Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 11/10/2019

Respondents Name: Boaz

Household ID: 4890181

Age: 34

Title status: Drop out

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Coffee trade

Highest level of education: P.7

Marital status: Married

Number of years lived in the village: 34

Number of children: 4

Number of people living in the HH: 6

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: Sand and bricks

Interview start time: 11:45 am

Interview end time: 01:10 pm

Duration: 01:25:31

The interview took place at the respondent house. He was in the garden at the time we reached at his home and he immediately came when we called him. He was welcoming and accepted to participate in the interview. He has one plot of land where he stays and has a banana and coffee plantations. According to chat with the wife before he came for the interview, the wife told me that the husband refused the title. but the man in the interview said that he was at home at the time the titling people came to survey the land. He has a plastered permanent sand and brick house with iron sheets. He is between poor and middle income judging from the structure of his house.

He is married and staying with the wife and 4 children. He covers his face all the time because he thinks his skin was burnt by twins which is a myth. He comfortable in the interview and talked freely but he did not seem truthful about his marriage. They seem to have a lot of disagreements with wife because even during the interview the wife came and asked him to lend her 10,000 but the husband didn’t seem willing to give it to her. He first confirmed when she will pay it back. Which mand think that they are not supportive to one another. He dropped out and does did not receive a title. he inherited some of the land but also bought some land that he added on the same plot he inherited from his father.

I: Let me start by thanking you for taking your time today to talk to us again. So, how are you today?

R: I’m today, I don’t have any problem today

I: Ok, how is the village in general?

R: The village is also ok; we are working as usual and things are moving on well now

I: Ok, because in other village, people are saying the are rains are not coming yet it’s a planting season

R: We have had rains in the recent days, and we are ok

I: Well then, so, I can see you have you face covered. I’m wondering, what could have happened to you face.

R: I was burnt by twins (it’s a myth that if you see twins before they perform some rituals on them, you skin color changes and whitens)

I: Do you have twins?

R: No, I don’t have twins, but I just saw my skin changing color, but it does not hurt but I don’t want direct sun rays to hit me that why I cover my face

I: Ok, does it have medication?

R: I don’t know, I have not taken time to ask because I don’t mind about it.

I: So, is there any one in your family who has twins?

R: No, it does not matter, you could be walking and find someone who has given birth to twins and you hold their hands unknowingly your skin can change

I: I have never understood how that happens

R: (respondent laughs) but it happens, twins are very dangerous

I: So, how can someone make sure that they don’t get burnt by twines?

R: You cannot know, it’s by luck that you don’t get burnt

I: I thought they could burn you only if your related or if you gave birth to them?

R: No, it doesn’t matter that how dangerous twins are

I: So, tell be about your normal day

R: I’m a farmer and I spent the whole day in my banana plantation working

00:02:17

I: Other than a banana plantation, is there anything else you do to earn income?

R: During the coffee season, I buy and sell coffee

I: Are they many coffee farmers in this village?

R: No, they are few

I: So, how do you get the coffee to buy and sell?

R: I get some coffee from my own garden and I also buy from other people in the village who have coffee

I: Ok, tell about the coffee business, is it profitable?

R: Yes, it is profitable but the challenge we have is lack of enough capital

I: So, how much capital would you need to do this business better?

R: You need like 3 million at the start of the harvest season

I: I’m wondering how much coffee you would buy with 3 million shillings

R: You can buy like 10 bugs of raw coffee and dry it and take it to the machine and get processed coffee which you can sell and get like 8-10million

I: How about the banana plantation is also profitable

R: Yes, because you can get food and get surplus for sell but sometimes the investment is equal to the income earned.

I: So, during the season when there is more matooke, how many bunches do you get from your garden

R: In month you can get like 40 bunches for sale only but if you add the ones that me eat you find that you get like 80 bunches of matooke

I: So, much does a bunch of matooke cost during the season when there’s more matooke

R: The big bunch can cost between 5000-7000 shillings and the small ones cost 3000 shillings

I: Ok, how old are you?

R: I’m 34 years

I: How many years have you been living in this village?

R: All my life I have been living in this village because I was born here

I: Ok, could that old woman down there who directed us here be your mother?

00:04:55

R: No, she not my mother, she just my neighbor

I: Ok, because she knows you very well and I thought you are related

R: No, we are not related

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

Thank you for explaining this to me. I would like to aske you about your household

I: So, tell me about the people you live with in this household

R: I live with my 4 children and my wife so were 6 people in this house

I: So, of the 4 children, how many are boys and how many are girls?

R: There is no boy, they are all girls

I: How lucky are you to have only girls?

R: It not me, it’s God’s plan (respondent laughs)

I: Just wondering, would want to have a boy?

R: Yes, but now let first raise the ones that we have because children need to be educated and if you have many, you might fail to educate them

I: So, how many are in school now?

R: All of them are in school

I: How difficult is it to find their school fees?

R: We try and find it and because they are still in lower classes so, we have not failed to raise it.

I: Ok, how many years have you been living in this house?

R: We have been staying in this house for about 6 and half years

I: So, where were you staying before you came here?

R: I had built up there and decided to shift and build here

I: I’m curious to know the reasons why you decided to shift and build here

R: The reason I decided to shift is because am a trader in coffee and beans during the harvest season I wanted to stay near the road so that it could easier to car to reach here and transport the goods

I: I see, so were you married before you shifted to this place?

00:07:50

R: Yes, I was married

I: Is the place you shifted from in the same village?

R: Yes, it is in the same village

I: Ok, how many plots of land do you have?

R: I have only 1 plot of land

I: So, it’s the same plot where you shifted from

R: Yes, I simply decide to build near the road as you can see

I: So, how did you acquire this plot?

R: Part of it is inheritance from my father and the other part I bought it but it’s all one plot

I: Ok, tell me about the process of inheriting land from your father

R: We were many children and he gave each of us their plot

I: Tell me more how did it go?

R: We were 5 boys but 1 died so we shared the 4 of us but we also have girls and they were also given their share however most of them died and only 1 is surviving but they were all given their share

I: I’m wondering, was the land shared to you at the same time?

R: Yes, after the death of our father we sat and shared the land

I: I hear in the past girls could not inherit land from their parents

R: No, these days it is different because in the past separation or divorce was seen as a taboo even when the woman could separate with the husband, she would never remarry elsewhere. Even men could not remarry a woman who has separated from another man, that it would bring them bad luck. That’s why you could find women get married and however much the man beats her, she could never separate with him but now because the world as changed, you must give land to girl children in case they fail in their marriage, they can come and stay on that land.

I: Ok, I see, so how big is the land that you inherited from your father?

R: Let me see, it could be like 2 acres

I: How about the land you bought yourself, how big is it?

R: The land I bought for myself is about half an acre

00:11:05

I: So, how do you define your own land?

R: There are two things, there is a “process” that we had in the past where you find some has been living on the plot of land and they have *omugorora* showing the boundary of his land and everyone knew what land he owns but now things have changed and people have land titles. so, land titles now work as proof of ownership of the land but even the old “process” still works because a person might not have a land title but know the boundaries of his land and has an agreement and the neighbors signed it and know that the land is his.

I: So, what is the difference between a land title and an agreement?

R: With a land title is easier even when you don’t stay on the land and even when someone removes *omugorora* but if you have the title you land is safe. And if you want to get a loan from the bank, it is easy with the title you do have to go to the chairman, you just put your title and get the loan.

I: Do you have people who work on your land?

R: No, it’s me who works on the land

**General land**

Thank you for explaining this to me. I would like to ask you about land in general

I: So, generally, how do people come to own land in this village?

R: To get land in this village you can either buy it from another person and they put *omugorora* and go to the chairman and he puts a stamp for you. Some of the people in this village have bought land but most of the people have inherited land from their fathers

I: Can you tell me about the process of buying land in this village?

R: You find a person is selling land to pay school fees for his children or a person took a loan and has failed to pay it back and they decide to sell their land. It depends on how much land the seller wants to sell, because now half an acre with a banana plantation is about 6 million. So, you got to the chairperson and make an agreement

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

R: Yes, there people who rent land in this village. Someone can also give you land and you agree on what you can give him back in terms of harvests for example if you plant like beans, you can agree that after harvest they can give you 3 *debbe* (a unit measure usually equivalent to 30 kgs) per quarter of land and if it’s ground nuts they usually give 1 *debbe* but most people prefer money. Quarter an acre is now between 50,000-60,000 shilling if it an acre it’s 240,000 per season.

00:16:30

I: Do you make agreement while renting land?

R: Yes, you make an agreement with the landowner especially when you want to pay in terms goods after harvest

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

R: No, you don’t need to consult other people. if you agree with the buyer, you just go to the chairperson and make an agreement and you also need the neighbors to your land to also sign for you on the agreement. It’s what is important.

I: I’m curious, do you need to consult for example your wife if you wanted to sell your land?

R: It depends, there is when you buy land when you have already married your wife and her name is included on the agreement meaning you have bought the land together. But there’s when she signs on the agreement as a witness so, in case if you want to sell the land you can sell it without consulting her.

I: Ok, if person owns land but is not currently living in the village, does he maintain control of the land?

R: Yes, he can leave the land with a person he trusts or he can leave the land with the chairperson of the village but if the person does not work from very far, he does have to leave it with anyone, he can keep coming to monitor it time to time

I: What happens if other people want to use this land?

R: Of course, you can’t use the land without the owner’s permission

I: So, what can a person who wants to use this land do?

R: You can talk to the person the owner left the land with, and he can also talk to the landowner. If the landowner agrees to rent the land to you, then you can start using the land, but you want to use the land without the owner’s permission them the landowner can take you to court

I: So, are there people in this village who own land but don’t stay in the village?

R: It’s very rare because most people in this village stay on their land. Even the few that are there, have left the land with somebody to take care of it.

I: So, what is family land to you?

R: Of course, family land is land for the whole family. If you want to use the land, you must first agree with the family members

I: I’m wondering, who are family members you are referring to?

00:20:50

R: It depends, if you have children that are above 18 years you can consult them but the major authority on land belong to the man and the wife because even if the child is above 18, it does mean that he has authority over this land, except that you can just inform him

I: But you have told me that if you have bought your land and the woman is not included in the agreement the you cannot consult her? Would that also be regarded as family land?

R: I told you it depends, for example I can get my money my way and buy my plot of land somewhere, so, if I want to sell that land I can sell it because it’s me who has authority over that land. But the woman’s name is included in the agreement then, you can consult her.

I: So, you I’m getting write, is family land where the woman is included in the agreement

R: yes

I: I’m curious, if for example you are living together with you wife, if you go to work and get money to buy land, do you this she would have also contribute to that land?

R: It depends, that what I have told you because I can have my own “deal” and get money where the woman has no authority (respondent laughs) and does even know how I got that money.

I: Ok, do you think it is common for men in this village to buy land without telling their wives about it

R: Yes, and it’s not only men, even women buy their own land where men are not involved and don’t know about it, but it is not common

I: Ok, do you have your own plot that the woman does not know about?

R: There are plots that she found that I already bought (respondent laughs) but we are ok, and we use them.

I: So, does your wife have her own plots of land for example, if she inherited land from her parents

R: No, she doesn’t have

I: Have you ever rented land or sold land?

R: Yes, I have rented land elsewhere

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

R: There was a time I was planting tomatoes and was looking for a place that is near a water source, so you just agree with landowner like I had told you

I: So, how was the tomato yields in this village?

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R: Yes, of course we were getting better yields but due to scarcity of the land, people wants to their land by themselves so that’s why I do rent land for tomato growing

I: Ok, is it general that even other people in the village can easily get land to rent due to scarcity of land or is specific to land near the water source

R: No, it general because most people now use their own land because of scarcity

I: Ok, did you wife also rent land elsewhere and cultivate?

R: Yes, because we were renting the land together

I: I’m wondering was her name also included in the agreements since you told me you make agreement while renting land

R: No, not that every time you rent land you have to sign an agreement, if a person know you there is no need for an agreement. Agreements are made in case if you don’t trust the person and since we all stay in the same village, we know the good and the bad people

I: Remind me what ownership of land means to you?

R: It means that people know that you own the land and you have proof of ownership of that land

I: So, what are different way to show ownership

R: “Of course”, if you bought the land you have an agreement for it. There is also when you father gave you the land and people in the village know it is your land and you know where your land stops. And then the title fir your land.

I: In your view, are there any advantages of including a woman’s name of the such transaction documents?

R: It depends, let’s say you bought your own land and included your wife. If you die and someone want to steal your land, then such document can help the woman

I: Is there any other advantage

R: Maybe since she is included in the agreement, she can know the boundary of your land and nobody can encroach on your land even when the man is dead. Because if she is included in the agreement, she know how land you bought and all the boundaries of the land.

I: So, what are the disadvantages of including a woman’s name on these transaction documents?

R: The only problem is when you separate. For example, like I told you that you can get your own money in your own way and buy your own land without a single shilling from your wife. If you had included her in the agreement and you separate, she can claim to share on this land, yet you bought it by yourself. So, that’s the biggest problem in including a wife’s name

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I: I’m curious, what does your woman need to do for you to feel that she has also contributed to buying the land

R: Of course, if you have made the money to buy the land together and that’s when say that me and my wife have bought this land but is ok for a man or woman to their own land and don’t include one another especially when one has worked for their own money (respondent laughs) but if you have made the money together, it would be good to include your woman on the title. which means that in case of separation you must share that land (respondent laughs)

I: In your view, do you think that sharing the land you bought together with your wife is the best way to go about it?

R: It is not. because these days the reason why people decide to buy their own land and don’t include their wives is because marriages these days marriages don’t last long but if you could know that your wife is forever and you will stay together forever then it would be a problem buying something and including her name on it.

I: Do you expect to inherit more land?

R: No, maybe if I buy more land

I: Do people in this village fear losing their land

R: Yes, you see these days they have created town council and you find that they want to grab land by force if you don’t have a land title

I: Tell me more

R: Although it has not happened in this village, but people tend to grab people’s land in town places especially the rich people who come to such places. If a rich man is your neighbor, he can steal a few meters from your land if you don’t have a land title

I: But you have told that people in the village know their boundaries of their land?

R: It not easy to steal someone’s land like that but it happens in some villages although it has not happened in this village

**Baseline awareness of titles**

Thank you for explaining this to me. I would like to change the topic and ask you about land titles.

I: What does it mean to have a land title?

R: It means that you won this land even if you don’t stay on the land your land can be safe

I: What are the benefits of having a land title?

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R: for example, if you need a loan from the bank, if you have a land title it becomes easy or if they want to construct for example a road in you land, they must “compensate” you. Even electricity poles if you have a land title, they can compensate you.

I: I’m wondering, can’t they compensate you if you have a written agreement that shows you are the owner of the land?

R: They can give you but not as much money as someone who has a land title

I: Has it happened in this village that they compensate some people when constructing for example a road?

R: Yes, it happened when they were putting those electric poles you see, they compensated everyone even those that did not have land titles

I: I understand that you were offered a title for you land and perhaps you initially accepted but the later you change your mind. I’m curious, to know your reasons for switching your decision.

R: You see most of the time government programs, out of like 10 programs only one can work, the others die on the wa. For example there people who came for the agriculture ministry and promised to do this and that but did not happen and they would also teach us and we don’t work the whole day so we got tired of them and now most people when they told us we were going to get land titles, we knew it was another lie that’s why I did not fully participate in it because I was among the people who thought we could not get anything out of it. So, thought it was fake and I did give it time

I: I’m wondering, if maybe there was something that happened and made you think it was fake or a lie?

R: I thought it was like all other government programs that die on the way. Even when they came and put stones, we thought title were going to come and we thought it was students doing their own “research”

I: But you accepted the title at first?

R: Yes, but in the middle of the “process” I lost interest and did not care about it

I: I’m curious, what happened when the titling people came back the second time?

R: I think they did not find me home. I think it was only one time that I missed and that is when they came to measure the land but it not that they came, and I chased them away. Because they only did it once and if you were not home, they could continue because they were on speed so, they would work for whoever they fine at home and they never came back again. But I was involved in the while process except when they came to measure the land

00:38:53

I: So, why do think other people accept the offer and received their titles?

R: It is because they were present at the time when the titling people came to measure the land and it not those of us that did not title, we refused the offer, but we were just nit at home

I: Ok, there are those that refused the offer, what do think could be the reasons why they refused the offer?

R: I don’t know but you see we have different thinking and knowledge because most people are not educated they might think since you’re going to give them a title, you might end up stealing their land (respondent laughs) so, a person might think like that.

I: I’m curious, what are the reasons why you are not at home at the time the titling people came to measure your land?

R: I might had gone somewhere maybe I did not get enough “information” because it’s not that they came back next time and did not find me at home or refused, they passed by one time and they never came back.

I: Historically before you met the titling people, are there people in this village that were able to get Land titles?

R: Yes, but there are very few those with big land and money

I: How did they acquire these tittles? What is the process of getting a title?

R: I don’t know the process because they got their titles when we were still young

I: So, if you wanted to get your own title now, how would you go about it?

R: You can go to the lands people and they come and measure your land and you pay money but the problem most us don’t have the money, but everyone would want to have a land title

I: So, where are these land people you have talked about, where are their offices?

R: I hear they are in Mbarara, but I don’t know where exactly

I: Ok, how about the money. how much do you think a person would need to have a title?

R: I don’t know because I have never tried to have a title

I: Would there be anything that could happen that would make you decide to title?

R: I have no problem; I can accept the title and the only problem was that I was not around when they came

I: In general, what do you think people in this village think about land titles

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R: Of course, people know that the land title is very important but most they do not have enough money to acquire the land title. that’s the challenge we have otherwise most people know that person with a land title, is the owner of the land

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

Thank you for all your explanations so far. I get the picture. I would like to change the topic ask you about your discussions with your wife about titling and your marriage in general

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

R: We have been together for 10 years

I: Ok, tell about your experience in marriage for the 10 years you have been with your wife

R: We have not got problems but as you know with the marriage you can not fail to have disagreements. So, you have some quarrels but resolve and get bank on the “line” but are small difference

I: Ok, what are some of the good thing about your marriage that you would like to share with me

R: “Of course”, it’s the children and we have also been able to construct this house

I: Ok, are you officially married?

R: No, we are not

I: Do you feel supported by your wife?

R: Yes, she supports me

I: How? Can you give me like an example of how your woman supports you?

R: For example, I tell her that we do something developmental for our family and she agrees then you also feel supported

I: Can you tell me some of the developmental things she has supported you in?

R: She helps work in the coffee plantation we have, and it is giving us good fruits as family. Even the work at home plus taking care of our children

I: So, how big is the coffee plantation?

R: It not very big, it’s about half an acre

I: ok, do you also support and encourage your wife? How?

R: Yes, I support her by giving he advise on developmental thing can develop our family

00:48:11

I: I see, but what examples can you give me about the thing you do that encourage her and make her feel supported?

R: If you buy her all the home necessities, pay school fees for children, buy her better “meals” she also feels supported.

I: For example, she has asked you to lend her 10,000 a while ago and you gave to her, but you insisted on her paying you back, do you think that made her feel supported?

R: Yes, if she asks for something and you have it the you can give to her but if you don’t have it then you look for it

I: So, why do you think other couples might feel not supported by their partners?

R: There is when you find that a woman was born lazy even when you buy her food, she can’t cook it. Not that there is no food but she is lazy to cook or she not clean or she is not faithful so you must feel not supported

I: And are some of the things that men do that make their wives to feel unsupported?

R: There are sometimes when the woman is ok, but the man is the problem for example, for example drinking alcohol and wasting all the money on other women and not being responsible for the children

I: So, who makes major decisions for the household?

R: It’s me the man

I: Tell me more

R: You see, most of the things needed in the family are provide by the man so, in most cases he must make most of the decisions in the family

I: I’m wondering, do you consult your wife on major decisions however much you provide most of the thing at home?

R: There are thing I can consult her on and the this that I do not consult her

I: Ok, what are the examples of things that you do not need to consult your wife on?

R: For example, small thing like buying soap salt, clothes you do not need to ask her but on major decisions in the home you must consult her for example, you can not sell land without consulting her. You must talk to her first and she also asks you what you are doing to do with the money.

I: But in the end who makes the last decision?

00:52:13

R: It’s me

I: So, what is the was the last major decision you have made for your household?

R: There has been a major decision that has been made recently maybe when the children were going back to school we sat on the table and discussed the thing they needed for school and we found a way to get them and they went back to school

I: I want to be sure that I get the complete picture. Do think other marriages are similar when it comes to decision making?

R: no, they are different

I: Tell me more

R: because people cannot be that same and the think also can not be the same. Even the things they like cannot be the same

I: I’m curious, did you and wife discuss about the title offer that was made to you?

R: Yes, we discussed, and we had agreed to accept the title but as you know due to lack of enough time, we did not get the chance. And like I told you the passed each village only once

I: What did you discuss about the title? for example did you discus about including her name on the title?

R: No, we did not discuss that we only discussed about accepting the offer

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. Now am wondering, what do think this title would have changed about your marriage?

R: Nothing much, “of course” a title and marriage are different so it would have changed anything

I: Why do you think it does not change anything?

R: Like if I included her on the title that she would also feel happy and our marriage is better?

I: Yes, don’t you think?

R: And if we separate, she can share on the land?

I: Yes

R: ok (thinks much about and does not comment)

I: For example, do you the title would have changed the way decisions on land are made?

00:57:20

R: Of course, you have to consult her on land if you have the title and even when you do not have a tittle you must consult her because when you are two people you have to consult each

other except for smaller things

**Gender norms around land**

Thank you for explaining this to me, I would like to change the topic and we talk about norms on land. We understand that most land is own by me in Uganda. But there are some aspects to this system that we would like to understand, especially concerning women. We do have an opinion in one way or the other, but we would like to know how you think about this subject. Feel free, there are no right or wrong answers

I: Do some women own land in this village?

R: Maybe if she buys it herself. Woman can buy land. In other way when a man shares out land to his children, he leaves a plot for himself and the wife. If the man dies first, them it becomes for the woman

I: Ok, are there women who Jointly own land with their husbands?

R: Yes, there is when you find a man has bought land together with wife or a woman inherited land and marries a man on that land, of course it for the woman but they both have authority over that land

I: So, is it common for women to buy their own land in this village? do they tell their husbands about it?

R: It not common but there are some women who have their own land. And “of course”, some women tell their husbands about it most of them do not. It depends on how they trust each other

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

R: Yes, if she bought it herself or got it from her parents then it ok

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

R: Most women prefer their own land separate from their husbands because of separations

I: So, we have talked about some aspects around women, men, land, land use and ownership. Can some of the aspect work with family land? And women included on this land?

R: They are included but the problem if women share land from their father and again have a share on their husband’s side, they end up getting more land than their husbands.

01:02:28

And you also hear people saying that a man and wife should share land equally, that is very wrong because if a woman get married here and separate and they share the and she goes elsewhere and they also separate and share the land so, can she have 10 plots because she separates with her husbands. So, some women may turn it into business, to go into marriage to get land after separation.

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

R: Yes, that’s very right she should be allowed to stay on the land. That’s why I think that it would be better if a woman has money to buy land on the side and if you buy land together with your wife then you can share it almost equally. And widows, if the man dies, it means the man had land where he has been staying then the widow can take authority of that land

I: So, to be sure that I understand you, widows should stay on the land after the death of their husband?

R: Yes

I: Ok, is this the general practice in this village that if a man dies the woman stay on the land?

R: Yes, that how it is in this village

I: But in same other villages they chase away women on the land after the death of the husband

R: That’s a mistake but that happens when you find that the woman has no children and maybe the husband goes and has children outside of the marriage. So, when these children grow up, they can chase away the woman because she is not their mother, but it would be better if the woman has her on land on the side

I: Do widow sometimes remarry?

R: Yes, there some who remarry

I: So, what are some of the reasons why widows remarry?

R: when they are still young and still want to “enjoy life”

I: Can a widow remarry and stay on the land or she should go elsewhere with the new husband?

R: No, she should not stay on the land because if she gets more children it means they can share on the land that is for the former husband’s children which is not allowed

I: Is it ever case in this village that a widow remarries and stays on the same land and has more children?

R: No, I haven’t seen it in this village, but such things happen

01:07:14

I: So, has it ever happened in this village that a male relative tries to grab land from the widow?

R: No, it has not happened in this village, but we hear it in other villages but is also not right

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

R: Yes, things have changed for example, in the past women never used to share on the land but today they do. Even sharing land after couples separate was not there.

I: So, do couples share land after separation these days?

R: Yes, if you find that the woman was included on the title or agreement then after separation, she can claim the land

I: Ok, but how has the treatment of widows changed in recent history?

R: It has changed but generally that how it has been that a widow stays on the land after the death of the husband except when you find that the woman did not have children, but the husband had children outside the marriage. These children can disturb the woman if their father dies but otherwise of the woman had children, she can stay on the land

I: So, do think the general practice of how people treat widows in this village is ok?

R: Yes, the treatment of widow is very ok these days because they are not disturbed on their land

I: Ok, you had told me about separation in marriages. I’m wondering, what happens to women who separate with their husbands in terms of their land

R: When a woman separates with the husband and they had children, the woman should go elsewhere, and the man stays on the land with his children

I: What if the woman separates and goes with children?

R: Can a woman separate and go with the child? No, that is not right. But also, if the woman separates and goes with the children, if the children became 7 years old, they should go back to their father.

I: Is this a law? Tell me more

R: Yes, it’s a law on children because you can separate with your wife when the children are still young for example 2 or 3 years then mother can go with the children but “of course” if the children get older then children should go back to their father and if the mother disagrees then it is her mistake

I: I’m curious, why do you think if a woman separates with the husband, she should go else where and should not share on the land?

01:11:29

R: “of course” most women when separate with their husbands they remarry so; they should not share on their husband’s land if they remarry

I: What if the cause of separation is largely dependent upon the man, can she share on the land?

R: In this case you can go to court and they resolve the matter and you also give her something else for the time she has spent with you but not share on the land

I: what if the court decides that you should share the land?

R: Yes, if the court decides that we share the land, but still we can share the land “equally”

I: I’m wondering, what if you had a joint title, shouldn’t you share equally the land with the man after separation?

R: Can’t this title be cancelled?

I: So, you think the title should be cancelled if you separate with you wife?

R: Yes

I: Even when the cause of this separation is largely dependent on you the man?

R: It does matter whether is the man or the woman the title should be cancelled

I: I’m curious to know your opinion on this matter. If women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, do you think this would reduce or increase conflicts in the marriage?

R: The title does not increase conflicts in the marriage, but it becomes more of a problem if in the future if there is separation

I: So, do you think a joint title can reduce conflict within a marriage and maybe stop separations

R: It does not matter

I: Tell me more

R: Because a title is a title and marriage are different. You can not mix land with marriage

**Land disputes**

Thanks, you for your explanations so far. I would like to change the topic and ask you about land disputes

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

R: Within the family or with the neighbors?

I: Let stay with what cause conflicts within the family

01:15:13

R: You find that when you are working together with your wife, the in put can’t be same yet after harvest, you want to share equally which brings conflicts for example if you marry a woman who does not want to work and you find that she want to share “equally” after harvest

I: I thought you work together for the family as a couple?

R: Yes, they are for family but that not what happens in most cases because that why men and women were created differently and as men, we have different problems than women because men have more problems than women

I: Why do think men have more problems than women

R: For example, you can be in the trading center and meet friends and you want to drink a soda. So, when you have like a million shilling and you buy like a soda, when you get back home the woman will ask you and you start quarrelling but in nature except that the world has developed and you hear that women are equal to men but it will never happen

I: Ok, what causes land disputes with neighbors?

R: It is neighbors tempering with the boundaries of the land and wanting to encroach a few meters into your land.

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

R: There is a neighbor of mine who had his coffee plantation and another neighbor had chicken that used to go in the coffee plantation and they destroy the soil looking for insects in the soil and also he had given him a path use but the neighbor was continuously passing through his coffee which led to disputes but of course if you go to the local council, the person in wrong is known and the dispute is resolved

I: So, how do land disputes get resolved within the family?

R: If there a disagreement with the family over land, you can use relatives, your elder brothers and a few members of the community but if it can get resolved then you can use the local council

I: Ok, if one of the parties in a land dispute has a freehold title, does it influence how the dispute is resolved?

R: I don’t know if it can influence but I know the title has its importance, but I have not yet understood it very well

I: In general, what do you think should be done to help people who have problems with land security?

R: They should help them acquire land titles

01:21:03

I: You have told that most people can not afford these land titles, so, what do you should be done to help them?

R: Of course, the government should come in and help to reduce the money required to get a loan because people can not afford these titles

I: How about you, have you ever had any disagreements on land?

R: No, I have never

I: Would you tell me about it? Why?

R: Because all my neighbors to the land have never done me wrong and have also never done them wrong and wife also, we have not had any problems regarding land, I can’t tell a lie on this

I: So, as we conclude our discussion, whom do think we are?

R: Because there is some one who came here before you and told me that other people will come to visit you and discuss reason why we did not title and like I have told you we did not refuse but we lacked time

I: So, if someone asked you that who offered a land title what would tell them?

R: I would tell them that it is the world bank

I: Thank you for your time and if you have a question you can ask me

R: So, us who did not receive our titles, is there an opportunity that we can also get titles

I: I don’t know about that but the letter I have give you there is a number you can call, and they explain better about that

R: Another question if I have my wife and we are ok and we don’t have and disagreements, but I want to have a title in only my names, is it ok?

I: Yes, you can get your own title

R: Because these days you can’t trust a woman

I: But wouldn’t trust your wife?

R: I think it a trend because you can be there without any problem and the woman decides to separate.

I: have you separated with your wife before?

R: (respondent laughs) no.

I: Ok, what is your highest level of education?

R: I completed S.4

01:25:06

I: So, what happened after S.4?

R: I lacked school fees and dropped out of school.

I: So, what did you do after dropping out of school

R: I started trading produce like beans

Thank you for your time

01:25:31