Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Transcriber Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 23/09/2019

Respondents Name: Geoffrey

Household ID: 5860061

Age: 43

Title status: Joint title (gender information)

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Buying and selling of goats and coffee

Highest level of education: None

Marital status: Married

Number of years lived in the village: 43

Number of children: 5

Number of people living in the HH: 7

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: Mud and poles

Interview start time: 09:15 am

Interview end time: 10: 37 am

Duration: 1:20:34

When we reached at the respondent’s home, we were welcomed by his wife. The respondent was in the garden near his home. I called him and he immediately came. He was happy and warmly welcomed us and we sat in the compound under the tree as Fiona was interviewing the wife in the house. He has mud and pole plastered house with a solar panel. He buys and sells goats on market days and would have gone to the market on that day, but decided to stay home and talk to us because he was informed about our visit prior. He also works as a casual laborer. He is in between poor and middle income because of the structure and size of his house. He was open, cooperative and less talkative.

He is married and living with the wife, 5 biological children and a sister. All his children are in school except the last born. He is very proud of his children going to school because he never got a chance to go to school but his children have taught him to read and write his name. Although he struggles to pay their school fees, he is determined to educate all of them. He has four plots of land of which one is titled. The titled plot is where they stay and have a banana plantation on it. The other plots are all in different villages, one which he has a coffee plantation and the other has cassava and a banana plantation. He also rents land elsewhere, plant tomatoes and other crops.

**Warm-up**

I: let me take this opportunity to thank you for time today. How are you sebo (respectful way to address a man)?

R: I am ok

I: How has been your morning so far?

R: My morning is ok. I wanted to go to the market but since I received your appointment, I decided to wait for you.

I: oh, that’s good of you that you had to cancel your programs for us. So, what were you going to do in the market?

R: Its market day in *Rutooma* (trading center before this village) and I buy goats in the village and sell them on market days?

I: ok, how is the business? tell me more?

R: We buy mature local goats from the local people between 80,000 shillings and 120,000 shillings depending on the size of the goat and sell them between 120,000 shillings and 150,000 shillings in the market to other buyers who take the goats mainly to Kampala and sell them at 200,000 shilling and above.

I: Sounds a profitable business?

R: It’s very profitable but goats are not easy to find, and I have competition from other traders. Its more profitable when children are going back to school because most parents are looking for money to send their children back to school so, they are forced to sell. The market is not stable, sometimes you can sell all your goats at once while other days you may fail to sell even a single goat.

I: I see, how regular are the market days?

R: we have three market days in a month

I: So, are there any other things you trade in on these market days in case you don’t have goats, or the goats are scarce?

R: I also trade in coffee during the coffee season. I harvest from my own garden and buy from other people during the coffee season and sell.

I: Tell me more on coffee.

R: Coffee, during the harvest season is more profitable and brings in money quickly. Its market is more stable than goats. Sometimes you fail to sell even a single goat but coffee you can’t fail to get market. 

I: So, if I wanted to go into coffee trade in your village, what would you advise me? (respondent laughs)

R: I can advise you, but you would bring competition in the business. Anyway, all you need is enough money but not much like 500,000 shillings for the start and first learn. You will also need transport means but the market is there.

I: Ok, tell me about your normal day’s program?

R: I wake up in the morning and go to my boss’s farm to milk cows. Then I come back and work on my gardens have lunch and rest. In the evening, I go back to the garden.

I: Where do you take the milk after milking the cows?

R: Take it the dairy in Rutooma trading center the small town you branched off to here?

I: How do you transport the milk to Rutooma?

R: We transport it by bicycle and we only take milk there in the mornings

I: So, how old are you?

R: I am 43 years.

**Background, household structure and land ownership.**

I: Thank you. Can you tell me about your household?

R: We are eight members in the housed hold, my wife, five biological children and my sister. My sister enjoys staying here with us, but I don’t know why. She goes home for I or 2 days and comes back here. She is 14 years old in primary seven. But as you can see, we are many and the house is small even getting enough meals is a struggle, but we must work harder and manage. Even school fees is not easy to get but we try.

I: I see, how many of your children are in school?

R: 4 are in school and 1 is still young, that boy you see. The first born in a boarding secondary school and the others study from the primary school you passed by before here.

I: So, approximately how much school fees do you pay for all the children in one term?

R: It’s around 600,000 shilling including school materials. Those in primary don’t take a lot of money except the one in a boarding secondary school.

I: You have told me it’s hard to get school fees, so, how do you get it?

R: We take loans and pay school fees. We keep working hard and repay the loans slowly. I am thinking of even using the title to get a loan.

I: Ok we will talk more about the title. So, what’s the highest level of education you have attained?

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R: I never went to school my parents could not afford to pay school fees. Even writing my name, I have been taught by my children so that’s why I work so hard so that they can have what I never had. Now, this later that you have given me, I will wait for those who have gone to school and read it for me again.

I: That’s good if they can read and yet they are still in lower classes.

R: Yes, they read very well.

I: So, tell me how many plots of land do you have?

R: I have 4 plots. Each in a different village. They are not very big one is half an acre and we have a banana plantation on it. The second one is quarter an acre and we planted cassava on it. The last one is this one where I stay. It’s almost half an acre and I have a banana plantation on it too.

I: You told me you were from a tomato garden, but you haven’t mentioned any tomato garden on all the plot?

R: Yes, I rent land some where else sometimes.

I: Will ask you more on renting land later. I Would like you to first explain to me what land ownership means to you?

R: It means the land is mine and I have authority on that land, and I have proof of ownership. For example, this plot is mine now because I have a land title for it. You see those ones that digging trenches for water pipes, they had to first ask for permission and if I wanted, I would have said no, and they wouldn’t have dug in my land because it my land and I have proof of ownership.

I: So, where is this water coming from and who is funding this water project?

R: Now, we are in a town council, piped water is one the good things that come with the town council. So, we will have water taps in our village and those who can afford can pull from these pipes into their homes. You must go to the subcounty, and they give you permission to pull water at a fee.

I: How much does it cost to pull this water into your home?

R: I really don’t know

I: Ok, who makes such a decision in your household for example, let’s pull water into our home or let’s not allow people to dig trenches in our land?

R: It’s me who decides on digging trenches on the land because when those people who dig trenches come, they have to first ask for permission to dig trenches and they must get it from me. Pulling water it’s also me because it requires money and at the end of it all it’s me that pays that money. But other decisions that don’t require money my wife can also decide.

I: What about what to plant and when to plant it, who makes such decisions?

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R: That’s my wife that decides. But when we’re going to rent land somewhere else, we sit together and decide where to rent and what to plant. In most cases we already know what to plant and only decide where best to rent land and cultivate.

I: You have told me you have one child who hasn’t started school but am seeing two here?

R: That’s my sister’s child and he stays there with my mother.

I: I see, you stay near your mother.

R: Yes, I bought this plot from my father. I did not inherit it.

I: Most people inherit land from their fathers, I haven’t seen many who buy from their fathers. Tell me about it.

R: My father didn’t have much land for us to inherit and I wanted to stay near my mother, so, my father asked me if I could buy this plot because he also wanted me to stay near his family. We signed an agreement and the plot is now mine.

I: How about your other plots, how did you acquire them?

R: I bought one and inherited the other from my father. The one I bought is about quarter an acre and the one inherited is half an acre where I have my coffee plantation.

I: Other people in this village, how do the acquire land?

R: Most people inherit land from their fathers. Others buy land but mast people who buy land in this village come from other places.

I: Are there ways one can access land he doesn’t own in this village.

R: Yes, they can rent land. For example, you can rent quarter acre at 60,000 per season. you get in touch with the landowner and agree.

I: Is there any other way?

R: Yes, your friend can give you land to cultivate for free. For example, the tomato gardens I have, the plot was given to me by my friend.

I: Ok, is giving free land for cultivation common in this village?

R: No, it’s not common but it happens

I: Is there any other way to access land that you don’t own?

R: Yes, you can grab someone’s land and go to court

I: Has this happened before in this village? Tell me more

R: No, but if you don’t have proof of ownership of the land, for example, you don’t have a title or a written agreement, someone can work on your land for some time and end up claiming it.

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Especially the rich people who under look and disrespect the poor because they know they can’t go to court and win a case without a title or a written agreement

I: What do you mean by under looking the poor?

R: Of course, they know you don’t have money to sustain a court case for example transporting witnesses to court from time to time.

I: About renting land, for what purpose do most people rent land? Is it cultivation or cattle grazing?

R: Most people rent land for cultivation because cattle grazing requires much land and most people in this village don’t have big land to rent out. Those with enough land have their own cattle and used the land by themselves.

I: Let’s say someone wanted to sell their plot, do they need to consult other people?

R: You can consult your family if they agree, you just inform other people about the sale and find out if anyone would be interested. Besides, we live together with other people and we have friends so, it’s better to seek for advice especially when it comes to selling land. Even if your family has allowed you to sell the land, you need to consult your friends and they also give you their views. Selling land must involve other people, you can’t not sell land alone. You need people who boarder land with you to sign for you. Therefore, you must consult them before you can sell your land.

I: Ok, how do people who own land in this village but don’t stay in the village keep control of the land?

R: If you don’t stay in the village but own land, you can leave it with your relatives to monitor it on your behalf, but you the landowner must keep proof of ownership, say an agreement or title. When the owner returns, the relative who was taking care of land must give back the land to the owner because he has no proof of ownership of the land. But if you don’t have proof of ownership for example if you inherited land from your father, and he didn’t give you any document, still people in the village can know who the right owner is in case the care taker turns against the owner to claim the land.

I: What if other people wanted to use this land?

R: You need to talk to the caretaker of the land because at that time, he has authority over the land and if you agree with him, you can use the land. Sometimes we call these caretakers “managers” because they can made decisions of renting land without consulting the landowner

I: Remind me about ownership of land?

R: Ownership of land means you have proof that the land is yours no one can take away from you. You can decide on your own what to do with the land. For example, these people dig trenches, electricity poles or those who build masks for telecom companies can’t do any things in your land without your approval. They must first come in agreement with you.

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I: Ok, now that you have a title as proof of ownership for land, what are the disadvantages of including your wife’s name on such document?

R: If you have an agreement or title where your wife’s name was included, it means you own this land together. The disadvantage is that, you can’t use, sell or rent to someone your wife doesn’t like on this land without her approval because she too owns and has a say on the land. But if you have a title with only your name, then you can do anything with land.

I: Anything else?

R: Yes, you can’t give some of this land to your friend if your wife doesn’t agree to . For example, you might have a child outside your marriage whom you would want to give some of the land and no woman can agree to that.

I: Just to understand, do you have children outside of your marriage that you would like to share on your land?

R: No, I don’t have any children outside our marriage.

I: Ok, tell me about the advantages of including your wife’s name on the title

R: In case you die, your wife can keep the land, and no one can take it away from her if her name is on the title. Even when the children come of age, they can’t chase away their mother from the land if the father is no longer alive. Because in some cases due to lack of enough land for the children, they tend to chase away their mothers from the land and want to own it themselves after the death of their father.

I: Any other advantage?

R: No, that’s all I can think of now

I: Ok, I would like to know if you have ever inherited land. Tell me about it.

R: Yes, I inherited a small piece of land from my father, but he did not give me any document as proof of ownership. He wrote his will which was one copy showing the distribution of land to all his children. we signed on that copy that we have all received our share but we the children don’t get copies for ourselves. The will is then kept by the person entrusted by our father to keep it so, that no one can duplicate it and that’s why we don’t get our own copies.

I: So, where is the land you inherited from your father?

R: It is very far from here in another village.

I: I thought you were born in this village?

R: Yes, I was born in this village, but our father had many wives. He had four wives and decided to buy us land far from his other wives’ land to avoid disputes. So, he bought land for all his wives in different places. But later he called me and asked to sell me this land so that I can stay near his older wife (my mother) and I also wanted to stay near my mother so, that is how

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I ended up buying this land from my father.

So, what do you use that land that you inherited from your father for?

R: I am planting my own coffee because like I told you I also trade in coffee

I: You told me it’s small, how small is it?

R: At the time of inheritance it was about quarter an acre. I bought from my other siblings and now it’s half an acre.

I: Ok, are you scared of losing your land? How about other people in the village, would you say they fear losing their land? To who?

R: Yes, the fear comes when you don’t have an agreement or a title for your land especially those who have inherited land from their parents, and they are the majority in this village. So, when new people come in and buy land in this village especially the rich people, there is a way people start being afraid for their land. When you boarder land with a rich man who just bought land in this village and they get to know you don’t have any proof of ownership of the land, they will start to encroach on your land. Although they can’t steal all of it, but they can steal a few meters into your land and you can’t prove it in court because you don’t have proof of ownership of the land. For example, if you inherited land from your father and he didn’t give you agreements from the land, say maybe he gave them to a friend and then the friend also dies, you can’t prove boundaries of your land. That’s what causes fear in the people in this village.

I: But you told me people in the village know boundaries for each other, so, how come some one can come and encroach on someone’s land?

R: It happens even when you have marked the boundaries of your land with *emigorora* (local plant used to mark land) because someone can cut *emigorora* or uproot it although it keeps growing even when you uproot it, the land thief keeps monitoring the *emigorora* and cutting it from the ground. And if you don’t have any agreement and the other person has, then the person with an agreement can claim your land. People in the village might know the boundaries but if the case goes beyond the LC level to courts the local people usually shy away from standing as witnesses in court even transporting witnesses become expensive.

I: So, why do witnesses shy away in courts?

R: They get afraid for their lives once the case doesn’t get resolved at local level and involves rich people. Because at local level more people in the village are involved by in courts only witnesses are involved so, it is easy to single you out and kill you.

I: Make me understand why people fear mostly the rich? Tell me more about it.

R: Usually when you have a rich neighbor they always want to buy your land if you refused that they start mistreating and threatening you for example when they have cows or goats, they let them into your garden and destroy your crops or fence the whole land and you don’t have away to access your land. Others threaten you with soldier after fencing the whole land.

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I: So, how can people who fear for their land to be stolen be helped?

R: If we were all able, we would have titles for our land but most of us can’t afford titles. If the government can help to reduce the title fees then it would be okay even for the poor to have their own titles.

I: What ways can someone access land they don’t own in this village?

R: You can look for money and buy land or if you have a title like mine, you can take to the bank get a loan and buy more land. And renting land which I already told you about.

I: Thank you for explaining this, now I would like to know what you understand by family land.

R: Family land is land that you stay on and have proof of ownership.

I: Can you please tell me more?

R: For example, the land I inherited from my father is not family land because I can do anything I wanted with it for example, sell it or give it to my friend but with family land, I can’t do that because it is land for me, my wife and children.

I: So, who makes important decisions on family land?

R: Since it’s land for the family, you must agree together with your wife because she’s also the owner of the land and must have a say on the land.

**Baseline knowledge on titling**

I: Thank you for explaining all the above, I would like to know about your knowledge on land titling. You told me you have a title, what does it mean to you?

R: It means that I own this land now and you have proof of ownership.

I: But even written agreements can prove ownership of the land, right?

R: Yes, the difference is that a land title cannot be easily duplicated so, people trust it more than a written agreement. For example, in banks, a person with a land title has more say than the one with an agreement if you were to get a loan. If you have a title, transfer of ownership of the land also becomes easy.

I: Tell me about the people on your title and why them?

R: When this “program” came and they offered us free titles, they told us about the purposes of a title and one which is includes using a title to get a loans, I found it helpful in the future in case in need a loan. They also taught us about the importance of including you wife on the title. So, I decided to include my wife on the title.

I: Tell me more.

R: From what we were taught I found it important to include my wife on the title in case I die she can take care of our children and no one can steal the land from her.

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It decreases conflicts in the home in the sense that a woman feels important in the family and knows she must be considered in making decisions on land and in the household. Much as I bought this land for myself, but my wife has also contributed in one way or the other for example when I go for work and come back, I find when meals are prepared which means she has also done her job. Besides me and my wife, we have been doing everything together and we haven’t had problems. I trust her and I am sure if I die no one can take this land away from her

I: Were you afraid someone would take land from your in case you die? Why?

R: Yes, I had an agreement from my father for land but with me dead, other people may claim my land and not accept the agreement as proof of ownership because it didn’t have the wife’s name on it.

I: Why do you think other men choose not to include their wives’ names on titles?

R: You know we are different people and we have different relationships. So, if you don’t trust your wife or maybe because she is not supportive, or you feel that the marriage might end in separation or divorce then you can’t include your wife on the title. Some men also want to marry more then one woman or have more than one woman, they may not choose to include their wives on the title. There are men who have children outside of their marriage and might want both their children at home and those outside their marriage to share on the land. In that case men can’t include their wives on the title because if a woman is included on the title, and the man dies, the children outside the marriage might not share on the land.

I: So, what do you think other people think about land titles in this village?

R: Most people in this village want to get titles and some of them have already applied to the titles and some of those their land has been visited only that I hear it takes a lot of money to get a title, but everyone would want to have a title. Now that the city will be near us or be included in the city, like I told you people are afraid for what will happen in the future when Mbarara becomes a city. They are afraid that might stretch this side and rich people begin to encroach on people’s land like I told you. For example, if they wanted to construct more roads because of the city status and you don’t have a title, your land can’t be compensated because you don’t have proof of ownership.

I: Thank you, I would like to ask you about your marriage. Tell about your marriage.

R: I have been staying my wife for 19 years now since the year 2000. We were staying down there at my father place. But later, we went to work in *Kahingo* (village in Mbarara district) for 9 years. We were working on someone’s farm, taking care of his cattle and working in a banana plantation.

I: It seems you have quite experience in looking after cattle?

R: Yes, I have 9 years’ experience in *Kahingo* and here where I work now, it’s been 4 years.

I: Ok, would you mind sharing with me your experience in marriage?

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R: Well, in marriage you should avoid drinking alcohol and respect your wife’s ideas. Give her freedom to also do what she likes. If she says something that you believe is wrong don’t argue with her immediately, give it some time and later come and tell her that you have given it a good thought and you strongly believe she that she should reconsider. This makes her feel good because it means that you listen to her ideas and there won’t arguments in the home. And that’s how I have been doing it.

I: I see, but would you say that you feel supported and encouraged by your wife?

R: Yes, because like I told you we have been working together and doing everything together. If we are to go to the garden, we go together and come back together. If she was to do casual work, I don’t stop her. And sometimes when she’s tired and doesn’t work, it is understandable, and I also find meals ready after my work. And I told you I have 3 plots which I bought with her because we didn’t have anything.

I: I see, you have worked everything together, but I am curious to know who makes important decisions in your marriage.

R: It’s me the household head because I usually go for seminars and other functions, community group meetings so, I see how people discuss different issues and learn different things. So, I share with my wife and agree and do whatever I would have suggested.

I: So, what is the recent major decision you have made with you wife?

R: It was about school fees for our daughter in secondary school.

I: Tell me more about it.

R: It about getting a loan to pay school fees for our daughter. I agreed with my friend who used his property as security to get a loan and share it and pay back together. I shared it with my wife, and she agreed and now our daughter is at school and we are looking for the money to pay back the loan together with my wife.

I: From which bank or SACCO did you get the loan?

R: We got the loan from a SACCO called IHABAG.

I: Ok, tell about the discussions you had with your wife about the title?

R: When they told us about the title offer together with my wife, because she was also present in these meetings with the titling people, we didn’t know anything about the title. We didn’t even know how it looked like. So, we discussed where we would keep our title because they had told us the if someone steals your title, they can claim your land and as you see our house, it’s not very safe for a title someone can easily steal it. So, we agreed that we would keep our title with a bank.

I: So, which bank do you keep your title with?

R: Actually, its not a bank it’s the SACCO I told you about where we got a loan IHABAG.

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I: You have told me about the purposes of a title but now I want you to tell me what it means to your marriage. What does it mean to your marriage since you included your wife on the title?

R: Before her name was included on the title, if I wanted to sell this plot, I would have sold it without her approval but now that we have a joint title, it means she also owns this land. If I wanted to sell this land now, I must first consult her and if she agrees I can sell the land but if she disagrees, I can’t sell the land because without her signature, this land can’t be sold.

**Gender norms around land.**

I: Thank you your views so far, I would like to ask you about gender norms around land. We know in Uganda most of the land is owned by men. There are some aspects to this system that we we’d like to understand better, especially concerning women and we would like to know what you think on this subject. Are there women at own land in this village? tell me about it.

R: Yes, some women inherit land from their parents and that’s their land men have no authority over that land. Others buy their own land especially women who work. But there also women whose husbands die, and they take ownership pf the land.

I: Are there women who jointly own land with their husbands?

R: Yes, they are there. Some women work together with their husbands and buy land together. It means they own this land together and decide together what to do with that land.

I: So, what do you think about women who own their land separately? Should they be allowed to own land separately?

R: Yes, of course because if a woman has land it helps the family too. You can cultivate it as usual get food and school fees for the children the only difference is the man has no authority over that land. But it’s ok for women to also have their own land. Take an example if a woman has her own land and builds rentals and got money to buy new clothes and looks good, it brings a good image to the man because everyone would admire her and say that’s someone’s wife.

I: Can you remind me what family land is?

R: I told you that family land is when you have land and you stay there with you wife and her name is included on the documents for ownership of that land. But if you have land elsewhere and your wife’s name is not included on document of ownership, then that’s personal land.

I: What if you have worked together with your wife and bought land together but her name is not included on the sale agreement for this land, is this also family land?

R: No, this is personal land because if a man wants to sell this land, he can sell it even if the wife disapproves. But family land you cannot sell it without the wife’s approval because her name would be on the title or agreement and she can agree or disagree.

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

R: It depends on a few things; one, does this woman have children?

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if she has children she is entitled to share on the land. Because children act like a land title. It is proof that you belong to that family when have children. But what happens most of the time, is whoever stays with children stays on the land. And women leave their children and move especially if the marriage was still young. Two, if the woman was included on the title or agreement she must share on the land after separation or divorce. Three, how long they stayed in the marriage. Women who have stayed longer in the marriage for example, 10 years and above, must share on the because in that time they have contributed a lot to the family.

I: Why do some couples separate or divorce?

R: Alcoholism especially men. Well, some also drink alcohol too but it’s not common. But alcohol comes with a lot of problems for example, fighting which leads to separation. Poverty also is the common cause of separations. For example, when a man is poor, the only thing they think of is to sell land and get money. after getting the money they don’t put into good use. This leads to disagreements because most women don’t agree with selling land because they care most their children’s future.

I: How about widows, what happens to the woman when the husband dies?

R: Widows stay on their husband land after death of the husband because if they have children they must stay on the land and take care of them. It doesn’t matter if they are legally married on not if they have children they should stay on the land. Even if the man bought land before he married, the widow must stay on the land and take care of the children

I: You have said that even if the man bought land before he married, if the widow has children, she must stay on the land. In this case what if the widow doesn’t have children?

R: If the man had bought land before marriage and dies before he has children with the wife, the wife doesn’t own this land because there is nothing that can keep this woman on this land. If say she is given this land the first thing, she will do is to sell this land and go away because nothing can keep her on that land. The only thing they can do is to give a gift in appreciation, and she goes away. But if this widow was legally married and has a “certificate” in marriage, the land is hers even if she doesn’t have children.

I: In this case she has gone way, what happens to the land?

R: The relatives of the man take control of the land.

I: Do widows remarry?

R: They can remarry if they are still young. In same families, if there is another man maybe a brother, he can marry this widow and she stays on the land. Because this family paid bride price to get this woman so, someone else in the family can marry this woman. If there is no one in the family to marry her, she should be allowed to marry somebody else she chooses.

I: Let’s say she remarried but not in this family, can she stay on the land?

01:07:50

R: She can stay on the land if she can prove ownership to be the owner for example, if she has a joint title, has a marriage “certificate” or has children. But because of fear for what other people might say, widows leave the land when they remarry. For example, some people call it an abomination to remarry on your late husband’s land.

I: Let’s say she remarried and stayed on the but had children. Then with the new husband, they have more children. what happens to the man and the new children in terms of land?

R: This land belongs to the children of the late husband and the new husband has no authority over this land.

I: Has it happened in this village that the relatives to the husband try to steal land from widows?

R: Yes, I have heard of one widow who was chased away from the land. After the death of her husband the widow tried to sell her late husband’s land which the relatives of the man did not like so they chased the widow out of the land. But she would have stayed on the land if she had not tried to sell the land. There is also another case but it’s still in court where the man left land to the widow, but the relatives want to take way her land. She has children but they are all poor yet the relatives to the husband have money. So, we think she might be chased away we are waiting for court to decide.

I: Do you think she stands a chance against the rich relatives? Why?

R: No, because of corruption she may be chased away from the land

I: But generally, has the overall treatment of widows changed in recent history?

R: Yes, the treatment of widows has changed due to the laws these days. They are no longer chased away from the land now the even have other children but stay on the land.

I: Tell me more about these laws.

R: I may not tell you exactly what the law is on a widow, but I hear it is a law that says; when a man dies the widow takes control of the land. There are even specific places to take such cases instead of our normal courts.

I: Can you tell me more about these specific places?

R: I am not so sure what they are, but I hear there is a place.

I: Do you think they work?

R: Yes, because widows now have more freedom on the land. They can stay on the land and have more children these days.

I: If women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, this decrease conflicts in the marriage?

R: Yes, to a smaller extent. Because conflicts in marriage are caused by poverty in the family.

01:13:44

Well including your wife on the title secures your land in the future when you are dead but doesn’t stop conflicts because the title is not food you eat at home. And most disputes in the village are caused by poverty and lack of enough food.

I: But you told me with a title you can get a loan?

R: You can’t take a loan to buy food, because after eating food how will you pay the loan back? You need to take a loan and invest in something

I: For example, now that you have a joint title with you wife, if you have a conflict and separate, you must share the land since she has her name on the title. Reflecting on this, can a joint ownership reduce conflicts in a family?

R: No, because like I told you, conflicts in a home are caused by different things and joint ownership can’t stop them from happening.

**Land disputes**

I: Thanks for explaining this to me, now I would like to ask you about land disputes? What is the common cause of disputes over land?

R: At home or?

I: Let’s start with home.

R: Continuous selling of land and not putting money into good use. This makes women think that maybe a man has another wife and instead of using money at home, the man is spending it on another woman. Alcoholic men like I already told you, they sell land to drink alcohol and wives can’t agree with it hence conflicts.

I: Any other reason?

R: No, that’s all

I: Ok, so what causes conflicts outside the family?

R: This is caused by neighbors who encroach on another person’s land. This is where a neighbor tries to change the boundaries of the land by removing emigorora which leads to disputes. The other cause of conflicts on land is where a neighbor wants to buy your land and you are not interested in selling the land. Even the activities done on land a neighbor can cause disputes for example if a neighbor plants trees next to your gardens. This causes disputes because 10 meters from the trees, the land becomes infertile and you can’t grow anything there.

I: What is the most recent land dispute that has happened in this village?

R: The most recent dispute has been between me and my neighbor there. As you can see, I have goats, but he has planted grass on the boarder boundary of his land to mine. If goats eat that grass disputes begin. Yet I have offered him to sell me this small part of his land but has refused. I have been in and out prison because of this small piece of land.

01:18:07

I: So, how have you tried to resolve this dispute?

R: We have resolved this dispute using our local councils who advised that if the neighbor has refused to sell his land, I shouldn’t continue pushing him and control my goats from eating his grass. Also, boundaries where clearly marked between me and my neighbor.

I: Thank you very much for you time, but lastly who do you think we are?

R: I can’t tell who you are because different people have come here, they all say they from an organization, but whoever comes today, tomorrow comes a different person so, I can’t tell.

I: If someone asked you that who gave you a title, what would you tell them?

R: I would tell them that it’s the government that has given me this title.

1:20:54