**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 28/09/2019

Name of respondent: Kellen

H.H I. D: 4230231

Titling status: Drop out

Interview start time: 1:10 pm

Interview stop time: 3:05 pm

Age: 35

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 9

No. of people living in the household: 15

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Sells goats and milk

Highest level of education: Primary 2

No. of years living in the village: 17

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Bricks and cement with painting and solar

Interview Duration: 1:55:32

The interview was conducted in the respondent’s house, they have good cushions furniture, a carpet, a television, and solar lighting in the house. Their house is built of cement, bricks, and painted. Both husband, wife and children were dressed well. This family is in between middle class and rich. She was engaged in the conversation, quite shy and soft spoken. She has just given birth so she would go and check on the child but this was no distraction for her. She knew about titling but told me that they were not able to get the title because their land is under a caveat out by the sisters to the husband who stood against their father’s will of leaving the boys with the land and them to take cows only. Their father had given every boy a share of the land, banana plantation, cows and a part of their grazing filed in the farm when he was still alive. They were 3 boys and 2 girls though the girls are the older children. When their father died, he had left a will with one if older friends who brought it to be read, on reading the will, their father had left every boy with what they had and given the girls cows that they were free to take or sell. The girls disagreed with the will insisting that their father’s signature must have been duplicated by the boys conniving with the father’s friend and they also started asking for land, they went to court and it has been 6 years since the land was put under a caveat. Nothing can be done on the land, not even titling or selling.

She lives with her husband, they have 9 children with one of them who she found in the home; there is 1 boy and 8 girls, they also look after her older sister’s 2 daughters. They also have 2 workers who help them with farming and grazing goats. She looks to be hopeful in her marriage.

**Warm up**

I: Mama, how has your week been, its already a Saturday?

R: It has gone on well

I: Tell me more about it. Is that a baby crying?

R: Yes, I have just given birth

I: Congratulations. How are the children?

R: They are fine too, there is no problem

I: How does your normal day start and end?

R: I do my home chores for the day, after I go to the banana plantation and weed then I come back and cook lunch.

I: Do you have a worker?

R: I don’t have one to help me here at home, the ones I have are for working in the plantation, grazing cattle and any other hard work since my husband is not always here.

I: Okay, I see you do the work by yourself at home. How has the morning been?

R: It started well

I: The baby is crying, what do you thinks has happened?

R: I think she wants to breastfeed

I: You can go and breast feed her or come with her here, there is no inconvenience.

R: Let her first stay there with them, I will pick her later

I: She might be hungry and that’s why she is crying, you can get her.

R: I will go when the crying increases

I: Have you been able to go to your garden today?

R: No, I haven’t had the time. By the time I was done with my chores for the day, it was late and I had to cook lunch.

00:1:39

I: You have said your husband is not always around, he works elsewhere?

R: He works at the centre in *Dura* (their trading centre) he has a hardware shop there.

I: Oh yes, when we were asking for directions, we told that that his hardware is closed, they showed us the shop. He goes and comes back in the evening?

R: Yes, in the evening he comes back

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Okay. Mama, we are going to ask you questions about your household, to know who you stay with. How many people are you that live in this house?

R: I have 2 workers and I live with 11 children although some are at school

I: It’s okay for them to be at school, these workers stay with you here?

R: Yes.

I: The children are all yours

R: My biological children are 8, the 9th child I found them here when I was getting married and I look after some other 2 children

I: Who do they belong to?

R: They are for my elder sister

I: Is she still living or not?

R: She is alive

I: So, you decided to help her and take them on?

R: Yes, she has other children so I decided to help her with these two.

I: You added them to yours

R: Yes, though mine were still young, these 2 girls for my sister are the older ones here.

I: Oh, they are the older ones. Now, they are totally your children.

R: Yes

00:03:10

I: Well done taking care of all of them. It may not be easy.

R: It isn’t easy at all.

I: When you remove the ones that have gone to school, how many do you have here?

R: I sleep here with 3 children, the 2 workers, my husband and I, the other children are in boarding school.

I: How many boys and girls are in your children?

R: I have 7 girls and 1 boy

I: And the other two for your sister, they are boys or girls?

R: They are girls

I: You are going to get many cows from them

R: Yes, it is a blessing

I: Do your workers have their wives and children or?

R: They don’t have, they are alone. They haven’t married, they are still young.

I: Thank you for telling me about that. Mama, how long have you lived here?

R: 17 years

I: I have been looking at this wedding picture of yours, is it also for 17 years?

R: No, it is of recent in 2017 that we wedded.

I: How old is your first born?

R: She died, now I have a second born

I: Sorry about that.

R: Yes, the second born has just started secondary school in senior one

I: Well done on taking care of the family, 17 years are quite something. Mama, before you came here, where were you living?

00:04:46

R: I am from Ntungamo (neighboring district to Mbarara)

I: Oh, I know Ntugamo, I have worked in Rugarama, Rubaare and Ngoma, we were visiting cattle keepers there.

R: Okay, now for us we stay in Kabirizi

I: I am glad to hear about that. To travel from here to your home, how long does it take you?

R: It depends on how fast the cars go, I could take about 3 to 4 hours

I: How often do you go home?

R: No, I don’t normally go back. Sometimes I even spend a whole year without going there.

I: So what would make you go there?

R: Now that I no longer have parents there because they would be the ones taking me there, I only go if there is a party or burial or if someone is sick.

I: Did they live an heir, or someone who is keeping the home?

R: Yes, my elder sister

I: She decided to stay there?

R: Yes, we were born 6 children but all the others died when they were young so we remained only 2 of us.

I: Sorry to hear that. Your sister has other children that she stays with at home

R: Yes, it can even take me even 2 years without going there. We hear from each other on the phone. If there is no urgent issue, I move on.

I: Mama, personally do you have land or a plot?

R: Yes, at our home

I: How many plots do you have there?

R: We are 2 and we haven’t shared yet

I: You mean to say that when your parents were still alive they didn’t not divide the land?

00:07:19

R: My other siblings died very young and that elder sister of mine is the first born.

I: No one grew up?

R: There is only one who died after giving birth

I: This is so sad. Allow me to ask you.

R: There is no problem

I: Were they sick or?

R: They would just get sick and they take them to hospital and they die from there.

I: When your parents also died, were you and your sister old?

R: Yes, I had given birth to my 6th born.

I: Okay. At home, how many plots do you have?

R: It is still one piece of land together; we haven’t shared it yet.

I: Your parents did not leave boundaries where each of you would pass should you decide to share?

R: They left a will showing where both of us will pass should we share.

I: Who has this will?

R: My mother’s sister

I: Okay, so you know where you pass and she also knows where she passes.

R: Yes

I: Let’s say you separate; you take yours she takes hers. How big is your part?

R: It is about 1 acre and a little more.

I: Your parents had bought this land?

R: Yes

I: How about this side where you got married?

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R: I don’t have any plot of land here, this one is for my husband.

I: How many plots of land do you own with your husband?

R: They haven’t yet shared formally.

I: How about here where you stay?

R: It is like how a father would tell his son to build here, and he also tells the other sons to build there.

I: The father left it for him?

R: Yes

I: Was there any writing to show the transfer?

R: They left for them a will saying that wherever every one of the sons was given would be theirs to own.

I: How big is this land where you are?

R: If it is big it is like half an acre

I: Where do you cultivate?

R: No, we only have a banana plantation

I: Is the banana plantation part of this land. Are they the only plots he has.

R: Yes, they are, the banana plantation is behind there.

I: How big is it?

R: It is about 2.5 acres.

I: All was given to him.

R: Yes

I: The baby is crying again, I propose you go and first see her.

R: The other girls has been trying to feed the baby and the bed is full of milk.

00:11:17

I: Sorry about this. The father, left a will, how many children are they?

R: They are 3 boys and 2 girls and altogether they are 5 children

I: So, were the girls also given a share by their father?

R: No, he gave them cows only which they were to take after his death.

I: Do the other boys also have the same share as this one where you are living?

R: He divided equally for them all, one is down here and the other is up there.

I: Up there where we passed, he must be the one who directed us here.

R: Yes

I: Thanks for telling me about this. You said you have spent 17 years here, did your husband include you on the land documents?

R: He has no writing at all.

I: How do you know that it is for you and your husband?

R: Seeing that I am here, I live here with him. But I think there could have been a writing but there is a problem which happened. When their father had died, the girls disagreed with the will and now they are in court arguing about the things their father left to them and what he left for the boys. This is has led to the boys doubting where they have because no one knows if where they are will remain as theirs or the court will come and divide it again for all of them.

I: Were the girls complaining that their father left them with less?

R: They argue that their father didn’t leave for them land which made them angry.

I: So, they decided to disagree with the will.

R: Yes

I: But you said he gave them cows, he had many cows? Has the court decided or it is still on going?

R: They are still in

I: Do they want the land to be re divided?

00:13:26

R: They disagree that the will is not right so the land should be re divided amongst them all.

I: They think someone else wrote it?

R: Yes, and you see the court doesn’t just make a ruling there and then, it takes its time.

I: It takes time and now the men can’t write anything to show their ownership when they are still in court.

R: Yes

I: I am curious to know if they never knew their late father’s handwriting and signature or trusted the friends their father trusted to leave his will with.

R: These friends who had the will came but the girls said that they were bribed by their brothers. All this is in court, the signatures of their father were also asked for wherever he signed. Courts processes don’t just end quickly.

I: How long has this been?

R: We are in 6 years’ now

I: Is there a oneness between the boys and the girls?

R: There is no working together at all, they don’t see eye to eye

I: Any way land has issues like that and the court has to take its time investigating until they see the truth and decide. You told me there is no writing that could show that this land belongs you. Mama, who works on your land?

R: For workers we have two, one for the goats and the other for the banana plantation. For the cows, they’re still altogether; for my husband and his brothers so they look for one worker to go and take care of them.

I: So the cows you have are still for the whole family?

R: Everyone has theirs of the boys, then there are those for the family even though he died they did not share them. They got a worker to take care of them.

I: When you milk, do you sell?

R: Everyone has their cows and they know them, they milk them and sell as they want.

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I: Apart from the workers and yourself, is there any other person that works on your land. Sometimes you may find people renting.

R: No

I: Or giving someone where to cultivate without them paying?

R: There is no other person

**General Land**

I: Mama, our next part, we want to know your thoughts about land in general, yours inclusive but also for others too. Please be reminded that there is no right or wrong answer, it is just your opinion on how you see things and everyone has their view too. In general, how do people come to own land in this village?

R: It is through working and you buy land.

I: Did all the people in this village won land through buying?

R: Unless you get lucky, and your parents give it to you.

I: Why do you say if one gets lucky?

R: Because if you are not lucky, your parent might not give you the land. He may tell you to go and work and acquire yours. If you are lucky then he gives it to you like he gave my husband and his brothers land.

I: How do they buy land here?

R: The land is very expensive here

I: Do you think it is because of the banana plantations?

R: I don’t know but land is only bought by rich people here. I haven’t seen people buy land of 2 or 3 million.

I: I have seen that your village has electricity meaning you are developed despite the fact that you are inside far away from the town. Thanks for telling me about this.

I: In what ways can someone use land that they do not own?

R: I can come and rent land and cultivate, I pay while I keep harvesting food from there.

00:18:50

I: How does rent work?

R: Some people ask for 70,000 and others 80,000 from quarter an acre of land per season.

I: Is there any other way one can go through to use land that is not theirs?

R: Not through renting?

I: Yes

R: Maybe if someone loves you and they are kind enough to give you a piece tell you to cultivate on their land.

I: Does this usually happen?

R: Yes, it happens whereby someone feels sorry for you if you are suffering with no food to eat or money to go and rent land; they give you where to dig so that you get food from there.

I: What of when someone wants to sell their land, do they need to first ask someone?

R: I think he asks his family and if they agree he puts it on market and announces that he is selling.

I: Can your husband sell land if he wanted to?

R: No he can’t, what can stop him from selling is the caveat they put on the land in the court. He can’t sell because he doesn’t know where his land stops or big it is in size.

I: Okay so for someone to sell you said they can ask their family.

R: Yes

I: What if someone has an agreement that shows that this land belongs to him, can’t he sell without asking his family since the land is in his names?

R: It depends on how you agree as a family. If the man and woman don’t agree, the man will sell land that the woman doesn’t know about. I have seen this happen in the village which has led to fighting and endless quarrels.

I: Why do you think such a man would buy land and not tell his wife then go ahead to sell it without telling the wife?

R: I think for a man to do that he doesn’t have any plans for his home because if he had it then

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the wife would have known about it and the children about it too that their father has land or the wife knows that her husband has land in such a place.

I: Do you think there could be a problem between man and wife for him to do such things or he is just like that?

R: I think that a man is like that because if he wasn’t he wouldn’t be hiding this land from the family. And when he dies, that land will just be lost like that.

I: For someone selling, do they have to ask anyone else in the village or?

R: I think the most important thing is asking your family, because let’s say that the place that is being sold off is bad, this means that they will look for a better piece of land to live on which is a good reason to sell their land.

I: Thanks for this. What if there is someone with land on this village but he doesn’t live here, does he stay with the control over the land?

R: If he has writings that show that it is his land then it remains his land.

I: Suppose he doesn’t have any documents, may be they just told him that this is his share and he knows it’s his land by word?

R: Now, it depends on the land owner who gave him the share whether his land was in any form of writing which this person can go along with. He stays with the control no matter how long he is away.

I: If someone came and they wanted to use this land, what would they do?

R: They can find a way to get to the landowner and ask to rent it and pay them money. No one just leaves land behind, they can leave a neighbor to watch for them or leave in a caretaker who can contact them in case of anything.

I: Mama, when someone says that this is family land, how do you understand it?

R: I understand that it is land for many. Let us assume the parents died, whether they have left 2 or 3 children these are family and this land belongs to all of them.

I: What if the parent is still alive?

R: If they he hasn’t given you land then that means it still belongs to him

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I: Like here where you are, do you see it as family land?

R: Yes, I see it as family land because they haven’t shared officially, yes he left them with their land and banana plantation and everyone knows where their piece of land ends but they don’t have any writing to say that this is mine so I have the right to sell my banana plantation and go. This whole land is in a title which was in the father’s name.

I: Oh okay, it is all in a title so no one can sell and go. You mean to say family land is that land where no one can sell?

R: Yes, everyone has a chance to do on that land what they want as long as they agree but none can be able to sell unless the land owner decides to divide it himself and give out shares to the children or to sell it.

I: This good to know that this land was already titled. So this title is it also in court or someone kept it?

R: No one paid much attention to the title, the girls are fighting against the will.

I: Did he also divide the farm to the boys or?

R: He told them how they would share, when they were going to share that’s when the girls came in and disagreed with the will and what he had left in writing.

I: Their father decided to give them shares as they got married, do you think other parents do the same or they give their sons shares earlier?

R: It depends on what the parents wants to do. There are those who divide when they are getting married while another decides that his land will be shared after his death.

I: Thanks for letting me know about this. Have you rented land before?

R: Yes, I rent where to cultivate.

I: Have you rented land this season?

R: Yes,

I: How much land have you rented Mama?

R: I rented like a quarter an acre

I: What have you planted there?

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R: Beans

I: How much did you rent at?

R: 75,000 shillings

I: How much harvest do you reap from this piece of land?

R: If it is a good harvest I get like 1 bag of 100 kilograms

I: These beans, are they for sale or for home consumption?

R: They are for our food. I can’t sell these ones.

I: Let me take you back somehow. Mama, how old are you?

R: I have 35 years

I: Which job gives you money for a living?

R: Selling the bananas

I: Do the traders come to pick them from here?

R: Yes, they pass through the village looking for them.

I: How do they buy from you; I hear some people complaining that they are given less money.

R: It depends on how the bananas are in size. These days they give us 7000 but you find others buying at 5000 shillings.

I: Do you think you stand a better chance going to the market yourself?

R: If you have a means of transport then it is good, you get better prices.

I: Mama, in what class did you stop in at school?

R: I stopped in primary 2 and I went to graze cattle

I: It is rare to find girls grazing cattle.

R: That is what my parents decided for me.

I: You now know how to even milk them?

00:31:13

R: Yes, I do

I: Which other activity gives you money?

R: Maybe these goats, we sell them and get money?

I: How about the milk?

R: We all work together and keep the money together, we put together no one has this as their own and the other also their own. We haven’t had two bags for keeping money, we have one that we share and I am still praying that it stays this way.

I: You had told me that you have rented land, how about selling land, have you?

R: No and my husband hasn’t also sold

I: I would love to know, when you are renting land, is there any form of documentations involved?

R: You agree and he shows you where to cultivate, you pay and that is it.

I: When you are going to rent land, do you ask for permission from your husband?

R: I tell him that there is this piece of land available for renting, I ask him and if I have the money then I go and pay and rent it and if he has it he gives it to me.

I: There is money you keep by yourself?

R: Yes, let us say he hasn’t sent traders to come and buy the goats, when they pay me I keep the money or if I have any other money kept form banana sales. If I font have any money with me then he will give it to me.

I: This land that you own with your elder sister, what does it mean to you?

R: It doesn’t mean much to me because it is very far. Maybe just knowing it that I have land at my home there and that I have cows.

I: How many cows are they? You know some people say that they don’t count cos, I worked somewhere with pastoralist in the Bahima and they said if you count all your cows then they will die.

R: That was of old culture. I have like 3 cows

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I: What do you do on that land?

R: Nothing, may be if I want to sell a cow. My sister is the one using it mainly.

I: What is she doing on it?

R: She does cultivation on it and grazes cows there.

I: Tomorrow, do you have any thoughts of giving it as a share top your children or even selling it?

R: The way I think; I will not sell it at all. I might give it to my children and they know that they have land on their mother’s side.

I: This land at your home is it in any form of writing or?

R: It is just in a will which my aunty has.

I: All of them will share on the same

R: Yes

I: They will figure out how to share and use it well. Had your parents ever sold?

R: No, they had never and I don’t have any thought of selling it too.

I: I see it has been the same land for a long while.

R: Yes.

I: Thanks for telling me about this for sure. I had never imagined that there would be a person with land but they don’t think about it as such in these days. Which ways can show that someone owns land?

R: If someone has the agreements that show how he bought the land, then you know that land is theirs. If someone comes and they want to take the land they can show them the agreement which proves ownership.

I: Is there any other way?

R: I think also a title can show. If you don’t have an agreement, then you can have a title. But I think the title is more important than the agreement.

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I: Why do you think so?

R: No matter who comes whether they are rich and better than you they can’t take your land if you have a title. For the agreement, they can cheat you but no with a title.

I: In your view Mama, what benefits are there in having a woman’s name put on land documents like the title or agreement?

R: If he puts you there, he is showing you that you have authority on that land should he be gone tomorrow. But also should the marriage change, then the land can be for both of you.

I: So you mean, when she is on the title, and they get problems she can’t go.

R: No, she can also say that she has land there since her names are on the title

I: Okay. What problems do you think would come out of this, putting a woman’s name on these documents?

R: I think there are no problems maybe to the man when he wants to send you away and yet it is not your fault as a woman. He can think that since the woman’s name is on these documents, they will have to both share equally the property before she can go. This may be hard for him.

I: There is nothing bad that would come from the woman’s side after being put on the title?

R: Maybe sometimes the man can go and sell the land and give their title saying that they agreed with his wife to sell.

I: What does it mean to inherit land?

R: I compare it to someone giving you a cloth and they tell you to use it until it is old. I think for land, that person has given to you to use it as you want.

I: You told me that you have not shared land at your home with your sister so that everyone has their share.

R: Yes

I: You as a person do you hope to inherit more land in the future?

R: Me I think I won’t because my piece I will give it to the children and they will share it in the best way they will. As for ere, you see most of the control and authority on land belongs to men.

I: Tell me about men having authority.

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R: You can find that a man saying that so and so will be the one to divide my things giving every other person in my family once I am gone for example he can pick like 1 or 2 children who are better than the others, so he gives them the control and authority. You can divide for them equally but the one you have left has the authority now.

I: You mean a man can leave his wife and give his children authority over land?

R: There is a man who leaves behind a will that has people’s shares for example that I have left this land to my wife. This means that the wife will decide on who to divide it among the children while other men say that this piece of the land is for the wife alone and the children are given their shares while some men just divide the land allocating everyone their share before they die. But even if he dies, he must have left it to someone.

I: You don’t think about it

R: If it ever happens then that is good but I don’t think about it.

I: People in this village, do they fear losing their land?

R: Yes, now that there are titles, a rich man can come and take your land and he has more money than you so you can’t go against him in court.

I: Has this happened in this village?

R: No, but we see them on news and hear them out there.

I: They are fearful of who to take it?

R: Someone can come, and for example my husband knowing that I am not around, he takes someone on a tour around the land in order to get a loan. He may not know well the person he is going to get a loan from, the person may be a rich man who wants to take the land. If you go to court you may find that you had insufficient documents talking about the land so you can’t get it back.

I: Are those who are fearful the ones with small land or the ones with big land?

R: Those with small land. If you have small land and you are staying near a rich person you worry that he might take your land.

I: Has it been the case that a rich man takes such a person’s land in this village?

R: No it hasn’t happened.

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I: What are people doing about this so that they don’t lose their land?

R: I see that many people are trying to get titles.

I: Where do you think they are getting these titles from Mama?

R: I think they go to Mbarara.

I: Okay. If you were able to get access to more land, what ways would you go about it?

R: I would ask around where there is land to buy and if I have the money I would go and buy it.

I: As a family, have you been able to buy more land apart from here where you are now?

R: We bought a house there in the centre where my husband has a hardware shop.

I: How big is it?

R: It is a house with a back end

I: Mama, do you have family land personally?

R: I don’t have maybe I can count this because of my husband.

I: How does this happen?

R: I am not in the title for this land neither am I in the will their father left. This is why I say that I can count it because of my husband since I am married to him and he is the one in the will.

I: Mama, these days I hear that the woman wedded with a ring has authority over the husband’s property. Tell me your thoughts about this.

R: It depends if you worked together to acquire that land and if you have the evidence of those things you worked for together. I think this is when you can stand and say that you have a hand and authority on these things. Let me give you an example, if I don’t have my signature anywhere showing that the land is mine and I say that we worked them during the marriage I can go through or not. But these days the government has made it easier and they can say that for the years the woman has spent in a man’s home, it means she is entitled to the property also.

I: Could you tell me where you have had this?

R: They be talking about them on programs on the radio

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I: Okay, they are bringing this information near. Mama, what do you do mainly on this land?

R: We graze on the farm I told you about. Then the banana plantation.

I: Do you plant beans in the plantation?

R: No, so that the bananas don’t get spoilt.

I: Who makes decisions about anything to do with the land for example what you will plant?

R: We agree together. I can tell him that this part of the land I think we should put beans, then if he allows I plant, if he doesn’t then I don’t.

I: You might both discuss and agree but who finally decides?

R: He does, he has the last word

I: Thanks Mama, for explaining these to me. I have also been learning.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

This part we are going into we want to know your thoughts and how you understand land titles. Remember there is no right or wrong answer. What does a title mean to you?

R: I know it to be the evidence of your land

I: Of what use is it?

R: It shows that the land is yours with evidence. No one else can come to take it away.

I: Is there anything you have liked about the titling process?

R: It is the evidence the title brings that no one can come and disagree with that it isn’t your land.

I: What difference is there between a title and other documents like an agreement?

R: You see an agreement can fail to work or if it gets lost, sometimes you find that the people who signed on the agreement died and you can’t access them to sign for you again. If your title is stolen or lost you can go back, there where they get them form and you are able to get a new one.

I: When these people were visiting were you around, the ones who were teaching you about land, what did you like about this process?

00:52:58

R: They came here like twice or thrice. What I loved is how they would educate us on the title and the land. Though we did not get the chance to get a title.

I: Mama, you have told me you didn’t get the chance to get a title, what was the reason?

R: They first taught us before telling us that they were giving us a title, but after they told us we would get a title. We told the reason that we have land but it is already on a title and it is in court.

I: All the time they came, would they meet you together with your husband?

R: No, they would ask each of us alone

I: Altogether, do you think women would love to be on titles with their husband?

R: Yes, they love it though men don’t want it. As a woman if you are on the title, you know you are in the marriage so the man can’t just wake up and tell you to go away.

I: What other reasons do think make women love it?

R: I think that because this is one way that shows you are one with your husband. You know then that he sees you as part of his things, meaning you have worked together to acquire them.

I: Would you prefer it Mama?

R: Yes.

I: What good things do you think will come out of having both a man and wife on the title?

R: Let us say that a man has died and the woman has remained and some of the relatives want to disturb her. Sometimes I may be a woman but have not given birth and the relatives are telling me to go away because I have no child, but if I have a tittle it might be hard for them to come and disturb me or try to take away the land. The land remains mine.

I: What other good things could come out?

R: Let us say someone wants a loan, you can go and take the title as leverage and get money to help you do other things.

I: Can someone also take the agreement to get the loan?

R: It is not easy because an agreement can get lost.

I: What reasons in your view do you think cause men not to include women on the title?

00:57:30

R: A man can think that by not adding a woman on the title, she doesn’t have any control meaning he stays with all the control over everything and she doesn’t have much to say. Marriage can be complicated at times and when there is a quarrel that would lead you into separation, he may fear because the woman is on the title which calls for sharing.

I: Apart from this, which other reasons would cause a man not to put his wife on a title?

R: He may also analyze the wife and worry that she might take the land to get a loan and they take it. When you stay with someone for 5 years, you know them better. There are some women who give birth outside their marriage so the man starts to think that if he is not around tomorrow she might sell it and take the money to her home. Other women who haven’t given birth make men think that should he die tomorrow, this woman will take the land to her home and eat it so they don’t put her name on the title.

I: You mean the one who has children can’t take this land?

R: She can also do it. Some of them work and take the money to their home or they don’t bring the money to the table with the man. When he sees this he changes his mind on putting the woman’s name on the title.

I: Before these people who were teaching you about titles came, how were other people in your village getting titles?

R: I hear that you go to LC1 you get a letter then you go to LC2 and get another letter then you go to the sub county which gives you a letter showing that this is your land. After this, you can then bring a surveyor to measure your land and then you get a title. This is what I have been hearing.

I: So Mama, do people in your village have titles?

R: Yes, most of them their land is in a title. This whole part of this village you see, all the people have titles for their land.

I: What else do they think about titles?

R: I think they love it because the title is the evidence that you own the land.

**Intra-household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thank you Mama, in our next part of the conversation, we will talk about the conversations you had with your husband through the titling process and about titles. After the first visits, did you sit with your husband to talk about it, what conversation did you have?

1:01:52

R: Yes, we sat together and said to each other what a chance we had got to get a free title. I told my husband that had they shared officially the land, we would have a big blessing to get our title. Because by the time they share and we go to get surveyors, we would have survived that process. This is what we said may be it wasn’t our chance.

I: Had all this not been the case, you would both get a title.

R: Yes.

I: Do you think your husband would have accepted to put you on the title in your view?

R: I think he would put me there though am not 100% sure.

I: You told me you have lived with your husband for the past 17 years, how has it been for you? Tell me about it.

R: Nothing bad has really happened.

I: You told me this picture is for 2017, why did it take all those years.

R: He didn’t do it the cultural way we just decided and went to church though he had visited my parents long before and he paid dowry when they were both still alive.

I: Did this have any impact on your as a wife?

R: They say when you are a wedded wife that is when you know that you are married legally, like how they teach us in church that if you are not wedded you are living in sin but after the matrimony then you are truly married.

I: Well done on this milestone. Mama, do you feel that your husband supports you in the things you do?

R: Very much so

I: Tell me more

R: At home we were born as girls all of us, when my mother whom I found when I grew up, he was like the man of the home. He would give us money to treat my mother and money to do other things. He was always counted as a child at home. If anything goes wrong at home, he would step in a lot.

I: And you, would he say that you support him?

1:06:11

R: Yes, in thoughts and ideas since I don’t have the money to do things like him.

I: How Mama, I would love to know more.

R: At times he can share that he doesn’t know how to go about something and when you are two you discuss certain things together and you find that one has a better solution to that thing. If he has a cow and it doesn’t have energy and he wants to sell the fine one, I tell him that we should sell the one that is weak and keep the strong one. And also before he leaves in the morning, I have to prepare for him breakfast then he goes.

I: How would you compare all this he does for you and you do for him to other marriages, what do you think?

R: Not all men are the same, there is one who doesn’t care for the woman and the woman has to fix everything on their own. There is a man whom you treat well but life doesn’t change so it is dependent on the man whom God has given you, if he is bad though you cook that breakfast he will not eat it or if he eats it he is quarreling and when he comes back everyone is under fear in the home.

I: Who make the decisions in the household, before it was about land now let’s talk about the household.

R: We agree, for example I can tell him that what we need in the house like maybe we need new chairs then he allows and if he has money he gives me the money or we go and buy them. When it is the case of a child maybe we want to change them, we sit and discuss the reason we want to change them then we do it. He decides at the end of the day, I may tell him to build a house for our guests because we don’t have it, and he says he doesn’t have money so we leave it.

I: I am curious to know whether there are things you decide on as a wife in this house and your husband agrees with whatever you have decided on.

R: We agree together though he finally takes the final word.

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

R: We wanted school fees for the child and we wanted to sell the cow but he said we wait for tomorrow maybe another buyer would come with more money. I told him that when we calculate the money that will be lost in transporting the child to and from school to pick the school fees may be more or the same that he wants the other buyers to give him. So he accepted we sold the cow and sent the school fees.

1:11:32

I: Okay, so the cow was sold that day and you sent the school fees. Where does this child go to school?

R: Yes, she is in Kyeizooba girls secondary school in Sheema

I: Is she the one that went to senior one?

R: Yes

I: Okay. Do you think marriages are the same when it comes to decision making or they are different?

R: Marriage is not the same, there are those who get good marriages and others bad marriages and they suffer through. You find that the wife doesn’t have a say for example. But much authority to decide lies on the ma most times.

I: Thanks a lot for telling me and explaining to me about the different things we have talked about today. Mama, are there any other conversation you had about the title? Tell me more about it, if there is.

R: That is all I remember us talking about that I have already told you. We gave them our reason for not getting the title and we didn’t have much to say since we were not getting it.

**Gender norms around land**

I: As we get near to our end we are going to talk about women and land. We know that most times, land is for the men in the community abut there are some aspects about women we would like to understand. We don’t have any truth but your thoughts and opinions will help us. Are their women that own land in this village?

R: Not really that many, maybe the land that their husbands or parents left for them and also those that buy a piece here and another there. But many whom their parents gave normally sell and eat the money.

I: Does this land carry her names alone or sometimes with the man?

R: The ones I see, the land is in her name

I: Are there those that have land with their husbands?

R: Yes, they are there.

1:16:58

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

R: It is good for someone to have what could help her earn a living tomorrow. A man can sell the land and finish it because he has the authority to do so but if a woman has her own land she can go and live on it with her children.

I: In your view, do you think women would love it more having land with their husbands or having it by themselves?

R: Because hearts are not the same, the man may not see the heart of the wife and the wife may not see the heart of the man. Everyone should have their own land; the woman would love their own. A woman with things is not the same as the one who doesn’t have anything. Sometimes though a man can take a woman with nothing for granted because even if he does wrong to her and she wants to report him, he thinks she can’t because she doesn’t even have the money to go there. But if we both have things, he can’t do this. In such cases, I think it is better for the woman to have her land too that she can fall back to for a living and to stay there should the man chase her away.

I: I know you have told me about family land being land for all the family whereby no one can sell unless the owner divides and gives individuals shares or if he chooses to sell it. I would like to know your thought about how men and women owning land relates to all of this? For example, do women have shares on such land?

R: I think that if a family has no misunderstanding the woman should have or if there are children, they can be given a share of the land.

I: For example, if the owner is for a man, do you think he will have included his wife in there?

R: This land is counted on the man, it is his.

I: Why is it so?

R: I think that is how it was created to be that men have the authority at the end of the day.

I: Are you meaning to say that family land belongs to the men?

R: Yes

I: How about the wife to that man, does she have any control over it?

R: The man is the one that has more authority. Now like our land, the title had my father in law alone. My mother in law came in at the end in the will.

1:22:04

I: Oh I see; this is why told me it is in creation for the man to have the authority.

R: Yes

I: In a marriage, if a man wanted to sell the land, does he need to first ask for permission from the wife?

R: Yes, he has to come and see you, tell you why there is need to sell it and what the money got from it will do.

I: Like you had told me about your late father in law that he had land titled in his name, if he was to sell why can’t he sell without asking since it is in his name.

R: In order for his family not to have problems. If he doesn’t tell the wife, that is when you find the family having issues. If the man has not told you, this is when he will eat all the money and finish it yet you don’t have the permission to stop him. Even if you decide to leave the home, you may not have enough money to take you away. A good home has agreement even in buying land and everything because if one of them does a bad thing it will spoil for the whole family, and if one does something good it will be building the whole family.

I: Just to get it right, you mean to say that asking for permission is not dependent on whether the land is in a title or not. Either way, a man has to first agree with the wife.

R: Yes

I: In your view Mama, are widows allowed to stay on the land after the husband has died?

R: Yes, she can stay on the land because it was for her husband. But also if she has the evidence over it.

I: What if she doesn’t have it?

R: This is when they will try to come and take land from her or chase her away from the land.

I: Lets us imagine she has also passed on; this land will remain with who?

R: If she has children and the husband died without making a will she can do it and say that her children will share it or go ahead and divide for them.

I: Let me first take you back a little bit, if a man dies before writing anything, you know how death just comes these days, does the woman take over the land?

1:25:40

R: She can stay on the land if no one comes to try and take the land from her, she can also go to seek help from the chairman or at the parish or sub county.

I: You were telling me the widow can stay on the land and if she dies she leaves the land with the children, what if she didn’t give birth?

R: There is always someone she left it with, a relative or a friend. If she left it with no one, then the relatives will share it or sell it and take the money.

I: If a widow is left on the land and but has no evidence of ownership or children, what happens to her?

R: The relatives will chase her and she will go unless she has children.

I: The difference maker here is the children? Tell me more about this.

R: I think the biggest evidence is the one you have as a wife knowing that you worked to acquire that land with your husband and you have either an agreement or a title for it.

I: Not even the children of the man can bring about change for the widow to stay on the land without evidence?

R: Even if you don’t have a child but you have evidence of ownership, you can stay on that land.

I: Even when the relatives know that the children belong to them, you know how some children are a complete photocopy of their father; this is not enough to let her stay?

R: They be knowing that these are their children but because they want to grab the land they start chasing her away on the basis of the lack of evidence. She can choose to leave the children with them or she goes with them.

I: Do these widows remarry?

R: If she is still young, she can remarry, if she had 2 children you find these children staying with the relatives then she goes to get married.

I: Can she bring the new husband on that land or she has to go elsewhere?

R: It depends on how she is in that family. You find a woman independent with her own things and she doesn’t interfere much with the husband’s family, this one can get away with this easily but I don’t think you can be in the middle of a family relating with everyone and you bring a man.

1:28:38

I: So you say she has to go elsewhere.

R: Yes, the family can tell her to go and get married but leave behind their children.

I: What if she wants to go with her children?

R: She can go with them and the land and remains.

I: What reasons do you think make these widows remarry?

R: Sometimes, her husband dies when she is still young. If she is not old, you can get married again.

I: Are these women young in giving birth to children or in their age?

R: In their age.

I: Mama, at what age do you say they shouldn’t get married again.

R: When you are in 40 and above, you shouldn’t be remarrying.

I: How about those that decide not to remarry, why do you think they decide this way apart from what you said that they are old?

R: She can be having young children whom she doesn’t where to leave, so she accepts and stays with them and takes care of them.

I: Has it ever happened in this village that after a widow losing her husband, the male relatives come and try to take land away from her?

R: No it has never happened. I just hear them outside there but it has happened in this village.

I: Tell me about the one out there that you have heard about.

R: A woman is there in a family married, then her husband dies but he had never showed her where they pass in terms of their land. Now you find her leaving the land because she knows nothing about the land or what they had.

I: This has led me to know from you about how widows are treated.

R: The problem is that you can get married in a big family clan and your husband dies before giving you any evidence of the land so you find the relatives chasing you away; they can even tell you that your husband had no land there, this becomes hard for you to approach authorities

1:31:58

so you just leave their children behind and go away.

I: How has the treatment of widows changed recently from what it used to be?

R: I think for a widow to be treated well is when the husband leaves her I her house and she knows that’s her land and even if her husband dies, she will be fine.

I: How were widows treated before in the past?

R: That is what I told you that it depends on where the husband left her.

I: Has it been any different through the years how they are treated in your view?

R: May be now widows can report to the authorities which wasn’t there those days. The widows in the past used not to report, they didn’t mind. They would fear to stand with their in-laws or father in law before leaders because that was interpreted as disrespect. These days you can seek help and you receive help and get some things and not walk away with nothing.

I: Would you tell me about what you think happens to women after their husbands die?

R: The problem is taking care of the home.

I: How Mama, tell me more.

R: Paying school fees is looking at you, looking after that cow is on you and all things are on you. You find the woman stressed out and worried on how to make all these things happen. But if you have a husband the load becomes much easier.

I: What else normally happens to them apart from carrying the load of the home after their husband’s death?

R: If the relatives don’t come to enter into your things, I see no other bad thing that would disturb the widow.

I: The man she remarries, according to you he is can come on the land?

R: These days’ men get married also. If he is not eating the property of these children, I see no problem why he can’t come and stay with the woman.

I: In this village, how do you treat widows?

R: I see that they stay in the things of the husband, and if she gets married in a big family with misunderstandings, she ends up leaving.

1:36:00

I: The ones that leave, are they many here?

R: They are few.

I: I can imagine she has got married and now the husband is dead and she has to leave. What if she has a young baby like this one can she stay?

R: They can decide to help her and may be leave her to take care of the children even though she doesn’t know where her share is.

I: What happens to such women in the area of land, whereby the husband dies before they were given shares of the land?

R: The biggest problem will be that she doesn’t have assurance where is hers. They could have a house on there but she is not sure if it is truly her land. She will start asking herself whether when they decide to share she will get an equal part with the rest or not. Now that even the husband is not around to argue with them on whatever their decision is.

I: Let us talk about the women who have divorced or separated with their husbands. What happens to them on the issue of land?

R: You find many who worked together to acquire it go to the courts to fight and get it.

I: They go to which courts, located where?

R: At the sub county or at the local council 1 level and they reconcile you.

I: What if they didn’t acquire it together or if there is no evidence of ownership, what happens to these women?

R: This is when a man denies having land and if you don’t have any agreement you kept showing that your husband has land, he can say he has none.

I: After they separate or divorce with their husbands, can they stay on the land or they have to go elsewhere?

R: You can’t separate with the man and stay on the land. It is not possible.

I: What if the problem is from the man?

R: Here it depends on how you agree, if she thinks you stay and he is peaceful or not.

I: Let us say you worked together and you have children, can you stay in the house if it’s a man’s

1:39:28

fault or you have to go?

R: Here, I think you can stay and if he wants to chase you away you can go to the authorities to come and help you.

I: The one with no evidence has to go?

R: If you don’t have evidence there is nothing you can report saying.

I: What of the children’s presence, does it make a difference?

R: They will tell you to leave them with their father.

I: Have you heard of such an example on this village of a woman who has separated with their husband?

R: Yes, you find that they didn’t agree with the wife and the man tried to chase away the wife. The woman tried reporting the man but she couldn’t get through, she got tired of this and walked away leaving the children behind.

I: Why do you think, no one heard her when she went to report the husband. Tell me what happened.

R: If you don’t have the same money, you the woman have no money and remember you are at the man’s home. You go to the LC1 and they refuse to give you a letter of reporting the case, I think this man gave their money as a bribe and she got tired of being frustrated and left the children and went away.

I: In the case for such a man and woman, what would you love to see change or the way things are is okay?

R: In my view, you both should agree and make one family because the children are yours both and the things are also for both of you, if one doesn’t eat so does the other. If you agree, whoever offends the other should ask for forgiveness and be forgiven if they refuse then you try or leave.

I: And in the case you told me where the woman left, what would you love to see change after their separation?

R: I think the government like LC1 or sub county leaders should come and see what the problem is and reconcile you. But then also, you can’t report a man so that they divide the land and you stay, this man can even kill you if you stay on that land after reporting him.

1:42:28

I: Okay. Are there any men who may decide to leave the woman on the land and they go away?

R: No, I haven’t heard them. A man can’t leave you on the land and he goes away, they are very few but he may suggest that you share it and he leaves you with the children. They can sell his share of their share and go away later.

I: Did the scenario of this woman make you happy or you would want to see something change?

R: Leaving your children is not good but also sometimes you can’t take them because you will not handle taking care of them. You can decide and leave his children with him.

I: What do you think makes men generally refuse to add their wife’s names on a title?

R: I think mainly it is them saying that if they put the woman on the title she might disturb them tomorrow would they want to do something with the land and the woman starts claiming the land that it is for both of them. Such a man knows that after all the land is his so he can get a title alone.

I: What good thing would happen if the man put the wife on the title?

R: I think when the man dies and the title has your name, you can go and get a loan the way he has also been getting the loan when he was alive. If she also has the title, her land can’t be encroached on or stolen by people who come and start claiming that your husband sold land to them before he died. If they want to take it and you have a title, people will wonder where the second person was when the selling was happening.

I: Mama, do you think if women were able to own land with their husbands it will increase conflict in that marriage?

R: I think because hearts are different, there might be conflict where by the man says for him he wants to sell and the woman says no you will it sell and this starts a fight. It is better if the man has land and the wife also has her own land to solve this so that whoever want to sell will sell their own. This can even cause death where the man decides to kill the woman so that he can stay alone with the title. This is how I think.

I: How can this conflict come to an end or be solved?

R: It is only by grace when the man changes his heart and stops using force and comes to agree with the wife.

I: Is there a way other people can come in to help resolve such conflict?

1:49:38

R: They can come and help to reconcile them so that the man mentions why he wanted to sell.

I: For such men, you think they deliberately refuse to tell their wives the truth as to why they want sell.

R: Yes, and I think for the woman to refuse agreeing to sell, it is when the he has refused to tell her why.

I: Why do you think such a man will wake up and refuse to tell his wife the reason as to why he wants them to sell land?

R: In my way of thinking.

I: Yes, it is yours, don’t mind.

R: I think such a man has other women out there and he uses his land the way he wants because he will take the money to these women a thing he may not tell the wife.

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about this, explaining to me about your thoughts and opinions. Now we are going into out last part.

**Land disputes**

I: We are going to talk about the disputes or misunderstandings on land that may happen in families or neighbors or in the community on land. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: It is finding that someone says their land passes here and another says that theirs passes there or someone wants to sell while the other one doesn’t want to sell.

I: Can you tell me of a recent example of this that has happened in this village?

R: I haven’t seen it yet.

I: How about yours, the one you told me about where your sister in laws are fighting you?

R: Yes, that one maybe.

I: When such disputes are there, what happens?

R: You use the government’s help to reconcile it

I: Where did you people take your dispute?

1:52:02

R: In the court in Mbarara

I: How can such disputes end or be resolved?

R: The government will come and divide the land for you the way they decide.

I: You mean the government can come and divide the land amongst the people the way it sees?

R: Yes, if you don’t allow what they have decided then you are fee to continue up in other authorities and report.

I: And the village people, is there a way they can help in resolving such disputes?

R: You can call them and they help identify that this person is in wrong or the other person is the one in wrong. These people can be knowing the land but even if they don’t know, you call them to the land that is under a dispute, show it to them and explain and they reconcile from there.

I: What if one of the sides in the disputes has a title, does this help in bringing the dispute to an end? The one with title says I have the evidence if they are fighting for a boundary.

R: The one with a title can win the one without because he can say my title can show where my land boundaries pass and yet the other doesn’t have. This helps resolve the dispute.

I: In general, what do you think should be done to help such people with land disputes?

R: Me I think it is agreement and understanding each other through it all. Then each should be able to get their title or if they are fighting over a piece of land then it should be shared equally and each of them takes the same share.

I: Any other way to help them apart from this one?

R: They should also make use of the government and call it to help them.

I: Which level of the government do you advise them to consult?

R: There is LC1, there is the LC2 leader, and the sub county leaders.

I: Okay Mama, thanks you so much for giving me your time, and for talking to me and explaining to me all through. My last question to you would be about who you think we are?

R: That’s why I haven’t asked you a lot, my husband had told me that you had already come here sometime back in the past years.

I: Okay, so did he tell you the name of the organization?

R: By the way he had told me earlier on just that I have forgotten it but he told me about it.

I: That is okay. Thanks Mama, here is your gift that I had told you about to appreciate your time that you have given me. Stay well

R: Thank you.

1:55:15