**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 31/10/2019

Name of respondent: Jenifer

H.H I. D: 4540231

Title status: Refused

Interview start time: 15:40 pm

Interview stop time: 2:06 pm

Age:35

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 4

No. of people living in the household: 6

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: sells chicken and eggs

Highest level of education: Primary 7

No. of years living in the village: 16

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: mud, poles and sand, cow dung floor

Interview Duration: 1:51:37

The interview was conducted in the house. Their house is made of mud, poles, sand and a cow dung floor. They live in a big farm space though part of it is theirs while the other parts are for the neighbors. The land they are on is for the father in-law, she said that they own no land with the husband and this is the reason she said they didn’t title. He gave them to build their house on his farm but didn’t say that it is the son’s rightful share, he also gave them a half acre of a banana plantation where he put for them *migorora* to mark their part because the remaining plantation is his but she said that they are not even sure that it is truly theirs so they feared to even consider it for titling. They wanted to go and ask the father in-law if they can title the plantation but they feared, being the hard man she said he is, he could have told them to take that as their final share from him and miss out on the land he could add them tomorrow should he decide to divide for his children or die and leave a will. She told me that she rents the land they get from food and sells harvests and the husband also has his own gardens. They look to be poor from the look of things and from the conversation. She also told me that the man decided to get himself another woman who is currently pregnant. He no longer sleeps at home and he gave her no reason why he did this but also informed her how he wants to share the land they are on to add the other woman. She looked sad, she would sometimes seem lost in thought before she would answer but would pick up and we continue. She was engaged in the conversation.

Together they have 4 children whom they live with. She gets income from selling harvests from her gardens and sometimes sells some chicken and eggs. The milk they get from the cows looks to be more of the man’s income than hers. She said that the father in-law has very big land but he has never divided for his children, he just gave both the boys to build there and do some activities but still not freely he showed them where to stop.

**Warm up**

I: How did yesterday go for you here?

R: It ended well.

I: I saw the water in the way coming here.

R: Yes, there is mud, the day ended well but the rain is too much.

I: It was raining the whole day?

R: No, it rained and stopped.

I: How did your day begin today?

R: It also started well.

I: You had gone to the garden in the morning.

R: Yes, I came back at half past mid-day.

I: At what time do you go back after?

R: I go back at 3 pm.

I: Do you have workers to help you?

R: No, I dig by myself.

I: How far is it from here?

R: It is like 1 and a half kilometers from here, it is in another village.

I: How about your husband, does he dig with you?

R: No, I don’t dig with him.

I: Where does he go to dig?

R: Everyone has their own garden.

I: Tell me why it is like this.

R: The man doesn’t know how to weed millet so he stays here and works in the banana plantation while I work in the millet.

I: You had said that you have separate gardens, can it happen and you have your own beans and he has his own beans too?

R: Yes

00:01:48

I: Why is it like this?

R: Everyone digs alone, I even rent my land alone as a woman.

I: I would love to know, after harvesting do you put your money together?

R: No, we don’t put it together, everyone budgets their own way. I can budget that in the house there are no chairs or the child has nothing to wear or the school fees and we use it for these things and everyone contributes on their own.

I: Okay. Today you are here alone, where have the rest gone?

R: The children went to school.

I: So they all come back in the evening.

R: Around 5 or 6 pm.

I: How about lunch, do they come back for it?

R: No, they carry food.

I: Thanks for welcoming me Mama and getting off time in your weeding time to talk to me.

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

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

R: We are 6, 4 children and me and the man.

I: How old are your children?

R: The first born is 15 years and the rest go down wards.

I: How old is your last born?

R: 9 years.

I: How many girls and boys are they?

R: 2 girls and 2 boys.

I: Okay. You stopped on those.

R: I no longer want more and it depends on your income and mine is small.

I: How about that of the man?

R: Even if we put it together it is still little. We don’t need to have more than these children.

00:04:14

I: Okay. I hear some people say that Banyankore don’t give birth to few children. That they count children from 7 upwards.

R: Our first born is 15 and is in primary 7, next year they will be going to senior and that will be another hardship.

I: So you are 6 people here.

R: Yes.

I: When we were coming we were told to go until the end of the road and the farm is what you see first.

R: Maybe you were also coming from near here.

I: Somehow. We asked from the centre at mile 4.

R: Okay, and you reached here without asking anyone.

I: We just met a woman up there at the foot path with a herd’s boy and they told us to slope here.

R: Okay. This is where we live in our farm.

I: How old are you.

R: 35 years

I: What activities give you money?

R: It is my gardens when I dig.

I: What crops do you normally harvest and sell?

R: Beans, millet and ground nuts

I: If a season goes well for you, how much do you get from beans?

R: 100 to 150 kilograms.

I: How about from the ground nuts?

R: I can get 1 sack or 1 and a half of groundnuts with their covers.

I: When you remove the covers, how much are they?

R: No, me I sell with them with their covers.

I: How about the millet?

R: Sometimes I get 1 sack or 1 and a half sack this is if the sun doesn’t heat them.

00:07:51

I: I see some cows too there in the farm, don’t they give you some money. I also saw some milk cans behind there.

R: They also give us some money; we sell some milk.

I: Mama, like how many cows do you have?

R: Three cows

I: Okay. You really have a big farm.

R: The other side is not ours. We start from the *ruyenje* (a certain milky plant that is used to set boundaries between farms or to portion farm space)

I: Yours is there where we found some two young calves.

R: Yes

I: In what class did you stop?

R: Primary 7

I: How many years have you spent in this village?

R: 16 years

I: Before you came here, where were you coming from?

R: I am from Igara in Mitooma

I: Do you often go back home?

R: yes

I: After how long?

R: When a year and a half has passed and also sometimes the transport can fail so I keep getting in touch with them on phone.

I: What reasons make you go back home?

R: When someone dies I go to bury but sometimes I just go to see my mother because I don’t have my father. I go and spend there one week and then I come back.

I: Whom does she stay with?

R: She has her grandchildren there from her sons.

I: Your brothers are still there.

R: No, they are all married in their homes

00:10:46

I: Do you have land that you own Mama?

R: I don’t have any.

I: I am wondering whether you received a share from your home.

R: It is there but I haven’t got it yet.

I: What do you mean by it is there but you haven’t yet got it?

R: They haven’t yet shared it. The will said that we girls will get our share after our mother passing on and now she is still alive.

I: How many girls are you?

R: 5 girls

I: And how many boys were they?

R: They were 4. The farm that remained they said that we will share it after our mother’s death.

I: I see that as of now you haven’t got it yet.

R: No, I haven’t.

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

R: No

I: You have hurried to say that no Mama.

R: I have to say the truth that is there.

I: How about here where you are, tell me about it.

R: It is for my father in law.

I: This land.

R: He just gave us land to build and stay there. Like a father he just gave his son to build.

I: Both your husband’s parents are alive?

R: Yes.

I: Where do they stay?

R: Up there where you stopped at the beans.

I: So they gave you to build but it is not his share?

00:12:29

R: I think he will get it tomorrow when his father and mother are not living but now that they are alive, he doesn’t have it. He just built here like how you would tell your child to do his activities on a certain part of your land in the meantime.

I: Okay. Were his other siblings given land or?

R: They were born only 2 of them, his other brother is up that side.

I: They are only 2 children.

R: The rest are girls; they are 2 boys.

I: He is also just doing his activities on his father’s land.

R; Yes. If they want to buy land, then they can go and buy.

I: Do you have form of writing that could showing how he gave you this place?

R: No.

I: I am curious to know the reason as to why you didn’t title.

R: We wouldn’t get the title yet we don’t own the land.

I: Okay, I get it. Is there any way you tried to ask your father in law and you see if he allows you to title the land?

R: Even if we had gone to ask him, he would have refused. He can’t allow to put his land in a title.

I: He has taken his time to divide for his sons. I heard that when a man marries then the father gives them land to start their family on.

R: He just told us to build and stay here. But he gave us a banana plantation.

I: So you have this land here and the plantation I see down there.

R: Yes.

I: How big is the plantation?

R: It is like half acre of the plantation the rest is not ours it is his.

I: How about here on the farm where you are, how big is it?

R: He didn’t give us any demarcations of start from there and stop here. We just came and built this house.

I: Since he out the boundaries for you in the plantation, isn’t it yours?

R: It is ours

00:14:57

I: Why didn’t you put it in the title?

R: Maybe that but it is not our land still.

(A man comes asking her if she has chicken for sale and if there are eggs to buy)

I: So Mama, you sell chicken and eggs. How many chicken do you have?

R: I have like 6 of them and sometimes I sell eggs too.

I: Okay. Why did you choose to not put the plantation in the title?

R: It became hard for us and we didn’t even go to ask him.

I: So Mama, I would love to know whether you have other plots of land apart from here.

R: No, for us to get land is when we rent.

I: Are you the only ones on this land, you and the brother to your husband?

R: Yes, there is no other person.

I: The way you dig, you put gardens, your in-law also puts gardens and your father in-law also digs on the land.

R: Yes.

I: I am wondering why you go to rent yet you have land here, isn’t it enough?

R: No, mainly here it is farm land and we can put gardens on this land.

I: Doesn’t he have more land that is not farm land?

R: He has it but is not much, most of his land is where the farms are. We add on and rent. All this land is for my father in-law. We don’t have land in all our life.

**General land**

I: Let us talk about land I general. How do people come to own land in this village?

R: You buy land.

I: Is there any other way someone can own land apart from buying it?

R: His parents will have given it to him.

I: Do you think that there is another way people own land?

R: No.

I: In what ways do people use land that they don’t own?

00:17:58

R: It is renting it and you cultivate and harvest your crops.

I: Is there any other way they can access land that they don’t own?

R: You can come and tell me that you don’t have land and I give you a piece off my land and I tell you to cultivate on it.

I: Can someone use land that they don’t own and not pay rent?

R: Yes, you give them part of your harvest.

I: This system is still working here?

R: Yes.

I: Tell me about it, how does it go.

R: You will dig, plant and harvest then the land owner will tell you how much to give him depending on what you have harvested.

I: How will he know or see what I have harvested?

R: No, you decide on it from the start. If you agreed that you will give him 50 kilograms then that is what you will give him. If you don’t make this measure, then you go on the table and you discuss again and tell him that you agreed to give him 50 kilograms but that is what you have harvested altogether. He will decide whether to take 25 and you remain with the other 25 according to him.

I: If someone wants to sell land they own, can they sell it or they have to first consult with someone in the village?

R: He will go and ask his family and some friends whom he trusts telling them that he wants to sell land so they tell him if they think that he is right or in wrong.

I: Is there any other person he consults from?

R: He also goes to the chairman.

I: If someone says that this is family land, what does that mean to you?

R: Now like this one is for Mzeei (her father in law).

I: You mean it is for your father in law and his family. Can all the family members come and do whatever they want to on the land?

R: No, it is still in his hands, so no one can come and do what they want without asking him first.

I: Supposing that he is not alive anymore, in whose hands will the land be in?

R: The family will now divide it among themselves and share with everyone taking their pieces.

00:21:20

I: I would love to know whether in this case he left a will or they will discuss and share?

R: He will have done a will.

I: Has it ever happened that such a Mzeei dies without leaving a will behind of his land?

R: If he hasn’t left a will, as a family you will discuss and decide what share each of the members will take.

I: Where do you consider to be your family land?

R: This one.

I: Like now how Mzeei has not yet divided to give you your shares, would you say that you are on his family land or?

R: It is still Mzeei’s land.

I: When you were getting married, did you reach settling here or?

R: No, we first lived up at Mzeei’s house. We have spent like 10 years here on this land where he told us to build.

I: How did it go for staying with them?

R: Even if it didn’t go well, I had nothing to do but be patient.

I: You were cooking with your mother in law and your other in-laws for all those years.

R: Yes

I: Well done on this, some people don’t like living like this.

R: Yes. We had taken some time living there with him, and he later on said that we shift and come to build our home here.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Supposing you have land that you own, what would having ownership on that land mean to you?

R: Now I would cultivate on it all the time not like how I rent land for one season and then I leave.

I: So when you are renting land, you do it for only one season?

R: Yes, and when it is done you get out of the person’s land.

I: Don’t you have this thing here whereby you can pay to rent for two seasons together?

R: It is hard, where would I even get that money from. We pay per season because what if the yields keep being less per season, where will I profit from. I rather pay per season and if the produce is little, I will go and rent other land.

00:24:41

I: Okay, I have understood that. So, how do you know that land is fertile to give you good harvest?

R: It depends on what harvest I get from there.

I: What other things can show that someone has ownership over land?

R: Apart from the agreement?

I: Yes.

R: The agreement can show that someone bought land and also the will which the parent left.

I: Is there any other thing that can show ownership over land apart from these?

R: The *migorora* like the ones we have in our plantation.

I: In your view, what good things are there in having a woman’s names on these land ownership documents?

R: A man can buy land without the woman signing on the land and then tomorrow he marries another woman. When you try to ask him. He will ask you where you signed on the land. It can help in this case.

I: What other good things are there?

R: Let us say that the father is not around and the child wants to sell land, because you signed on the land means that you have authority on the land too and you can stop that child from selling because you as the mother signed on the agreement.

I: Are there problems you think can come out of having a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: There is nothing.

I: Okay. Thanks for telling me about this. You had told me that you haven’t yet inherited land, do you think that you might own it in the days to come?

R: I have hope to inherit land.

I: From where Mama?

R: Here where we are. My father in-law will give us later.

I: How about from your home?

R: Yes, when my parent is not there, we shall get some land.

I: You also hope to inherit from here.

R: Yes

00:29:18

I: Tell me about what gives you the hope that you will get land both from here and there at your home?

R: Can you give birth to your child and you don’t give her land.

I: What if the parent doesn’t want?

R: When she dies and she hasn’t given me land, I can report.

I: You mean you will report the dead person.

R: I will report the people that will be there. If they share the land badly, then I will go and report them.

I: Has it ever happened before that a parent passes on without dividing the land for his children not even in the will?

R: Yes, it has happened.

I: How does this go?

R: The old people in the family will be the ones to divide the land.

I: Do they know how the parent would have divided the land?

R: They will divide it according to how they see and decide on what very one should be getting.

I: Okay. In this village Mama, are people fearful of losing their land?

R: You meant the ones with titles.

I: All the people with them inclusive.

R: I haven’t heard them anywhere.

I: How come you asked me about the people with the titles?

R: I know that this whole program is about titles and you came here to teach us about titles.

I: Okay. Is there any way that the people with the titles are fearful?

R: No.

I: Okay. If you are able to get more land, in what way would you go about it?

R: I will buy it.

I: Is there any other way?

R: My parent can also give me.

00:32:04

I: This means that you would even cultivate more.

R: But can’t buy it as of now, the children are still in school so I can’t buy more land. If at school they ask you like for 400.000 shillings, will you go and get money and instead buy land. School fees don’t end; you have to pay every term.

I: You had told me that this is your family land.

R: Yes, this small place.

I: What activities do you carry out from here?

R: We have only a banana plantation, otherwise we rent land out there.

I: Who makes the decisions on your land here like what to plant for example whether you put beans or cassava in the plantation?

R: It is the man.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks for telling me about this. In our next part is about titles and we would love to know your thoughts about them even though you didn’t get the title. What does a title mean?

R: It protects your land.

I: Can’t the agreement also protect your land?

R: It can also protect it but the title protects the land better than the agreement.

I: Tell me why you think so.

R: If the land is in a title and you can’t to sell it, it takes long to be bought because the buyer will fear the title. This is a good thing.

I: I thought that if it is your land, you want to sell it.

R: The buyer will first fear because the land is in a title and so they first understand how the seller is selling.

I: What uses do you think that the title has?

R: If you have land and it is in a title, if you want to go and get a loan, you can take this title to the bank and get money quickly. If you are giving leverage of your land that is in a title, they give you the money quickly.

I: Does it have any other use apart from getting a loan?

R: I know that one.

I: In this titling process, is there anything that you have liked about it?

00:36:57

R: I have no issue; we would have loved to get the title.

I: Okay. Mama, I have understanding that you were considered to get the title but you refused. Did you talk about this with your husband?

R: Yes, he wanted it but the land wasn’t his.

I: I am wondering whether you would have asked Mzeei and may be title.

R: We talked to ourselves that if we go and tell him that we want to put the title he will say that we go ahead and out it in the plantation that he gave us but if they put it there that may mean that tomorrow that is where we will stop on getting inheritance from him.

I: You mean he would have told you that hat I your share from all his land.

R: Yes, he would tell us to take that share since we loved the title more. So we didn’t title, we refused so that tomorrow he doesn’t refuse to add us more land.

I: How is he in his behaviors?

R: He is hard in his ways, that is how we see him. This is why we refused so that tomorrow he doesn’t tell us about how we loved the title more and therefore the planation is all we get meaning that he will not give us any more land.

I: Okay. Is he still able to cultivate?

R: No, he is in the late 60’s about to get into 70 years.

I: So what does he use his land for?

R: He has cows and the biggest is farm land.

I: About how many cows does he have?

R: Like 15 and some young ones.

I: And the wife, is she still bale to dig?

R: Yes, she digs.

I: I see why you refused the title. In your view Mama, do you think that women love it to be on titles?

R: Yes, if you have got the title with your husband, and he decides to marry another woman, he is not allowed to bring the wife on that land. He will go and buy for her land where she can stay.

I: Is there any other reason they love it?

R: That is the way that a man is not allowed to divide for the other woman on that land.

00:39:41

I: Even though you didn’t get it, would you have loved to be on it?

R: Yes

I: Tell me the reason as to why you love it.

R: It is that one.

I: You mean you have started seeing your man with these tendencies?

R: Yes, I have seen him already. If Mzeei would even allow, we would have titled that banana plantation we have but he can’t allow.

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

R: No, he has another wife.

I: So are you the older wife or the younger one?

R: I am the older one.

I: Where does she stay?

R: There in the centre where they gave you directions from.

I: When did he get her?

R: He hasn’t yet made a year with her.

I: I am wondering how you came to know about it.

R: The rumors were there. People would come and tell me until I saw it on my own.

I: How did you come to see it?

R: I would see from the time he would come back at home.

I: Okay. When you would ask him where he is coming from, what would he tell you?

R: He would tell me that he is from the centre hanging out with his friends.

I: Tell me how you finally knew that it is a woman.

R: I have been knowing that woman although the year has not yet reached. People brought the news to me.

I: Have you ever had a conversation with him about this?

R: Ask him about what, he came and told me that he has a wife in the centre.

I: Mama, how did you take on this?

00:41:53

R: It didn’t do me well, I felt bad about it.

I: Has she yet given birth to children?

R: No, she is pregnant.

I: I am wondering which land he will give to her.

R: That is why I told you that if Mzeei had allowed we would have titled this land and I also sign meaning that woman wouldn’t pass anywhere to come and get on this land. I see him that he has the thought of giving her part of this land.

I: Sorry about this. Some women will decide to go away after hearing this and even leave the children behind.

R: Yes.

I: Mama, what has kept you going on here?

R: The children and I don’t have where to put them.

I: This is not easy. Did he tell you the reason as to why?

R: You think a man can say that. He can’t.

I: Has he talked to you about giving that woman land here?

R: Yes, I didn’t even answer him anything.

I: Was he asking for your permission or he was just letting you know about it?

R: He was just informing me.

I: Thanks for telling me about that Mama. Do you think that there are benefits in having both a man and a woman listed on the title together?

R: It helps them that the man can’t bring another woman on the land yet it is you who had signed on the title.

I: What other benefits are there in having both a man and a woman listed on the title?

R: If you want a loan, you will go to the bank and give there your title and get the money.

I: In your view, what reasons do you think cause men not to add their wife on the title?

R: They have misunderstandings in the family, the man doesn’t trust his wife.

I: Why do you think he doesn’t trust her?

R: I think the man sees that you might go away some time, and he thinks that since you have tried going then you will take his land later when you decide to go away and not be with him.

00:45:32

I: Are there other reason why men don’t put their wives on the titles?

R: I think he has hope to put another woman who he has out there so he doesn’t put you there.

I: Before you encountered these people who were telling you about titles, how were people in this village getting them?

R: They would go through the chairman because when they gave us the chance and we refused; they passed through the LC1 chairman and get the men and their wives names and took them.

I: Okay so the people that got titles before our teams came in your village, how did they get them?

R: I think they would also go through the same way; go to the LC1 chairman and he tells them where to pass to get that title.

I: Where do you think they get titles from?

R: I think they get them from the district.

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

R: I think on good terms they love them but they don’t have the money to go and get them.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining.**

I: We will talk about how you have been carrying on in your family. You told me that you have been with your husband for 16 years, how have they been for you?

R: They have been well but this year has gone bad for me.

I: In your view, what do you think has changed?

R: I don’t really know it because he hasn’t yet told me why and I had not seen him like this before.

I: If you don’t mind telling me mama, have you ever separated with your husband?

R: No, I have never.

I: Since you knew about your husband this year, have you thought about leaving?

R: I will keep doing what I have been doing.

I: Who of you pays the children’s school fees?

R: He is the one.

I: Do you think there is any change that has happened in the way he relates with all of you as a family?

00:50:02

R: He no longer sleeps here. He just comes during the day and he sleeps at the other woman’s place.

I: It can even take a long time without him sleeping here.

R: Yes, like now he has spent the day here and when it gets to the evening, he will go away.

I: Every day he comes here during the day time.

R: Yes. But he doesn’t sleep here.

I: Do you conversing with him or?

R: Do I even have that time to talk with him. He can be here sleeping or he does his work in the planation.

I: Do you feel supported by your husband in the things that you do Mama?

R: Maybe during the harvest time, he carries for me things. He also pays the children’s school fees.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages?

R: Some support their wives but there are places where the wife even pays the school fees for the children.

I: Okay, so where does the money for the man go.

R: You spend the whole day digging sometimes in other people’s gardens and at 3 pm you have to go to your own garden. You come and cook and he eats the food.

I: Can this man be reported?

R: That is when you get out of his house and leave. He will tell you to go and get married to the people you reported him to because if he is your man then how come you reported him.

I: In what ways do you encourage your husband?

R: I go and dig, I come back and cook lunch then he eats, after eating he goes and eats supper the other side.

I: When he stopped coming here, did he tell you that he wouldn’t be coming back anymore?

R: No, he didn’t tell me.

I: Is there any way you have sat to talk about this maybe with old people?

R: Nothing. There is nothing I can do. I see he is still paying school fees for the children and when the salt gets finished, he buys more.

I: How do you compare this with other marriages out there?

00:54:50

R: In other places, there are some who do everything on their own, the woman cooks the man eats. He doesn’t give the school fees for the children and neither does he buy salt. On top of this he even blames you for not working or even beat you but for me I see that I am still well.

I: Mama, who makes the major decisions on the main things in this household?

R: It is the man.

I: Do you first discuss or he decides as he wants?

R: He makes the decisions even without consulting me, we don’t discuss.

I: Is this how it has been ever since you started your marriage?

R: He is the one and I go ahead and agree with what he has decided.

I: What if you don’t agree with his decision?

R: I keep quiet and we go ahead with whatever he has decided.

I: Even if it doesn’t benefit you as a family?

R: That one I refuse it.

I: What is the latest major decision he has done in your family?

R: Maybe the school fees for these children. When they chase them from school and they come, he tells me that I shouldn’t pay the money as a sign of disrespecting him so I also leave it.

I: Are there times you have paid the fees?

R: No, he decided that I shouldn’t pay them to disrespect him.

I: For you to decide to pay the fees, what will have happened for you to try to do it?

R: When I see that they have over sent back the children.

I: So does he later on ay the school fees?

R: Yes, afterward sometimes after they hold their term reports and others have gone on holiday, when they can’t get them then he pays the fees. He fees to pay the school fees and we get the reports.

I: Do you think that this is similar in other marriages or it is different?

R: I think other people make good decisions.

I: Tell me what you mean by good decisions.

R: I think they decide to do this and the man agrees to it.

00:59:14

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about all this. We are going into our next part where we will talk about land and women. We have always seen that land is mostly for men than women and there are some aspects we want to know about this from you according to your thoughts. Do you think that this tiling is related to marriages in any way?

R: It makes marriage better.

I: How does it make it better?

R: If a man has married another woman he can’t bring her and out her on the land that is in the title with his wife at time.

I: Let us say that he has married another woman and he can’t bring her here because you have signed on the title, because you have the title with him, does it mean that your marriage will become better?

R: It will be better because he can’t sell the land when I have not put my signature.

I: Will this stop him from dating other women?

R: Where will he put them, if now we have put the land in the title. He has to go and work for new land where to put them.

I: So this will help you have a better marriage.

R: Yes, because he will not have where to put this new woman.

I: For example, now that a man has another wife, he is not going to bring her here if the land is titled.

R: Yes, because I can refuse.

I: Okay. Don’t you think that he will put her elsewhere?

R: Now he will go and rent for her.

I: So having the title can also stop him from seeing these other women.

R: He will go to them but he will not bring them on the land.

I: Will your connection remain the same like before after this?

R: When such things come in that means you no longer agree together. The marriage even ends like that.

I: Are there women who own land in this village as individuals?

R: Without the man.

1:02:54

I: With or without but when the land is hers.

R: Yes, they are there

I: How do they acquire the land?

R: That is what I was telling you that I have my parents, if my parent dies and gives me my land, I can get it from there if I want to, I can sell it and then I come to buy land here but I also tell the man about it that I am going to buying land, he can sign like a witness and I sign as the buyer in my name.

I: Meaning some buy and others get the shares from their parents.

R: yes.

I: Most of the time when these women own the land you mean the men know about it.

R: Yes

I: Aren’t there women who have land in secret?

R: Now how will you use this land with your husband if you have this land in hiding. They are not there.

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

R: When they have bought it.

I: No matter how they acquired it but should they be allowed to own land?

R: You think the man can allow you to have land on your own, but yes like I told you that we have a farm to share there, I can have it. It is good for a woman to also have her land because there are those that have it and yet they have their husbands.

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

R: When you have that land, the man may give birth to children out there so when he is dividing his land in the will he can’t give your land to the other children because he knows that it was bought by the wife.

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

R: They love it to own it alone.

I: Why do you think that they want to own it alone?

R: The man can start ruling you over his land telling you that you don’t have a signature on his land. It helps that the man can’t come to sell her land.

I: This means that thy don’t want to own land with men. Why do you think they don’t want to?

1:06:45

R: If he marries another woman, can he bring her to your land, no, you can stop him.

I: We had talked about this family land before. Do women have shares on this family land like you had told me about it?

R: Yes, they have.

I: What if the land was the husband’s inheritance, does she still get a share?

R: Yes, I am his wife.

I: Supposing your father in law gives you this land as your share but tomorrow the man is not there, will the other woman come to share on this land too?

R: If my husband dies without making a will, they can’t get any share but if she has a child the child can come and take a share.

I: You have told me that women have shares on family land. Do you think that it is usual to find women having shares on family land?

R: Yes, the share of the woman most of the times is her children.

I: Tell me more about this.

R: When you have children, you can get a share because of the children.

I: When they give her this share, is it hers or for the children?

R: It is for her and her children. But can you also live with someone for a long time and they don’t give you land, that person can decide to report you.

I: How many children are at your husband’s side?

R: They are 2 boys and 5 girls.

I: You had said that Mzeei has another wife. How many children does she have?

R: She didn’t give birth to any.

I: Isn’t she still a young bride?

R: After marrying her, she failed to get pregnant and give birth to any child.

I: So does she also stay here?

R: She is there at her home ahead where you passed on a beautiful house.

I: Do you think that she will get no share on the land?

R: She will get, for the time they have spent together, he will give her a share.

1:10:09

I: This means that she has also been here for some good years.

R: She has been here for 18 years. I found her here when I was getting married here.

I: So Mzeei has two homes to sleep in.

R: No, he left my husband’s mother’s home forever and he went to live with the younger wife.

I: I am wondering if you know what brought about this.

R: I don’t know; you can’t know the issues in marriage. I found him with the younger wife when I was getting married. Now even the son wants to resemble his father since he has a second wife now.

I: If a man is going to sell the family land in a marriage, does he need to get permission from his wife first?

R: Yes, because I will ask whoever buys it how they bought it without me. Even if I have separated with him, if I come back I can chase you the person who bought.

I: I thought you separated from your husband.

R: Won’t I come back after.

I: Let us say that you have gone and when you come back you find that the man married another woman.

R: I will chase her out of my house.

I: Tell what proof you have that it is your house.

R: It is me who built it or it is me who found it first.

I: Is this a law?

R: Yes.

I: Where is it found?

R: At the sub county.

I: Tell me more because I knew that a man can marry another woman after you are gone.

R: Even if I don’t want him to marry me anymore, I will chase that woman out of my house then he will build for his young bride her own home. There is a woman who did this across there.

I: Tell me what happened.

R: She separated with her husband, the man got another woman and brought her into the house, When the woman had about it, she came and chased them out of her house and they went to

1:12:19

rent a house outside to out his bride. The house is now closed and that woman is even doing her own things.

I: Did they share the land?

R: They haven’t yet shared it.

I: I didn’t know this law.

R: It is not there at the sub county but it is your house where he married you from. Unless you give him the permissions just like how you get tired of something and you let it go. If you want to toss him around, you can. If I want to disturb him, I can even though I may no longer want to be with him.

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

R: Yes.

I: Is there any difference if the land was for the man or if they worked together to get it?

R: She will stay on her land. Where will she go yet the man has died and if she has children.

I: Supposing the man didn’t leave any will behind, can she stay on the land?

R: The family can solve this and make their decision of a will.

I: Let us say like now whereby there is another wife in this home, and of now you don’t know whether you are the older one or what number you are. Will the other women come and share he land after your husband’s death?

R: If she has children they can come and share.

I: Let us use Mzeei’s example, he left the older wife and now he stays at the younger wife’s home, if he died will the younger wife be allowed to remain on the land?

R: If the whole family wants it, they can chase her away and if they love it, she can stay on the land since she didn’t give birth. But if he goes and reports them, they can give her a share because she has been here for some years meaning she digs and does other activities.

I: Does this mean that it depends on the time you have spent there?

R: Yes, it is about the time you have spent there.

I: Let us say that the woman has spent 2 years there, can they chase her away.

R: No they can’t chase her away.

I: After the widow’s death, who then owns the land?

R: It is her children.

1:15:21

I: Let us say that the children are young?

R: They look for one person from the family and they give them that land though sometimes they eat the land. There is a man across who died and he was young and left young children too. He left the children with his siblings but the time when the children were growing up they found that the plots of land were finished. He was the one educating the children. He also sold their land.

I: Didn’t this man have a wife?

R: The wife had died too.

I: Meaning most of the time you said that relatives take care of the land. What if they left no one to take care of the children, what happens to the land?

R: If they are young the land may stay there.

I: Is there any difference on whether the woman found the man with land or if they acquired it together?

R: She still stays there but sometimes they can chase her away mostly if she never gave birth but if she decides report them.

I: So the difference is the children.

R: If you have children, they will not send you away but if you don’t have children they can send you away. But this woman can decide to report them and they leave her on the land.

I: Supposing the land was in a title?

R: If the title had the man’s names they can send away the woman but if the title has both her name and the man’s then she will stay.

I: Are these widows allowed to remarry?

R: The family can stop her from bringing another man on the land in the children.

I: It is her land now; can’t she do anything that she likes on it?

R: No, she can’t bring the man in the children. If she wants she can go and get married elsewhere.

I: Do you have women here in this village who have married men on the land?

R: They are there, the man came and is a house hold head.

I: And the man’s family left her to be there with him?

R: Yes, what would they do to her. She can tell them that the land is hers and therefore the in-laws can do nothing to her.

1:20:28

I: Why do you think some of these widows get married again?

R: Sometimes the woman is young and the man has also died young so she gets married again but if she is old, she doesn’t get married again.

I: Tell me what you consider a young woman to be.

R: Like in 30 years.

I: How about the old one?

R: She can be like 45 years and above. This one can’t go back.

I: Is there any other reason as to why these widows get married again?

R: She can get a man to help her take care of her children.

I: Has it ever been the case in this village where by after the husband’s death, the male relatives come and try to grab land from the widow?

R: The woman lost her husband and she was still young, she left the home and went to get married elsewhere, she left the children behind. This new man mistreated her and then she wanted to come back on the land. The relatives refused and asked her that if she wanted the land why did she leave to get married. They told her to also take back the child she had come with to the father and then they can give her land to take care of her children that she left behind. The man left her with the child and she didn’t know where to take the child too. She just stayed there like that but the in-laws refused to give her the land.

I: Okay. The in-laws refused to give her the land up to now.

R: Yes, she doesn’t have where to put the child because the father went back to town after they separated and they had met in town.

I: So now where is this woman?

R: She is there that side of Rutooma. The in-laws did it to save the land for the children.

I: So it hasn’t happened in this village where they try to grab land from the widow?

R: No.

I: Why do you think that it hasn’t happened?

R: I have never heard of it. What happens in this village is that the widow can bring the man to sleep with her than leaving the children to get married elsewhere.

I: Has the treatment of widows changed in the recent years?

R: These days they treat the widows well.

I: Tell me how.

1:25:26

R: They give her the land and leave her in her house.

I: How were they treated in the past years?

R: They used not to give them land. They would only give her the house and give the land to the children. They would get a first born or the last born and say that they are the ones who will bury you. They would tell her that she wouldn’t sell the land because it belonged to the child who would bury her.

I: If this land was given to your son who would bury you, then how about the other children?

R: They would also divide for them but for this one they would add him the mothers land or give him more land as the heir

I: Now, how are widows treated these years?

R: They give her a piece of land and her children also get their piece. She decides on which child she will give her land to who will bury her.

I: Is there any other way widows were treated in the past that has changed now?

R: They would be remarried by their in-laws those years.

I: Would she deice on who will marry her or?

R: When her husband would die, one of the brothers would come and tell her that he is the one that will come into her home as the family head. But she would also allow. These days this has changed, those days it was like a law to get married by your brother in-law and if you would bring another man then the family would hate you.

I: What is your opinion on the things that happen to women after losing their husbands?

R: I just don’t want them to happen to me.

I: What are these things that you don’t want to happen to you?

R: Losing a husband.

I: How are widows treated in your village?

R: They are treated well. They have their land and remain in their houses. We also check on them after the death of their husbands, we go and encourage them.

I: After a woman separating with her husband, what happens to her in terms of land?

R: If she has given birth to children there, the land will be given to the children and when they grow up tomorrow they can choose to bring back their mother on that land. But they give land to the children and not the woman.

I: Supposing she bought that land with the husband?

1:31:01

R: I will come back for that land that I signed for on the title.

I: Tell me of any recent example of this that has happened in your village.

R: No. the women here can go and come back or not come back.

I: Let us say that the fault is for the man, do they chase the woman away?

R: If the fault is for the man, why would you leave your land. You can stay on your land,

I: You were telling me about your mother in-law and how she separated with her husband.

R: For her the man left her and went to marry another woman so it’s like the man is the one who separated with her.

I: Is there a time when it is the man’s fault and they chase the woman away and take the children away from her?

R: She can stay on the land. If the man decides to leave, he will leave the house and the woman will stay there with her children. I see this with the mother of my husband, the man left her in the house and went to marry.

I: How long has she spent living there alone?

R: 18 years.

I: Did he leave her with the land and house?

R: Yes.

I: I would love to know whether most of the time the woman is given land after separating with the man no matter if the fault is hers or his.

R: They will give her the land. If she separates with the man and she doesn’t give birth, she may not get the land since she has no children.

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

R: She leaves the children there and if they are young it depends on what she wants to do. If I like it, I can go with them and if I don’t then I will leave them.

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

R: I don’t like it.

I: Why?

R: For someone to leave her marriage and goes away is not good.

1:35:18

I: The way these women are treated, is it okay or not?

R: When you separate with the man, he hates you more and you also hate him more. They also treat her badly because she has left here home. They keep on blaming her that she has done bad to leave her family and that she wouldn’t leave her children not to study. Some are not given school fees for the children by the men. They should give her land where to dig and pay the school fees for the children.

I: So men can leave the children there and refuse to pay their school fees after separating with the wife.

R: Yes, these are very many here.

I: Tell me about one example of this.

R: The man separated and left the wife in the house and stopped paying school fees for the children and the woman is the one paying the fees now.

I: Okay. In your view, why do you think men love it to include their wife’s name on the title?

R: He wants that tomorrow when he is getting loan then he can get the wife’s signature then she can’t ask him why he is using the land without her signing.

I: And how about the ones that do not include their wife on the title?

R: He doesn’t trust the woman, then he looks for another woman out there who will sign for him when he wants a loan and he can get it the way he wants.

I: Are there problems that can come out of this?

R: If he doesn’t put me there I can report him that why didn’t he put me in the title yet I was there and when he wants to sell that land, I can refuse.

I: But the man has the title in his names and there is no proof that you are anywhere there. So how would you report him?

R: I worked for it with him. So I will still report him so they look for me what to do.

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

R: He can’t chase me away because we have both signed for that land and if we separate he will give me my share. It decreases the misunderstanding because we have agreement with each other.

I: Is there a way it can increase the conflict?

R: Yes, because he might want to get another woman and bring her to share and dig on the land.

I: How can this conflict be resolved?

1:43:59

R: We can use the chairman LC 1 to reconcile us.

**Land disputes**

I: Mama, let us get into our last part which about disputes on land. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: Some people fight over *emigorora.* You find that someone is neighboring the other then he shifts the *mugorora* from here to there and then the dispute starts.

I: Has this happened in your village?

R: Yes, they are there.

I: Tell me about them.

R: Someone can come and shift the *mugorora* and then put it in your land more. When you come to ask that person about this they tell you that it is their land.

I: What happens when there are these disputes on land?

R: They can call the authorities to come and re arrange the land. Otherwise they will fight or even try to cut each other with pangas.

I: Is there a way such a dispute can be resolved in the family?

R: Yes, they can sit and discuss together and see the wrong one.

I: When do you call the village people to come and help in resolving it?

R: If you the land owner see that your neighbor is trying to steal your land, you call the chairman and he comes to see the land and if he can’t handle it then you continue up to other offices to report.

I: For you to go to the chairman, does it mean that the family and the village people have failed to resolve it?

R: Yes, if the people in the dispute refuse to accept and hear each other.

I: Let us say that one side of the people in a dispute has a title, is there a way this can help to resolve the conflict?

R: Yes, the person with the title can go and bring the surveyors to check where his land was marked in a title.

I: In your view, what would you advise to be done to help these people that have land security problems?

R: It is getting titles.

I: But now that people may not be able to get the titles, how can they be helped?

1:48:49

R: They can keep calling the chairman to put for them *migorora* whenever there is a dispute.

I: Thanks Mama for talking to me today. I would love to know if there is any question you have for me on what we have discussed today?

R: Won’t you give us any other help?

I: I don’t know if that will happen because you refused the title and that was what we were doing only.

R: Now if we refused it, what had you come to teach us more today?

I: We have been discussing how things have been and why you refused the title and all that we have talked about.

R: Is there anything you will add later?

I: I don’t know for now. We just came to see what has been happening and why you didn’t get the title and hear your thoughts. Where do you think we come from?

R: From Mbarara in the land titles people.

I: Thanks Mama.