bury her because she didn’t give birth to any child. He asked them not to mistreat her. After them burying their step mother, he told them to take the whole land. One of his daughters my cousin sister with whom we are very close with got married and failed and came back on the father’s land. She is the one who normally takes care of the sick people, she took care of that woman until she died. She couldn’t treat her badly because she was the father’s wife, her parents both died, so she kept her. In all goodness, now widow should leave their land.

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

1:41:41

R: Yes you find it with the children.

I: Supposing she left young children who don’t understand land yet?

R: She can leave some old person behind or your friend with your will that they will give your children their share of the land when they are 18 years and above but if the children are still young, then it will stay in the authority of the one she left the land with.

I: Do widows remarry?

R: I wouldn’t want them to get married again but hey do get married.

I: Why is this?

R: You are already old and you leave our land and children running to get married.

I: When they remarry can they bring their new husband here or?

R: I think if you have decided to remarry, get off the land and go find your man and start your new family there but not bringing the man to your husband’s land.

I: Have you seen women that bring these men on this land?

R: There are some who bring them but that is foolishness.

I: What reasons lead them to get married again in your view?

R: I had told you that the way we didn’t resemble on the face that is the same way we don’t resemble in our hearts because everyone runs their life differently. In good terms, when your husband passes on you should go to remarry. That friend of mine said that no matter what happens, or whichever man comes with whatever money she can’t leave her children because she is going to remarry. Most of the land for stolen after her husband died and now they have their land. If she decided to do a farm she can get cattle and put them there, the husband left her with a banana plantation and coffee garden and she has educated her children. Her second born is now in senior three and the other girls she did tailoring and got married. She says that for all her children, if they grow up and they get a job then that is good for them rather than her leaving them then their uncles come to take care of them. You can’t leave your children and remarry.

I: For the ones that remarry, what pushes them to do it?

R: They are just foolish but it is not right.

I: Supposing she had not given birth yet, can she go and remarry?

R: If she had not given birth in that home, she can go but if she had given birth and she has children, she should miss that step and go away.

I: Mama, have you heard about it in your village whereby after a widow losing her husband, her male relatives come and grab land from her?

1:45:30

R: Very many of them.

I: Tell me about one example that you know, what happened?

R: Many of them, when they refuse their brothers in law form marrying them and they get other men from outside, the in-laws try to take away this land from her. They can tell her that she can’t refuse them and then she brings other men to stay on the land of their deceased brother. But as a woman, if you keep yourself and your respect and you decide to stay on the land and take care of your orphans, your in laws can’t come and grab land from you.

I: The way widows have been treated, has there been any change in the recent years?

R: Those of today when they see that their husband has died, they think everything is now theirs to own. She thinks that relation in this family are done so she relates more with her side of the family at her home. Long ago, the widow would keep being in touch and closer to her mother in law, father in law, wives to her brothers in law and you see that she remained in the family but these days she calls people from her home if she has a function of a child and she doesn’t call those people from her late husband’s side. If you have chased me from your home because my brother died, the children no longer know me as their aunty or whom their uncles are now how will the family love you of your late husband.

I: Okay, the woman has to keep in touch with her husband’s family and keep the children near their family too.

R: Yes, they have to know their people.

I: What is your general opinion about these things that happen to women who lose their husbands?

R: It is not good for them to go through this, there should be oneness with their husband’s families and they stay and raise their children.

I: The way you see widows being treated in your village, is it oaky or not?

R: You find some being jealous of her because her husband left her with things and they hate her but also you find that the widow sometimes gets into things that do not benefit her. The family may like and she hates them in turn or she loves them but they hate her.

I: For the ones that they do not treat well, would you see anything change about it?

R: There should be change.

I: Tell me how.

R: The woman has given birth to their children, now they want to chase her away. The children lost their father and now the family is trying to chase away their mother, do they want the children to be orphaned twice. When you lose one parent, you stay with the other.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. The women who separate with their husbands, what do you

1:50:03

think happens to them in terms of the land where they were.

R: Many after separating with their husbands, like if I left here and said that I am tired of it and I go, I get married elsewhere so why do I want the land. Because I no longer want the man, I am tired of him. Now if I don’t love you why should I ask you for your things.

I: Let us say that the main reason for the separation was because of the man, does the woman remain on the land?

R: They should give her a share of the land.

I: For the couples you have seen separating, do they divide and give the woman land?

R: Now, when the man is the bad one and the woman is fine and quiet because most men want to go and sell land from there and get their new wives that they want to marry. If the woman remains on the land, in the house, the government should come and give him his share and I also stay with my children on our share of the land.

I: What you mean to say is that most of the time if the fault is for the man then the woman can get a share of the land but fi the fault is for the woman then she can’t get anything on the land.

R: Yes, the woman does.

I: When you say the government, who do you mean?

R: I mean the sub county.

I: The way these women are treated that separate with their husbands, is it acceptable or you would to see change about it

R: There is a woman who wants to get married in here and then she goes to another home and leaves children there then she goes to another marriage. It wouldn’t be nice at all for her to do this.

I: What about the other one woman whose fault it wasn’t but they take away children from her and they chase her away from the land.

R: It is not right, she has given birth to their children, and she wants to stay on the land and keep her children the family of the husband should allow her to stay there and not chase her away.

I: In your view, will there be any benefits in have a woman listed along her husband on a title?

R: It should be good because when a man puts you on the title then you know that he loves you and should something go wrong tomorrow then no one can come to interfere with you because they will know that the land is yours. If he doesn’t put you there, you will keep in doubt questioning yourself why.

I: Supposing the husband puts the wife or he doesn’t, will there be any problems from this?

1:54:03

R: The problems will be there; they can’t fail to be there. But if he doesn’t put you there and he doesn’t mistreat you then there is no problem. We are not the same in our hearts, you will find a woman who will say that since he has not put her there, then that, means he is doing all things for another woman and they start quarreling morning and evening. There is also one who will keep quiet and let it pass and they stay together until death parts them.

I: If a woman is able to own land jointly with her husband, do you think that this will decrease any misunderstandings that they have in their marriage now that they own land together?

R: Habits are born. You find a woman is good and the man is the bad one but you can also find that the man is the good one in the marriage while the women is like a leopard. All can’t be the same and even if you own the land together, nothing will change.

I: If they own land together, will this increase the misunderstandings?

R: No.

I: Why do you think that it will not increase them when they have the land together?

R: If this is in the inside of you even if you dress up and look good on the outside, still quarrels will come out from the start. Nothing will change.

**Land disputes**

I: Okay, our last part is about the disputes on land. Disputes generally whether in the family or community or in neighbors. What do you think is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: There are people who love free things that they have not sweated for so they fight for the land. Other times there is someone who will say that they will sell the land whether you allow or refuse, they will do it. If you don’t want, the man can tell you that he will kill you.

I: How about among the people in the village, what cause disputes most of the time?

(Respondent first stops to greet a visitor)

R: If you are to see the smoke coming up that means that down there is fire. Someone can start running after other people’s land without having something under that causes him to do so. Most of the time you find someone who wants to enter peoples land always. Where I work there is a secondary school and the boy was in St. Kizito school, the boy lost his father, so at home the in-law saw that their mother was educating them so he decided to steal their land. He started by uprooting the *omugorora* and planting it further in to their land slowly by slowly. The woman tried to report him but when they would come back the brother in law would tell him that her children are still young and there is nothing he can do to him. The son to the widow had reached in senior 4 and when he came home he asked the uncle why he was doing this to them trying to steal their land because their father died and left them with their land so how could he be doing this to them. The uncle took this as a joke, the boy had a hoe and he was trying to weed their banana plantation, the uncle was harvesting beans; the boy threw the hoe at his uncle at once and hit him to death. The boy ran home and told her mother whom he used to call aunty and told her how he had hit his uncle and he fell down. The mother told him to keep quiet so that no one could hear him. In the morning, he went back to check on him.

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He went with his hoe to check the plantation, so he thought to himself that if he didn’t beat him gain and see that he is dead if he goes to court then they will take him to prison so he beat his uncle again and made sure he was dead. After this he threw the hoe there and ran to the police to report that he had killed his uncle so that they come and see how he had been extending their land boundaries for this while. He went and they put him in a cell, the mother heard that her son was inside there so the police came and just picked the uncle’s body and they took it home for burial.

I: For such a dispute, is there a way the family sat down to try and resolve it?

R: It may be possible but if they have killed your person, you can’t allow to sit and do it.

I: Let us say that it was about the boundaries of their land, would there be a way they would sit and resolve it in the family?

R: Yes they can.

I: So, when do the village people become involved to help in resolving this dispute?

R: They can come because they know the land where someone was passing and where the other was passing so they help them end the dispute.

I: Mama, what if one of the sides in such disputes has a title, because they have a title will it help to resolve the dispute?

R: Help me understand.

I: Let us say one person whose land is being entered into has a title while the other person trying to take the land has no title and they are fighting over that land. Do you think that the title will help to resolve this conflict?

R: When a person has a title they can’t get into his land because they will fear that the title will show the boundaries of the land and they will be in wrong.

I: For these people with land security problem’s, what would you advise be done to help them?

R: The ones without titles.

I: Generally, everyone even those who are not able to get them.

R: I see the most important thing is for them to get a title because now that we have our neighbors on our land, if they all have titles then there is no way we will have disputes.

I: For the one who don’t have the money to afford the titles, how will they be helped?

R: They will stay in such situations and they will go to report each other and resolve it like that. If I have planted my banana and it is on our land boarder, it reproduces young ones which will extend into your land and it adds on younger ones entering in someone’s land. If there is a title, no one will try to accuse the other of their crops entering the other land.

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If they don’t have a title, they will be helped by the village people and the government to come and resolve their disputes when they have them.

I: Is there a way your leaders come in to help in land issues matters?

R: If you see that you have failed, you call the chairman and the village people or your neighbors and the committee and they come and reconcile you but if they fail then you continue to the upper leadership levels.

I: Thanks Mama for giving me your time today. I wish you a quick recovery and that the medicine you are taking will work for you.

R: Okay, thanks

I: About what we have discussed today, I don’t know if you have any question that you would like to ask me about?

R: No, I don’t have any. Thanks for talking to us.

I: Thank you too

2:04:31