**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 7/11/2019

Name of respondent: Agnes

H.H I. D: 4320301

Title status: Refused

Interview start time: 4:35 pm

Interview stop time: 6:22 pm

Age: 35

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 4

No. of people living in the household: 6

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Sells milk

Highest level of education: Primary 7

No. of years living in the village: 16

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles, bricks, glass windows cement, painting, solar and a television

Interview Duration: 1:47s:48

The interview happened in the respondents living room. Their house is made of mud, some bricks, cement, with glass windows, painting solar and a television. The respondent was home. She was conversant, engaged, talkative and happy. They look to be rich from the look of their home, the businesses they do and how they live according to the village standard. She told me that they refused to title because the plot of land that was randomly chosen to be titled is the land they have not yet shared with the husband’s siblings and it is more of family land for now so he feared the wrangles and it is not his personally, they just use it so he refused to title. We had no interruptions whatsoever, she told me that she loved titling because it can keep the land for the woman and her children even when her husband decides to get another wife.

She lives with her husband who was in the trading center where he operates a wholesale shop of dry produce. Together they have 4 children. She said that the land they are on was given to the husband to just build but he doesn’t own it as an inheritance. This is because the father didn’t leave a will dividing for all his children land but they are all there with no approved shares. She said that their mother now is the one to decide how she will divide for them but for them they are using their other land and they are okay. They have 3 plots of land; a half acre of coffee, a half-acre of a banana plantation and 3 acres or more of a banana plantation where they cut from bananas mainly for sale. She told me that he is he representative chairwoman for the women in their village. She looks to be enjoying her marriage and happy in it.

**Warm Up**

I: Mama, how was yesterday for you here?

R: It ended well.

I: How is the weeding taking you on?

R: I have been there and I left early today.

I: What are you weeding?

R: I am wedding millet, the one for beans ended.

I: Have you got the first harvest of young beans?

R: Mine are no yet ready.

I: I have seen people out there already eating the first batch of the harvest.

R: Here we don’t have the first harvest yet.

I: You are here alone.

R: The children are at school, they come back in the evening.

I: So you spend most of the days here alone.

R: Yes.

I: Do you work alone I the gardens?

R: I have workers. I can’t handle alone.

I: Are there times when your husband comes to help you dig?

R: Maybe in the banana plantation some times. Full time mostly he is at the shop, I have workers most of the time.

I: The centre is the one called?

R: Omukatafari.

I: We were told to ask around before reaching Omukatafari.

R: You are from there Omukigoro.

I: Yes. Thanks for welcoming us. Your husband told me that he refused the title so what more

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do I want from him but I told him that we shall come and visit you and talk.

R: Okay.

(Her children come back from school and they are greeting here and getting into the house)

I: Welcome back from school.

**Background information, Household structure and Land ownership**

In our first part today, we will talk about your family and how you live and land. How many people are you that live here Mama?

R: I have 4 children and my husband so we are 6 of us.

I: Don’t you have any other relatives that live with you?

R: No, it is only us.

I: How many boys and girls are they?

R: They are 2 girls and 2 boys.

I: She is your last born?

R: Yes.

I: Are they all still in primary?

R: The first born is in secondary school.

I: They are going on slowly. Are you still going on with more children?

R: No, we have finished. You may fail to take them through school and you can be seeing your income.

I: Or you may get one for the old age.

R: No, I can’t. Let them grow and leave and I stay here with my old man.

I: How old are you Mama?

R: I am 35 years.

I: And you are done giving birth already.

R: Yes, am done.

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I: I see you want to go back into looking good.

R: Yes, I have to look good. I don’t want to stay their giving birth and I start looking like an old woman. You have to give birth and finish at once.

I: What class did you stop in at school?

R: I stopped in primary 7

I: What work do you do that gives you money?

R: I harvest beans, millet and cassava and I sell.

I: What other source of income do you have for example some do work with their hands like weaving mats and baskets.

R: I know them but I don’t do them.

I: How about animals to rare?

R: I have about 7 goats.

I: Okay. How about cows?

R: We have few for getting milk for the children.

I: Don’t you sell to the dairy?

R: Like now when they are at school, I sell the morning milk and then they drink the one in the evening. The morning one they take it and we get school fees for the children.

I: About how many cows do you have?

R: We have like 5 cows and some few calves.

I: I am wondering whether you have one income bag with your husband?

R: We have one bag.

I: For every coin you get?

R: It is true that it is one bag, but sometimes I can sell like 1 banana and buy a knicker so I won’t tell the man that I sold to buy a knicker. But for the biggest part of the money we put it together and we decided on how to use it on what things, like on the secondary school child and we pay for him the school fees. We don’t have separate bags but for the woman I keep a little money for the hair like if I want to go to salon and they charge me 30,000 shillings as a woman I should be able to look for it and pay it myself.

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I: How many years have you spent here in this village?

R: 16 years.

I: Before you came here, where were you coming from?

R: From our home it is not far from here. It is there in Bukiro at the sub county.

I: So I am wondering how you met your husband.

R: (She laughs) we met here but we also went to school together.

I: Do you usually go back home?

R: Yes, I go there.

I: Like what reason make you go back home?

R: I just go there to visit them and check on them.

I: You still have both parents there?

R: Yes.

I: Do you sleep there when you go there?

R: Because it is near, I also sleep there if there is a function.

I: So if it is not a party, you come back here?

R: Yes, I come back home.

I: Who are your parents living with?

R: There are my siblings still.

I: What born are you at home?

R: I am a second born.

I: And how many children are you?

R: We are 6 children.

I: So there are younger children that are still in school?

R: Yes, there are girls in senior 4 and below. They are young, my parents are not yet old.

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I: Okay. For you to go back home, it is after how long?

R: It is after like one month. If my parents don’t call me that they are in pain or something what will I be going to look for. When the month ends, I buy a kilogram of sugar and I go to see them and I come back home.

I: Let us talk about land, do you have land that you own personally?

R: No, we buy the land together with my husband.

I: How about from home, have you received any?

R: They haven’t yet given to me. They say that when the parents are still alive they can’t give you land.

I: So the boys at your home, have they received land yet?

R: For the boys, whoever gets married then they receive their land.

I: So the land you have is here.

R: Yes.

I: With your husband, how many plots of land do you own?

R: They are like three; one this side, the other one there and one up there.

I: How about here where you are?

R: It is just the parent gave my husband to build here but we haven’t built on our land. When he was a young boy, the father gave him here to build before he married but we haven’t yet built a family house for a man and woman. We are just here.

I: So is this his share of inheritance?

R: They didn’t divide for them at all. They just built on the land.

I: Does he still have both parents?

R: No he has his mother only.

I: Se has not yet divided for them too?

R: No, they are 3 men and 2 women but none of them got land they own from their parents.

I: Is there a rule that his father left?

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R: No, there is no pressure. He is the old son, when he was marrying me, he had already bought his banana plantation so we remained using it. Here on the land, they told us to dig on it, we can plant beans and cassava but they didn’t give us the land.

I: So is it the mother who has the responsibility for dividing the land for them?

R: It is like how you see that someone grows old and dies without writing a will, their father never left a will.

I: It is rare to find an old person who hasn’t left a will or a man who married and wasn’t given land.

R: Someone can say that they want land from his parents but what brings about this is when the man doesn’t have another piece of land. Now like my husband has his own plantation and when I came that is where I cut bananas from. Why would I come and ask the old woman for land, I have nothing to do with her plantation? I see that my plantation feeds me and my family and even if we wanted to ask for land from her, if she has small land for example and we ask for land from her then she will suffer. So we haven’t mind about land, we are using our land that we bought.

I: Let us talk about your land. How big is the first one?

R: Up there, I think it is like a half acre.

I: What is on the land?

R: There is coffee.

I: How big is the second one?

R: It is like 3 acres or more of land that has a banana plantation.

I: Have you put beans there?

R: No, I plant beans elsewhere, the banana plantation is just for our business of selling the bananas.

I: And how about the third one?

R: It is also a banana plantation.

I: How big is it?

R: It is like a half acre.

I: You bought all this land with your husband?

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R: Yes.

I: Did you sign on the agreements as one who has bought with him or as a witness?

R: I signed as one who has bought with him.

I: Which one did you find him with?

R: It is there; it is like a quarter acre of a banana plantation.

I: Is it the fourth one.

R: No, it was added to the other one. When he had bought it, we kept buying from the people who were shifting and now it is all together as one piece.

I: Okay. So Mama do you have approved shares on all this land?

R: Yes, I have a share because we bought the land together and I signed on the agreement as a wife who has bought with her husband. Doesn’t this show that you have a share.

I: Mama, I curious to know why you didn’t title your land.

R: The title is not easy; we saw that titling takes a lot of time. For the person in the village about the title, it is easier for them to understand it when a person comes and visits them and they talk about it. No one finds the title easy in this village. When you want to go and get a loan, you go to the bank and show them your banana plantation and they take pictures of it then you get the money, use it and pay it back to the bank so that they don’t take your land.

I: Who else works on your land?

R: It is us who work on it.

I: Do you rent other people?

R: No, we use it by ourselves.

**General land**

I: Okay Mama, let us talk about land in general. In this village, how do people acquire the land they own?

R: They buy it or you find that their parents gave them an inheritance.

I: Mostly do you have the ones who bought or the ones who have received it from their parents?

R: We have the ones who have bought.

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I: Okay, they are more.

R: Yes, you see a parent will give you little land so you have to work and see that you buy more land to add onto what your parent gave you.

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

R: They get it. I have a woman who is my neighbor, she rents out her land and women are planting cassava, beans, millet and groundnuts there.

I: Doesn’t she use the land on her own?

R: She has her own gardens but she rents land out to get money to help her.

I: Can someone use the land but not pay rent?

R: No, can I even give them land.

I: People don’t give others free land here.

R: I may not have big money to give him some and they dig. I dig my own land and plant bananas and coffee.

I: Do you have this system hereof sharing produce as a means to pay rent for land?

R: Yes. I still here.

I: People still dig and give the land owner some of their harvest.

R: Yes, they share some of the produce.

I: How do they determine what to pay. Maybe we have decided that I will give you 50 kilograms and then after harvesting I get that same measure, what do we do?

R: You discuss, you tell the land owner that the produce didn’t yield well and you got those 50 kilograms so he will tell you that you can share this and that is it.

I: Can’t it happen that someone can harvest and refuse to tell the truth about their harvest?

R: This may also happen but the land owner will have seen the crops while they are in the garden. You can see it when the beans are not going to yield and you can see and know that the harvest will be great and if the produce is little then it should be a 100 kilogram sack at least. They share this and the farmer takes more but also the owner of the land gets the agreed share.

I: Okay. If someone wants to sell land that they own, do they first have to consult with anyone in the village or he can sell as he likes?

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R: He has to agree with his family only, if he doesn’t agree with his family then those are the fights in a family.

I: Do they have to consult with anyone else in the village?

R: He only agrees with his family and when they agree then he goes to the chairman to put a stamp on the agreement.

I: Let us say that the land is in the names of the man alone, does he still need to consult with his family?

R: Yes.

I: How about if he bought it and it is on the side but not the one you are living on.

R: We are family so he has to ask us. This is why the fights in the home don’t end. The man will tell the woman that he bought the land in his money therefore she can’t rule him because she found him with his land. So he will even tell her that he wants to marry another woman on that land and then the woman fails to accept this and you will hear that they are killing each other. But if you agree on what you are going to do for example your child is going to university and you decide to sell the land to pay for their tuition. If you don’t agree with the woman, here women kill men and also men kill their wives. The women here run to the authorities to stop the man then the man will know that you are trying to shame him so he decided to also kill you.

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

R: I think it is land to take care of the family and do something for the family that makes it happy.

I: Is there anyone who has control over this land or everyone can do whatever they want?

R: The family head if he is still alive is the one with the control but it also doesn’t mean that he should waste the land, if you have old children that are already 18 years and you are going to sell land, they should also sign there as a family. This stops the child from trying to turn around and say that he didn’t sign yet at the time of selling the land he was already 18 years. He can deny and causes the buyer to leave the land.

I: So when you have a child who is 18 years they should also sign?

R: Yes, he has to sign so that he knows why they are selling that land.

I: Is this a law or?

R: This is good to help your family stay in peace. This helps the child know that daddy has sold the land for this or if it is business then he knows that the parent sold to start a business and get school fees for them. So tomorrow, he can’t turn around and ask how the buyer how he bought it.

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He can deny the buyer saying that he was around and he had made 18 years but he didn’t sign so how come they bought the land. These also happens when the man and woman do not agree therefore the woman keeps telling the child to do these things against the father or if the father is no longer living, she will tell the child that the father sold the land to get other woman or he just ate the money so she tells him to go and report and get back the land.

I: Okay. Have you rented land?

R: I have rented.

I: Hoe much land have you rented?

R: It is a quarter acre of land where I have put millet.

I: How about the beans, where have you planted them?

R: They are in my land.

I: have you sold land before?

R: No, from the time I got married, we have never sold land.

I: Let us say that you have land that you own, what would having ownership over this land mean to you?

R: I know that I am the wife in the home and I have authority on the land here. He can’t sell without asking me.

I: Apart from the agreement, which other things can show that you have proof of ownership on land?

R: It is the way you have been using the land, I plant beans here even though I may have found that he bought it but I cultivate on it now. You can’t come from there and take the land I am cultivating on even though I didn’t sign on it when they bought it.

I: Is there anything else that shows proof ownership?

R: No I don’t see any other thing.

I: In you view, what good things are there in having a woman’s names listed on these land documents like the agreement?

R: The good things are there.

I: Tell me about them.

R: Incase I die and I have left 4 children like the ones I have, even though the man remains and

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brings another woman there, he can’t give her on my land. The children will say that this land was for me and my husband therefore I signed there meaning the land is for the children I left. They will tell their father that he should look for another land where he will put the other woman. When thy go to report and they tell my husband to take the agreements of the land we bought; the agreements say that Natukunda and Willice (her and the husband’s name) bought a banana plantation. Now if you are Joan, how will you go into Natukunda’s land. No, you can’t go there. So you see that this helps.

I: In your view, what other good things are there having women’s names listed on these documents?

R: It also helps you that someone can’t come and use the land like that. If it is the man, he knows that he can’t sell the land without telling you because he knows that that will bring a misunderstanding between the two of you. So it is good to find that the woman has proof of ownership over something.

I: Do you think that some problems would arise from having a woman’s name on these land documents?

R: No, they can’t come when I know that the land is mine.

I: You had told me that you haven’t inherited land, do you hope to inherit land in the future?

R: Yes.

I: From where Mama?

R: From my father because parents five land these days. I hear him say that even when he dies, there is some land that he will leave for his daughters. So I know that since am a girl I will get something.

I: What if he changes his mind?

R: He can’t change his mind unless I annoy hm. Now like me, I am already married. I buy soap and sugar and I take for him, will he choose not to give me from all. I didn’t even go to school and may be wasted his school fees and didn’t study. I got married, my husband paid him dowry and all the other things that were needed. Truly will he refuse to give me land. The problem is when they never paid your dowry, your father will say that he can give you land which you will take to your husband who didn’t give him dowry for you. I know that my husband made him happy and did for him what parents are supposed to get.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. In this village, is there a way people are fearful of losing their land?

R: Yes, there are women.

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I: Whom are they fearful of taking their land?

R: You find the man buying land in hiding and making agreements which the woman has not signed on. You know that at all times, someone can sell their land the way they want to because men sell land and tell their wives how they are going to buy other land from Kyaaka. He will leave you ion the house after selling this land yet you have children there, he has lied to you that he has gone to Kyaaka (another district in western Uganda that has fertile land) to buy bigger land. After leaving you there he disappears, then the land owner who bought now comes to chase you from the land because you sign for your husband that both of you had sold land. The man will go and never come back and you find the children suffering here in the village.

I: This is very sad.

R: These women are here and they have no land. They have children but with no husbands.

I: Some men even don’t ask the women to sign, they just tell her that they are going to buy land. Mostly because when he bought the land, you as the wife didn’t sign so he will go to the bar and sells the land to Willice then he buys more land elsewhere. When you are there, he tells you that he bought land, you ask him where he bought land and he tells you that he bought it there, you ask him and he tells you that you didn’t put money on the land so he has the right to use his land the way he wants to. Again you are there, he comes and tells you that he sold the land you are on so don’t go back to cut bananas from the plantation. You go to court to report him and they ask you if you have the agreement where you sign with your husband when buying that land, it is not there and so you are not counted anywhere. You find the woman suffering with the children.

I: The man leaves the children with there and goes away?

R: He goes away to look for beautiful women because he no longer wants you.

I: How are these women trying to prevent such scenarios of losing land like this?

R: They go to the chairman LC 1 and he advises her, then the chairman also talks to the man and asks him why he does such things when his family is not happy. But now in the villages, when the woman goes to the chairman LC 1 or LC 3 that means you are becoming stubborn over the land that you didn’t buy with him so he will ask you how you even went there. They are chasing women here with pangas like one woman who normally comes to sleep here. Her husband always sells land and this land is his inheritance from his father. When they gave this land to them and he started selling he told her that it is his land so she should also go and get her land from her father which she can control. He gets out a panga and chases her away, we be here sleeping in the night and she comes here crying so she sleeps here. When she goes to the chairman LC 3, he tells her that she didn’t surely buy land with the husband so it will be hard because she doesn’t have a hand on the agreement that means it is his land that the father gave him. It is good that when the parent is giving this land to the man, he writes and says that I have given my son a wife and I have given them both this land. Otherwise things are not easy in the village.

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I: They have really suffered.

R: Yes, they have.

I: If you were able to get more land, what way would you acquire it through?

R: This one needs you to be a woman who has her money and works in her own business. I have my in-law, wife to my brother in-law, she works in Mbarara. She works in the bank so she buys land which her husband doesn’t know about. When the man comes to know about it that is when she has wrangles on land and has gone to report in the court. Her friend told her husband one day that she heard the wife’s land was disturbing her and that is how the man came to know about this. She has cows, banana plantations, she has farms.

I: So who is he buying all these things for?

R: She says that they are her things. She knows who she will give them to, whether it is her children, no one knows.

I: So are they stable in their marriage?

R: They first had misunderstandings. It was chaos, and they were about to separate and the woman told the man that he can go because she has her things, she works for a salary and buys them. Now me here can I plant beans and buy land.

I: Why Mama, you can harvest and keep adding on the money.

R: No, I can buy a goat but I can’t buy land.

I: Does this woman stays with her husband or they live separately?

R: They are all in Mbarara, the man allowed and moved on. He buys his own land and the woman also buys her own land.

I: You never know you can plant a good season of beans and the next one also yields.

R: No, I know I plant season but after harvesting, he takes the produce because he us a trader. We will be there and one of the children needs money like 500,000 shilling so he sells my beans and we get like 200,000 then he adds 300,000 shillings from his money and we pay for the child. So this is how we agree, I can’t tell him that I want the money to go and buy land there.

I: Okay. Which one is your family land?

R: It is the one we bought for ourselves me and my husband. That is the land we count as family land.

I: Mama, who makes the decision on land that you should plant this in the season and put it there?

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R: We sit and discuss about it.

I: Is there one of you who has an upper hand in deciding than the other?

R: No, we sit and decide to put there beans or that our coffee is ready so let us go and harvest it. We are the ones who have the control and decisions on what we use and do on our land.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks Mama, so we are going to talk about titles and we want to get your thoughts in the way you understand them. To you, what does a title mean?

R: I understand that if you have a title and you have money problems you can take it as leverage to the bank and you get money and you see the bank money is paid after a long time so you can pay it slowly for a long while. The ones I know get the money and pay it back like in 25 years and he gets like 30 million so he works and pays back slowly, for these years surely you can pay back the money. It saves you the whole process of loan people coming here to take pictures of your land. The title helps you do your things in quiet and people wonder how you do your things and they fail to figure it out yet for you here you just took your title there. Because you don’t want them to take your title, you get the money and pay back. This is how I see the title being good in the family.

I: What uses does it have?

R: That is how I heard about it that you can take the title and leverage it in the bank and get money that you can pay or 25 years. You can get money that can help you take your child to university and they study and finish because of that title.

I: Mama, I would love to know whether you refused form the first time or dropped out later.

R: We refused at the last time.

I: Why did you refuse then?

R: They came and we talked well and all the questions they asked us we accepted. So they asked us to take them around the land. We made them tour some family land that I am using which is still for the family and it hasn’t yet been divided and we also took them around our banana plantations. When they came to give us a title, they chose the land which is for the family and now the title we wanted was for out banana plantation. When they came to tell us about the title, we found out that land chosen was for the family and there would be a fight over it. The family would say that we want to steal it because the person with the title is the rightful owner of the land. We saw that we were going to bring a fight of land in the family so we told them that we won’t allow the title for this land and we refused and left like that. I don’t know how they do it that side but our plantation was even bigger than that land but it is the one they chose.

I: How big was it?

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R: It was 1 acre and a half but that is the one they picked. At the end we refused. They begged us but we said no because this family land was not yet divided.

I: I understand. That was not easy.

R: We saw that we were going to disturb the family so we left it. They planted for other people stones.

I: Do you think that there is a difference between a title and other proof of ownership like the agreement?

R: I thought that they do the same thing, that they both show that you are the owner of the land.

I: They do the same thing.

R: Yes, because on the title it is the man and the woman, they can’t give that man the title and he goes there alone without seeing me and then he signs without me. The title people can’t give him that title which makes it like the agreement. They both do the same thing.

I: In this journey of getting title, is there anything that you have liked and anything you didn’t like then you let us know about it.

R: I have found no concern but I loved it because it keeps your land in case we are not around our children will be having the title for their land.

I: In your view, do you think that women prefer being on titles with their husband?

R: Yes, it is good because men change their minds in hiding over us. A man can see you that you are now old and you are not beautiful and he no longer sees sense in you. He sees that there are other beautiful women out there than you so he can no longer take you with him to parties. The both of you leave at different times to go to a party so that they don’t know that you are his wife and shame him by the way you look. When you are on the title together, it is your land whether you look bad as a woman or you are beautiful, on the title she will be his wife.

I: I thought he is the one supposed to give you money to look after yourself and look beautiful.

R: You think men mind about you, you have to look after yourself. He will give the money to other women there.

I: But she will also one day be like you.

R: You think men want to know that she will also be like you yet when he puts money in your beauty you can even be more beautiful than the women he sees out there. When men are tired of you they will say that you are ugly and have bad manners and then this is how you will fight in the home. When you tell him that there is no school fees, he will even beat you.

I: Do you think that there are women who don’t want to be on titles with their husbands?

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R: There are not there at all.

I: What advantages do you think are there in having both the man and woman listed together on the title?

R: They are your things no matter what. Thy actually also out children because they ask you which child will be your heir. They ask both the man and the woman; in all your children even though they are young, they ask you who you will put to be your heir when you are not there. They add this child on your title.

I: As a parent which child do you pick?

R: This is when they know who has the wife put and who has the husband put. As parents you should agree together on your children and know that whether it is the first or last born this is the child who will be the heir. Sometimes they can ask you and you tell them that you see the children are still young but they ask you to pick one. You find the man saying his and the woman too. So this is when I ask myself, who will the put one of the two. Us the women we love girls so we will put there a girl while the men love boys so he will put there a boy.

I: Let us suppose that you get such a title in a marriage, does it change anything?

R: No, it can’t change it but what I have seen about this title; there is an old man who had a wife and she passed on, so when they came they found the new wife he had married. They asked him questions and he walked them around their land and the one he had bought with the new wife. He later on also took them around the land of the older wife who passed on it and that is where they put the title too and the stones so when the daughters heard about this they started a fight saying that it was their mother’s land. They are fighting now and I think they will even remove that the title. I think if it is a man, wife and the children then there are no issues.

I: Supposing the marriage is not well and they have issues, if they get this tile will it help them settle their marriage?

R: It will even make it harder for them because now the woman will become tougher saying that the title is for the family land so whether the man goes where or they have the hardest of life that title will keep the land.

I: In your view, do you think that the title makes marriages better or it brings about more conflict marriage?

R: It makes marriage better.

I: In what way Mama?

R: The man can’t waste that land and sell it.

I: Supposing the man has been hard in the marriage maybe he drinks or does things alone,

00:47:25

do you think that having the title now will make him be better or change his ways?

R: I think it doesn’t do much, I see no change in the one who have them.

I: How about for the woman, does this mean commitment in her marriage?

R: Yes, it gives the women commitment in her marriage.

I: What makes men refuse to add their wives on titles?

R: They be tired of each other because when you are done with the man he will say that he can’t put you on the title. You can find a man has a wife and she hasn’t yet given birth to a child for them so he refuses to add her on the title before he sees anything because he thinks she will steal her land. How can she come and then he puts her on the title without her first giving birth to children or she maybe barren and he wants to marry another woman who will give birth to his children.

I: Supposing they have been together and they even have children but he still refuses to add her on the title, what reason do you think this man has?

R: That man just doesn’t love you.

I: Do you think that there are issues that come from women that make the man not put her on her title?

R: You can find the woman is unfaithful or she drinks alcohol. This is the family that has problems, they are always fighting and quarreling. So after fighting can you come and tell the man to add that woman on the title and he accepts. He can’t allow her to sign he will instead tell you to leave your title than him adding this woman on the title for her to take his land because he knows that is what she will do.

I: Before you encountered the people who were talking to you about titles, are there people who had titles in this village?

R: No.

I: Where do you think people pass to get titles?

R: We have understood these titles when you people came. We would hear about it just like that without understanding it. Even the rich people we would count here that they are educated, they didn’t have titles. They have just understood them now.

I: In your view, where do you think that titles come from?

R: Do I know where they come from, I don’t know there. I would just hear them but I can’t tell where they come from.

00:50:59

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

R: People think that when they get these titles, they will give tax for it. They say that in the years to come, whoever has a title will pay about 50,000 for the title. You find that the person they gave the title can’t handle that money because they are not even able to look after their family. There are people her who refused the titles, at the end. Some would say that when they ask them for a tax of 30,000 yet thy are sleeping hungry then where will they get it from which may lead them being arrested. So they refused.

I: Where did they hear it from that they will pay a tax for the title?

R: For them in their life, they would hear others say in conversations that in the times to come, the titles will be paid for taxes. Now you tell an everyday person about paying a tax yet they have no food. They feared them and refused them.

**Intra household discussion and Bargaining.**

I: Thanks for telling me about that. In this part Mama we would like to know if you had any conversations with your husband about the title. After them visiting you for the first time, what did you talk about?

R: We allowed and we were happy and saw there was no issue in anything they told us.

I: Is there anyone who was fearful between the two of you?

R: It is me who asked first that how come these people went there and wrote our names, how did they get them. Wont we pay money for them tomorrow but he said that even though we pay taxes for it, the title is helpful. He said that the title is good because you can get good money from the bank which doesn’t have to rush you in payment and then they just come and arrest you. He said that unless there is another hidden motives about these titles but otherwise it was good. We had also never seen anyone using the title so that we see how good it has been to them or how bad it has done to them so we went ahead and allowed.

I: Did they tell you that you would be on it with your husband from the start?

R: Yes, they told that we should be on it together.

I: Okay. You said that you have lived with your husband for about 16 years, how have they gone for you?

R: They have been well because he hasn’t beaten me yet. True quarreling can’t fail to be there but I haven’t seen any big issue in the family. You can even be at home then your father and mother quarrel but nothing more than this.

I: Have you ever separated?

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R: If he has not beaten me, what will I go home looking for. If someone doesn’t beat you but may be abuses you and yet you have been in wrong and also you as an old woman you see this that you are wrong. For example, you go to a wedding and then you come back at midnight and when he comes back and abuses you don’t you see that you are the one in wrong.

I: Many women are not in their homes any more, what has kept you going on?

R: It is working as one with my husband. I don’t sell the bananas from the plantation when my husband doesn’t know or plant beans harvest and take them out in hiding where the man doesn’t know. And then he hears that I sold beans where doesn’t know.

I: In what ways do you see your husband support you in the things that you do?

R: I see that we work together, when I want a dress like this one he buys it for me and brings it for me. I stay here with the workers and we work and he pays them, when I sell bananas in the plantation I give him the money and I don’t eat even any of it so I see that in all the things that we do we work as one and agree together.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages out there?

R: I see out there the women are chased from their homes so I see that they have problems. Like now that it has been a hunger time, the man doesn’t even bring maize flour and puts it there yet the woman doesn’t have even a banana to feed the children. There is a man who doesn’t know soap or salt or buying clothes for the children or he doesn’t pay school fees for the children. Don’t you see that there are problems in this home.

I: How do you encourage your husband in the things that he does?

R: I support him too. We work together. I cook for him breakfast before he goes, when he comes back he finds the food ready so he eats and sleeps.

R: How do you compare this to other marriages out there?

R: Women don’t do the same out there.

I: Why do you think that women don’t do the same out there in encouraging their husbands?

R: It depends on the way he takes care of her. That is what I was saying, he doesn’t buy maize flour or soap or salt for the home. You haven’t bought the uniform for the children do you think that the woman will do things with love for the man. When she cooks food and he comes back drunk he throws the food so everyone goes away. Families are hard out there.

I: Who makes the most important decisions in your family?

R: It is the man.

I: Is there a way you can advise him or you go with what he has decided on?

00:58:36

I: He can bring something that won’t work then I show him what my way is and then we sit on the table and decide and agree with each other.

I: Is he the one that decides at the end?

R: He can decide whether he goes with mine and if he refuses it then that means that he has not worked. You may bring your reason and he refuses it and he beings his then you see that it is right so you go with it.

I: What is the latest major decision you have made here Mama which you remember?

R: The decision we made in the recent days is to get a loan because we wanted to invest in the season. We sat and asked ourselves what we are going to do this season and yet we have a loan already from the bank so we said why don’t we get another loan from the bank and pay up the other one then the remaining balance we use it for trading in the produce so that by the time children go back to school next year in February we will be having money.

I: What does he do in the centre?

R: He sells dry beans from there and other dry crops.

I: So you got the loan and paid the other loan?

R: We haven’t yet got it, we decided that we shall get it in December because the season has not yet come in to harvest time so when you get the money now you may use it for other things. So we said that we shall get it in December and top up.

I: Do you think that this is similar in other families?

R: No, it is not.

I: In your view, what reasons make married people fail to agree and decide together?

R: Like now there is a man who sold part of the farm to go and buying a millet milling machine. He bought this land with his wife but he married another woman on the side so when he went to sell that land to buy the machine he didn’t tell the older wife, because he is at the bride’s home he told her and refused to tell the older wife. Now they are I court, the man says that he wants to sell is farm the older wife is saying that she bought it with him. So you find that these problems don’t end, the new bride wants to sell and they get money and eat it and the man of course will sell to please his new wife.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Okay Mama, thank you for telling me about that. Let us get into our next part where we have seen that land is for the men more than it is for the women. There are aspects we want to understand about this, we have no truth about it but we want to get your thoughts on this.

1:02:04

In this village, are there women who own land by themselves?

R: Yes

I: How do they acquire it?

R: You find that both the man and woman have their independent income bags. The woman will sell beans and put in her bag and the man will cut a banana and sell it them put the money in his bag too. I see my friends buying their land alone.

I: When she buys it, does the man know about it or she keeps in secret?

R: He can know about it because if they don’t keep the money together then the woman can get like 3 100 kilogram sacks from her gardens in a season and sells them and adds more money and she buys her land. There is a time I sold my 3 sacks of beans and I got my 1 million shillings. If we didn’t sit and plan for this money that we should invest it in buying harvests from people then we sell and get school fees for the children, I would go and buy land from someone if we have independent income bags. When everyone has their own bag, it is their money but there are some couples who agree that everyone keeps their own money.

I: How do these couples who agree to have separate bags handle their children?

R: This is when the man will pay school fess for the children until he gets tires because you know our money as women is hard, she can’t get 20,000 shillings to pay for a child in school she will tell the man to take care of his children because she didn’t come in the marriage with children.

I: And tomorrow when they study and become important people then she will show up.

R: Yes, she will want to be the most respected person.

I: Are their women who own land differently apart from buying?

R: There are those who have inherited land.

I: When she has this inherited land, does the man know that the wife was given land?

R: Yes, because you see when they give you an inheritance you have to tell the man.

I: Why?

R: When you are leaving the funeral of burying your father or parent in Banyankore; when your father has died and you are leaving the home after the burial, the man who married you is the one supposed to come and pick you up from home because if you re both Banyankore there are things your man is supposed to bring and leave there before he can pick you up.

I: From home.

1:04:46

R: He can buy like a box of soap or buy a crate of soda for the ones who don’t drink alcohol. In Banyankore thy ask for alcohol but it is no longer like of old where they wanted the locally made one. These days a crate of soda is equal to the alcohol. Your brothers also can’t allow you to go home without your husband bringing these things. The man brings the soda and they drink it. If you are like 10 girls in that home, that day people will have a party drinking soda and eating when their husbands are picking them up. Even if your husband is poor he can go to the centre in the shops and borrow the soda and brings it. When he is going to pick you he knows that he has to bring it. After bringing it, don’t you think they will tell him what your father said maybe that he made a will saying that the farm he left it for his girls and that if they ever want to sell it they need to sit together and agree to sell then they get their money and every one of them takes an equal share. And they go with it back in their marriage. Or if there is one of them who digs nearby they tell her to stay cultivating on the land. Your husband will know but even though he knows about it, he has no authority over it.

I: In your view do you think that it should be allowed for women to own land?

R: Yes, you should own your land as a woman and when you have problems you sell it and it helps you. Men also leave us there so you can sell it and make a business and take care of my children even though the man has gone. If I had gone to school and I have my job, I buy my own land and he can’t rule me but I didn’t get that chance.

I: Supposing it was now that you are married, you would still buy the land?

R: Yes, I would.

I: Would you tell him that you are going to buy your land or you would keep quiet?

R: If we are like how we are now, I would tell him that I have my money and the other person is selling land so I am going to buy it and rent it to others.

I: When you rent the land out, who does it help?

R: When we agree together that means I can also pay school fees they can’t chase the child yet I have 100.000 shillings on the house, I have to pay it but also when I want a good dress then I am able to buy it for myself. I will not beg him for the money to buy the dress and if he also wants a good shirt then he should also go and work for it.

I: Okay. Mama do you think that women want to own land alone or they want to own it with their husbands?

R: They love to have it together because e the way I see even our mothers loved it to have land with their husbands because there is love in between the two of you. Like the wife to my brother in law there is some land but that is not how it should be. He was telling us that he was there and someone told him how his wife is in court because of her land and it didn’t go well with him. He said that the woman has been showing him how she loves him but he said he doubts that because if she loved him then she would have told him about it. When the man asked her why she bought

1:09:06

land without telling him she replied him that the money was hers and not his. He asked him if he is the one who educated her therefore he is not the one and the money is hers.

I: Maybe she would have told him about it and he signs like a witness not even a buyer.

R: She didn’t do this, she went and paid for the land like a young girl who is not married. The person she bought from also started disturbing her telling her how the land was not his so she bought no land. They went to court but she has farms and banana plantations there at her home.

I: Supposing she dies today, who will own all these things?

R: She told him that she will give it to whoever she wants maybe her child. But you see such people when they are buying, they can say that this child in my children should be the one to take the land.

I: What if it happens and she goes first because some women think that men die before them but things can change.

R: That is what you see that all the things she bought there will go to her relatives and her children will get none of these things.

I: Maybe she doesn’t love the man?

R: No, she loves her because they have given birth to children.

I: But when he buys his land then she wants to be added on there.

R: This is when the man said that also him he is no longer going to add her name to sign on the land he buys. They have 3 children 2 girls and 1 boy. When she gave birth to the boy because he is the last born, she went and blocked her fallopian tubes. When she was in the hospital, they ask you to bring your husband to sign for you she told them that her husband works from far so she brought her sister to sign for her. They told her that it is okay as long they have agreed with the husband. The man didn’t know about this decision, when he was there a friend to the wife came and they were talking and she had one child so she told him that she is also going to go and block her fallopian tubes not to give birth again like his wife. The man asked and she told him that don’t you know that when your wife gave birth to the last born boy she blocked her tubes so that she shouldn’t give birth again. The man was shocked and this is when someone can lie to you that they love you but they don’t. The man has his money and he still wants to give birth. Now don’t you see that marriages are hard.

I: We had talked about family land, to find that the man owns land the woman also owns land, is this related in any way to family land?

R: When either of them gets a problem and wants to sell their land they can sell it because it is theirs so they can use it as they want. Like the woman can buy a banana plantation,

1:13:31

And she cuts her bananas to sell but in case she gets a problem that maybe her sister has died she can sell the land to someone and goes to bury her sister. The man has no authority on the land, and now that she has failed to get the money she can sell it because it is hers.

I: On this family land, do you think that women have shares on it?

R: Yes, even if you go to the lawyer, they have been on radio always explaining to us that if a woman you have a husband and he wedded you and you give birth to children then you have a share on the land. Whether you separate or go where or the man reports up to the president the woman will always have a share on the land.

I: How about for the woman who doesn’t have a ring but she has been married and given birth to children?

R: She will be seen because of the children. Was she working at that man’s home, if she has spent 20 years then she is entitled to be paid then that means the man will cut on the land and give her. Don’t you think with this land she can sell it then go but land for herself elsewhere.

I: Let us say that the man wants to sell the family land, does he have to get permission from the wife?

R: Yes.

I: What if the land was like his inheritance or he bought it in his names alone?

R: He should still ask me but there are stubborn men who will tell you that they didn’t buy the land with you so they will sell it the way they want and now when you don’t agree these are the endless fights in a marriage.

I: In general, are widows allowed to remain on land after their husband’s death?

R: Yes, if I have lost my husband I am allowed to remain on my land.

I: Supposing the man didn’t leave a will and the land is still in his name or the title is in his names alone, does she remain there?

R: Why would she leave if there is no one complaining, she can remain in her house. If my husband has died will you come here complaining that I leave the house yet it is mine. Unless there are some problems like when a man leaves writing saying that he doesn’t want you on his land that you should go. That is why you see many separated women who didn’t come back when their husband dies then the children bring them back on the land and they out her on that land. But if he writes that he doesn’t want you on his land, you will leave. Sometimes some women may have tried to poison their husband and they get to know, he can’t allow to leave you on his land no that he is gone.

I: When the widow also dies, whose land will it be?

1:17:17

R: It will be for the children.

I: supposing hey are this age of your daughter?

R: They will have left an heir to help take care of the children and if I fired their father will have his brothers who can keep the children and the land. You see these days we have sickness that kill you by the day and if you don’t die in an accident you can start making your will saying that should you die then so and so can take care of your children and the land and they should divide that land when they all make 18 years. There is my in-law whose husband died, and the children were young. He wrote a will saying that all his children should not receive land unless the last born makes 18 years. Whether you are the first born he said that you have to wait for the last born to make 18 years then they can divide the land because he knows that if they divide early cutting off for very child the last born will suffer finding no land. And that child will not enjoy the things of his father, they will keep stealing the land. But by the time this child makes 18 years, the older child will be in 20’s so they can divide and take equal share because and an 18 year born has wisdom to see if they want to steal their land. If it is not death by an accident, every parent should make a will early just in case.

I: If this happens and they die in an accident?

R: This is when it is good to have a title and no one can steal the land for the children.

I: Is there any difference on what type of land the widow stays on?

R: Yes.

I: Let us say that it is land they bought together or inherited land for the husband or because they have children, is there a difference eon how she can stay because of these?

R: She can stay on the land all through. Even if she has no children, she was taking care of her husband. We have an old woman there, her husband married her when she was old too. The man had things and divided for his children. He married her when she was old but of course he had someone to talk to and eat with. When he died, he left her with land, the woman said that she had no child there so she asked them for her share of the cows and she looked through sibling and relatives who would bury her. She later on sold her land and went to find a relative to stay with who would bury her and they bought for her land that side. The old man gave her big land for taking care of him and cooking for him even though they had no children together. The children of the man allowed and thanked her for taking care of their father, they allowed her to sell and go.

I: Do widows get married again?

R: If you are a widow and they have left you with things and land, if you are to get married again you can’t bring the man here. The family will not be happy and the people too. You can’t marry another man from there, they can’t allow you.

1:21:08

Because if you want to get married again then go with your husband who has married you but you can’t live there with him.

I: Don’t you have any widows here who have brought the men here?

R: No, the men take them away. She can’t stay there; the husband’s brothers can even beat her up. Unless if it her land that she got from her father, no one will rule her she can marry the man she likes on that land.

I: When she is going to the new man, can she go with the children or she has to leave them behind?

R: She leaves them behind. Which man will allow the woman to come with children so that you make him fail to enjoy the happiness. If he is to buy meat he buys 3 kilograms because of your children, no he can’t allow them.

I: Why do you think that these women get married again?

R: They be young.

I: How many years do give the young one?

R: They be in the 30’s and you find that they are young. I have my sister in law here and her husband died when the children were young, they were just learning to walk in and they were 3 or 4 years. She was young and some women get married after education at 30 years. So she got another man to help her and she left. But if she is old then she can’t get married again, she will stay with her children or her grandchildren and that is it.

I: So the widow who doesn’t get married again is the one who is old?

R: Yes.

I: Has it happened in your village where by the widow has lost her husband then the male relatives come and try to grab land from her?

R: They are there.

I: How did it go and end?

R: They went to court to argue the case. Most of the times the women are the ones that win the case.

I: But now they take her land so that she goes where.

R: They look at you and see that the man left you with much land so now you are going to enjoy their brother’s things. There is a man who had his things, a wife and children, he had his brother who also had some money. Their brother started looking at the woman as if she had no brains.

1:24:52

He wanted them to go and get a loan and use the woman’s title and he signs for the money but the woman refused and said that her husband died so he should leave her and the land for her children. They went to court and the man was found guilty, they told him that the woman has children at the university and now he wants to eat their land. The man then tried defending himself saying that the woman will eat the land and not take care of the land well and the younger children might not find anything. The woman also told him that she is their mother therefore she can’t eat their land and even if she did the older children can see and tell her that she is doing something wrong.

I: But is there anyone that can love a child more than the mother?

R: They were there seeing her as ignorant because the man is no longer there. When they see that the man is there doing everything in the home they think that she is stupid and she doesn’t even know what the titles is about. So they sent this brother to go and trick the woman into giving them the title. Now us as women you have to get your friends that you trust and you can talk to them to get advice or if a man wants to sell the land.

I: The way widows were treated in the past has it changed I the recent years?

R: In the past widows would suffer but these days, she even has a title with her husband and she can go to the LC 1 chairman and argue their cases and the chairman tells the other person that this is her land with the husband children therefore no on can take it from her.

I: And how were the widows treated in the past?

R: They would remarry you by force when you were young and if you refuse then they would chase you to go away.

I: Didn’t they have chairmen to report to those days?

R: They didn’t have the wisdom to go and report them.

I: These days they are wise?

R: No one can steal from you.

I: What is your opinion on all these things that happen to the women who have lost their husbands?

R: I don’t know because I am not yet a widow I don’t know the problems they have. But I see that if thy leave you with your land and things, you should keep there and look after those things. These days I see the homes with widows are very developmental and they have built nice houses.

I: Why didn’t they have the good houses those days?

R: The problem was the man before, you can be knowing that you have got 1 million from your

1:28:38

Season and then you see that you should have a good house. There was a man there, the children told him that they wanted to build a good house for him but he refused and said that he doesn’t want a good house. But after he died, they have developed a lot, they have good farms and nice houses.

I: So why would he refuse the house?

R: He was there that he wanted to plan for the money and he would spend it on other women. He would also refuse the house because people will say that the woman is more powerful than the man which is did respect to him. I see when the men dies, the children are going to school and the women are better. He can even refuse the child to go and study medicine at the university because he doesn’t want and now when the family head refuses so the women also can’t. But when she is alone as the woman then she can decide on her own.

I: How are widows treated in this village?

R: We treat them well.

I: What happens to women on land when they separate or divorce with their husbands?

R: When she separates with husband they share the land because they worked for the land together so they should cut them in two.

I: What if the cause of separation is for the woman?

R: Whether it is for the man or for the man, when they go to court and report even if the problem is for the women she will go but say that she wants the land to take care of her because she wasn’t working as a house girl there in the man. They share the land here and when they separate the wife will tell you that you will half to share the land.

I: Do you have it here that the man will leave the wife in the house and he goes away?

R: They are there the ones that have two families. We have an old man here whenever the older wife makes him sad then he goes to the younger wife. This younger wife will later go and plead with her husband and bring him back in the house.

I: Is it a law here for the man and woman to share the land?

R: Even in the court it is like that. Whether you are with a ring or not, they will share the land.

I: The way these women are treated is it acceptable or you want to see something change about it?

R: I want them to change. When a man doesn’t know his family and care for it I want the man to care for his family and sit in there. Now the woman sometimes has young children and then they are chasing her around and her children start stealing people’s bananas. This is not good.

1:33:22

Even as a neighbor this thing can’t make me happy.

I: What would you like to see change?

R: I want to see agreement between the two of them.

I: What if they can’t stay together anymore, who will stay with the children?

R: We can go to the court and we decide how many children each will take. I can go with two and he also goes with two. As a woman you can see that the man will not handle the children so you can go with the children and find a way to care for them.

I: Why do you think some men refuse to put women on the titles or why they may allow to put them there?

R: It is agreement because when you don’t agree then there is nothing. If you have no agreement with someone you can’t sign on their agreement.

I: Supposing the man doesn’t put the woman on the title, are there problems that can arise from this?

R: For the loan, the man can get a woman on the road side there who will sign for him on the forms after she signs for him he gets the money and later the money becomes hard for him to pay back. He may have used that money to start for another woman a business out there so he knows the wife can’t sign here for this reason. The man disappears and the loan people come to get their money and find that she never signed anywhere on the forms, she will tell them to go and look for the one who signed on the forms. They find that am Natukunda Agnes and they ask me to write my name then they find that the name writing is not the same like the one on the forms they have.

I: When a woman is able to own land with the husband, does this decrease conflict in a home?

R: It can’t finish them.

I: Can it increase the conflict?

R: No, it can’t decrease or increase the conflict because when you have finished paying for this land and it is now yours. If tomorrow the man gets another woman and they start fighting with the other wife, you think the land will help them resolve this, it can’t get finished unless they separate. Because I signed on the land and had love doesn’t help when I find my man with another woman. The disagreement will start from here and the war will come out. The woman can go to court and say that she doesn’t want the man anymore and they should share for her and she goes away.

**Land disputes**

31:37:55

I: Let us get into our last part of the conversation. What is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: Selling the land. Do you know how you can be there and you hear that they are selling your banana plantation, can you be happy. Imagine you have a cow in the farm and they tell you that someone is taking it you will get worried but if your husband tells you well that the other loan he got he failed to pay it so he thinks you should sell the cow and pay back the loan to Ebo Sacco then you can allow because.

I: So in this village the most common cause of dispute is selling land.

R: Yes. If I go to the plantation and get my banana and you don’t stop me and we pick that coffee and put it here and plan for it where will the dispute come from. We are always in the court reconciling people with these cases. I am always with the chairman in land disputes. I am the chairperson for women here in this village. We have a couple of an old man and his old wide their case has failed us. They have fought because of land until now.

I: What is there problem?

R: The man also has two wives, the man comes to the older wife and picks coffee then the wife knows that he is going to sell it and buy for the younger wife salt so she tells him to sit there at her home and they eat the money he has got from coffee until it is done and after the money is done then she tells him to go to the younger wife to also get money and eat from there. Land is hard here.

I: What happens when these disputes happen?

R: These disputes are hard to resolve, they sat as a family and failed, the village people came and still we called all the leaders from the councilors until the district and the came but the land issue failed. Land for a man who has two wives is hard to reconcile. The man can lie to the woman that even though she doesn’t sign on the land it is okay yet he has an intention of selling land tomorrow.

I: Let us say that one side of the people in a dispute has a title, can this help to resolve the dispute?

R: If these people had a title for the land, it would be good.

I: How Mama?

R: The land would be identified that it is for the man and this wife so the children of the other wife have nowhere to come in from. The title has their heir too so this avoids all this fighting they have.

I: What do you advise to be done to help these people who have land security issue?

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R: They should give them titles and also teach us what process we can go through to get titles and tell us where they come from. You may find that we hear a title but yet the process is very easy so those who want the title can access them.

I: I think you will have to consult your leaders in government and find out that the process is at LC 1 or LC 3 at the sub county.

R: But if they don’t teach it to you then you can’t get it. The people up there should teach the Councilors and chairman LC3 what the title is about and for whoever wants that title they can pass through these ways and go through these processes so that they can find out where to get the titles from. But now if you don’t know where to pass to get the title whether you pass from the LC 1 or at the president’s office we don’t know we just hear on radio and we don’t even understand. But when we get people like you who come to visit us and you explain to us the process we will go through to get our titles for the 3 or 5 plots of land we have then that can help.

I: What will the people who can’t afford titles do?

R: They will jest remain like that and see your things die like that.

I: Thanks for talking to me, my last question is where do you think that we come from?

R: I wanted to also ask you.

I: What comes to mind?

R: I think that you work with the people of titles but I want to know where your offices are. Is it in Kampala, Mbarara or Fortportal, where is it?

I: I work with Ignosi research partnering with the world bank.

R: But Ignosi research must be having offices for what you do.

I: But us Mama we don’t give titles but we have come here to visit the people who were given titles and considered for titling to see how they have been.

R: So how were the people chosen who got the titles?

I: They randomly selected people meaning they don’t know them that this one lives here or had this much land so they chose people by randomly picking them out.

R: Yes, I saw people with small land getting titles and we would ask ourselves how such a person got the title. So ow, what is the end of these titles, will they make us pay for them or you also don’t know.

I: Who ever received the title got it for free, no one is coming to take other peoples land.

R: So if this program happens and the people that allowed got the titles, why do they come back

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to check on the ones that refused?

I: We came back to just visit you and see how things have been and to understand more why you let this chance sown.

R: Okay, this is the reason you came back to see us who refused and we tell you our reason for refusing.

I: This is why we make to see everyone because all of the people have different stories.

R: We had thought that maybe they want to make us pay for the titles but now I know.

I: Here is your gift to thank you for your time that you have given me.

R: Thank you, last time we also got soap.

1:47:48