**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 15/10/2019

Name of respondent: Rossette

H.H I. D: 4340181

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 2:10 pm

Interview stop time: 4:06 pm

Age: 38

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 8

No. of people living in the household: 10

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Sells woven baskets and mats

Highest level of education: Primary 5

No. of years living in the village: 22

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: bricks, cement and solar

Interview Duration: 1:56:44

The interview happened in the respondent’s house in their living room. Their house is made of bricks with cement, they have iron sheets for the roofing and solar for lighting. She lives with her husband and children on the father in law’s land, they are neighbors. Asked about this arrangement, she told me that the father in law allowed all his 10 sons to build on the land wherever they wanted and they live there with their families, but he refused to divide the land to give them shares. She told me he said his land will be divided among his children after his death but as long as he is still alive, they can graze animals whoever wants to, they can grow any amount of crops whoever wants to, they can build houses but at the end of the day, no one has ownership apart from him. She told me her and the husband bought other 3 plots away from here, where they do banana and coffee farming on them. According to the land that they have and the businesses they do, they look to be middle class.

Asked about titling, she had a long story to tell before we started the interview and she had refused to talk to me because she said it is the husband who got a solo title so he should still be the one to continue with everything seeing that she dropped out along the way on the third visit. Asked about why she dropped out, she told me as they were separately asked the lady told her that they could use the title to get a loan from the bank where they have an account while her husband was told that the world bank will give him money at a small interest rate which confused them and she called the woman who was arrogant to her.The woman called her husband and he came home and wanted to fight the wife for calling the titling people and being rude to them but she explained that she wanted to understand. To keep peace, she asked the husband to continue and get the title and put his names alone, because when they asked her for her national identity card, she again asked for an explanation to understand but the lady who was talking to them refused to explain anything to her so she refused to give her identity card and dropped out and left her husband to continue alone.

They live with their 8 children, on the father in-law’s land. She later on told me how she is a treasurer on the local council 1 and 2 levels. She was welcoming, conversant and she had stories to share, she was engaged all through and we had good laughter. She looks to have a strong support system in her family, she also said that she acts as a marriage counselor in the village. The father in law’s land is about more than 10 acres and she told me she can’t quantify it because it is big. Their other 3 plots, 2 of them are 1.5 acres while the third one is about half an acre.

**Warm up**

I: Sorry about that Mama, you should have been explained to and got better understanding even though you had the right to refuse or to accept.

R: Yes, I had the right to accept or not to accept.

I: And your chairman, what did he explain to you when you approached him?

R: The chairman also confused this whole titling thing, we were about to quarrel with each other. I went and asked another chairman of another cell that is not this and he told me that they were asked to send names to the sub county. They asked them to take lists to the sub county of people in their villages, he said that he had put his name on there although he didn’t come in the chosen people for the titles. Our chairman just kept telling me that he doesn’t know but I insisted that he is the leader of the village how can he not know what the process is about and answer my questions. I told him that he should leave me alone now that he doesn’t know about the government programs brought in his village. Everyone deserves to be explained to about anything and then they decide well whether to join it or not to.

I: And at the end of the day, everyone has the right to make decisions the way they want to.

R: Yes.

I: Mama, how did the day end yesterday for you and your family?

R: It didn’t have any issues at all.

I: Your daughter resembles you Mama, you may think that she is your younger sister. (Respondent laughs) How has the rain been to you this side?

R: It has been raining and we just go by.

I: Had you finished planting your crops?

R: Yes, I finished long time ago.

I: How has today started for you and your family?

R: We are well, there is no issue?

I: How about your children, are they all well.

00:02:19

R: Yes, they are fine.

I: How about you and your husband, how is your life in general?

R: We are good; we have no problems.

I: I see you have dried your coffee and the rain is also threatening to rain.

R: It will dry slowly

I: Mama, like we had talked before, we would like to know how things have been for you while I will be conversing through some questions with you. There is no right or wrong answer it is just your opinion and thought as you see it. You also have the right to tell me what question you wouldn’t want to answer.

R: Okay.

**Background, Household structure and Land ownership**

I: How many people are you in your household?

R: All of us every day.

I: All through the days.

R: We are 10 people here, me and my husband and 8 children.

I: All the children live here with you?

R: Yes, just that they go to school but the live here all of them. 2 are in boarding school and the rest come back home and this daughter has come to pick the remaining school fees.

I: Mama, how old are you?

R: 38 years old

I: What activities give you money as a woman?

R: It is farming and then selling some baskets and mats that I weave.

I: You normally grow crops that you sell, which crops give you more money?

R: They are beans.

I: How about millet, you don’t sell it?

R: I grow for home consumption only; I grow on a small scale for us only.

I: I have seen the cow houses and I also saw some goats out there.

R: Those ones are for *Mzeei* (her father in law)

00:04:59

I: Okay, they are for Mzeei, is he the one that sleeps in the other house? (There is another house next to theirs)

R: Yes, it is his home.

I: Okay, you studied up to what class?

R: Primary 5

I: How many years have you lived here?

R: 21 years

I: These are also your marital years?

R: Yes, and that’s how long I have spent in this village.

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

R: Sheema, Kihunda, Kagango (district, sub county and village) but they have shifted to Isingiro in Bukanga (a neighboring district to Mbarara)

I: For you to decide and go back home, what would take you there?

R: I think about it as my home and I go to check on my mother and talk to my people.

I: You have only your mother there?

R: Yes.

I: After how long do you go there?

R: When they were still in Sheema it was near here, but now they shifted to Isingiro in Bukanga and for me to go there it is after 2 years.

I: After two years, otherwise you communicate.

R: Yes, I call them and see how they are doing and that is it. And when I know how they are that is good.

I: Don’t you send them your children during holidays to stay there?

R: No, for the work I have here they can’t go there.

I: So when school is done, the come here and help you in the gardens.

R: Yes, I tell them to go and dig or pick coffee when it is ready. That is what they do.

I: Okay. So you also pick coffee, do you sell it alone or with your husband?

R: He sells it by himself. But even if it is the beans we agree and work together, we plant our

00:07:02

seasons and then harvest and sell but no one has this belonging to them so they sell it by themselves.

I: This means that when you sell a sack of beans, you bring the money and tell it to your husband.

R: He is the one who carries them and goes to sell them then he brings the money and tells me about it.

I: This is good to find because sometimes you find the woman her own money and the man too has his own but then they have the one they share for the family.

R: We don’t have that here.

I: As a wife, do you have land that you own alone?

R: No, I don’t have it.

I: How about form your family, weren’t you given a share?

R: It is there but I can’t count it here.

I: It is yours even though it is not here.

R: They haven’t yet given it to me.

I: Why?

R: My mother is still alive; the land is still hers. We will get it if she dies but now that she is still alive we can’t.

I: Does this mean that the boys were given their shares but for the girls their share is their mother’s land and they can only get it after her death.

R: Yes.

I: How many girls are you?

R: We are 5 girls.

I: And how many boys do you have?

R: We have only 1 boy.

I: He must have taken most of the land. (Respondent laughs)

R: No, everyone got their piece.

I: Do you hope to inherit this land?

R: Yes, but I haven’t got it yet.

00:08:30

I: You mother I still using it. Let us talk about the ones you own with your husband.

R: Here where we are we might inherit it later. This is still for my Father in law, he hasn’t yet given anyone any share of the land. All of us are using this land together, if you plant a banana plantation, you know that you have planted to eat but you don’t own that piece of land. But we have land that we bought for ourselves.

I: I would love to know; which piece of land did your husband put in the title?

R: It is not here, it is elsewhere.

I: Mzeei has not given anything to his children?

R: Yes.

I: He has taken his time surely because I have heard men say that when he is marrying then the father gives him a share of the land.

R: This what we grew up knowing also but this one refused. These goat and cow houses are his but if you have goats you are free to bring them and put them in there. If you have cows, you can bring them and out them in the farm and go and graze in the morning but you can’t say that it is your farm as a person therefore you own it. Or you say this your banana plantation and you stop here, no.

I: Okay. How many boys does Mzeei have?

R: 10 sons.

I: Wow, these are many, you have to plan wisely for them or it may not go well for you. Did he also give birth to girls?

R: He has 2 girls.

I: His wife, is she still living?

R: Yes, she is there with him. Only 4 boys stay here, the rest do not live around here, they are in Kampala.

I: The 4 have all built on his land, but none has a share.

R: Yes. He can tell you grow crops and eat or grow coffee and pick it but if time comes he says he has the right to tell you to remove your coffee. We also allowed this and he hasn’t yet sent us away so we are here.

I: You told me that you bought land, how many pieces are they that you bought with your husband?

R: They are 2, the other two are small pieces and if you add them together then they make three pieces of land.

I: These three that you bought, did you receive agreements for all of them?

00:11:04

R: Yes

I: As the wife, did you put your signature there?

R: Yes

I: How big are they?

R: Now there where he put in the title, it is about 1.5 acres, the second one is also the same size. The other two small ones when you put them tighter they are close to a half acre of land.

I: At how much did they sell to you?

R: The one that was titled went to 1.5 million shillings, the second one took 1 million shillings and the other two pieces we paid 1.6 million shillings.

I: Mzeei has amused me.

R: Anything concerning land, you can’t twist him. I know for the other two brothers, had he not refused them you would find them in these titling things but he said that he gave them land to eat and drink form and no one has the authority to own the land at all.

I: He was not chosen for the titling process?

R: He wasn’t part of it.

I: Do you think he would have loved it had he been chosen?

R: No, you can do all other things but anything concerning land, you can’t involve him in anything.

I: At the other pieces of land you have, is it where you cultivate from?

R: No

I: What do you do there?

R: There are banana plantations and coffee. For growing other crops, we sue Mzeei’s land.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Is there anyone else that work on your land?

R: We are the only ones.

(Respondent goes to prepare some things as the rain has started falling)

I: For this land, when Mzeei was allowing you to use it. Did he make demarcations of where you would stop?

R: We don’t have any stopping point; we use as much we are able to.

I: How big is his land?

00:14:14

R: It is big, you can’t go around it and finish it.

I: Is it more than 10 acres?

R: 10 acres only, it is too much I can’t quantify it. Even if all the 10 sons were to come and live here, everyone would dig and still leave the land there. And even graze their cows freely

I: Maybe he got in the old system where people we getting free land.

R: He bought it.

**General land**

I: In general, how do people come to own land in this village? How do they acquire it?

R: Many of them have received land shares from their parents only a few have bought land.

I: Do they give free land to people to stay on here? For example, you give me land, I live on it and cultivate.

R: This is not here because land is not that in plenty.

I: Supposing someone wanted to access land to us, what would they do?

R: You can rent land from the owner if he accepts.

I: Is there any agreement that we need to do?

R: No, you just have to pay money and they show you where to dig.

I: If someone wanted to sell their land, can they do it?

R: Yes

I: Do they need to consult with someone?

R: They can agree with their family, when they agree, he can sell it.

I: So the only person he has to consult is his family.

R: Yes.

I: Are there people that can use land but not pay rent?

R: No, you have to pay. People used to share a harvest with the land owner, but they would dig for a season and report that they got less harvest yet they got more, so the land owners stopped renting their land.

I: Is still ongoing or they stopped it?

R: They removed this thing of growing crops and you share the harvest.

00:17:10

I: Okay. People lie to others about their harvest.

R: Yes

I: Let us say that someone owns land here but they don’t live on it, do they maintain control over it?

R: Yes. When they are no there, they look for someone in their family that they will leave it with them. They don’t just bring someone from out there and put him their land.

I: They look for someone in the family only.

R: Yes, he leaves it and they all know that the land is there safe.

I: Someone has come and they want to use this land, what do they have to do?

R: He can reach out to whoever the land owner left on the land.

I: Okay. If someone says that this is family land, how do you understand this?

R: I know it is family meaning that every person in that home can use it but they don’t own it. No one is allowed to sell it, no one should give it as leverage for getting loans. It helps all of you generally.

I: Would you take Mzeei’s land to be family land?

R: Yes, no one can take it to the loans. He owns it alone.

I: For such family land like this one, do you think that he will divide it tomorrow?

R: The way he is always speaking; some have come to ask him to give them their share while he still alive. He refused and said that they will share the land when he has died. He also says that now that he still alive, they are lying to themselves if they think that they will get anything now. He told them that if anyone wants land, let them go and buy if for themselves because his land will be shared amongst them all when he is no longer around.

I: You mean to say that family land is always shared after the owner has passed away.

R: Yes, and if you want to benefit from it, even if you don’t live here you can bring your cows and put them in the farm, he won’t chase you away. Bring your goats and graze them, he will not chase you away, if you find a place to buy, sell your cows and go buy that piece of land.

I: I think this can help someone buy their own land and not keep contented on their share they have and this can help them tomorrow because it is their land.

R; He can’t give you his land, you may leave here and go get a loan and bring the papers to him to sign so that you use his land as leverage, he refuses. If you don’t have the title how will you get the money. You will not get this money.

I: Okay. Thanks for explaining this tome. Have you rented land before?

00:21:02

R: No, the land that we have is enough for us to use.

I: Ever since you got married, you have never rented land?

R: No, we haven’t. I don’t know about renting land.

I: Finding that you own land as a woman, personally what would it mean to you?

R: I think I have the freedom to use it for whatever I want to. If a child like this finds it difficult somewhere, I have the right to sell it and give her money to finish her education.

I: In your view, is there any other way that shows that someone owns land a part form an agreement?

R: If he doesn’t have an agreement you may find they have proof showing that they got it from their father or from another person. They will tell you in what ways they acquired the land.

I: In your view, what advantages are there in including a woman’s name on such land documents?

R: When you find that you are on it, that means you have authority over the land even if your husband is not around tomorrow. But if you are not there then tomorrow when he is not around, what will be your proof that the land belongs to you. If he is on there and you too are there, then you can start talking about it should anything happen.

I: Are there any other advantages?

R: If you are there, you can cultivate and eat and no one can send you away.

I: Are there people that cultivate but don’t eat?

R: Yes, there some men that don’t allow you to dig on the land.

I: Why does he refuse her to grow anything on the land?

R: And even if he allows her to cultivate, whatever she harvest he doesn’t allow her to use it. He will get the produce and sell it and take the money. When she says anything to him, he will tell her that the land was given to him by his father so she has no say on the land. You find them living like this.

I: So, the woman has no freedom to grow her crops and sell.

R: No, they will be there fighting all the time and their home has no peace.

I: This is sad. Mama, do you think there would be any disadvantages in including a woman’s names on such land documents?

R: According to what I see, sometimes it may be bad.

I: Because the woman was included?

00:25:17

R: Yes.

I: Tell me about what you have seen.

R: There is woman who used to go with the husband to get loans. The man was not living in the village, the woman was. They had 2 children who were going to school. This side, the man started dating a student he was teaching and hope to marry her after her studies. Whenever the man brought the papers to be signed by the wife for the loans, the woman would sign thinking that the man was using the money to pay school fees for their 2 children. At the end of it all, the money accumulated and the pieces of land that the man had put as leverage were taken and even the ones that were not put were also taken away. When they were taking the ones that he didn’t put in as leverage, she would try to refuse and they showed her the signatures that were hers on the loan papers. At the end the woman suffered.

I: The man would bring the papers and lie that he was going to get loans for their children’s school fees yet it wasn’t.

R: Yes, the man was educating his girlfriend but he didn’t even marry her at the end. What came out at the end, the man died after knowing that the girl got married elsewhere, he tried to go to the authorities and report her but she had got married to a rich man and there was nothing they could say about her. The man died because of stress knowing that he couldn’t marry the girl and yet he had wasted his family’s land. The wife is in court Mbarara up to now arguing the loan cases. Now, we as women became afraid and stopped signing for our husband. But now if he brings the paper and you refuse to sign he will go and find another woman to sign for him in the wife’s names and he takes the papers and gets a loan. You be there and you see the loan people coming telling you that your husband took a loan and yet you don’t know.

I: It is possible to just get another woman out there and they sign foe him?

R: Yes, he tells her your name for example Kyarimpa Rossette and writes it there and that is it. As you are there with your children, you see cars and motorcycles coming to pick you up saying that the money you signed for your husband to get, from the time he got it, he has never paid anything back.

I: Supposing they come and find that the signature is not yours, what do they do?

R: Even though it is not yours, how will you start denying because they don’t take time to investigate. Banks are very many and they are giving people money, they don’t investigate that maybe they send you to bring your wife’s picture and you bring it or that bring her national identity card and we see it. All that matters are the signatures. He brings for me papers to sign when he wants to get a loan and I always ask him whether these people know that it is me who signs, he told me that they know me.

I: You are still lucky that he brings these papers according to that story you told me.

R: Yes, you just give thanks to see that it hasn’t happened to you yet. These are the problems that we find.

I: Okay, thanks for telling me about this. Do you expect to inherit land in the future?

00:29:35

R: I don’t think about it; those are God’s plans. You may think about it and you find you are not there to even inherit it. Let me tell you about this man who had a wife and their children. They had their property and had built houses. After a while, they got a shop in Bwizibwera and a home there too. After sometime, she saw the man telling her to come back to the village and staying in the house here, after that the man told her to relocate to the village, she went and lived in a house like ours who are low income earners. The other side, the man continued with his plans, he started making bricks and sold off come plots of land and built a versa tiled house. Later on, he brought a new woman and out her in the house and she stayed in the village. That time they went o Mbarara to wed and she was left in the village. For this time, they have been together and they even have children that have finished school, didn’t the other woman fall into her things.

I: The older wife is still living in the village.

R: Yes, the other woman came and she is now managing their shops and sleeping in a good house while the other wife is in the village.

I: What do you think causes a man to do such a thing?

R: We don’t know, if they are to tell you their issues you will say the woman is right, if the man also tells you about his reasons you will find him to be right but whatever happened in between them they know it better themselves. As a wife, you work and you see that you are fine with your husband, but you don’t know what he is planning on the side. You will be there and then he will chase you away or tell you to first go to your home.

I: That is hard. Do you think people in this village fear losing their land?

R: Yes.

I: Why do they fear losing it and to who?

R: Someone can turn around and steal your land. People that we have lived with in the community as neighbors.

I: There is a man here in sub county of Bukiro, he had his small land there. The rich man came and bought all around him land and then he stayed in the middle. The rich man asked him to sell to him the land since he was in the middle, he told him that fi he sold his land go t money without finding a new place where he will shift too, what will it benefit him. The rich man came back gain for another time and asked this man sell to him the land, the man told him that if he had another piece of land that he could give him to live on then the rich man was free to take his land. The rich man told him that if he had refused to sell to him, he would make a farm all around which he did and the man’s land remained there in the middle and he had to leave. He is there suffering knowing that his land was closed off by the farm.

I: He made a farm all around this man’s land and left him nor road for passage?

R: Yes, and he didn’t want him to pass through his farm. He left and now he tried to look for jobs here and there because he didn’t have money to go and buy elsewhere. He couldn’t also receive the money and start moving around asking people to sell to him their land, it wasn’t possible.

00:33:12

I: I see it is not possible.

R: He left the land there and went away.

I: Where did he put his children and wife?

R: The children were old and the woman had left him, he was there alone.

I: In this village, you have such rich men that come and do such things.

R: Yes.

I: Now that the rich man built a farm around the land, did it become his?

R: You think he cares, is it even still your land. No one can come to buy such land because they no way out, he is the only one that can buy that land.

I: Who is the most fearful?

R: The poor people who have very little and they can’t handle such rich men.

I: What are they doing to prevent this land loss?

R: You just stay there. If he comes and wants to take your land and you go report him to the authorities, if he has more money than you he will take it.

I: There is nothing that can be done.

R: Nothing. You can’t handle arguing with a rich man. When I was coming here to get married I found some land there across in court up to now they are still in court. The first person to own it died, the next one also died and now their children are there arguing. If they say that one party has won the case, then you see the other side coming and they have won the case after giving there much money. Sometimes people come to rent and cultivate their gardens on that land, as they have finished planting, the court comes and chases them away. They have been going back and forth like that.

I: What happened to that land?

R: It is there, no one owns it because when one side wins the case now and they become the rightful owners, the other aside takes money to the court and after they win the case also and now they become the rightful owners of the land. (Respondent laughs). The one who has won the case at that time starts his projects renting out the land to people who grow their crops and become happy knowing that now he has won the case over the land, when they are still there, the other side comes with cars and the lawyers saying that they have re owned the land and won the case so the farmers loose their crops as they are chased away.

I: Are these people in the dispute siblings?

R: No, every side is from another clan. But the first person to argue the case got it from someone.

00:35:57

Someone stole the land from him and they went to court to argue but because the stealer had more money than him, they took the land from him. As they were there, the stealer died, the man he was arguing with in court started now arguing with the deceased’s sons. He later on won the case from the deceased’s sons and he decided to sell it off and he shifted and left. The new person he sold to who has the agreement is the one arguing with the children of the deceased. They are saying how did he buy it yet it was stolen land. That is how they started again up to now they are in the court. Whoever wins brings the lawyers to the land and they measure and he knows that he is done, after this the other party also takes money to their lawyers and they come back and give him the land too meaning he has now won the case.

I: For all the 21 years you have been here.

R: Yes, they are still arguing about land, who does it belong to now or at the end whose will it be.

I: Unless they settle and agree together and they share the land and everyone takes an equal half, this might help end the war.

R: Do you think they can allow, they can’t.

I: I also think maybe if they decide to sell it.

R: And they share the money.

I: Yes. Everyone takes their money, it ends and they go start afresh elsewhere. But no it has reached their children and grandchildren, it might be hard.

R: The lawyers are just eating their money, whoever goes with more money is the one who wins the case. This is how it has been.

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

R: It is me looking for money then I buy it.

I: Can’t you rent?

R: No, unless if where we are cultivating get finished and we don’t have what to do.

I: Mama, do you have family land?

R: We know the land that we bought to be our family land. You can’t count what is not yours as yours. This is for Mzeei and he said he doesn’t want to give us; can we force him to give us.

I: Who makes the decisions on your land like what to plant and where to plant it?

R: We plan together that this season we will plant this or in our conversations we decide that we should put beans here or we shouldn’t. We agree together.

I: No one has un upper hand over the other?

R: No, we haven’t had this yet.

00:39:09

I: Thanks for telling me about all this.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

In this part, we are going to talk about titles in general. To you Mama, what does a tile mean even though you were not added on it?

R: Growing up I used to hear about land titles, that when land is in a title, you can’t steal it because you have nowhere to start from and it can’t just be sold any how before you talk about how the title was operating before. They say it is evidence and proof that land belongs to you. This is what they used to say.

I: What use does the title have?

R: That when a person has s tile and the government is passing or wants to do its work in your land, they pay you. If you don’t have the tile, it will do its work and go you can’t ask because you have no proof that the land is yours. I don’t know if it is true or not.

I: I also don’t know, maybe it is like how you have said. Do you think that it has other uses?

R: No, I think it the one I have told you.

I: Is there any concern that you would like to let us know about titling?

R: Nothing much apart from the woman I called asking her to explain to me so that I understand, she had was telling us about how a title can be used especially on the loans part. She told me that we can only get a loan from the bank where we have an account and if we fail to pay it we shall be taken to prison as it is always. I also replied her that if this is the case then let her leave giving us the title, because when we didn’t have it we would get the loans, and whether you fail to pay the money it is still the same. I think she took this as an offence and she called my husband to report me; she called him and told him that his wife had abused her. I wasn’t around I had gone to the centre so when I came back, he started blaming me that I had abused the woman. I asked him what I had said to abuse the woman, so I knew I had to cool down so that he doesn’t do something else to me. He may beat you. After, I explained to him well what I had asked the woman and this after he had cooled down his anger. I told him what I had asked the woman and what she replied me and it ended there but otherwise there was a fight coming out of this.

I: Okay Mama. In your view, does a title have any difference from an agreement or a will?

R: Now that I have never received a share do I know it. Maybe I will know when you teach us.

I: You can tell me from what you have heard or what you know.

R: Where we got confused is here; we told them that we bought these pieces of land and according to the way we were told, a tile is proof of ownership on the land. He told me that if it happens now and the man dies, your in laws or other people are not allowed to speak about your land, it is yours because you have the evidence for it. Now I will also ask, in all these pieces if land, you picked one and you marked it with the stones then what about the others.

00:43:38

Where will they fall. Should they come and take them or the titled one will be the only one for me and not the others. This confused me.

I: Did they explain to you about this.

R: No, I didn’t ask it but there is someone else who also asked the same question. He told them that he had shown them many pieces of his land, why did they choose only one. If they were going to help him to get proof of ownership of his land, why do they pick one. They just told him that for them they only pick one so he told them not to title his piece of land because if they can’t help him with all then he doesn’t want.

I: So they didn’t explain to him why they were picking one and he didn’t understand why.

R: Yes.

I: I think they were only picking one plot of land and not working on all the rest. Thanks for this, this is good to know. And also I think because they are different plots of land in different locations and with different sizes then they will require to have independent titles for each of them but our organization was willing to help people title one of the plots and not all. All these plots of land were bought from different people, they have to consider the neighbors to that land, the boundaries of that land and each plot has a different process like this altogether. If you have 3 separate plots of land and you want to title them then you will have to get 3 titles with each plot having its own title. This is the reason.

R: Okay.

I: In your view, is there any difference or it is not there?

R: I think it helps than having an agreement because it is one proof for land than the agreement made by people.

I: You had told me about why you decided not to go on the title but in your view, do you think that women love it to be on a title with their husband?

R: What I know is that if you explain to her and she understands and also the man accepts to be on it, she wouldn’t refuse.

I: Do you think that women love it?

R: Yes.

I: Okay, why do you think they love it?

R: No one wouldn’t want proof of their own thing. They have the title as proof that they also own the land.

I: Would you love it yourself?

R: Yes, according to how they were explaining to me in the beginning about land use and its income, had she continued explaining to me what it is and I understand, I wouldn’t have

00:47:48

gone on the opposite with her. Because whatever we do we do it the two of us with my husband even if it means falling in water I would go. We reached there and things didn’t work out. If he brings for me a paper to sign for the loan, I sign knowing that both of us have agreed that should the land go we have done it together. Tomorrow you can’t regret because whatever you do knowingly you can regret about it, but now to find me regretting tomorrow that I was forced to sign on the title, it wasn’t good. I have to do things when I have agreed on my own.

I: What benefits will be there in having both a husband and wife listed on the title?

R: Good things come about once you benefit from the way you were told to use it. The purpose of thing is seen after using it or doing it and if you haven’t done it you can’t say that this is its purpose. Let us say you have planted beans and you wanted to get out something but you don’t, you will never know the use of beans but if you plant them and you get what you wanted then you will forever know that you planted beans and you got out what you wanted or you did such a thing out of them.

I: In your view, even though you haven’t seen the benefits, but do you think there could some benefits having both man and wife listed on a land title?

R: Depending on when you got it and how long you have spent with it; it might be good. Maybe one day they wanted to steal your land, but when you brought your title, your land was not taken. This is good and you give thanks. This will motivate your friend who refused to get it and now they will want to get it depending on the good things it has done for you. But now, I haven’t yet seen a good thing.

I: In your view, what reason would lead a man not to list his wife on the title?

R: The many that I have seen and talk to, men say that even when you are buying land, you don’t need to allow your wife to sign on that agreement. I ask them why. They said that you can call your wife to put her signature, she puts it and after she knows that you have bought the land together. Now, when you have your deal and you want to sell some part of the land to do it the woman refuses and stops you. She becomes a punishment to you causing you to fail in the deal you were in. You find men saying that if they are to buy land, they get money and give it to someone there to buy for them land and the woman doesn’t ever get to know about it. You see that the whole reason is that the woman will make it hard for him to do what he was going to do and for the woman to also make it hard for the man; it depends on how he has been acting. You plant beans together and he sells them, you don’t get to know where the money went. You go and buy a goat together then when he is going to sell it, he does it in your absence therefore the woman refuses to sign for him also when he wants to sell the land no matter what the money is going to be used for. When they are talking like this, they decide to put us women on the side because we don’t allow them to do what they want to do. This means that whether it is right or wrong, you must accept it because you are a woman and he uses the land the way he wants to.

I: Before the people in this village encountered those were giving titles, in what ways were they getting tiles?

R: We only hear about one rich man living down there and he is a lawyer and stays in Rwanyamahemebe but he has land here. We hear that he has a title but we don’t know how he got it. People didn’t have titles then.

00:53:33

I: You don’t know how they get them.

R: Yes, where they pass whether here or there, I don’t know.

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

R: Maybe the way the leaders understand them. Now like the way the chairman was explaining to people, he said that he wanted that chance to get a land title but in the chosen list, he didn’t come back on it. He said the chance wasn’t his. You see that people wanted the title but they didn’t get the chance to be chosen. I think they know how titles help them.

I: How about the others the?

R: Those that took the titles to the bank and didn’t get money are there regretting.

I: They say that when they went to the bank, what were they told?

R: The ones that were talking about it, my husband was telling them how his title had come. His title didn’t come with the rest, the one who took it there said that when he reached there and gave them the title, they told him that they don’t want the title. They want to first reach on the land see and they want the signatures of the members in the Sacco that he is in. Those things of taking for them the title and he gets money, they refused.

I: Okay, they wanted more proof. Thanks for explaining this to me.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

In this part we would love to know about the conversations you had with your husband about titles. You had told me your story in the start, let us talk about more.

R: Yes.

I: They came and visited you and you talked and understood the first time, what round of the visits did you drop out from?

R: The third time.

I: After you failing to understand, what did your husband tell you?

R: He said that he will continue with his things.

I: Okay.

R: You think that he refused too, no he didn’t refuse too. He said he will continue with his journey, he started it so he will finish it. I also told him that we started it and I had no issues but when we reached in the middle, I didn’t understand. Now for you who has understood them please go ahead, he continued up to this time now. He hasn’t made any turn anywhere.

I: Didn’t he try to explain to you what he had understood or try to bargain with you to get back

00:56:42

in the process?

R: We talked and I found that the way he had understood is not the way I had understood; me asking the other woman and also how they taught him here.

I: In what way did he tell you that he understood?

R: He told me that he was told that if he has the land title, the world bank can give him money in whatever amount that he wants. That this money has low interest and he can pay it with time in no rush. I asked him this what she told you, he said yes then I told him that me she told me differently when I called her. She told me that you can take the title to the bank where you opened an account, now I asked him where he was going to take it yet he doesn’t have an account. He told me that they are the ones (the world bank) going to give it to us not the bank, here is where he is also stuck to know who will give him the loan. These two things didn’t make sense together.

I: This is where you stopped.

R: Yes.

I: Mama you said that you have spent how many years in marriage?

R: 22 years

I: How have these 22 years been for you?

R: There is no where we have found problems. Like people who live together you may not fail to quarrel but you stay and move on.

I: Some people fail and leave their marriages, but you are still here. What has kept you here?

(Respondent laughs)

R: It is only God, many quarrel a little and they separate. Other women separate and go back to their homes thinking that the man will come and they reconcile but they end up staying there for good. They keep waiting for the man to come and pick them but he doesn’t come. She then decides to bring a sick child thinking the husband will let her stay after but he takes them to the hospital, but after the child is well, she goes back home because the man tells her to take back the road that brought because they separated for good. If you find yourself still in the marriage, that is grace.

I: Don’t you think that you have done something that others haven’t done but then you are still here?

R: You think they are few, whether good or bad, but your spouse just looks at you and leaves you and you also do the same and move on. I think it is both forgiveness and endurance. Do you think that if you don’t have forgiveness you can endure? You can’t. You have to endure in what you have seen and forgive whatever wrong they have done.

I: As a wife, do you feel that you are supported by your husband in the things that you do?

1:00:31

R: Yes

I: In what ways, give me some examples of what he does that lets you know that it is support.

R: We plant our gardens, we harvest and you see him taking care that the children are in school, you see him taking care of the family and there is no issue in what you do.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages?

R: Everyone has their grace to handle the marriage, everyone has their own race and the way we don’t resemble on the face is the way we don’t have the same hearts.

I: So how is it out there?

R; There is where it is not easy. According to the way we see the world moving, it is not all god and here we are.

I: Do you think men out there support their wives?

R: I don’t know but do you mean in the way I see them live?

I: Yes, generally how do you see it out there?

R: By the way couples bring their issues to me. You find that I am trying to reconcile them, you help this couple and they live well for 2 days then they get back to fighting with one of them coming back to tell me that the one I reconciled them has failed them again. But you see that in other marriages it is not easy, they are moving on repairs. If God helps them they keep together and where they fail, everyone takes their own path.

I: As a wife, in what ways do you support and encourage your husband in the things that he does?

R: He knows them (Respondent laughs)

I: But what would he say about you in this regard?

R: If I weave a mat like this one and he is crying that on the child’s school fees such an amount is missing, I bring it or I tell him that I will go to my savings group and get 20,000 shillings I bring it and the child goes back to school. This is how we live; we don’t fail to agree in the things that we do.

I: Are there other things you do for him that show that you encourage him?

R: In the same way like I have told you.

I: Do you think this is the same with other marriages, are the women like this too?

R: They are not like that.

I: Okay. Why do you think some women choose not to encourage and support their husbands?

1:04:02

R: Those are the issues I told you about finding that he is going to do this.

Now like these children are growing, she has come back here so if you go and tell him about it, he replies that you are telling him so that he does what. He tells you that what do you want him to do now that you are telling him that they sent the child back home for school fees. Now as a woman, when he puts this heart into you, you find that when you harvest beans, you start stealing off some so that you can sell them privately and help your child. The man has not helped you in what you have told him. There is also a man I normally talk to, he told that when it is approaching visiting day for the children, you can’t see their mother minding to look for some bananas or avocado and pack for the children just like a parent should do. It is him who takes care of everything from the start up to the time he goes to visit them and comes back. But for us here, if we start something together, we have to make sure we finish it together.

I: About decision making in your household, who makes these decisions that may be our child should go here or let us pay this.

R: He is the one that does this and he has to tell me and we agree and then go with it. There is no opposing each other and depending on what we are going to do; he has to ask me if he doesn’t then I can refuse. (Respondent goes to look for clothes to dress his son)

I: At the end it is the man who decides, and you go with whatever he has decided.

R: Yes, but he has to make the right decision for me. If it is not right, I don’t allow it.

I: What is the latest major decision you made for your household, the one you remember?

R: What has been big was the school fees for the children. We looked for a way to pay for them. We have a child who studies in Rwampara and we saw that it is far away, instead of waiting and they send her back here we decided to pay the whole school fees. As a man, he saw that we must pay for that to finish. Now this girl here is in Mbarara, we decided to give a certain amount and the remaining balance after getting it we shall then send it to her. She came back after calling us and letting us know about how they need her high school pass slip, we told her to come and she goes with her school fees at once.

I: Where in Mbarara does she go to school?

R: She is at Kakoba Institute; she is studying accountancy.

I: Well done on this. In your view, do you think it is similar in other marriages in the way they make their decisions?

R: From the way they be talking to me, things fail. This one beings this and the other brings the other. There is one who was telling me that they had sent back the child from school, he was going to sell beans and the wife refused saying that they first keep them and wait for the buying price to go up. Now as she is waiting for the price to go up that means the child will sit at home. He said that after the conversation the wife left and he sold the beans by force and sent money to the child.

I: This brings about the unending quarreling in the home.

1:09:09

R: Do you think they agreed on this. They didn’t.

I: Surely they didn’t agree together. Thanks Mama for telling me about this.

(I stop to greet her child who is coming from school and joins us in the interview).

**Gender norms around land**

In our next part, it is about women and land. Most of the times we know that land is for men, but there are some things we want to understand about this. We don’t have any truth on it but we are getting peoples thoughts on it. In this village, are there women who own land?

R: Yes, they are there but even now that they are there, this has caused their marriage to fall apart depending on the way it is used. A woman will leave and go back to her home, and she gets her share. She sells it and comes to buy land here, as she is going to buy she wants to make the agreement and put it into her names as a woman and the man also tells her that she will not buy land in her name only for other men to start laughing at him and making jokes of him that it is the woman who buys for him land. You find them fighting over this, the woman saying that she can’t bring money from her home and buys land then the man takes her land. As you are there you hear that the money the woman brought from her home has become a punishment for her. They fight and she goes back home and all this is because of the way the land has been used and failure to agree with the man. At times, one may be able to buy it but after the man wants to plan for it and the woman says you can’t plan in my land. If it is coffee like this one, the woman knows it is her coffee, she will pick it, dry it and take it to the factory and get her money which she will keep for herself. According to this, the man also decided to send her away to go and live on her land and leave his land

I: So, there are women who won the land through getting shares and buying it.

R: Yes.

I: In your view, would you allow that women in this village should own their land?

R: I would allow but it depends on how she will use it. If you use it badly then you will regret even why you got it from your home and some women decide to give them to their brothers in order to end the fight with her husband over the land. She knows that he will not give here the freedom to use it, and she also knows that if she gives it to the man it will get finished. You find someone making you hate having your own thing.

I: But for you, you think it should be allowed that they should have their own land?

R: Yes.

I: Are there women that own it with their husbands?

R: Yes.

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

R: There are those who want to have it with their husbands while there those who prefer having

1:12:43

it alone.

I: You mean both sides are there.

R: Yes

I: For the one who prefers to own it alone, what cause them to prefer this?

R: This is because of the men who don’t want them to use the land or harvest. Like this coffee, it belongs to me but I allow it to be for the whole family but you find him taking it to process at the factory and I don’t get know even how much he was given and what it did yet it was from the coffee that came from my land. If the coffee was mine, you took it and sold it but when you brought the money, where did it go. The man replies you that stop being stubborn on him, and you start fighting form here.

I: Then for the ones who prefer to have it with their husbands, what cause them to prefer this more?

R: These ones also do this depending on how the man treats you in the things that you do together. If he doesn’t side line you in the things that you do then you wouldn’t want to have land alone, you would want to have everything together.

I: Supposing you were going to sell land; would you first agree together or the man can do as he sees?

R: We agree together; he first asks me. He talks to me that he thinks we should do this and asks me if I think that it is right we do it or it is not and we leave it. And according to the way I see the outcome, I will tell him that if we do it in this other way it might come out. And you find that in the way you agreed to do something, it becomes beneficial to you both.

I: Following up from what we had talked about finding that men own land and women own land, is there a way that this family land is related to this men and women owning land?

R: In the way I see family land like the way I see this one, most of the responsibility and authority is for Mzeei. Even the wife can’t talk much on this land because Mzeei is still alive even when she wants to dig a garden, she first asks the husband. Actually she is the one that normally asks Mzeei on our behalf as children. May be we were planning to cultivate that part of the farm and we shift the cows to this other side, what do you say. He will then tell us that if that is what we have seen then we can take them away and cultivate that land, but you also see that the family land belongs to the man she can’t decide on it as the wife.

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

R: She can only have it if she has been given. If the family head says that he is not giving you on the land what will you do. There is a man who wrote a will and said that his land is for his children and not the wife. He said that the woman can stay on the land, eat, drink until she also dies and she is buried but she has no share on that land it is for the children. He said that if the wife wasn’t to go or shift, she should only take what she knows belongs to her personally, she was not allowed to sell the land because it is for the children. He concluded that he had left no share for the wife but only the children.

1:16:56

This means that if you as the woman wasn’t to enjoy that land, you have to stay with those children, but if you want to go you don’t have the freedom to decide and sell the land because you don’t own it.

I: This means that you are at the mercies of your children. If they love it, they give you. And if they don’t want then that is it.

R: Yes, you go like the way you came.

I: Most of the time, family land is in the authority of the man.

R: Yes.

I: You said that a woman can have shares on the family land if it is given to her and if it is not then she doesn’t have any. What if the man wants to sell it, does he need to get approval from the wife? For example, if Mzeei wanted to sell land, does he need to first ask the wife?

R: Yes, he will tell her that he wants to sell land, what does she think. The wife will tell him to sell it or not according to the reason he has for what they will do after. If she says that she doesn’t think they should sell the land, he will not us his own authority as a person.

I: Whether the land is in title, they got together or in an agreement, it doesn’t matter?

R: Yes, as long as the woman refuses, that is it.

I: Even though he is the one with the authority on the land, he can’t sell without the wife’s approval.

R: He can own the land but he can’t sell without her because she is still alive and also her if she got land from her home and she has an agreement for it, he can’t talk about it much.

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

R: Yes, but it also depends on what he left in the will if he left for you a share you can stay but if he wrote and said that the land is for the children and you don’t have any what will you do.

I: Like this one who gives the children, you mean the woman leaves with nothing?

R: Yes, you can’t oppose your husband’s will. Will you argue that he was your husband so you must get a share. They will ask you that if he was your husband, then why didn’t he leave you with land. The writing says that you are not here, he only left the children in there. This means that if you are to stay on the land, you can only do so because of the children and if you want to shift then you can go but you can’t sell.

R: So, most of the times, a widow is allowed to stay on the land, if they worked to attain the land together or if there are children?

R: If they got it together with the husband, I normally see the children bringing these fights. People will ask whether the deceased left a widow, they say yes. They will ask if the family head left having divided the land in the right way, they say yes.

1:20:34

This is when they will get the will and read it and see where they left for the wife, and which part was left for the children and now the government will make its decision. But if you are not anywhere they will ask how come you are not anywhere if he was your husband. They will then tell the children to stay with what they have and leave the remaining land for the mother. If you were not in the will, this is how they chase you away.

I: I would love to understand this, if they worked together to attain the land, the widow can stay on the land but if she is not any proof of document even though she has children, she can be chased away.

R: The man can finish you just like that, they are keeping well.

I: Supposing she didn’t give birth to any children there, what happens?

R: There is an old man there who had two wives but one of them wasn’t giving birth, he included her in the will and left for her land and told her to take some of the land and that she should get some on his cows. When the husband died, the sons who she is an aunty to on their father’s side, came and sold her land and cows and they took her away and bought for her another piece of land at her home. Do you think that if she wasn’t included in that will, those people would give her some thing.

I: Okay. So even if you are married to man and everyone knows it or if you are wedded and he dies, he must have included you in his will for you to remain and get a share of the land.

R: According to what I have been seeing happening that is it. But after all this, the government comes in and uses its authority. If they find that you were his wife and he had married, you whether you have a ring or not they will give you a share of the land. They can’t allow for you to leave just like that with nothing.

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

R: The children will take it then.

I: What if they are young like the ones that were here?

R: She has to have left a way she has talked about it that this land belongs to my children so and so.

I: You know these days how things are that sometimes I am here very fine and then tomorrow you hear that I died. What will happen to the children now?

R: That is how it will start and you hear that they took the orphan’s property and then they start going to the court arguing with the children who may not even understand anything. Only someone wise and understanding can come out and say that this land belongs to these children let it remain until they grow and he or she takes care of it on their behalf. This is the person who can help those children.

I: Is this person always a relative or?

R: Yes, they are relatives.

1:23:36

I: Let us assume the man died and the widow remained but there was another woman out there with children. Sometimes you find that he told the widow about them and other times he didn’t say anything about them to her. Do they come and get shares on this land?

R: If he did not tell her about them, the way I see when a man gave birth to a child outside

his marriage, and he has never spoken about that child and still on the day of burial that woman doesn’t bring the child so that the family sees them and then you bring the child after. They refuse this child because the father never spoke about this child, the mother has never brought him, he didn’t even come to bury their father, the family doesn’t take that child. I see most times on the burial, the man’s friends can come and tell the family that their friend had told them about some child they have and should that child ever come then they should be given a share on his land. When everyone hears this, there is no asking when the child comes, they receive their share of the land.

I: They give the children but not their mothers.

R: Yes.

I: In general, if you found that a man had land before you got married to him, will you remain on this land after his death?

R: The many I see have to agree together. The man can say that this is my land given to me by my father so you as the wife don’t have a share on it. If the parents of the man are not there and they put for you word as a woman, the man can give you nothing. There is a man who kept claiming that it is his land therefore he would go and sell over and over again, whenever the woman spoke, the man told her that he received his land from the father. After a while, the father in law came in and told his son that in the land he had given him and his wife when they were getting married, he has sold his share and it is done therefore, the remaining piece of land will remain for the woman and the children. Now the woman is there with the children although the biggest part of the land the husband sold if off saying that his land was given to him as a share from his father.

I: In your view, are widows allowed to remarry?

R: If she wants she can get married again.

I: Can she bring the husband here on the land?

R: There are some that leave the home and go away and leave the children behind but there is also one who brings the man to sleep with her here but he never lives there fully as a household head.

I: Why is this?

R: For example, in this family, can you bring another man here and they leave you or they will turn and chase you away with your man. You will have dis respected them.

I: So, she has to leave and go elsewhere.

1:27:22

R: If you want to get married again, you go away and if you want to stay you will sleep with the man in secret but not bring him there and he becomes the new family head.

I: He can come and sit and live there.

(Respondents friend comes to ask her about their savings group but leaves after)

What reasons cause them to get married again?

R: She will be looking for a man. They will have left her with things and she has them, that means she will go to look for hat she doesn’t have.

I: Has it happened in your village that after a widow losing her husband the male relatives come and try grabbing land from her?

R: I haven’t heard about the male relatives but I have seen children try to grab land from her.

I: The children grabbing land from their mother?

R: Yes, they are arguing the case.

I: How did this happen?

R: There is an old woman there, her husband has just died recently, she is in the age like for our Mzeei. She has her things, the man had given the children their share of the land and some he gave them cows when they were going to marry. Whoever he gave a home, he would give them a cow for their milk in a good way. We have been seeing him as a person who left his house in order but after his death, he left some land in the family that he had not given to anyone. There were some of his sons who had built like how we have built here on Mzeei’s land, he didn’t explain to them that where they were living the land is not theirs, he left them there. Reading the will, the land was betrothed to the last born but there were houses for his 3 older brothers, the others left and went on to build on their share of land that was given to them. The 3 who remained there, the last born came and told them to remove their houses from his land because he doesn’t want them in his land. The men told him that their father had left them there even at the point of his death and he allowed them to build there, so how could he come to remove them. He told them to leave, the government did its work and told asked them what the will was saying. They brought the will, and it was saying that the houses should never be broken from where they are but should anyone want o do anything more on the land, they should shift and go to their share of land. The last born kept quiet, for the first brother his pit latrine got full and this is where it started from. When it was full, he brought people to dig for him a new latrine but his brother told him not to put it there but go and put it on his land. He told him that if he wanted to dig the latrine there then they should agree and make an agreement saying that he can put it there but he will leave at any time. The other one insisted that it is their father’s land and they were all born like him. The other brother brought a goat’s house there, and put it next to his kitchen, the last born told him not to bring the goat projects on the land because it wasn’t his therefor he should leave. He told him that he will not leave. The government came back and they brought the will, there was the sub county chief too, he asked them if the will was read to them when they were finishing the funeral. They said yes, he asked them if they agreed with it, they all said yes. There were signatures for about 45 people, he asked them if after agreeing with he will they signed, they all said yes.

1:32:28

Now they started saying that their last born had changed the will but he told them that if you knew that he changed the will then why did you sign it, you mean no one could realize that it was wrong and they oppose it saying that that is no what your father had said when he was still alive. They said that they were in pain of losing their father so they didn’t remember this, he also replied them the at ignorance doesn’t take away your wrong therefore the will says that whoever wants to do something else on the land then they have to shift, and when the will was being made the latrine was there, so now that it is full then, if you are digging a new one then go to your own share of land because I don’t see what you are doing here. There was one who also had a garden of coffee, the owner also was told to leave because they were all given their shares of land. Their last born brother told them that if they wanted to stay on the land then they should go and give him someone their land and he lets them stay here. They refused because they were 3 against him alone. He left them and went to the police and sub county and everywhere they went he won the case against them. When they asked their mother, she said that the truth is that the land is for the last born, they all started saying that she is agreeing with her last born. In the will the man left 7 cows which he said should be sold to educate the last born until he finished school. They started arguing that the father left 20 cows so they should share them all again. The mother said that those 20 cows they were talking about were all the cows in the farm with theirs inclusive, so she said that they should bring them together and they share again but the 7 cows are the ones she knows that were left and the last born used them for education and they got over. They have been in this dispute until now, what came out; the land that was left for the family altogether they are saying that they share it and leave for their mother just a little bit yet she is still alive and the mother has also said that they share and also give her another part but the last born’s land stay. Even if they decide to give their mother, the biggest part of the farm belongs to the last born and the others had not bought farm land which means that they will have to take their cows and look for where they will stay. When the day for sharing came, the ones that had not bought farm land for their cows refused to come and therefore no land sharing happened that day. The remaining 3 brothers failed to share the land without the rest of their brothers. The last born got the other coffee garden and burnt it to the ground, the owner now only has his house on that land. He also went and destroyed the cows fence, and made a fence for his cows and for his mother, the rest of the cows for his brothers sleep wherever they find. The government has tried to reconcile them but they have refused to agree, they will finally murder each other. The 3 refused to remove their houses form their brother’s land, they go in and sleep.

I: This is so sad yet they are siblings and their father gave them their shares.

R: There is no outside child among them, I think those men should remove their house and go. But they said that they will not leave because the land is for their father yet they signed on the will that if they want to do anything else then they should leave. The one whose latrine is full, it is still there, I think he uses for his other brothers.

I: Has there been any change in the way widows are treated recently in comparison to before?

R: It has changed, had we ever seen such a scenario like this for children to take their mother’s land and fight each other. I knew that your mother is the one who decided on her own to give you land when she wants and if she doesn’t then it is okay she will stay with her land. Now they are going to cut her farm into pieces just because of the issue of children. Her husband tried to organize his things but the children have now refused. The ones that had no cows started saying they would gain nothing, the other brother decided to connive with the last born and he

1:37:37

bought for him a motorcycle which he riding in the centre so he decided that when they share the land, the last born should take his share and add him money onto the motorcycle, so he got out of the fight like that because he doesn’t want to stay in the farm yet he has no cows.

I: You mean the widows were treated well in the past?

R: I see long ago was okay but these days it is fighting and quarreling with even your own children.

I: The way widows are treated in your village is it okay or not?

R: According to this one we have seen; it is not good.

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

R: Depending on how the father was living with them, it was okay but ever since he died they have mistreated their mother. They shouldn’t have disturbed her like that, they even want to take what she had left even after them receiving their shares.

I: In your view, how are such widows helped?

R: It is hard to tell the children to leave their mother because they will say that the land was for their father. Even the government has failed, what can they do for them. The family has to sit and they organize themselves alone and they decide to leave their mother alone.

I: These women that separate form their husbands, are they allowed to stay on the land?

R: I normally see when they separate the government tells them to share the land.

I: When you say the government, who do you mean?

R: Starting from Lc1 to the sub county. If you separate with a man, you will go to the chairman Lc1 and tell him that he has sent you away in this way and you have your children so what can you do. He brings his authority and tells the man that if he no longer wants the woman then he should give her a share and she stays with her children.

I: For him to give her a share, is it the land they acquired together or?

R: I don’t know always what they are sharing. In the past the way we were living, you as a woman you would be denied the land that your husband received from his father saying that you have no share they would only know the land that you bought with your husband. But when the government found hardships in these cases concerning women and children, it has decided to use its authority now saying that the man never received that land before marriage, when he married that is when he received the land meaning it is for both of them. So whether he received it from his parents or not, he will give her share if she has children. But they have also gone so much on the side of having children.

I: Meaning for the woman with no children, she gets nothing?

R: It is only by grace most of the time. For the woman with children, they tell the man to give

1:40:56

her share for her and the children then he can go and misuse his share the way he wants.

I: Whether you got the land together or whether he got it from his father, the woman has to get.

R: Yes.

I: Whether the reason for separation is on the man or woman, it is the same?

R: Yes, as long as you have allowed to separate in whatever way, you will give her something.

I: So the way these women who have divorced or separated with their husbands are treat, is it acceptable or you would love to see a change in it?

R: I see that it is not good. You started out to make a marriage and family and now you are separating and sharing things; do you think that even when you share these things you will have peace. There will be no peace for either of them.

I: What would you want to be done for this?

R: In my view, they shouldn’t separate. They should try and sit and agree together and forgive each other because we have tried to reconcile men and women and we have failed. The man will tell you that whether you reconcile him and the wife if the wife doesn’t change her ways then we will not manage them. The woman also tells you that if this man doesn’t change his ways but you bring us back together, you are lying to yourselves.

I: You give them advice as who, are you a marriage counselor in this village?

R: God just gave me a gift of listening, a woman or a man will come here and tell me their issues. Then when I meet their spouse I also ask them and we talk and they tell me their side and I advise them just like I did to the other spouse. When I am there I meet the man and he tells me that the last time we talked, there was change in their home and they move on this peace. When I was there, I was also elected as a treasure on the Lc 1 committee, and also when they were selecting a committee on the Lc 2 they also put me there, so this is where I meet most of these cases on both levels. Sometime you try and solve people issues and make them understand but they fight again; here you leave them and they sort themselves on their own and sometimes you hear that they are now together again.

I: Mama, in your view if a woman is able to own land with her husband, will this decrease conflict in their marriage?

R: The reason they have it together they may be when they agree and do things as one, this means that they will own it together. If they don’t agree then it will be for two people separately. Only when you agree together can you use it as one and if you agree then you will fight or share it with each other, everyone living separately because you can’t live together.

I: Does this mean that whether you own land together it will not decrease the conflict in your marriage?

R: Yes.

1:45:28

I: Can it increase conflict in your marriage?

R: Yes, you can have the land but if you failed to agree yet now you want to own this land together and yet you didn’t agree on what you are going to use it for, you will still fight the more. This one wants to cultivate and grow crops then the other wants to sell. Now that I want to grow crops and he sells it, the land will get finished and if he sells it then whatever he is going to use the money for it doesn’t benefit me. With this, you will not settle the conflict.

I: How then can this conflict be resolved?

R: If you don’t come and sit together and realize that what you are doing is not good and that you need to agree you will end up murdering each other.

**Land disputes**

I: Mama, our last part is about land disputes. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: It the way the land is used. We are going to have land as a family both our children and my husband. As you are there you find that even you as a woman you are never home, in the morning you go to the bar and you don’t know what is happening at home and even if you know what is happening you want to come and just pick the coffee and sell it, then the man also sees you and says you can’t sell the land as he is watching you yet you left him to take care of the children as you went to the bar. You will not work together but fight each other.

I: In general, now with family inclusive and the other people in the villages, what would bring about disputes over land?

R: All these start form home. If you have bad behaviors at home, then that is what you will do out there. If you can’t agree at home, then you will not agree elsewhere with other people.

I: Have you heard about these disputes in your village?

R: These are the cases we are solving every day. Like the man I told you about she went and brought people to rent them the land and they came and started digging then the woman also brought people and rented them the same land and they started planting their crops and at the end the woman was fighting with the person the man had rented the land to. She told the person that the money her husband gets from renting the land doesn’t help her in any way while the person also told her that it is not their problem that her husband doesn’t give her the money. The person at the end ran to tell the man and he came to kill the woman because of the bad use of land. If they had agreed that she can cultivate this part of the land and use it to get money, then the woman wouldn’t be fighting also.

I: Is there a way such a dispute can be resolved within the family?

R: It can be resolved if you agree together and reconcile as a people. You can involve elders or other people or you can choose to solve our own issues.

I: When do they involve village people to help in resolving it?

1:49:51

R: When the man and woman fail to agree with each other, they can come and tell someone like me. I go there slowly and meet the person who brought the issue whether it is the man or the woman, you go there and talk to them. But sometimes the woman will come back and tell you that even though you talked to them nothing changed, you also tell her that you tired talking to them but they refused so what will you do?

I: This is when they have not listened to their elders in the family?

R: You find that they tried in the family and the village people and it failed. This is when you know that the wife or husband are going to use the government. And they come and decide what they will do for the wife and husband.

I: If one side of the people in the dispute has a title, is there a way it will help to resolve the dispute and end it?

R: If it is the man who has it alone or the woman has it alone?

I: Supposing they are people that are neighbors in the village involved in a dispute, and one of them has a title, is there a way it can help to resolve the dispute on the land?

R: The owner of the title can use it to end the dispute for them, but for this one who doesn’t have it, they can decide to continue disturbing and hating the one with the title. Because if they have won him, accepting to loose is hard. You will find one who will not agree with whatever has been decided on. Now like these brothers I told you about; they signed on the will and the case found them guilty but they will show you that they will not leave, they will stay on the land and keep fighting.

I: So, does the title help or it won’t help?

R: It will only help the owner, the one who has it but for the one who doesn’t have it he will not be helped.

I: For the people like these having land security problems, how would you suggest they be helped so that they don’t lose their land or have such disputes?

R: Here, one person between the two is the one who will decide to cool and let go and he says that if the boundary was passing here and now you decided to shift it extended it here, he can choose to loose that piece of land that the other person took trying to extend the boundary and they let it be. This can help but if he also decides to continue and pursue the case, it never ends. Between the both of them, one has to end and agree.

I: How about for the men and women?

R: It is also the same, one has to agree with what the other has decided. You may find a man saying that their wife failed them and they left her. There is one who they have been talking about this morning, the woman was caught with another man in the banana plantation. When her husband found them, the other man beat her husband. The woman said that she was drunk and she doesn’t remember what happened in the night. The other men are saying if they are her husband, that woman can’t go back to live with them in their homes.

1:53:37

That woman hasn’t done it for the first time because she is not a child, she is not a young woman so that you say that she is worth what she is doing, she is an old woman, she has a daughter in law and grandchild and a son in law. Do you think she just did it last night or the husband has been knowing about her behavior, but he doesn’t have what to do, he will look at her and just leave her. He was beaten, he is going to go and get medication. If he decides to follow her, he can get a panga and kill her or he would have killed her last night, but he saw it and got tired of it. You may find that he beat her until he got tired and decided to just let her be.

I: He decides to just keep quiet.

R: Yes, because if he was to also get involved in this behavior, he would have killed her and of course she didn’t just start doing that last night, she must have been doing it.

I: Okay Mama, thank you so much for talking to me and giving me your time and telling me about everything. I am glad. I don’t know if you any question about that we have talked about today as we are closing?

R: Now this tile that came, we received it. So what is its purpose of having it.

I: But you have told me about it, you told me that it is proof of ownership of land that it belongs to you and they came and marked stones meaning no one can come and claim your land because the title shows where your boundaries and where land passes should something happen to it tomorrow. You had also told me that your in laws can come and claim your land that they want it yet you have its tile. You also told me that you get loans although you told that banks are not allowing titles, I am glad to know about that. Because I haven’t heard about this before, other people are using their title to get loans in much simpler way whereby they no longer ask them for many witnesses like before. I am also glad to know about the other thing you told me that you were told that you would be given world bank loans yet the other person told you that you should get the loans from your local bank where you have an account; this doesn’t relate together, they are going to read about this and they know it and see what to do. I have also seen in Kampala that people with land titles, their land is valued higher than the one with an agreement because for them they have the hard evidence that it their land. That is what you told me and I have taken it as feedback to them.

R: Okay please.

I: Here is your gift appreciating your time that you took to talk to me. Thanks for your time.

R: Thank you for visiting us too.

1:56:44