**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 22/10/2019

Name of respondent: Josyline

H.H I. D: 4970241

Title status: Drop out

Interview start time: 5:25 pm

Interview stop time: 6:36 pm

Age: 56

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 6

No. of people living in the household: 7

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Operates a hotel on market days every Tuesday

Highest level of education: Primary 2

No. of years living in the village: 36

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles and a rammed earth floor

Interview Duration: 1:11:33

The interview happened in the respondent’s house. We were not able to meet her in the morning because she operates a hotel at the market every Tuesday and she told us that the only free time she has is in the afternoon, when we called her after out interview elsewhere, she told us to find her home because she had left the market. Their house is made of mud, poles, and they have iron sheets for the roofing. Asked about why they dropped out she told me that they had already divided their land amongst the sons that had married and they will have to give the ones that are not married yet, they would have to give them sooner when they marry so they could not title the land because of this. Together with the husband, they have two plots of land, where one is farmland and on it they have their two cows and their calves, and the other one is where they have built and it stretches to the banana plantation and coffee. When we reached the titling questions she said she doesn’t know a title and how it operates but she kept on telling me that she remembers from the days of old until now, she always heard that a title is bad because if you face any problem and your land is the only option to help you, you can’t cut off a small piece and sell it. She continues with this reason throughout the section of baseline awareness of titles in the last parts. She was conversant, open and welcoming. She received us well, we had no interruptions whatsoever. They look to be middle class because of the way they take care of their family and their ability to educate their children.

She lives with her husband, 2 of their daughters and 3 grandchildren. The other children are in school and other are already married with their families. The land they are on was given to the husband as a share from his father after he died. They look to be happy with her husband and seem to have a good relationship from the way she was talking about him. They have 2 plots of land, one is 3 acres of land though they have divided for their children on it and the other is 1 acre and a half.

**Warm up**

I: Is the market every day?

R: Market day is for every Tuesday.

I: How did yesterday end for you?

R: It went well.

I: How is everyone else here doing?

R: We have no issue, we are okay.

I: What about today, how has it been?

R: I cooked food and the food got done and that was good.

I: Do you cook the food from here?

R: No, I only peel the bananas from here then a motorcycle picks me in the morning and I take the food.

I: Do you also do tea and get the other things from there to use?

R: Yes. I rented a room there, I cook from outside the room then I serve from inside.

I: Well done. We see you left your husband home.

R: Yes

I: We were wondering how come you have a phone and your husband doesn’t have.

R: I think he just doesn’t mind about it.

I: Or you both use one.

R: One phone is not enough, if you wanted to reach me and he is the one with it, will you look for me and find me. And if you want him yet am the one with the phone and I don’t have him here, you can’t find him. Everything has its own time, my brother is the one who bought for me this phone.

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Congratulations for the phone. Now Mama, in this part we will talk about your household, how you live and land. How many people are you that live here?

R: We are about 6 of us.

I: You and your husband, tell me about the rest.

00:01:33

R: There are some that come once in a while then they go back to work.

I: So how many live you all the time.

R: I have 3 grandchildren, my 2 daughters, my husband and I makes us 7.

I: How about this one with the baby, is she visiting?

R: Yes, she is my sister’s daughter

I: She also resembles you, she is brown like you.

R: She came to give birth from here, she has a little baby.

I: Is there any other person apart from these?

R: No, the others are working.

I: They just come around to visit you.

R: Yes

I: Mama, how long have you been here?

R: For like 36 years

I: Are these the years you have spent in marriage?

R: Yes

I: Before you came here, were you living before?

R: I was from Rutooma in Rwanyamahembe (a sub county in Mbarara district) that side.

I: You are near here; I know Rutooma.

R: I am not very far.

I: You stayed in Mbarara. Are you able to go back home often?

R: I go there, I lost my father recently and my mother too passed away but I have my brothers there so I go to check on them. Just like you would go check on your relatives.

I: After how long do you go back home?

R: Sometimes a year passes but most times it doesn’t go by. You how family is, if you aren’t doing well then you can’t go but every year I have to go there.

I: When you go, do you sleep there?

R: I go there and spend two days

00:03:39

I: You brothers got there shares there.

R: Yes, and they remained there

I: How long does it take you to go there?

R: It depends on how I go there. If I have money I use a motorcycle, if I don’t have I use a car from Rubindi.

I: How much does it cost you?

R: The motorcycle charges me 15,000 shillings and it takes a shorter time. When I don’t have money I walk form here up to Rubindi and I take a car from there.

I: Mama, do you have children that are still in school here?

R: Yes

I: All together, how many children do you have?

R: We have 6 children. The child I have in school is in boarding, she is my last born.

I: How old are you Mama?

R: Do I still know the years. But I think about 56

I: What class did you study up to?

R: Primary 2, then I left.

I: You left by yourself and stopped school.

R: I don’t even remember exactly why I left, I grew up and they told that I went to school and when I was in primary 2 then I dropped out.

I: Apart from cooking food at the hotel, what other work gives you money?

R: Farming

I: What do you usually grow and harvest?

R: Beans, ground nuts but for millet I don’t sell, it is for eating.

I: I am wondering, is it because you have grown little or whatever amount you grow you don’t sell?

R: I don’t usually grow much but if I do, I keep this one and when the one I have planted grow then I remove this one and sell it. I don’t sell millet even if it is much while the other one has not yet grown.

I: Okay. How about the banana plantation?

00:06:05

R: No we don’t get bananas, they don’t yield.

I: Is it because of the land or?

R: It is not a good planation; it doesn’t have big bananas.

I: So you can’t sell what you get.

R: No, we can’t

I: Thanks for telling me about this. I would love to know if you have land that you own as a woman.

R: No, I don’t have.

I: How about from home, didn’t your parents leave you something?

R: That one is there at home. You may want me to show it to you now and yet it is not here.

I: No, it is okay we don’t want to look at it and even if it is at your home, it is still yours.

R: It is there.

I: Tell me how big it is.

R: It is close to half acre of land

I: What activities do you do there?

R: I normally put there workers and they plant for me crops.

I: When they divided for you at home, were you all given the same share?

R: Yes, the boys had all married by the time my father was about to die. He gave all of us girls one piece of land and we shared it, for the ones who wanted to sell sold theirs, and the ones who wanted to remain with theirs, did so.

I: So did you sell?

R: No

I: Why didn’t you sell like the rest?

R: You first have to know how it goes, moving first is not good.

I: How about the land that you own with your husband, how many pieces are they?

R: This on where and the one up there

I: How big is this one Mama?

00:07:38

R: I don’t understand how big it tis, I just see the land.

I: In the way you see it, how big would you estimate it to be?

R: I can count like 3 acres of land although we have given our children on this land.

I: How did you acquire it?

R: My father in law gave it to us.

I: Mama, do you have approved shares on this land?

R: When your father says that this is your land, it is yours. He will not write for you to show that it is your land. He gave everyone their land and they are all doing their activities on the land. It wasn’t needed for him to give us proof. If he has given you, that it is it, he is not going to come and take it back. Everyone knows it and that is how he divided for them all.

I: How about the other piece you told me about up there, how big is it?

R: It is 1 acre and a half.

I: How did you acquire it?

R: We also got it from my father in law

I: He gave you different pieces.

R: He gave us land to cultivate on and the other land we used it for grazing.

I: I saw some cows when I was coming, is that the land?

R: Yes.

I: And the cows, are they yours too?

R: Yes.

I: From the cows, don’t you get some money?

R: Don’t you see that they are few.

I: Even though you have one, you are grazing it.

R: You will be grazing it but money from cows comes and goes back to them. They want salt to lick, the things they need are many. I can’t get milk from a cow and it does something big for me. You get the money and spend it on the cows again

I: Like on medication

R: Yes, we can’t count the cows that they do for us something apart from drinking the milk.

00:09:36

I: How many cows are they?

R: 2 cows and their calves

I: Yes, to drink the milk at least.

R: Yes, when they give birth we drink

I: Mama which plot had you considered for the title?

R: When they came touring they wanted to take this one, after my husband refused because he has given to his children. He said he can’t put it in the title because for whoever gets married, he gives him a share and he can’t divide the land now before they marry and he gives it to them. This is what stopped us from getting a title.

I: So you have given your sons part of this land?

R: Yes. One is up there where you saw the cows, and the other one is just here up. We have other two sons that haven’t married yet, so he said that he can’t title yet he still has to give them land tomorrow when they marry.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. I now see the reason as to why you dropped out.

R: Yes.

I: Was the upper land considered at all?

R: We had also given them that one, they saw it but they didn’t take pictures of it. They picked this one and measured it, when they came back that is when he told them that he didn’t know their intention because they used not to tell us that it is the title. He said that the children might find the land small tomorrow and they decide to sell the land and shift.

I: Are there other people that work on your land?

R: It is only us.

I: Do your children use the land with you too?

R: Yes. We gave them the banana plantation too; they will take care of themselves in looking for land to cultivate. Up there we left it for grazing and this side is for my husband and I to cultivate so they remained with their banana plantation. Whoever wants to dig, they rent outside and grow their crops.

I: They will add for themselves.

R: Yes, they will look for more land.

**General land**

I: We shall talk about land in general in this part, yours inclusive and for others too. How do people come to acquire land that they own in this village?

00:12:31

R: Many people who are here, the land that they have is from their inheritance from their fathers. They might also buy their land now like up there, we bought some land where our son has built. It was a quarter acre and *Mzeei* (father in law) had not given it to us as the inheritance. This is how it is here, you may divide and give land to people but they also work and buy land to add on to what they have. This is how we have been.

I: How can someone access and use land that is no theirs?

R: No one can allow you to use land that is not yours unless you rent it out. You will agree with the land owner and they give you land and you pay rent. But you can’t use it without agreeing with the owner.

I: Is it possible for someone to use land but not pay money and may be you share the harvest?

R: It was there long time ago but now it is no longer there these days. These days land is not easy, you have to pay them but they can’t give it to you for free. It is no longer easy for someone to give you land so that you come later and you share with them your harvest.

I: If someone wants to sell land, can they?

R: They can sell

I: Do they have to consult with anyone?

R: If it is my husband, he has to consult me. He will tell me about the reason as to why he wants us to sell and I also be seeing it and then we sell.

I: Let us say that it is this land which you found him with, if he is going to sell, does he need to consult you?

R: Yes, because his father gave him the land after him getting married. Before he got married, he had not received it yet. When he married me that was when he received that land and now we are on it with the children and us. He is not allowed to sell alone because of this without consulting me the wife first.

I: Let us say that someone has land in this village but he doesn’t stay on it, does he maintain the control over it?

R: Yes

I: No one can come to us it without his permission?

R: They can’t.

I: What if someone comes and they want to use it, what can they do?

R: If someone has left land behind, they don’t leave it without anyone take care of it. They leave it in someone’s hands. He will leave it with someone and tells you that he is in Kampala working, whether you graze on the land or do something else, you will do so but knowing that it is his land. Therefore, no one cans use it without the owner’s permission to use it.

00:16:26

I: If someone comes and they want to use the land they have to reach out to the owner and he gives them the permission first.

R: Yes.

I: If someone says that this is family land, what do you understand by this?

R: It is like this one that I was telling you about, it is family land. It is not allowed for the man to sell alone or for the woman to sell alone or for the children to sell it without all of them agreeing together.

I: Supposing you are not there tomorrow, will stay like this?

R: If we are not there tomorrow, we have given the children their shares, so if we are not around tomorrow then we can add them this land and write it in our will as their inheritance. We will say that for the child we had given quarter acre we have added them this size of a share and then they will read the will read the will of what we added them.

I: Mama, do you rent land?

R: Yes, even this season I have rented land.

I: How much land have you rented?

R: I have rented quarter an acre of land.

I: What have you planted there?

R: Beans

I: When you are going to rent, is there any form of agreement?

R: You go and see the land owner, and ask him how much he is charging then you pay him and shows you the land and you dig. We have no writing.

I: Mama, have you bought land before?

R: Yes, the place where I told you that our son has built.

I: In your view, let us say you have land like the one you told me that you have at your home. What does this mean to you?

R: It is mine and no one can sell it if I don’t give them the permission to sell and I decide on what I will use it for.

I: You will also decide which child you will leave it to.

R: Yes, I might give all of them because they are my children.

I: What good things are there in having women also included on these land documents.

00:19:22

R: I don’t understand the good things in a title.

I: Generally, like the agreement also.

R: What I want to tell you is that you know something when you grow up. I grew up when I had seen like one title in the people so I don’t know any good thing about it.

I: How about for the agreement?

R: When we are making that agreement like I told you we did for the upper land, I have my signature there and my husband also has his there. It is our land that we bought it. For the title, I can’t lie what is good about it, I don’t want to lie to you.

I: It is okay Mama, are there any other good things that are there in having a woman’s name included on these documents?

R: The good that is there is that if they are there both then the man can’t sell. If he brings for you the agreement and the wife’s name is not there, then who is going to sell to you where the wife has not signed too. Can you allow when the old agreement has two names and yet the new one has only one.

I: Is there any other good thing apart from this.

R: The only good thing I see is that the land can’t be sold without the wife’s permission.

I: Okay. Is there any problem that would come from including a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: The bad thing is that there will be no agreement between the man and the wife. If he is going to sell and the woman doesn’t allow, I see this as the bad thing out of this.

I: Mama, do you hope to inherit more land?

R: I don’t think so; I am growing old.

I: You may be growing old but have hope.

R: If you are in the world you can’t lose much hope. If I finish educating my children, if all the children are grown and they are in their own houses then now I can use the money to buy more land.

I: But you no longer think that you will inherit someone’s land.

R: Yes, who will give it to me now. My father died and he gave us land and finished

I: How about this one?

R: No, this is for the children.

I: Are people fearful of losing their land in this village?

00:23:14

R: I haven’t heard about this here. There is none who has lost their land or you hear that they have grabbed their land.

I: If you are able to own more land, how would you go about it?

R: I will buy and maybe rent land.

I: Do you rent land every season?

R: You can find that I have a quarter acre and other times I have a half acre.

I: I am wondering why you have less land this season.

R: I have grown more crops in my land and there are other times you find that I have left my land to rest and I rent out.

I: You leave it to rest.

R: Yes, so that it regains its fertility again.

I: Mama, which one is your family land according to how you explained it to me?

R: This whole land it is family land that I am on.

I: Apart from the banana plantation, what else do you have on your land?

R: Don’t you see the millet, banana plantation and coffee when it is in season.

I: When the coffee is ready, don’t you get out some money too.

R: We get out money. Our money we get from anywhere, we put it together in one bag.

I: Even now that you are from work, you will tell him how much you made.

R: Yes, you may find that I have even carried for him a trouser, or a shirt and when he picks the coffee we pay for the children’s school fees and if there is money that had remained he will also buy for me a cloth and bring it for me.

I: Mama, who makes the decisions on your land?

R: Both of us decide together.

I: None has an upper hand in what should be done?

R: We have to finish it together.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: thanks Mama for telling me about that. Our next part, we will talk about titles, we would like to take your thoughts on this. What does a title mean to you?

00:25:09

R: That is what I told you that I don’t understand titles at all and how they operate.

I: Do you remember anything from what you remember being told when they visited you?

R: They came but they never told us that it was about a title, they told us that they had come to helps us thought they didn’t tell us how or what they were going to help us with. At the end is when they told us that it was a title. So I don’t know the good things in a title.

I: How about now in what you her?

R: I don’t know, haven’t I told you that in my whole life I have seen a title once.

I: Tell me how you came to know that when you saw it was a title?

R: There in Rubindi where my son picks a wife from, the grandfather of his wife has a title so they told me that he has a title. I saw it but I didn’t mind about it.

I: Okay. So Mama, have you liked anything in this titling journey?

R: To like it or not to like it, that is what I told you that I don’t know what good thing is there in titles. Long ago when we were growing up, they used to tell us that title are bad that if you put your land in it, you can’t sell it when you want to sell it. That if you find a problem like now, you get sick and you don’t have a cow or a goat, you can’t cut off like a quarter acre of the land and sell it when you have a title. So I grew up knowing this, so now I can’t lie to you about the good in a title or not.

I: In your view, do you think that generally women prefer to be on title with their husbands?

R: I think when you are going to do the title, you must go on it the both of you. Now, if the land is for the both of you and you say that the land is yours alone or that it is for your husband alone, does this mean that the land is for only the woman or the man alone.

I: Why do you think they like it so much?

R: The reason is like how you go to buy land and you want to also put your signature there as proof that you have bought this together. Also on the title, it is proof that your land has got a title and you both signed on it.

I: I would love to know about you, apart from the issue that you wanted to divide your land later, would you prefer to be on the title?

R: Yes, I would have gone there.

I: Tell me about how you see it, what advantages do you think are there in having both a man and woman on a title?

R: I told you that I don’t know them, I don’t know the advantages.

I: How about what you hear others say about it?

R: When other people are speaking, they say that the title is bad. They say that a title is bad

00:29:06

because you can’t sell. The way we are in this world, you can face poverty or your child fails to continue in school and you say that instead of your child not going to school, you decide to sell the land maybe a quarter acre so that you pay for your child fees and they study. You can’t sell, this is the bad thing I have heard about titles and the good thing about it I haven’t yet found it.

I: Before you encountered the people who were talking to you about titles, how were people in this village getting titles?

R: No.

I: You haven’t heard of any one at all.

R: Maybe when they were educating us about titles, there are people whom they picked and across there is a man that got it and the chairman in our centre, these two people got the titles.

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

R: I think they love them. They also think that you can’t sell land that is in a title. I think that if you want to sell then you have to sell the whole of it. If you fail to pay school fees, or go for medication in the hospital, you can’t cut land that is in a title and sell it. This is what I hear people say about titles.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thanks Mama for that. Let us go into our next part where we will talk about how you have been even though you dropped out of the titling. You told me that you have 36 years in marriage living with your husband, how has it been for you.

R: There is no issue.

I: Others fail to stay; but you have stayed.

R: You have to be patient, all marriages are about being patient. If something bad comes today, then something good will come tomorrow. Not only will there be bad things or good things alone, this is why I have been patient. I couldn’t leave my children, so this also kept me her up to now.

I: I am inquisitive to know this, have you ever separated?

R: No, I have never.

I: For 36 years you have been here day and night (Respondent laughs) Well done. In your view, how does your husband support you?

R: My husband supports me very much.

I: In what ways does he do this or what things does he do for you that show you his support?

R: We go to the garden together. He goes to the coffee garden while I go to the other gardens.

00:32:32

If I am tired or if we don’t have enough things, because if you see the children we have compared to the things we have, you see that we don’t have things to support them so we help each other in this. If money is not there then it is not there, this is how we live. I have never planted my garden and he goes into it because you find a woman takes the plants away or if her husband comes while drunk and he has some money on him, she steals it and hides it. This is not in our marriage. If he has money I know about it, and if I have money he also knows about it. This is how we help each other.

I: Mama, how would you compare this to other marriages?

R: I just see mine, I don’t know how others are.

I: Okay, in the way you hear about other people out there it is not easy. When you see women full in bars, what do you think. If you are married in your home, do you think you can be there in bars if they were married in their homes. If you are married, then you can’t go out there in bars and start doing tea to sell.

I: Mama, in what ways do you support your husband and encourage him?

R: Whatever he does for me, I do for him too. If I love him and he loves me too and I told you I can come from the market and carry for him something a trouser or a shirt, isn’t that love. If I am in the market and I see a good shirt, I can see it on my husband putting it on so I buy it. So this is how show him love.

I: Mama, how would you compare this to other marriages?

R: It is not easy out there and it has failed many.

I: What do you think causes them to fail in your view?

R: There are very many things in a marriage. You can get married to a man and you find that he drinks a lot of alcohol and whatever money he gets he drinks it so at home you don’t hear each other. You can marry a woman who is very jealous and protective of you, wherever the man goes she says that he was with other men, whatever he does, she says that he has been with other women so they start to fight. These are some of the things that disturb a home.

I: Okay. Who makes the major decisions in your home?

R: For us, we both agree and decide together. Whatever we are going to do, we sit and discus it, whether it is good or bad we decide on how we shall go about it in this way.

I: Which is the latest major decision you have done in your household recently?

R: Whatever we are going to do we agree and do it.

I: Tell me about any major decision that has happened recently in your household.

R: Now we have a child in senior 4 and it has been hard so we have been bringing money together each of us to pay the fees.

00:36:31

I: The child is finishing this year.

R: Yes.

I: Okay. Where do they go to school?

R: In Rubindi at St. Andrews in a boarding school. These are what we decide on or if we can sell something and pay the fees for this child.

I: Do you think that is similar in the way decisions are made in other families?

R: No.

I: Is there someone who decides more than the other or?

R: Outside it is badly off. You find the woman doing and taking her side and the man also taking things on his side, all hide from each other so they don’t agree on anything. This is not good at all.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks Mama for that. In this next part, we have grown up seeing that land is a man’s thing more than it is for the woman. There are aspects we want to understand about this. We don’t have the truth but we want to pick your thoughts. In this village, are there women who own land by themselves?

R: No

I: Many you mean have it with their husbands.

R: Yes

I: How about inheritance, are there some women that have this land?

R: Even if it is inherited land, if you agree with your husband and the land is in your name, you can’t have one authority on it. You know that your husband also has authority over it. Now like this one is his land he got form his father, we have authority and control over it together. Now also me the one from my father we have to control it together, why should I have authority over his share and yet he can’t have authority over my share.

I: This way of thinking is different; I haven’t heard it before.

R: For sure I am on his land he got form his father and we both have control over it and now if they give me my share I control it alone? My father gave me land just like the same way his father gave him land. If I control his, then he should also have control over mine.

I: I think also this comes from the way you have an understanding with your husband.

R: Yes.

I: There are women with such land?

00:38:57

R: Yes, they are few though, many have land with their husbands. But there are also those who have bought it on their own.

I: The women that have bought their land, does the husband know about it or they have it in secret?

R: There those that have it in secret but other the husband knows about it.

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

R: It depends, if the woman also gets things more than the husband, she becomes so proud. The way you have seen the world become chaotic is because women have things. Now when I look at my mother, she used not to touch or keep money. But now, I am from Rubindi, I can go there and cook then I go somewhere else and reach 7pm without coming home because he will do nothing to me since I have my money. If he touches me, then I will walk out on the marriage. Money has really spoilt us women, it is good that when you are with your husband you have money as one because this is when the family will be peaceful. But if you have your plot of land there and you can’t put in beans to feed your family or educate your child, this is where marriages break up from.

I: Do you think that women want to own land with their husbands or they want to own it alone?

R: Many want to have it alone. When you are talking to women, she says that she wants her own thing on the side and the husband shouldn’t know about it. You find that she has bought a cow at her home or land at her home.

I: In the way you see it, what do you think causes women to start thinking like this?

R: In her life, the woman keeps having the idea that she will go. So in her marriage life, she knows that she will leave and she says that the land or thing she has bought will help her when she leaves. You find that the husband doesn’t know her things. Sometimes, if you know that if God allows it then you will die from that family then you can’t keep hiding things at your home.

I: Like you had told me about family land, I would love to know how you would relate it to women owning land and men also owning land.

R: If the man has her land and the woman also has her land, can you count this as family land. Family land should be used by everyone in the family.

I: Is there any one that has authority over family land?

R: He can’t have authority over it alone, we have it both. Now like that phone you have there, if you decide to sell it, you can sell it but if you want to sell it and someone says that no you can’t, that means that the phone is for two people. If you are one, then the family land is for you all as a family.

I: I would love to know whether women have shares on this family land.

R: Yes, they have.

00:43:02

I: Supposing the man wants to sell this family land, should he get approval from the wife first?

R: Yes, even though it is in his name.

I: Let us say that he bought it alone, does he need to get approval from you still?

R: Yes, because even though he bought it alone and I didn’t get money out of my pocket and gave to him when he was at work, I was also home taking care of the home. So the money that he brings, we all have a relation to it because I take care of the home and he goes to work. Now like us who dig, we will be in the garden together. He might get money somehow, but I also have a share on that money because when he came back home he found the food ready for him to eat. When he ate, did he give me a salary for cooking for him, whatever he buys I also have a share on it because I prepared for him at home so that he can look for that money well.

I: Generally, are widows allowed to stay on the land after their husband’s death?

R: Many here are on the land.

I: Is there any difference if she found the man with the land or if they worked for it together or if they have children?

R: There is no big difference. There is a widow across there, the husband died and left her with one child. The father I law has been chasing her away and she has just been seeing the chairman of the sub county and he told him that he can’t chase away the widow, she has to stay on the land.

I: Why was he chasing her away?

R: that woman had one child and gave birth to other two children outside and she has them there on the land so the father in law said that she must leave the land. The sub county chairman said that the woman is the one who will send away herself when she wants to but he can’t chase her away.

I: She gave birth to these children after her husband’s death.

R: Yes. The chairman told him that he has no right to chase away the widow from the land that the husband left her on, she is the one who will decide to leave or not.

I: As you see how todays things are, if the man died and left nothing in writing showing that she will inherit the land, does she stay on it?

R: No, she has to stay. Haven’t you heard how the chairman told these ones.

I: What if she never gave birth to any child in that home?

R: She may not stay there because they may not allow her to stay there, the family of the man. What will leave her there now.

I: If the widow passes on to, who owns the land?

00:46:07

R: Her children if she gave birth to them.

I: Let us say that the children are still young to know about land.

R: In the father’s family, the uncles or aunties will take care of them.

I: Do you think it is usual that the man’s family takes care of the children he has left behind?

R: But the land will remain at your husband’s side, you can’t take it to your family. Your father can’t die and your mother dies too then you sell the land and take it to where your mother was born from. Your husband’s family can’t accept this.

I: So they can’t chase her away from the land unless if she has not given birth.

R: Yes, they might chase her away.

I: Otherwise there is no difference she can remain on the land.

R: Yes.

I: I would love to know whether these widows remarry.

R: It depends on her, if she wants to get married, she can go and get married again.

I: Does she has veto go to her new husband or she can bring him here?

R: When the man’s family is there, you can’t bring the man. They can’t allow you unless if your husband was born alone and he had no siblings, here you can bring the man.

I: How about you, what do you think?

R: This is a hard thing, to bring the man to where you were married at. He can come and he reaches there and eats the land of you children. He can come and you get married and he keeps taking things to his side because he knows that your children that you have will grow and chase him away tomorrow and this has a big problem in it. It would be good if you see that you can’t leave the children you had with your husband, you go and get pregnant with the new man form out there and you come and grown your pregnancy, you give birth to the child and leave it there and the man keeps knowing that he has a child here. But you shouldn’t bring the man in the house.

I: What reasons lead them to get married again?

R: Someone can be having one or two children and her heart wants to go and give birth to more children. You know women love giving birth, so when you have two children, you feel like you haven’t given birth to any child so they go out there to add like more two to make four or to add on one and have three children.

I: Is there any other reason aprt from wanting to add children?

R: Also nature, there is one who can’t just keep there being single and they handle.

00:48:47

I: In your village, has it ever been the case that after a man dies, the male in-laws of the widow come and try to grab land from her?

R: No, I haven’t seen them apart from the one told you that the father in law was chasing away but still she reported to the authorities, she has gone there twice and they have stopped the father in-law.

I: Doesn’t she have any in-laws?

R: She doesn’t, they all died. The father in law married another woman and she has children, he wants to chase away this woman because her mother in-law and all her other in-laws died so he started chasing her away and the authorities told him that he can’t chase her away. She is the only person I have seen; I haven’t seen any other.

I: Mama, do you think the way widows are treated has changed in the recent years form the past years?

R: It has changed. In the past, when someone would lose their husband, the in-laws would remarry her. At that time when they are ending the funeral, the in-law who wants to remarry you would stand up and come and touch your shoulder. But these days, there is AIDS sickness and if my husband has died of it, will my in-law come to remarry me when he knows what killed the brother, no. This change has happened.

I: Was it forceful remarrying and what would happen if she refused?

R: It was the norm, and you wouldn’t refuse. You can refuse and you have three brothers in-law and there is one that you like. They would ask that who will now buy salt for the widow and her children, your in-law would say that he is the one who wants to buy salt.

I: And if she didn’t want him?

R: She would say that no she doesn’t want him to buy the salt and they finish the funeral. After, she would come in the three, and pick the one she wanted.

I: I would love to know, did the in-law have his own wife and children?

R: All the women would be sitting there, the widow would even cry and say that she loves another brother in-law and not the one that said he wants to remarry her but he would go on and marry her by force.

I: She would give birth to other children with this man.

R: Yes, they would keep the family going on like that.

I: This has changed now.

Y: Yes, this sickness has brought a change. If your husband died because of this sickness you want the other one also to die of the same disease, I think this brought the change.

I: In the past years how more were widows treated differently that has changed now?

00:52:08

R: Yes, to see that people would force you to take the in-law you don’t want wasn’t good, whether you wanted him or not.

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

R: You can also think about her staying there and not getting married, it is hard. For them they see that it is good to remarry, they say in a proverb that the spear that is thrown is the one that gets caught. This means that if something comes up, it becomes good in the world even though you say that it is not, you don’t have much to do therefore you go with what is going ahead.

I: The way widows are treated in this village, is it okay or?

R: It is not okay, because if you start mistreating and interfering with the land of the widow, it is not good. You interfere with her so that she goes where now.

I: What change would you love to see about this?

R: For them to stay on the land of their husband, if they had not shared the land, they divide for her. Sometimes you find that the man didn’t divide land for his children, then he dies also without being given land. They maybe gave you quarter an acre of land to cultivate on or you had a banana plantation and after the man’s death her father in-law refuses to divide and give you land. What will she then do now that she doesn’t have where to cultivate.

I: What do you think happens to these women that separate with their husband in terms of land?

R: She will get a share long after her children have grown. You find the children calling her and they give her a share but now that you have gone, how will you get a share.

I: Many of the times, when a man and woman separate, do they chase the woman away?

R: Yes, the woman goes.

I: Isn’t there a way she can stay on the land or in the house and the man leaves instead?

R: Not on his land, even if you are on the land and it is yours both, most of the time it is for your husband because he received it from his father. Now, can you chase the man away and you go in his house and sit or stay on his land and sit.

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

R: Yes, the woman is chased. It is usual that the woman is chased. A man has no fault because even though he has it you can’t chase him away but for the woman, she will be chased. The man can have a fault but you will just look at him because you won’t chase him away.

I: Supposing they bought the land together, and they separate, still the woman doesn’t get a share?

R: No. What I know is that if you have bought big land and you don’t have old children then you can share the land. But if you bought like a quarter acre of land, and you have old children, what will you share, you just have to go with nothing.

00:56:28

I: There is no time when they separate and the woman remains on the land?

R: No

I: If she is going, is she allowed to go with the children?

R: No, she will leave them behind.

I: Even if they are young?

R: Separation has two kinds;

There is when you separate and everyone knows it and you can even go there across and get married there and then there is when you go as a woman and you go with your young children or young child and then you leave the rest behind. There is one I heard about, the man took some of the children and the woman also took some of the children.

I: How did this work out, the woman paid fees for hers and the man too paid for his.

R: They even separated the land, this one took their part and the other one also took their part. I have heard of these though they are not in this village.

I: Is there any you have heard in your village?

R: No.

I: I see you are all married and settled in your village.

R: It is not easy to find but also our homes re too spaced, so it is hard to hear what is happening on other people’s homes. We are not together as neighbors. For example, if I had conflict with my neighbor up here, I will get angry but by the time the week comes to an end, I will have let it go.

I: Is there a time when they separate and they go to the court, and they take things away from her?

R: Yes, I hear them out there but they haven’t happened in our village.

I: In your view, what do you think makes a man pout his wife’s name on the land title with him?

R: If he loves her and trusts her then he will put her on his title and if he doesn’t trust her, he can’t put her there.

I: Do you think there would be any problem coming out of this?

R: Yes, if he doesn’t put you in the title, will you say that the land is yours together tomorrow.

I: What of when he puts her on the title, do you think there would be a problem in this?

R: In your view, I see that it is not there. Now if they are there together, what is the problem.

00:59:06

It shows that they agree together, they even went on the title and it is there.

I: If a woman is able to own land jointly with the husband, is there a way this will help decrease conflict at marriage?

R: The issues come from down there, if they had conflict before they had the land even though they get it, the conflict will stay. If they had agreement with each other before, even now that they have land together they will keep on agreeing together.

I: I am curious to know, if they have they land together now, will this increase conflict in their marriage?

R: For them to allow to own land together then they have the agreement that cause them to have it and if they don’t agree together and one refuses then if it’s a title, it will be for one person only.

I: When such conflict comes, the one you said can’t be decreased by having land together, how can it be resolved?

R: It will remain like that; how will it end. Is there anyone that come in to help you end that conflict though it might depend on what maybe one of you thinks about your conflict or if they are affected. This person will call some people who will tell these people why you disagree and they reconcile you.

I: Who are these people that they can call?

R: It depends on the way your family works together.

I: Is there a way they might involve the authorities?

R: This is when it is too much and still I haven’t seen this happen here. But if it is worse, they can call the authorities and if it is not then they can call the village neighbors.

**Land disputes**

I: Thanks Mama for explaining this to me. Our last part is about disputes on land in general. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: It is lack of agreement of people. If you have a man and the way you came down here, I see you coming down with him and he cuts off land for you then after getting the money he goes to the trading centre to drink alcohol. Does this show any agreement in this decision, this means I will call the authorities and we will uproot the *migorora.*

I: How about generally in the village, according to the way you have lived together, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: It is the same. The man selling and the woman doesn’t know why he sold. But for neighbor I haven’t seen it here.

I: Tell me about any dispute you have heard of the man selling without the woman knowing.

1:03:00

R: I haven’t seen people in our village who have had fights with the wife. I only hear about them.

I: Hasn’t it ever been the case that someone in this village tries to enter the other’s boundary?

R: I haven’t heard about it in our village.

I: Let us say that this dispute happens, is there a way that it can be resolved within the family?

R: Where I hear about it out there, I hear that they call the family and it reconciles them or they call the chairman to resolve the issue. But I hear this when someone is talking about it out there. In our cell or sub county, I haven’t heard people that have had these disputes.

I: Is there a way the village people can come in to resolve this dispute?

R: Yes, there where I hear this they say that they call the village people, and if they fail then they call the chairman.

I: Let us say that when there is a dispute on land, one of the sides in the dispute has a title, is there a way this can help resolve this conflict?

R: I said that people say that the title is bad because you can’t sell so by the time you agree to sell you must do it both.

I: Let us assume that the dispute is in between neighbors, this one has entered into the other person’s land. Is there a way the title will help resolve this?

R: Can you go beyond where the title is. Let us say that my land is like this table and they plant the title in it, they know that my boundary is in this corner. Will you come from there and dig past my corner, they will know where you passed.

I: How would you want these people with land security problems to be helped?

R: They should get titles.

I: What if they are not able to afford it because of money?

R: If you don’t have money to get the title, how will you be helped?

I: You hear that it costs a lot of money.

R: Yes.

I: Where do you think they pass to go and get it from?

R: I don’t even know where they pass but I know that it costs a lot of money.

I: To understand more, let me take you back a bit. When they came and told you about titling, is there a way your husband sat to talk to you?

R: We sat together and said that now if they title this land and tomorrow I want to divide and

1:06:39

give the children, will I call them back to remove the title because I have given the land to away. So we both agreed that we will not tile our land.

I: Is this the only conversation you had with your husband?

R: Yes, nothing else that we talked about because we didn’t title.

I: As we are ending, do you have any question for me Mama from what we have talked about?

R: Yes

I: Please ask me

R: You see the title is bought with a lot of money, so for you people to start giving it for free to people, how did you start this?

I: Didn’t they tell you from the beginning?

R: No

I: So where do you think that we come from?

R: That was my next question to ask you.

I: When they came, where did they tell you were they coming from?

R: I don’t know but they used to tell us that it is an organization that wanted to help us and that they had picked 5 people from our cell and they were going to help them. We thought that because they asked us if children are in school, they would help us with school fees. They asked us how many people we were sleeping in the house and we thought that if we say that we are 6 or 7 they will help us and add on building the house. They asked us about water and we thought that they would give us a tank but at the end they told us that it was a title. But when they told us they going to helps us this is how we thought about it.

I: Mama, I think that is it, finally they were giving you a title.

R: How about the one of the title is expensive but you were giving it to us for free.

I: They wanted to help people, they went through the government and ministry of lands and they randomly chose people and that is they didn’t take every one. Whoever refused that is it and whoever allowed that is it.

R: So we refused, so who did they think about it that you come and see us yet we refused?

I: We came to see how things have been for you because everyone has their reason, we wanted to also have s conversation and understand better even the reason as to why you dropped out. So we visit you to see how the experience has been for you.

R: Okay.

I: Is there any other question Mama.

1:10:00

R: Yes, what am asking, are they going to stop on titles, or tomorrow we will benefit in another way?

I: Mama, they have been about title only, I don’t know their other programs now for what they might do tomorrow, that is their decision to make. Whatever they asked you about they wanted to know how you are and the final thing was about the title and not anything else.

R: So if it was about a title, why were they asking us about income, how we eat, they were asking us how much millet we harvest, how we dig and cut bananas from the plantation, I thought that they wanted to add us on the income if it was little or if you were harvesting less. This is how I thought it was.

I: They wanted to know how you are and how you live. They can’t just come and tell you that they want to give you a title without knowing how you are at home and how you live. All this helped them to randomize people that they chose.

R: Okay

I: Here is your gift to appreciate your time.

1:11:33