**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 08/10/2019

Name of respondent: Phoebi

H.H I. D: 4190591

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 9:21 am

Interview stop time: 11:06 am

Age: 45

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 6

No. of people living in the household: 9

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Selling goats and piglets

Highest level of education: Primary 6

No. of years living in the village: 8

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Bricks, cement and solar

Interview Duration: 1:45:41

The interview happened outside the respondent’s house on a verandah. We had no interruptions whatsoever. She had just returned to her home that morning as she was coming from her home in Ntungamo where she was being treated on her leg that was sick for a while. She welcomed us and we were served tea later. Their house is made of cement, bricks and they have solar lighting. Asked about the title, she told me that they were given a condition of deciding which one of the two would appear on the title and she said being a woman, you have to respect your man in certain things so they put the husband’s name on the title which she is happy with. Something I found interesting about their land is that where they are now was given to them in exchange for their plot where they were before by a rich neighbor who wanted to extend his land. He gave them a choice to look for whatever amount of land at whatever price and he will pay for it to have them move. The details are explained later in the interview, but for their close to an acre piece of land they had before, they got this 6-acre piece of land and two other side plots that this rich man bought for them and they moved. He also bought the man’s mother and brother who are their neighbor in this village where they are now.

Given their land size, the activities they do to earn a living, the cows they have and their home picture, they are middle class status. She lives with her husband and their 6 children plus one other child whom she got from her elder sister to help her take care of him and lessen her burden of the children. They have 4 plots of land, 3 of which the rich man bought for them and 1 that she said they worked together and bought with her husband. She was engaged in the interview, conversant but looks to be sad about their first born daughter who has never talked since birth but she hears and walks and does things as she likes but has never been to school nor does she help her at all with home chores. She said they have moved through many hospitals and spent much money but they told them that she is fine. I think she is settled in her family but doesn’t sound like she has friends and a support system in the village because she told me the doctor who was treating her leg said that she must have stepped on witchcraft medicine so she said she doesn’t trust people around in the village.

**Warm up**

I: As we start our conversation, I was here last week but you were not around?

R: I was in *Ruhaama in Ntungamo* (a neighboring district to Mbarara)

I: I know Ngoma and Rugarama in Ntungamo

R: That is very far

I: What has been wrong with your leg?

R: It has been a year and some months, I first thought it was just a swelling on this big toe nail. They told me I jumped some witchcraft medicine so I went and looked for someone to remove it. They have been cutting me and treating me until now.

I: Where did you find it?

R: You can’t know when you are walking around. I don’t know if it was for me or not for me.

I: This started last year?

R: Around June to July there that is how I have been suffering with it.

I: Sorry about this, I see now it has reduced.

R: It has really been bad; you would not want to see it. I would spend the whole day covering it but now I am well.

I: You are able to walk well now?

R: Yes, I now walk well with no problem. Before I would bathe the whole body but not touch there, now I am able to touch and feel no pain at all.

I: Surely, this was tough, glad you are okay

R: People in the village are like that, you can’t know who is having hatred or a grudge with who and when they do such things you find that you are the first to pass and the medicine catches you.

I: How did yesterday end for you?

R: It ended well

I: The children are okay?

R: The ones I have found are good and the ones that have gone to school must also be fine.

I: How about this boy, he hasn’t been able to go to school?

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R: He failed to go to school, I don’t know what entered him he refused to go to school and even swore never to go and he left it.

I: He told you that he didn’t want to go back to school

R: Yes, I took him to a vocational school to do something there, after 1 year, the school collapsed. I think the director took a loan so he closed the school and left the children there then he left. And now I am still looking for money so that he can go elsewhere but I have spent much money on this leg, Ntungamo is very far now when you add the money for the medication and the one I pay the doctor it is a lot.

I: The money goes much here.

R: I have hope that he will go back to school. I will look for him another place.

I: Let us hope he goes back someday. And your husband, he is fine?

R: He is well, I found him with no issue

I: Well done with all. Have you been going to the garden?

R: For example, in the last season, I did not at all because of the leg but I used other people to plant for me.

I: These other people, did you pay them?

R: I pay them, the world changed, no one can dig for you for free. For those who want money I give them, for those who take bananas I also give them as I also go forward like others.

I: This is for trying surely.

R: I am now very well, I was told to come back after the doctor was sure that I am fine, he told me that if I feel any pain then I can go back but he saw that I was fine.

**Background, household structure and information**

I: In our first section today, we will talk about your household. How many people are you here?

R: We have 6 children and one relative we look after he is a child still in primary. in total we are 9. This boy we help has his parents and they live there in Isingiro (another neighboring district to Mbarara). They suffered hunger and too much dry season, so we took the child away from them and we pay for him school fees take care of him. He is our child we have spent 3 years with him.

I: This is a great job.

R: It is a job if I see that the mother has never given him a book or anything and she has never come to see him. He is now my job that I have done.

I: How are you related to his parents?

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R: I am born with the mother so I am his aunty.

I: May be she has other children.

R: She has children but they don’t have any help to care for them. They went through a very bad season of dryness and their banana plantations were uprooted so I decided to help her by the hand.

I: All the other 5 children have gone to school?

R: One has already gone to secondary school in senior one in Bushenyi in boarding, the other one is in primary 6 up there in boarding school also, then one is in primary five and the last one is the young girl I gave birth to in my old age she is 2 years and in nursery school.

I: How many girls and boys are they?

R: The boys are 2 and the girls are 4

I: thanks. How old are you?

R: I am in 45 years

I: What kind of jobs give you money?

R: I am a farmer I dig.

I: What do you normally grow?

R: Beans and millet. If I am to sell, I sell the beans, if I have harvested 100 kilograms I sell like 50 kilograms and I stay with the other half for us to eat.

I: What other activity gives you money?

R: I don’t see it but I have a project of goats and I also have one pig which after giving birth to piglets, I sell them then I stay with their mother.

I: You have the female and male pig?

R: I only have the female one, I have to first look for the male because I don’t have it. I go and ask whoever has then I bring it here for mating then I take it back, mine doesn’t move.

I: It stays here all the time

R: Yes

I: And the goats, when they also give birth you sell?

R: I sell them.

I: I am seeing some farmland there, are there no cows?

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R: We have cows that they are for giving us milk for the children. They are 6 or 7.

I: When you get the milk, don’t you sell off some?

R: When they have given birth we sell but after weaning the calves we get ours and other times the milk is nowhere to be seen.

I: Sometimes the milk is lost, maybe because of the sun.

R: We have too much sunshine here.

I: I see most farms have dried grass, the rain has been little.

R: No, it is much better.

I: Mama, you studied up to what class?

R: I stopped in primary 6, it is like I never went to primary.

I: You did; those are some years. There is one who just stopped in primary one or didn’t go there at all.

R: Things of parents of those days you know them. They would tell you that there is no money, stop there and sit at home as you look for something else to do. When I didn’t find what to do, I went to start a family.

I: It is okay, at least you went there. Now you can help your children reach where you wanted to.

R: For this, I am trying as a parent. This is the boy I told you about that we are taking care of, he has been sent back but there is not even 100 shillings in the house. (Respondent’s son comes back home from school after being sent back for school fees).

I: They also don’t go in uniforms?

R: If you haven’t got money yet they can in normal clothes.

I: Okay, we hope you get it. Do you have any other people who live here like workers?

R: No, we work for ourselves.

I: Thanks for telling me about these. For how many years have you lived here?

R: 8 years’ now.

I: Where were you coming from before you came here?

R: We were near Mbarara in Kafunjo.

I: I know that place, how long had you lived there?

00:12:10

R: That is where I found my husband I think they were born there. I had spent there about 20 to 21 years.

I: Those are many years for sure, I would love to know how old your first born is.

R: She is in her 21st year but she has problems in her head. She never spoke from birth; here is nothing she can differentiate.

I: Where is she?

R: We have her here.

I: You tried getting medication for her?

R: We started walking to the hospitals after birth until she was above 10 years old then we left her. We sold our cows, spent a lot of money and we were close to staying with nothing.

I: They found nothing that it might be this or that

R: We didn’t know the disease, when you go to the hospital and they tell you that the child has no sickness from her day up to her age that I told you of, they said she has no sickness. The good thing she is not lame that she can’t walk and she knows how to eat by herself and wash her clothes.

I: So she is able to do things at home.

R: If I don’t tell her to do this, she can’t do it. You found me preparing the house, if I don’t tell her to sweep the house, she will not sweep it. She can hear very well, even when you are calling other people, she will be the first to answer and come. Her growth became stunted; I don’t know if sometimes she does things unwillingly.

I: Sorry for what you have gone through with her.

R: We even took her to school, the brother went to senior one but she was still in primary one, she never proceeded to another class. She would escape from her teachers and go outside, so we saw paying money yet she isn’t studying and we left her. I can’t lie that she can get a hoe and dig for me, no. if she like, she will fetch water and that is it. When I leave the garden, I have to come back and cook which I have been doing for her for now 21 years.

I: That is not an easy journey, thanks for being a parent to her. You had a home in Kafunjo then after you came here.

R: Yes.

I: Tell me about why you shifted to come here.

R: We had less income there.

I: Was he given his share?

R: It was very small.

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I: How big was it in size?

R: Like close to half an acre, we were giving birth, we didn’t have enough plantation to get bananas from and we didn’t have land on which to cultivate. We got a chance and got a rich man.

I: So it was only a plantation?

R: The plantation was there but it was small. We got a rich man who wanted to enlarge his farm and he exchanged our land there for this one.

I: Tell me how this rich man started.

R: He had a farm next to us, his cows would come and eat our plantations and all the gardens we would have there. So he said that instead of us having these cow issues, let me look for you a better plot of land or you can walk around and where you find it I will pay. So we found this one.

I: So is there a way you are related to him?

R: No, but I know him from our home in Ntungamo, he is a friend to our family.

I: And you found him in Kafunjo.

R: No, he found us there and he started buying off people and we also found that he bought us. Our land was really small and it wasn’t enough for us. We even came here with my mother in law.

I: So they also bought her place?

R: Yes, we were next to her like here and there. We brought her too.

I: She has her place or?

R: She has her own land too

I: Now that you bought here, do you have papers to show proof?

R: May be this one that you gave us.

I: Let us first stop here, we will get there later. Mama you said your home is in Ruhama in Ntungamo, do you go there often?

R: Yes, I go back.

I: Why would you go back?

R: I go to see my surviving parent my mother. I can be here and I get a desire to go see her, my father died, it is now past 5 years. I have my brother there and my mother,

I: Your brother stays with your mother?

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R: He has his own family near there. We have only one boy and we are 5 girls.

I: After how long do you go there?

R: If not for this leg that has been disturbing me, a year can end without me going there. It is always in between 1 to 1 and a half year then I go.

I: For here to there, how much time does it take you?

R: It takes me about 1 hour and a little more by a motorcycle though I pay more money than a car.

I: How much do you pay him?

R: Between 20,000 to 25,000 shillings and for the car I use about 15,000 to 18,000 shillings only and this only to go there.

I: Okay. So Mama, do you have your own land?

R: I don’t have any land as a woman. Whatever we have with my husband is all I have.

I: You haven’t received a share from your home?

R: No.

I: Have others been given their shares?

R: No, when our father was about to die, he had two wives so he divided for his two wives and told them that each woman should divide and give their son or child land. My brother was given his share and you know how us girls our share is with our mother and she is alive so we can’t get her out of the house yet she is still alive. Until she is not there, that is when we will get our shares.

I: How big was the share given to your brother?

R: He has land.

I: In your view, how many acres are they?

R: He has 4 now but he had 8 and I think he got a desire to buy a car so he sold and bought a lorry that he uses for transport work.

I: And you mother remained with how big?

R: She has 2 acres and something a little more I think.

I: I see the boy took more land.

R: Yes, and the other woman had 5 boys and 4 girls while our mother had 1 boy and 5 girls. If she is to divide for us she will divide for us her 6 children. Girls can’t be given land when their mother is still alive. You can’t take the place where she is getting from a banana to sell.

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I: She is still alive, there is nothing you can do. For your brother, when they gave him his share, was it put into writing or?

R: Our father divided for the wives and put it into writing and he told us that no one should ever try to disturb the other and that every woman should take care of her own family. After my father died, the will got lost but us we stayed as one family. We all love each other as one you can’t know that these are for our stepmother. Unless this changes later, it hasn’t happened yet for now.

I: Thanks for letting me know about that. Now that you don’t have your own land, you said you have it with your husband, do you have approved shares of it?

R: Yes

I: How many are the plots of land?

R: This one and other small ones

I: We shall talk about the other small ones later, how big is this one here?

R: I think it can reach 6 acres

I: You take all that farm I see

R: We share boarder our farm with someone up there then next to our mother in law and this compound then up at the banana plantation.

I: When you were coming here, were you given documents?

R: We made an agreement with the man I told you bought for us and the seller.

I: Were you able to put your signature?

R: Yes, I did, we did the agreement at the lawyer’s place in Mbarara, his name is Magoba.

I: The man who bought for you this place, is he the one that came and got this place or it was you?

R: He came and got it for us the owner of this place after being paid, shifted to Bukanga.

I: He used to do his agreements with lawyers.

R: Yes, we did with the lawyers and finished. He put his signature, we out ours and he gave the land then he went his way.

I: How much did you pay for here Mama?

R: 100 million shillings

I: The other man paid this money for you?

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R: Yes

I: What of the you land the other side; he had valued you at how much?

R: He didn’t give us hard cash, but we were rating it at 50 to 70 million shillings. He told us that he couldn’t keep taking care of the cows but we would agree and whatever land we loved, he would buy it. He gave the land owner a cheque and he went to the bank and got his money and left. It was a blessing.

I: It is a very big blessing

R: Yes, it is a big blessing

I: Your mother in law’s part of the land, how big is it?

R: It reaches to about 3 acres

I: Let us now talk about the other small plots that you have been telling me about. How many are they?

R: There are two other plots that he bought for us on top of this one. They are close to half an acre and we bought for ourselves the third one which is also half an acre.

I: How much did you pay for them?

R: The two were bought together with this one. The man just asked how much the owner wanted in all the 3 plots and he paid. The other one is what we bought with our money.

I: How much did you buy this one at?

R: About 3 million shillings.

I: Do you have the agreements for all of it?

R: Yes, and I put my signatures on all agreements.

I: Thanks for telling about your land with your husband and the one you have at your mother’s place. Do you do any activities on the land at your mother’s place?

R: Yes, I do grow crops there. When I sell my goat, I send them money to get me works and they cultivate on my behalf since I am not paying rent money for the land. Here I pay 80,000 and rent land for a season, so they both help me on contributing to my family’s wellbeing.

I: Is there any one lese who works on your land apart from you and your husband?

R: There is no one else but us

I: This land here is a farm and banana plantation or you can also dig there?

R: That place you see over there like a compound is where I dig but otherwise it is small therefore I rent and cultivate on other people’s land.

00:28:23

**General land**

I: This part is about land in general, yours and for other people inclusive, we want to know your thoughts on land. How do people acquire land in this village generally?

R: People here buy and others got shares from their parents but they sell to get a better piece of land that they like.

I: I see many farms in this village, you must be having many cattle farmers.

R: We have cattle farmers but also there are those who do cultivation. All of these are done here.

I: Can someone access land and use it though they don’t own it?

R: Yes, that is what I told you about. If you have your money, whether you want a farm to graze, you find someone with a farm but has no cows you pay him for a whole year or for 6 months and after your time you leave or add him more money for more time. If you want to cultivate, you also look for land and pay and this is how we survive.

I: It is possible for someone to have farm land but with no cattle or animals to graze?

R: Yes, I think what brings about this is educating children and we have a problem of dryness so we would be growing more crops but the banana plantations for example dry up and you don’t get out any money.

I: How much land do you normally rent?

R: I rent half an acre most of the time and I grow on beans and millet most of the time.

I: Can someone rent land, use it but not pay money for it?

R: This is not possible even if it is your friend’s land, you have to give them money here. Things for free are not here. You can give them someone money at the start and when the season ends, you pay the balance.

I: What of when someone wants to sell the land that he owns, does he have to first consult with any one?

R: You first understand each other and agree as a family more so for husband and wife, then ask some friends if they know anyone willing to buy or if it is buying you ask them if there is any one they know selling.

I: Let us the land is in an agreement and there is only the man’s name who is the owner, can’t he just go ahead and sell?

R: It is not possible because you first have to agree with your wife before you sell. If you don’t agree, it is not possible, if it is the land where she is right now, how will you remove her to take her where exactly.

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I: What if he is selling another plot of land and not this one where the wife is?

R: This is like stealing land, it might be known that he stole it.

I: Is there any other person he might need to consult in the village?

R: His friends, he can call his friend and ask him what he thinks such a piece of land is worth.

I: Let us imagine someone has land here that they own but they don’t live on it, does he maintain the control over it?

R: Whether I go to town, no one can have control over my land. That land remains his even if he is not there.

I: Are there people that have left their land here in this village and they don’t live on it?

R: I haven’t heard about or seen it.

I: When such a person is not on the land, who can be taking care of it?

R: He can look for a worker and puts him there or get his friend to help him take care of it but he can’t just leave it here.

I: If someone comes and they want to use this land, what can they do?

R: This person can reach out to the person who the land owner left to take care of it and this caretaker asks the land owner if he accepts then that is it, if he refuses then the person leaves the land.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. I would love to know if someone says that this is family land, what do you understand by this?

R: It is land for us as a family I think.

I: Tell me more about this.

R: Like you know us the banyankore (tribe in Mbarara), we get omugorora and put one here and the other there. We all know who we boarder our land with as a family.

I: You have said family land is for the whole family, does the whole family do whatever they want as though they owned it?

R: The one who wants to cultivate can do so, or graze but no one can else without us the parents and owners.

I: You mean to say that the owner of family land is the only one with the right to sell?

R: Yes, like my husband and me his wife.

I: What if you are no longer there tomorrow, who then owns it?

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R: We leave it to our children.

I: Does it remain as family land like you had told me earlier?

R: It depends, you can decide that they still all use it as one with none having a share or you divide for them and everyone knows where their share is and after dividing it is no longer family land therefore someone can decide for themselves whether they would love to sell it or not.

I: Now, when you would love it to stay as family land, what do you do?

R: In a good way, you would out it into a title and it stays there for many generations. Even us were not able to get it because we didn’t have money but now we have it.

I: So no one can sell when the land is in title?

R: If you get it from the lawyer and put it at the chairman’s, do you think someone can just come to buy here, even if he attempts in the children one of them will be wise and tell the buyer that this land is in a title and he will go away.

I: What of the people that have family land but it is not in a title, how do they go about this?

R: I think they have a way they also do it, but if you haven’t divided for any child telling them that you can only dig form here to there, they all can use the land and none can sell because none has a share of their own.

I: I am glad to hear about this. Have you sold land personally?

R: Maybe that one they exchanged for us to get this one. Me and my husband, our children were still young so we agree the two of us.

I: In Kafunjo, you left no one there, the whole family left?

R: My husband’s elder brother remained there. Everyone has their heart’s desire, you may find that where he was, it was enough for him and his family but for us, ours was not enough.

I: Does this mean that they were not given equal shares when they were dividing for them?

R: In truth, there was no equal sharing, the older brother stayed indeed the older one.

I: The father gave some bigger than the others.

R: On this one, he is the first born and these ones are the younger ones, you know how people of old used to give birth to many children 9 to 10 of them. When their father passed on because he was old, he was wise and started planting bananas adding to himself, so no one could take away his plantation and give it to another one. Wherever this banana plantation reached, they gave him that land. They got the same share on farm but they didn’t get the same on the banana plantations.

I: Mama, for you to know that you own this land, what does it mean to you?

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R: This is when I tell you what you did that makes it mine. You put in stones and gave us a title so I know that it is my land and no one can touch it.

I: If there was not title, you mean it would be different?

R: Someone can go in hiding and cut it off and sell it but now the hope I have is that he can’t do it.

I: Are you the only woman in this home?

R: I am the only one truly.

I: So this land is yours and no one can touch it because it is titled?

R: If he wants to marry another woman you can’t stop him or if he wants to give her and her children the land you can’t refuse because it is titled. He has to get off some land to put his wife and other family. There is nothing you can do; will you wait to be murdered as you see.

I: What other ways can show that someone owns land?

R: As a woman, you have to put your mind and take care of things you have with your husband, you find men drinking alcohol and they are not stable but if you have put your hand on a title, he can’t sell. You can also stand and stop someone else from buying it or you report them. But if a lady you keep quiet, he will go and sell and after the money is done he comes back for another part.

I: Apart from the title, what other documents can show ownership of land?

R: I said that the person who sold us this land gave us an agreement.

I: In your view, what advantages are there in including a woman’s names on land papers like agreements and titles?

R: It is a good thing because if she is on the title, no one in their right mind can come to buy that land without the wife’s approval. But if your names are not there, you will just find it finished.

I: Tell me about the other things that are good about having a woman included on these papers?

R: If I see that the land is there whole, I plant, eat and drink then I also be satisfied as a person

I: What disadvantages would come out of this having a woman’s name included on these papers?

R: I haven’t seen any as a woman that may be we fight, him saying he wants to sell and I say you will not sell it.

I: Though you told me that you haven’t inherited land yet, do you hope to inherit land?

R: I can’t think about it right now because I don’t know about it. My mother is still alive,

00:42:48

Before she leaves, I can’t inherit it. And you never know, what if I die before her? I don’t know this.

I: How about here?

R: If the man is still alive, both of us take care of it, and if he is no longer alive then I also take care of it, if I am not then he also takes care of it to the best of our ability.

I: Okay, do people fear losing their land in this village in your view?

R: They be there but in this village we don’t have any issue with a stone or omugorora, I haven’t heard of any one quarreling with their neighbor about land.

I: Meaning there is no one who fears to lose land.

R: No, just that you may not know what will happen in the future you can only say what you have seen.

I: If you are able to access more land, in what ways would you do it?

R: I think when I get money, I look for it and buy it and if I don’t get it I stay with what we have and rent the other land for growing crops.

I: The other small plots of land that you told me about, what is on them?

R: They are all banana plantations.

I: As you explained to me about family land, which one do you consider to be family land?

R: I think that it is this one.

I: I am curious to know whether you will divide for your children on this land or leave it?

R: We will know this I think in the future because we haven’t had any children that are in need of getting shares.

I: Remind me, you said on this land here is a farm and banana plantation?

R: Yes

I: Sometimes you find that other people plant other crops in the banana plantation, do you also plant any other crops in there?

R: No, may be that small part like a compound that I told you I dig on.

I: There where I see cassava up there.

R: Yes

I: Okay mama, thanks for telling me about this. In our next part we will talk about titles and get your thoughts on them.

00:45:49

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: What does a title mean to you?

R: This is one family, there was another person there but we removed him and brought our own relative who has that banana plantation that is going down. You never know relatives may want to use this person to take land from us but now that we have a title, I think this can’t be done.

I: In your view, do you think that they would do this somehow?

R: They are very good people but that is what I told you that you can know what happens today but you can’t know what will come tomorrow. But I think they have no issue to even start thinking about such a thing.

I: This journey of getting a title, what have you loved about it?

R: I have loved it, there is no disturbance we can get on our land extending our boundaries.

I: Do you have any concerns about this journey of titling that you would like us to know?

R: No I don’t have any

I: What difference is there between a title and an agreement or a will?

R: In an agreement, they can pull a mugorora from there and they put it here, but for a title the good thing is that where the stone was planted that is where it will stay. No one can go beyond it to uproot it and put it there.

I: Why is it that in the agreement they can go beyond the boundary?

R: Agreements are us people, one of the witnesses can take their friend out and makes them happy and tomorrow they will start saying that their boundary was passing here but now that there is a title, where the stone passes there is no changing it for years and years.

I: So Mama, are you on this title, how did the conversation start about it?

R: They used to talk to the both of us and they told us that we are now going to give you a title, they came and first planted the stones and after they brought the title.

I: On the title, are there both your names and for the man?

R: They put only for the man. They asked us to use only one person’s name, as a woman you can’t now be greater than the man, you go back down a little bit. Wherever he is not, people know that he is my husband and I can be there.

I: Now that there is only his name on the title, how does this make you feel as a woman?

R: I feel happy in this because I haven’t experienced any problems in it. Nothing has changed yet.

I: Okay. Have you kept your title together?

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R: We know that he who has the title is the one with the land so we saw that we couldn’t keep it in this house and we took it to the bank and kept it there.

I: Like you have told me, you only know about today and not about tomorrow. Let us imagine if your husband brought another wife, I would love to know how you would go about it?

R: You fight as a woman but if you fail you let it be. You can’t chase them away.

I: Now that the land is in his names on the title and you are not there at all, would you stop him from selling?

R: I think that and I have hope that he can’t sell it because I haven’t seen it in him yet that he wants to sell.

I: In general, do you think women would prefer it being on titles with their husbands?

R: Yes, it is good because you are one and you have given birth to children together. Also they love it incase tomorrow he changes himself on her and wants to sell the land or these loans that are very common, you find that he has got one that you don’t know about.

I: Help me understand this, someone can go with a title and gets a loan from the bank in the absence of their wife?

R: Yes, they can.

I: I didn’t think that it was possible.

R: People’s hearts are not the same, I can be seeing him and he sees me but we don’t know what each other is thinking about. Since he has not done it before in the years we have spent together, I hope he will be faithful to me.

I: Would you have preferred to be on the title too?

R: I love it but since they asked us to pick one of us two, so here as a woman you have to go slowly, so I said they should put the man.

I: Did the man first ask you?

R: No, we were sitting there together just like we are here the two of us. We all accepted to do the same thing.

I: What good things do you think would come in having both a man and woman included on a title?

R: Honesty will come through, you can’t find him saying he sells here and I tell him not to. Whatever we decide to do together is what we will do.

I: What other good things are there in having both of them on the title in regard to their family?

R: I think knowing that the land is for both of us and tomorrow no one can turn on the other meaning even for our children they will be one with none wanting to sell here and there.

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I: What reasons do you think lead some men decide not to put their wives name on the land title?

R: The way we do things is different, you may find that a man wants to take his land and sell it getting his money. He knows that if he adds his wife she may stop him, so this man you find that he hides and sells without the wife’s knowledge. But for me and my husband, we knew about it the both of us.

I: Any other reason you think why a man would decide to put his name alone?

R: Maybe if he wants to bring another woman tomorrow and if there is title me I first pull strings with him before she can take my land.

I: So, before you encountered these titling people, how were people in this village getting titles?

R: I had not seen any one who had got it before, if they are not my friends and they tell me, I can’t know.

I: Have you heard about any conversation of title in this village before?

R: No, I haven’t.

I: Before you met these people, did you know about titles?

R: I knew about them although I wasn’t able as a person.

I: What do you mean you were not able?

R: It depends on the income you have.

I: Tell me more

R: You find that you have little money, some the children take it to school and the rest you use it to take care of the family so you are not able to get what to go and use to look a for a title.

I: So many people in this village, their land is in agreements?

R: You can see someone’s land and they don’t have stones and the only thing you can know is that they are not in title.

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

R: They would love the titles, but the problem we have little income. We don’t have money in this village.

I: Where I passed coming here, I saw many farms with cows, and I think cows are equal to money.

R: But me I have less, but everyone thinks their own way. Those with 20 cows and more are the rich ones. Me who has few I don’t have much.

00:57:51

I: Any ways I think even the 3 or less give birth and with time it keeps adding on.

R: You can get many by the way.

I: Thanks for telling me about this.

**Intra-household discussion and bargaining**

We are going to talk about the conversations you had with your husbands about titles. You told they visited you for how many times?

R: It has taken a long time; do I still remember but I think it is not below 3 times.

I: You said they would sit your together with your husband every time they came?

R: Yes,

I: So after them leaving, tell me what you talked about?

R: We asked ourselves what these people main aim was maybe they wanted to give us help but later they told us they wanted to gives a title and we accepted. We decided to keep waiting for whoever would come and that we would welcome them.

I: Anything else you talked about, didn’t you have any doubts on them that you talked about?

R: Actually in the first times we thought they were coming from NAADs (National Agricultural Advisory Services) because they came and toured where our gardens were and even at the other land I had rented they would come.

I: After them coming back and asking you to choose one person to be on the title, after they left, what conversations did you have?

R: Us we agreed there and then, we had no issues. In our conversation, we were wondering whether they will ask us for money, and what if we fail to get it even for the surveyors because they brought surveyors but they didn’t ask for money.

I: The surveyors came and left, then other people came.

R: Yes, I didn’t know if they were from the sub county or where.

I: Didn’t they introduce themselves to you?

R: The time has been long; you can forget these things.

I: So mama, when did they finally bring the title?

R: It is now a year and some months.

I: They brought it last year, tell me more about your conversation with your husband about this.

R: We talked on how we would keep it. We said if we keep it in the house and someone comes,

1:01:24

and takes it away then who will have the land? So we decided to take it to the bank, he had opened an account and am not on that account in Able Sacco in Bwizibwera.

I: So you don’t have any joint account?

R: No, he is alone there.

I: You are also not in any group or Sacco?

R: No, he is the one there and we took there some small money so that our title stays there in an active account. Like I told you the seasons have been hard, you plant but they didn’t yield much or you rent land and you don’t get much harvest so the little money we get, we take the children to school.

I: Have you got a loan from them?

R: No, they are just keeping for us the title.

I: They can keep the title even without you getting a loan?

R: Yes.

I: I am glad to know about this. After you knew that you were not on the title, how have things been in your marriage?

R: I see that everything is still the same nothing has changed.

I: What work does your husband do?

R: We all are farmers.

I: When your rent land to cultivate, does he also come and join you in digging?

R: As I go to dig in the garden, he stays weeding in the banana plantation, after I finish I come here and I help him in our banana plantation.

I: Mama, how have the 25 years of marriage been for you?

R: I see that there has been no issue at all. Like people who have stayed together, we disagree but after we get fine.

I: Do you know that there are some who disagree and that is it, no getting back together.

R: They can fail to end and you find the home has broken apart and everyone goes their own way.

I: How have you been able to stay protected from this so that it doesn’t separate you?

R: You prevent them by accepting whatever comes at you. You find that some people have quarrels and the woman says that she has gone but I have never decided to do this personally.

1:04:58

We wake up and quarrel and after we get back to our peace. You forgive and it also ends.

I: Well done on keeping your family for these years.

R: Even now you have found me here.

I: Do you feel supported by your husband in the things you do as a woman?

R: He supports me surely. He lets me grow my goats and has never tried to take them away from me, this is big support because many women are taken off their things and on top of that they are beaten. Also when I get my money as a woman, he doesn’t take it away from me we are still discussing together, if I want to give it to him id o and if I don’t want I tell him I don’t have it.

I: Tell me about who takes care of the children in this home.

R: We both do it together. Now like this project of goats, it is mine alone as a woman, when is ell a goat he may ask me if we can use that money to pay for a child’s school fees and being that the child is mine, I van give it to him.

I: How about when you sell like beans, you come and tell him how much you have sold them for?

R: Beans are my garden of income as a woman. I also have my needs.

I: So the gardens are yours?

R: Yes, but if I have the money and he says we don’t have money, they can’t send a child back home and I keep that money, I give to him to pay the school fess and if he also has it he can also go and pay or if I have a need and I ask him for 20,000 or 30,000 or even 50,000 depending on how I want it, he gives to me with ease.

I: As you his wife, in what ways do you encourage and uplift your man in the things he does?

R: I help him this way, I am a woman and I dig in the gardens so the banana plantation should have been his work too, but I also come and weed it.

I: You agreed to do this or?

R: This is our nature and that how we started our marriage.

I: The man has to work in the banana plantation.

R: Yes, it is not like he gives me the plantation so that I plant in beans and I have to look for the sauce to feed the children. Though the plantation would have been his, we work together as one.

I: Are there any other things you do to encourage him?

R: I look after him, I cook for him and he eats and I wash his clothes.

1:09:00

I: The way you have told that you do in your marriage, how do you compare it to other marriages?

R: But you may not know what happens out there for others.

I: According to the way you observe them, how is for other people?

R: I think that they also do the same, seeing that I have friends that are older than me and they are still in their homes, I think they also do the same.

I: What do you maybe the reasons a man doesn’t support his wife or the wife too doesn’t encourage her husband. What causes such things?

R: For example, in this village we don’t have money, now how will a man support the wife by buying her a good cloth yet he doesn’t have the money.

I: Let us assume the man doesn’t have any money problem, why wouldn’t he support his wife in your view?

R: It depends on how they carry their family. If they are people who quarrel and fight everyday but if you agree then you help each other.

I: What do you think causes these quarrels and fights?

R: When you don’t have the same income, you find that a wife wants something maybe she wants money or wants to go to her home like how I am coming from mine and when the man tells her that he doesn’t have money, the fight starts from there.

I: Aside from this, which other reason would bring about these quarrels in a marriage?

R: You find everyone has their own pocket and this brings the misunderstandings.

I: What do you mean by their own pocket?

R: The woman gets money and she hides it, and the man also gets it and hides it and this doesn’t bring about peace in a home. Everyone starts asking their fellow about that they have been earning this causes them to even fight.

I: Who makes the major decisions in your household and land, what you will do on it maybe plant cassava in the banana plantation or plant beans there?

R: We agree to do one thing, I ask him whether I should put beans in the plantation and if he refuses I don’t put them there.

I: Does he also consult you on anything?

R: Not on whether he should weed the plantation or sell a bunch of bananas.

I: Are there any things that he has the final say on no matter what you decide?

R: I don’t want to lie to you, I haven’t seen them. He can’t sell bananas that I don’t know about.

1:12:26

Whether they are 8 bunches or 10 we sell them together and then decide what do.

I: What major decision have you done lately concerning your household?

R: This is when we get money from bananas but it is not enough so we decide to use to pay the children’s school fees. You can’t see a child home and you start saying that you want a good sweater, no.

I: How about on the one you have made with your husband recently?

R: Like I told you I haven’t even been around, I left when the children were going back to school and he paid for them the school fees as I also left.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. When you look at the other marriages, do you think the decision making is similar?

R: I hope they also sit and discus and see how to take care of their home because if there is no discussion and agreement the family can’t be one.

I: Okay. I am curious to understand better your thoughts on having titles, what more does it mean to you?

R: I said it is a good thing, because you can’t have your neighbor that you boarder and you find him entering in your land and you can’t enter his side to disturb him therefore, it is a good thing.

I: Thanks Mama

**Gender norms around land**

In this part, we have known land to be associated with men more than the women. So we would love to understand land and women and what you think about this personally. Are their women who own land in this village?

R: For her to own the land, you find that her husband died. Like how I told you that if I am not around he takes care of it and if he is not around I take care of it.

I: So in this village, the women that own land are the ones that have lost their husbands?

R: Yes, you find her taking care of it.

I: There are no other women who have acquired land in a different way?

R: No, if the husband is the one left then he owns it, if she is the one left then she owns it.

I: Are their women who have land with their husbands?

R: Yes, they do have it a part form those who have lost their husbands.

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

1:17:14

R: If I have my money as a woman, I can decide to buy a piece of land on the side that doesn’t have a relation to this one and I also know that I have got this land it is mine and I have control over it.

I: When you have control over it, how does this help you as a woman?

R: We use it with my family whether we deiced to use it for grazing or a banana plantation where we get from bananas for eating it all helps us.

I: What reason would push you mostly into buying your own piece of land on the side?

R: If I have it as a person I also know that it is my own land therefore I use it as I like. I wouldn’t sell it but I would plant a banana plantation in there.

I: Aren’t you able to do this on the land you have with your husband?

R; I can, but like it told you I am renting land now. You know we women love to cultivate so I would say let me bring a mango seed and put it here but we can’t agree on this when he won’t allow me to. If the land is mine alone then I can use it in my own way that I like.

I: Why do you support it that women too should own land?

R: Me I have a chance that I agree with my husband, we sell our bananas and decide what we will do whether pay for the children school fees or do other things. There is someone who doesn’t have this chance, you find that she can’t even sell a banana or cultivate their land yet the man is renting out this land to other people. If she has her land as a woman then she can use it for all these things.

I: In general, do you think women would love to own land alone or have it with their husbands?

R: In good terms you should be having it with your husband and therefore it is for the family but also the woman having it on the side helps her with the needs I had told you about.

I: So which one would you prefer them to have?

R: Have with their men but also have something on the side because like now we have more of farm land than land to cultivate on, so if I have my land as a wife I would be growing my crops and be happy in that.

I: Who makes the major decisions in your household?

R: Both of us decide and agree together. When he sells bananas, he can bring the money and we decide what we shall use it for.

I: What about if you wanted to sell land, who would decide on this?

R: We will agree together because he has to first tell me.

I: I know we had talked about family land but I would love to understand more how it relates with the men owning land and women owning land?

1:21:19

R: When it is family land it is family land and the man has more control over it. I can’t say I will remove the farm fence from there and make it a garden, if he tells me not to dig there then I leave it. But if he says he is going to sell this part up to there, here we must first agree I can’t allow him to just sell.

I: This means that before a man sells such family land he has to first get approval from the wife.

R: Yes, but there are some who will sell it, but if I find that he has sold it I will go to report to the LC1 chairperson asking him how he signed a selling agreement where I am not, wherever he sends me whether to the sub county level, I will go there.

I: Has this happened in this village?

R: I haven’t seen it yet

I: Are widows allowed to stay on family land after their husband’s death?

R: Yes, it is now her land with her family

I: Let us assume like how you have an agreement but she has is not included there, is she still allowed to stay on the land?

R: This depends on the man’s decisions. If he said that after he is gone no one should disturb the wife because it is her land, then it shall be.

I: What if he died before saying or writing this?

R: This now depends on the family where she got married into. There are some bad families who can chase her away.

I: When the widow also dies, who owns the land then?

R: It is for the children

I: Suppose she left young children behind?

R: The relatives on the father’s side like their uncles or aunties or a family friend can take care of them and when they are grown they give the children their land.

I: Do these uncles and aunties usually take care of these children?

R: You just have hope that they will take care of the children. These days most times both man and woman die because of the diseases that affect us so my sister or brother can take care of the child I don’t think they can leave the child behind. Tomorrow, they can give the child the land that belonged to the father.

I: In most cases, does the father leave these people to take care of the children or?

R: There is always someone who will be gracious to them and take care of them until they grow up.

1:24:51

I: Assuming the widow also passes on without giving birth to any child in that home, what happens to the land?

R: Now like I told you about my father having two wives, had my mother died before giving birth then the land can remain to the other woman who has children. If you don’t give birth, he may find a woman who gives birth and tomorrow that land will be for that woman who has children and if she is not there, then any of the children who have been taking care of the remaining parent can take the land or it stays on the man’s side.

I: Is there a difference if the land was got before marriage, worked within the marriage or when there are children?

R: I don’t think there is a difference because all the same if you have children, when they grow up as a parent who is remaining you have to give them their share of land.

I: Just to know this, if you found the man with the land before marriage, you can still stay there.

R: Yes, for him where he got me wasn’t there land? For the years we have made for example, even though it was his share from the father, if he tells me to go where does he want me to go. I am his wife all the same.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Do you think these widows are allowed to remarry?

R: They do get married but now me I think about the child that she is going to give birth to from the other man, will she give that child a share on this land of these children whom their father passed on or she will take the child to the father’s place.

I: You say she can get married again but not on that land?

R: Yes, in good faith. Just that these days’ widows are making decision on their own she can say she wants to bring her husband here but she shouldn’t be bringing him there.

I: Do you think these who bring the men, the families of their late husband allow them?

R: These days’ widows make these decisions and tell the family that there is nothing they can do to them. They say everyone has their own family to take care of rather than coming into hers. The truth is that bringing the man here is not good.

I: For what reasons do you think these widows choose to remarry?

R: Our hearts are not the same, you will find one who will say that I want to get married again while another decides to stay and look after her children.

I: The widows that you know, did they remarry?

R: They stayed with their children.

I: In your village, has it happened that relatives try to grab land from a widow after her husband’s death?

1:29:02

R: I haven’t heard about it or seen it here.

I: How about in other villages, have you heard about this?

R: I haven’t heard about it. If she has given birth and wants to grow her children how can a family member come to chase her away or take the land.

I: Has the treatment of widow changed though the recent years?

R: I haven’t seen any change; I see them in their homes with their children. I haven’t seen any one having trouble as widow.

I: Are there any widows in this village Mama?

R: Yes

I: When these women lost their husbands, what happened to them?

R: I haven’t seen them suffering in any way at all. I see them in their homes moving on well. I see their children going to school, so she is working well.

I: Here in the village, what is the general way your treat widows?

R: If they are your friend, you go and visit them because not everyone in the village is your friend and you can’t just go visiting everyone. You go and converse with her like that but there is nothing much more.

I: Mama, let us now talk about the women who have divorced or separated from their husbands, what happens to them in terms of the land?

R: In good faith she should stay on the land depending on the time they have spent together but us as women we have hard hearts, you leave and go do your own things out there.

I: Do they leave with the children or they leave them behind?

R: I leave them behind, where would I be taking them yet here they have a banana plantation to get from food and they have house where they can sleep. I can’t take them elsewhere.

I: Supposing that they are young.

R: I leave them with him still, if I am gracious as a parent, I can only take the one who is breast feeding but if you don’t care, you leave the child behind and the father knows how he will grow them.

I: What if the main cause of the separation is on the man, does the woman still go away and leave the land or do they take away the children from her?

R: I think women can persevere in this case but just that some have hard hearts they go away and decide to do their own things or work their own money.

I: Have you seen any example of this separation in your village?

1:34:22

R: No, I haven’t

I: If they had land together like how you are with your husband, and the woman separates, doe they give her a share?

R: Yes, they do if she come back after a while. But if she goes and says she will never come back then there is no share for her the children will get their shares tomorrow.

I: For example, if the man decides to get another woman and it is the cause of separation or divorce, does he leaves the woman in the house or?

R: He will leave her there and go look for the other woman that he wants.

I: Okay. In the way these women are treated who separate with their husbands, is there anything you would want to see change or it is okay how it is now?

R: It doesn’t make me happy as a woman, I would want that they get a share of the land. If I have spent like 25 years that I told you and then I leave, he has to also give me some land for the time I have spent with him, we have to share.

I: In general, what do you think makes some men want to put their wives on titles?

R: This is when they work together and no one is disturbing the other wanting to sell here or there. They agree together.

I: How about for the man who refuses to put his wife on the title, why?

R: They don’t want the woman to put her signature so that tomorrow when they want to sell the land and do their own thing the woman doesn’t stop him.

I: If women were able to own land with their husbands, do you think this would help decrease conflict in a marriage?

R: Misunderstandings in a home end when you forgive each other and forget. The land may not remove these.

I: Let us say you have this land together with your husband, and you have the misunderstandings, will having this land together increase them or?

R: It is possible that we have land together, I plant crops and he does too but none of us shows the other how much we have got from the selling of the crops. This may lead to a misunderstanding whereby we all tell each other to buy for the children this because we don’t have the money. Land may not increase or end whatever misunderstandings we have as a home, it depends on our hearts and the only way is to forgive each other and start working together.

I: In what ways can such conflict be resolved?

R: If you realize that you are not one in whatever you are doing then it is time to sit and start agreeing together as a family.

1:39:19

**Land disputes**

I: We are into the last of our conversation today and it is about land disputes. These may be in families, neighbors or even among many people in the village. In your view Mama, what causes land disputes most of the time?

R: To me it is finding that the husband wants to sell there, the wife says you will not sell it and they start fighting yet when you agree together, there will be no fight because you know well whatever you are going to do.

I: Aside form this between a man and a woman, what other cause brings about these disputed in the village?

R: You find that your neighbor wants to cut off some part of your land or you want to part their part of land leading to wrangles.

I: Tell me about an example of this in your village?

R: I haven’t been able to see it or hear about it in this village.

I: How do such disputes be resolved in a family?

R: If they are all able as people, they would get a title and mark their land with stones.

I: Let us assume the man and the wife were fighting over land, is there anything that can be done in the family to resolve that fight?

R: It is them agreeing with each other because even if you call people in the village to come and we have not agreed there is nothing that can be done.

I: When do you get to involve the village people?

R: When we are fighting we can call our neighbors and they advise who is in wrong maybe they can tell the man not to sell or tell the woman to allow him to sell and we agree or we don’t.

I: And when they also fail where do you go?

R: We go to the chairman LC1 and he will tell me where to go after him.

I: Supposing one side of the people in a land dispute has a title, can this help resolve the dispute?

R: If they are neighbors, the fight can end because the title shows where each of them ends so no one can go to cut their neighbor’s land

I: In general, people who have land security issues, how would you want them to be helped?

R: I would love them to get the help like we got and they get a title with stones to mark their land.

I: Now that they are not able to get a title, how can they be helped?

1:43:32

R: People need to agree with each where everyone’s boundaries are in case of a dispute. We call the chairman, some committee members and the other neighbors that are near us and we mark where everyone’s land passes.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me and giving me your time today. Sorry about the cough, I am getting better. Thanks for welcoming us. I would love to know where you think we are coming from?

R: I know you are coming from an organization and because I didn’t go to school I tend to forget its name.

I: Okay. Lastly, do you have any question about what we have discussed today?

R: We were helped to get the title; can’t you help our other neighbors too?

I: These people were picking the people randomly, so when they plan to do it again, they will still pass through the villages and tell you like they did last time. Any other question or that was it.

R: That was it.

I: Mama thanks, here is your gift.

R: God bless you.

1:45:41