**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 4/11/2019

Name of respondent: Leonada

H.H I. D: 4390071

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 2:20 pm

Interview stop time: 4:02 pm

Age: 38

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 5

No. of people living in the household: 6

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Sells goats for school fees

Highest level of education: Primary 7

No. of years living in the village: 20

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles, cement, painting and solar lighting.

Interview Duration: 1:42:14

The interview happened in the respondent’s house. The interruptions we had were her child wanting to feed and sleep so we would wait as she sorts this and then we continue. Their house is made of mud, poles, cement and painted, they have iron sheets for the roofing and solar lighting. She was engaged but not fully at the start because the child was disturbing her at times but later on we went on with the conversation. On some questions she would say that she doesn’t know or she would say no though I think she just didn’t want to answer especially in the intra household discussion and bargaining section. They look to be middle class according to their living standard, look of the home and the activities they get money from. Asked about titling, she said that she signed on all the papers and that she is on the title with the husband. Later on she also said that she was the fearful one so she let the man continue to do what he was doing and that on the day they brought the stones and the title she wasn’t around.

She lives with her husband and their 4 children, the 5th one is already married and she comes by to only visit. She told me that she gets money from selling bananas, some goats only when they have to pay school fees. She said that they have one income bag, but the coffee looked to be for the man. Together with the husband they have 7 plots of land; close to half acre of their home where thy have some banana plants and avocado tree, a half acre of a banana plantation, 3 quarters of an acre of beans, half of a quarter acre with coffee and half of a quarter acre with trees and 2 half acres of land with cassava and beans. She said that the husband also has his inheritance which he received from his father of which she added that she has no share on it

**Warm up**

I: How is today morning for you here Mama?

R: It is okay.

I: Your husband had said that you were digging far from here. Where is this place where you had gone to?

R: There is a distance

I: Like how many kilometers are there?

R: It is like 1 kilometer from here

I: That is still far.

R: Yes, we walk there but the man takes a bicycle.

I: You walk to there every day?

R: We can’t get transport to work because you may end up working for transport only. You need soap and other things for the home, so you can’t spend 1000 everyday on transport yet you have other things to provide for.

I: By the end of the week, that is a lot of money. You have nice hair.

R: I see you also have it.

I: How was yesterday for you Mama?

R: It ended well, we are all fine.

I: You had said that you are still giving birth and this is not your last born.

R: I will give birth to many children and make a farm of children.

I: When you are able to take care of them then it is okay.

R: Even still, a child that is already born can’t fail to live. If they are not well off later in life, then he can go to town and carry bananas for money.

I: Mama, where are the rest, we have found you here with the baby only.

R: The others are in school they are two. Others are here, I don’t have a big family to stress me.

(She was feeding the baby)

I: You can also serve food and eat Mama. There is no problem.

00:02:29

R: I will eat later not now.

I: How about the lady outside with a child, how are you related with her?

R: She is my first born child.

I: Okay. So Mama how is the weeding going on?

R: We are weeding millet, beans and the plantation.

I: I see it is work now. Thanks for welcoming me Mama, I am glad to meet you.

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

In our first part of the conversation we will talk about your family, how you live and land. Mama, how may children do you have?

R: The family has 5 children only. I am counting 4 as of now.

I: Why?

R: This one is now counted at her husband’s home and she is no longer counted from here.

I: When a girl gets married, she cannot be counted at her home?

R: No, but you may count her because she is your child and you worked to grow her.

I: So how many boys and girls are they?

R: The girls are 2 and the boys are 3.

I: Well done.

R: I see that I look bad.

I: Is this how you fell about yourself?

R: The people passing by tell me that my life is not looking good.

I: Everyone has their eyes and what they see but I see that you are fine.

R: People’s eyes like something and don’t like the other.

I: Is there any other person that stays with you here apart from your children.

R: No.

I: So your daughter comes to visit you then after she goes away.

R: She is even packing her bags now to go back.

00:05:32

I: She is already planning for her journey?

R: Yes, she is going back to her home.

I: Well done on taking care of your family.

R: How have you see this.

I: I see that your children here are looking good and tour home too. Therefore, there is a woman’s work in this.

R: That is me. I cook the food for us and we eat whether sweet potato, cassava and what else would I be wanting anyway. I even have a baby now.

I: Yes, it is moving on anyway. How old are you Mama?

R: The years are going now; I am 38 years I think.

I: Mama, what class did you study up to?

R: Me I didn’t go to school.

I: At all?

R: I stopped in primary 7

I: What things do you do that give you money.

R: I sell bananas and get soap and salt.

I: How about the seasons?

R: Those ones take long and when they come, they go after. But I also get money from there.

I: I have seen you drying coffee outside there.

R: Coffee also takes while for its seasons and it also ends.

I: How about animals, do you have them?

R: We don’t have big land to graze them but we have some 3 or 4 goats and we get money for school from here.

I: If you don’t mind me asking, do you have one income bag with your husband?

R: I think that our bag is one.

I: Meaning even if you get 500 shillings you tell your husband about it.

R: Yes.

00:08:47

I: For how many years have you lived here?

R: I have spent like 20 years here.

I: In what year did you get married Mama?

R: I got married in 1995

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

R: It is not far; it is in Kagongi this side.

I: Do you go back home sometimes?

R: In good terms or in bad times?

I: Normally, when you decide to go back home.

R: I go back to check on them.

I: Who do you go back to check on?

R: I have both my parents there so it needs me to go back and see them.

I: After how long, do you go back to check on them?

R: After 3 or 4 months.

I: Let us say that it is not just checking on them, is there any other reason that would take you back home?

R: What would I be going to do there, I have my peace to stay here and take care of my home and children but also they are also there with their family and they are well. So I go when I want to.

I: In general, you normally go back after 3 to 4 months.

R: Like now, I was last there in July.

I: This year?

R: Yes, and now it is November.

I: Are there times when you go and sleep there?

R: Sometimes I sleep there and sometimes I come back.

I: Mama, I would love to know if you have land that you own as a woman.

R: I count with the man.

00:12:04

I: Okay, so you have no land like there at home?

R: No, when parents are still alive, you can’t get land from them. We are working as a republic (said by the respondent)

I: What do you mean by republic?

R: We all work there; it is land used by all. If I go now and ask them for where to dig they will tell me to dig. There is my brother who married and his wife is also digging there. So you can use but don’t ask about *migorora* because he said that he doesn’t want them in his land, whoever wants a share they should go and buy for themselves their own land.

I: Let us imagine that he is not around tomorrow, will it still stay like this?

R: No, for him by now he has made something in writing and he gets a neighbor like you and gives you his will that you keep it so that should something happen to him tomorrow, you will be the one to read his will for the family.

I: He is still alive and well.

R: Yes, he is there working. We go to visit and he buys for us sodas and meat we eat and drink but we can’t ask him about his land. You can even go and grow your children from there but not sharing.

I: Let us get back to the land you have with your husband; how many pieces are they?

R: Here is small, it is like a little more than a quarter acre of land.

I: What do you have on this land here?

R: We have this house and some banana plants, the other ones like where you see that on is in another person’s land so us we get the avocado tree.

I: Is there anything else you have put in the plantation?

R: They are bananas only.

I: How did you acquire this land here Mama?

R: We bought it.

I: Like at how much did you buy it at?

R: Those days the money was still low, we bought it for 120,000 shillings.

I: You have the agreement of this land?

R: Yes.

I: I am wondering whether you have your signature on it.

00:16:02

R: Yes, I have it.

I: Are you there as a witness or as a buyer?

R: As a buyer.

I: Okay. Let us talk about the second one, how big is it.

R: It is a banana plantation.

I: How big is it?

R: It has a half acre of a banana plantation and then there is 3 quarters of an acre of beans and cassava, there is a half of a quarter acre with coffee and the other half of a quarter acre has trees.

I: Mama, for all these pieces of land, did you buy them all or?

R: We bought them.

I: Were you able to sign on all of them?

R: Yes.

I: Your husband, didn’t he receive any inheritance from his home?

R: I don’t know about it but I think he got it.

I: Mama, where is it?

R: It is a quarter acre.

I: You have talked about it without ease.

R: That one I don’t think about it because I don’t have a signature or hand on it. It is not mine so I didn’t come here with it.

I: This is your son too?

R: He is the second born and he follows the other girls outside.

I: Mama, which land did you put in the title?

R: It is there; it is the one I told you that it has a half acre of banana plantation.

I: Is it all together or it has halves?

R: It is together.

I: Is there any other land that you have apart from the one you have told me about?

00:19:16

R: Yes, we have.

(The baby starts crying and she tries to put her to sleep)

I: Like how many more plots do you have?

R: There is one more acre but it is in pieces.

I: How many pieces are they?

R: They are like two with each a half acre.

I: What do you do on these pieces of land?

R: We grow beans there and cassava.

I: How about millet, haven’t you planted it?

R: You see millet brings much work in weeding it.

I: So you haven’t planted it for this season?

R: We plant very little.

I: How about ground nuts?

R: For us the biggest thing is beans.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. I would love to know if there is anyone else who works on your land.

R: We use it all alone.

I: How about like renting the land to other people?

R: No, we use it ourselves.

**General land**

I: We will talk about our next part which is about land in general. How do people acquire land that they own in this village?

R: To get you have to be working and you get money and if you are there your neighbor calls you and sells to you land. This is how we get it.

I: Are there people who own land but they didn’t buy it?

R: Even if someone has it they keep it as a secret, they can’t go in their house and start announcing that they have land they got from their home that is his secret and he knows it with his family alone.

00:24:20

I: But are there spouses or like men who tell their wives about the land they inherited from their parents.

R: Yes, they can know but am not in other people’s homes to know that.

I: Okay. In what ways can someone get land that he doesn’t own and use it?

R: He can see the neighbor when he has land to dig on or a person can go and see the neighbor and ask them to rent him land to cultivate. After this they will agree on how much money is to be paid and then he gets like quarter acre of land where to put his beans or ground nuts.

I: Do you still have people here who give land for free without rent?

R: You can’t get it here, you have to pay 60,000 shillings and they give you a quarter acre for you to cultivate.

I: This method of harvesting like beans then I give you beans instead of paying rent money, is it still working here?

R: Here you have to agree from the start before you plant. After agreeing they can also see how you are harvesting and the yields you get, after you get some harvest and you give it to the land owner. But if you don’t give the owner the harvest, it is a bad thing they can even hold your remaining harvest.

I: Is it still working up to now paying using the harvest?

R: I haven’t understood this well.

I: I mean that today, do people still harvest and pay using the harvest or they pay using money for rent?

R: The land owners want you to give them money.

I: Let us say that someone wants to sell land, do they have to get permission from someone in the village or they can sell?

R: He knows himself and his family, why would he be asking people from outside. Supposing I want to pay school fees for the child, does it need me to go and tell my neighbor that I am going to sell land to pay school fees. To sell land you just agree with your family. If he tells me and I ask him what the money will be used for and he doesn’t tell me then I can refuse him to sell. For example, now that we don’t have any child in senior school so if he wanted to sell land, he would be selling to take the money where, this is what shows you that he is wasting the money.

I: If someone tells you that is family land, how would you understand it?

R: It is for the family now like my family.

I: Does it mean that everyone in your family can use it for what they want?

00:28:08

R: Yes.

I: Yes, they can use it.

R: Do they have the control now, like your son can just come and dig there.

R: He can first tell me that he wants to put his garden of tomatoes or cabbages or passion fruits. I will leave him to work, if your child is working and you interfere with them then they will feel demotivated.

I: I would love to know whether on this family land there is someone who has authority over it.

R: The owner of the land is the man and his wife so they have the authority over it.

I: Supposing the man and woman are not there tomorrow, who will then own this land?

R: It will be the children.

I: Will you have divided it amongst them or?

R: You can leave after dividing but let us say that you have died of an accident, won’t there be any big person in the family who will come and organize these children and the land.

I: Do you rent land Mama?

R: Yes, I do, even this season I have rented.

I: What have you planted there?

R: It is a quarter acre of millet.

I: Have you sold land before?

R: We sold a quarter acre of land.

I: When you decided to sell it, what happened?

R: We were going to pay school fess for our child.

I: In what class was she.

R: She was in senior 5

I: Where is she now Mama?

R: She finished school, she is the one.

I: Apart from this, have you sold any other land?

R: No, we haven’t sold yet, why would we sell

00:30:54

The ones I have now are still in primary and they haven’t yet required us to sell land for them.

I: This boy I have seen is also still in primary?

R: No, we saw that he refused to go to secondary school so we left him. He like going to learn garage, he went there and that is where he works on cars and motorcycles.

I: I think it has no problem as long as he like it.

R: We wanted for him to continue school but he refused and said that we take him to do vocational work.

I Even there, he might get a chance.

R: He is there in Rubindi working, if he learns everything then he will work more.

I: Okay. To find that you have ownership over land, what does that mean to you?

R: It can be mine may be I have bought it but even then, I will lean on the side of the man. It doesn’t mean that since it is in your hand as a woman then you can sell it just like that, I think still you can tell your husband that you are going to sell your land. If anything becomes hard for you then you can tell him that you are going to sell your land and use the money for this. You can say it.

I: For you to have land that you own, the man will be knowing about it.

R: Yes.

I: Having ownership on land in general, what does it mean to you?

R: It means that if no one has control over this land either the man or the woman like if it is for the whole family; it means that everyone in the family can sell whenever they have a problem. Here I understand, that if there is an owner of the land with authority, this land can be kept well, cultivated on and it all takes care of the family. This is how I have understood it; I don’t know if it is like that or not.

I: It is okay mama, there is no issue, these are your thoughts about it and it is what we want. There is no right or wrong answer and everyone has their thoughts. It is okay.

R: Okay

I: What are the different ways one can show proof that they own land?

R: There is a title and an agreement. These are the ones I know.

I: In your view, what advantages are there in having a woman’s names listed on these land documents like the agreements you have?

R: This one I get it that if a woman signs on the paper and the man wants to sell land in the way that she doesn’t understand then she has the right to stop him from selling.

00:35:37

This is how I understand it. If he asks you whether you have a hand on the land and you find that you had no signature, then you will leave him to sell it. If you try to argue with him, he can beat you.

I: Which other good things are there in having women’s names on these documents?

R: The good thing there is that you have worked for that land with the man and now the woman should sign because they have worked together to get the money.

I: Do you think that there are problems that could arise from having a woman’s name on the land documents?

R: I don’t see any problems but may be if the man wants to sell the land because he says that he bought it himself so whether you sign as the woman or not. Then you will go to the LC 1 then you go to LC 2 also and then your reach LC 3 while fighting over the land because you are there together.

I: And this is all because you haven’t allowed him to sell.

R: Yes, I think here things can get bad.

I: Do you think about or hope to inherit land in the future?

R: From my husband?

R: From anywhere.

I: Yes, from anywhere whether here or.

R: I have hope for the land that I have worked for.

I: Where is it that you have this hope?

R: Here I have it and also from my father

I: Tell me why you have this hope.

R: I have worked for this land here and if I die then it will be taken by the children.

I: So you also hope to get from your parents’ land.

R: There I have little hope because most of the land I count to be min is here where I am. You can’t force a parent to give you land.

I: The most land you count is here?

R: Yes.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. In this village, are people fearful or worried about losing their land?

00:38:29

R: For the village people I don’t know, I only for mine.

I: Okay, how about in the way you hear about it or have people come and tried to take other people’s land?

R: No, I haven’t heard of it here.

I: Okay, so people here are okay about their land.

R: Yes.

I: If you are able to get more land, in what ways would you go about this?

R: You can never know what God is in but for the other lands it has been working with my hands.

I: Is there any other way you would get land apart from buying?

R: How can you get land if you don’t have money and you have bought it, where will you get it from.

I: Mama, do you have family land personally like how you explained to me about family land?

R: Isn’t it here.

I: Do you have approved shares on it?

R: Yes, I have them.

I: You had said that you have a banana plantation and your home here, is there any other thing done here?

R: No.

I: I am wondering whether you have divided for your children already.

R: They are still young, which of them is going to ask me for land.

I: Maybe when they are getting married.

R: But if I want I can refuse to give it to you and I tell you to go and work for your land. If I have educated you; me I found myself on zero and I started on nothing so I worked to be here. But I can give it to them, because if I don’t give my child land, who will give it to.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about that, our next part is about titles. We want to get your thoughts on this. Mama, what does t tile mean to you?

R: I understand the title that if it is on land, no person from the village can come and interfere in your land.

00:41:25

I: What uses does it have?

R: I think I have forgotten some of them.

I: It is okay Mama, tell me what you know.

R: That is how I get it that it protects your land from any other person stealing it.

I: Is there any other use that you see?

R: That is what I told you that some of the things have left my head and they are no longer there.

I: Have you used it in any way and it was useful?

R: They have just put it there; it is not a long time since then.

I: In this journey of titling, what have you loved about it?

R: If they put it for you so that it keeps your land well, let us also wait and see what else will happen.

I: Is there any concern that you found in this journey which you would like to let us know.

R: I haven’t yet seen it.

I: Okay. Mama I would love to know if you are on the title too.

R: I signed on all the papers.

I: Would they visit you both?

R: Yes.

I: Are there times when they would talk to each of you differently?

R: Yes.

I: Tell me how it went.

R: They talked to me the same way you are talking to me.

I: For you to be added o title, who decided to put you there?

R: The man said that we receive it, would I refuse like as if the land is mine. I accepted. In the middle somewhere, I wasn’t around when they came so I don’t remember what happened there. But he told me that they came and planted the title.

I: Have you seen the title since they brought it?

R: No

00:44:30

I: You haven’t seen it and it is the man who told you.

R: Yes.

I: Where had you gone Mama?

R: You know that us we go and dig so I think I was in the gardens.

I: Do you go away to dig and stay there for like a week?

R: Now like we have come, if you wanted him alone we would have found you gone already and I wouldn’t have seen you if you had not found me around. I had even gone in the morning.

I: So they came and planted the stones and brought the title, when you were not around and you didn’t see the title?

R: Yes.

I: Did he also tell you how he kept it?

R: He just told me that they brought it and he kept it.

I: Do you think that women prefer to be on titles with their husbands?

R: Like me I loved it but I think it depends on how someone loved it because it is even not for everyone. Not all people got it.

I: Have you liked it being on the title as a woman?

R: I loved it because I have already put my signature there.

I: You had told me that when they were bringing the title you were not around. Did you sign on there?

R: It looks like I didn’t.

I: From the time you got a title, even through the times they brought the stones and the title and you were not around. Did this change a change on your marriage?

R: Nothing has changed.

I: Isn’t there a way you thought about it as a woman?

R: I thought about it that maybe these people will take our land and he said that why would they steal the land, what would they be after. He said that he loved his thing therefore he will go ahead and do it.

I: So there is a time you reach and you didn’t understand?

R: I understood but I left it there.

00:48:32

I: Meaning he went on with the title because he had loved it?

R: Now that he had like it, would I stop him.

I: Do you think that there are some issues that would come up in marriage because one of them didn’t go on the title? Maybe the woman reaches somewhere and tells her husband that she doesn’t understand so she refuses and then the man continues, are there issues that would come out of this?

R: They can come. If the man says that he has loved this and the woman says that she doesn’t love it, there will come out bad things and this will bring disagreement between them. In the middle there, everyone will do their own thing.

I: Did it bring any issues for you?

R: There is no problem at all, we are in peace here.

I: In your view, what advantages do you think will be there in having both a man and a woman listed on the title together?

R: The good thing there is that where they out the title, there is no one who will come and take it.

I: Are there other good thing to find that a man is with the wife on the title?

R: In the middle there is agreement that they allowed to plant for them the title and if you find that the title has only one name then there is now working together there.

I: For what reason so you think that a man would refuse to add his wife on the title?

R: It is disagreement in their marriage. The man will say that he is the one who bought and the woman will say that they bought it together and this is how it started.

I: Is there any other reason why a man would do this?

R: That is how I told you that for a man to refuse the woman to sign., he can put the land on his side and he is saying that he bought the land alone or that it is his inheritance from his father so the woman shouldn’t be there. I think this is where it comes from.

I: Mama, do you think that there are some reasons that are brought about by women and the man refuse to add her on the title?

R: Repeat for me.

I: Do you think that there is a reason why the man refuse to add the woman on the title which based on the woman?

R: Yes

I: Like which one Mama.

00:52:08

R: He can think that if he puts her then tomorrow he might want to sell and if he hasn’t out her there then there is no way the women will start asking him about the selling because her name is not there.

I: Before you encountered the people that were giving titles, how was it that people in this village got titles?

R: You think I knew it. I have seen it from here, I had not seen them before.

I: Were there people who had titles here?

R: I had not seen them before.

I: How about those that have stones but they didn’t get them through this process.

R: There is none.

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

R: I don’t know there.

I: There is when you don’t know something but inside there, you just think that maybe they pass here.

R: I can’t draw a direction and I tell you, I don’t know.

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

R: This whole thing fell in us like rain. Some heard that their names went and others said that the names came but some were dropped by the computer so the names which came are the ones whom they will give. This is how I heard about it.

I: In your view, do you see that some like them while others don’t or?

R: There are some who want them but they didn’t get this chance.

**Intra household Discussion and Bargaining**

I: Mama, let us get into our next part, from what you remember we would like to know the conversation you had with your husband about the title. When they visited you the first time and then they left, what did you talk about with your husband?

R: Things have got out of my head already.

I: You can tell me what you remember, there is no issue.

R: They came and introduced themselves to us and they told us that they are from Lala and we asked them what Lala means and they explained to us to understand. They told us that we were going to get a title, that the names came and they were many and that in the whole village cell, the computer chose only 4 people. So they said that they came to see the people whom the computer had shown them.

00:56:09

We kept meting them and they would call and tell us that today we have a meeting with them so they want to find everyone at their home.

I: After telling you all this, what did you talk about with your husband?

R: We talked that we receive the title when it comes. We also asked ourselves if these people won’t steal from us and tomorrow they come and take our land. This is what we asked ourselves.

I: Mama, between you and your husband, who was more fearful?

R: It is me.

I: How did he handle you refusing?

R: He said that if they take the land then that is it but it is a blessing that we had passed through and he said that let us participate in it.

I: Later on, what made you allow to go on?

R: I didn’t refuse, they came and kept on teaching us so I like it along the way.

I: Wen they brought the stones you said that you were not around.

R: I think I was there.

I: After them planting the stones, what did you discuss?

R: For them, they told us that they will come back and when they came back, they didn’t find me here.

I: Do you think that is when they brought the title?

R: Yes.

I: When you came back, did your husband talk to you?

R: He explained to me.

I: What did he tell you?

R: He told me that they have brought the title, and he said that he will take the title and keep it at the bank and remove it from the house.

I: How has this experience been for you?

R: I talk about it well because I haven’t yet seen any bad thing in it.

I: Okay. You told me that you have spent about 20 years with your husband.

R: You think it is only 20 years, let us say that like 25 years.

00:58:42

I: How have these years been for you?

R: They have gone well for me.

I: Like people who live together you may not fail to have some small issues but you are still here.

R: Us we don’t have fights.

I: What has kept you going?

R: We don’t live together here; he stays somewhere else so we don’t have the fights here.

I: Where does he live Mama?

R: He has his business in Kagongi

I: After work, can’t he come to sleep here.

R: He sleeps there all through.

I: If you don’t mind me asking, are you the only woman in this home?

R: Yes.

I: When he sleeps there, when does he come to be with your people here?

R: He comes in the morning, he comes and weeds in the banana plantation.

I: What kind of business does he do there Mama.

R: He has an alcohol store.

I: Other people sometimes leave their homes and go, have you ever left yours?

R: No, that one I don’t know it. It has also been me listening to rumors and I don’t follow them when they tell you that your husband has been seen doing this or that he has a woman there. These things I don’t listen to them.

I: In what ways would you say that you feel supported by your husband?

R: We go to the garden together and where we fail then we get workers to help us do that thing.

I: Are there other ways he shows you his support?

R: He pays for the children school fees and when we put together our money we buy whole soap and not pieces. This is the agreement we have here.

I: Mama, how would you compare this to other marriages?

R: Me I don’t know for others.

1:01:57

I: In general, as you see.

R: I only know for mine here. First allow me to eat food, it must be cold now.

I: It is okay Mama, please go and eat.

R: I bring for you a fork and we eat together even though the food is cold.

I: I am okay, from where we were in Kyandahi, they gave us millet porridge, it made me full.

R: Okay.

I: You were still telling me about the other marriage and how you don’t know them.

R: Yes, I don’t know for other people.

I: Just tell me generally what you think. Do other men out there also support their wives like your husband does?

R: I don’t know but there are some men that don’t help their wives.

I: How about you, in what ways do you support and encourage your husband?

R: If you do your things and bring them together, the money you out it together and after you find a goat or sheep and you buy it and out it there, I think that is the trust he has.

I: In what other ways do you encourage him?

R: What else now. I wash for him his clothes; we pay the school fees together because the bag is one.

I: How would you compare this to out there. Do the women also encourage their husbands?

R: I don’t know this one.

I: In your view what do you think?

R: I don’t know about what is there for others out there.

I: Okay Mama. In your home, who makes the major decision on the thigs your take to be big in your home.

R: It is the man.

I: Is there a way he first talks to you or?

R: He asks me or I also ask him first but he makes the final decision at the end.

I: Which is the latest major decision that has been done in your home recently?

R: Putting the child in school.

1:06:12

I: Which one Mama?

R: This boy you have seen. I had decided that he sits down; because whatever made him refuse secondary school might still make him refuse the garage but my husband refused and said that we let him go there.

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

R: Those of other people, I don’t understand them. You see when the day gets dark everyone for into their home and also them they don’t know what is happening at my home.

I: Okay, in the way you see just out there, do you think that some agree and other don’t or?

R: I be seeing them handling their families.

**General norms around land**

I: Thanks mama for telling me about that. Our next part we shall talk about women and land. We have grown up seeing land being more for men than women. There are some aspects we want to understand about this although we have no truth about it. We want to get your thoughts Mama. Are there women who own land in this village by themselves?

R: Yes, they can be there.

I: How do they acquire it?

R: She will have planted her garden like this, when she harvests she keeps on putting together the money. Sometimes she may pick school fees for the child from this money but then she adds on another season and she makes 1.5 million shillings then she buys some piece of land though it may not even be a half acre of land. She plants cassava in the land and then she educated the children. She can have it alone or with the man.

I: Apart from buying, are there women that own land in a different way.

R: Yes, she can have land from her home.

I: These women that own this land, do their husbands know about it or they have it in secret?

R: The man can be knowing about it.

I: Aren’t there some that have it in hiding?

R: She will be hiding to put it where. Whatever is hidden will be eaten by the rats.

I: That is a nice proverb, I have kept it that hidden things are eaten by the rats. If you hide from your husband, who will you tell it to. You keep hiding it there for a long time, why don’t you tell him that you got land from your father and mother. If the man knows it, will he go now and sell it, he can’t sell it.

R: So for you, you don’t want this hiding of land.

1:09:55

R: No.

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

R: Now the man and the woman are all working hard, sometimes the women will get her money and buy land where the man doesn’t know.

I: So do you think that other women would be allowed to own land?

R: Remember that by the time the wife is buying land alone, she has failed to be with her husband. It looks like the man will be getting money and taking it on the side and he can’t get 100 shillings and keep it but he eats it all. The woman now decides to plant sweet potatoes and sell them to buy land and do her thing too.

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

R: I have told you that for the women to buy the land alone then they don’t have agreement between the two of them and if the land is for both of them then they have agreement with each other. This means that if a man sees a quarter of land at is neighbor, when he is going to pay then the woman will sign on the paper too.

I: Like a witness or as one who has bought?

R: As one who has bought with the wife.

I: You mean that the women who have bought land alone are the ones who have failed to agree with their husbands.

R: Yes.

I: I have understood that. Who makes the decision on your land like where and when to plant crops in season?

R: It is the man.

I: Can’t you come in and say that you think you should put this instead of that.

R: No, he decides.

I: I know that we had already talked about family land being for the man, wife and children. Do you think that women have shares on this land most of the time?

R: Yes, she has a share.

I: Is there a difference whether the land is for the man or if they acquired it together.

R: There is a difference. If I am the man the owner of the land, I have my land and my children maybe 6 or 8, this is an example am giving you. I can get a quarter acre and I give it to both the girl and the boy and I get more land like a half acre and I give it to another boy and girl like that. The remaining part, I can say that it is their mother’s share so they shouldn’t talk about it.

1:13:58

So that tomorrow when their mother is leaving the world, that land buries her.

I: So women have a share on the land whether she found the man with the land or they acquired it together.

R: Yes.

I: Okay Mama, let us say that in a marriage the man wants to sell this family land, does he have to get permission first from his wife?

R: Yes, he has to, if I have my signature on it. But if I don’t have my signature on it then that means that things were bad. You as a woman you may have wanted to sign on there but the man stops you from putting it there. When selling, he will tell you that you didn’t sign on his land therefore this land is his land alone because you didn’t put any money on it. He will say that by the time he is selling it then he knows how he will sell.

I: Supposing it is his land but that is where you have your home and you are living there but tit is in his names alone. Does he need to ask you first or he can sell?

R: This one becomes hard because it is family land, how will he sell it. He has to first consult us.

I: Okay. Are widows allowed to remain on the land after their husband’s death?

R: Yes, they can.

I: Let us say that the land was for the man as his inheritance, will the widow remain there?

R: Yes, she will.

I: How about if she was unable to give birth?

R: Even though she didn’t give birth, she is not the one that refused to give birth so she can stay. It all depends on the woman who is in the land, if the family treat her well, she will stay but if they treat her badly then she will go.

I: When they treat her badly, can she report them?

R: Yes, she can and get some of that land.

I: Let us say that the widow also passes on, whose land will it be?

R: It goes back to the family where she found it.

I: How about if she left children behind?

R: It will be for the family, her children.

I: What if they are young and they don’t know much about land yet.

R: There will be an older person in that family who will look after them and their land.

1:18:05

I: Is it usual that the family will get this caretaker of the children?

R: The care taker can be there but it is not for everyone.

I: I would love to know if there is any difference on the land; if she found him with it or they bought it together or if they have children.

R: It depends on the man how he has died. If has died but not in an accident and he leaves a written will sating that they should leave his wife on the land and she takes care of herself or you should leave her and don’t stop her from selling her land so that she goes to their home and lives there.

I: Let us say that the man dies like in an accident and never left a will, the widow stays there?

R: She may decide for herself whether she wants to remain there.

I: Can’t the family interfere with her in any way now that she doesn’t have a will?

R: If they want it they can chase her but also a woman to remain in the home it is her child.

I: So the difference is on the children.

R: Even if the children are 2 or 1, she can sit and live there.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Do these widows sometimes remarry?

R: This is on her own will and choice.

I: Can she get married to the man there or she has to go and find the man out there?

R: For many, it can fail.

I: What do you mean?

R: If she has in-laws or her mother in-law, they can make it hard for her and tell her to take her men away or she finds them there and takes the men away from the land of their son.

I: So if she wants to get married again, she has to go there and find the man. Does she leave the children behind?

R: If she has them.

I: Yes.

R: That is lack of a heart. You have already given birth and the man has died and left you with children and then you leave them in the house because you want to get married again. What kind of marriage is that which makes you throw way your children, is this right?

I: Why do think that these women get married again with another man?

R: I think it is lack of heart. Is this wisdom? This is my way of thinking.

1:21:47

I: According to you, when the man dies, the woman is supposed to stay there with her children whether she is young or old or has few children.

R: Yes, she should remain there.

I: What if she didn’t give birth to any child, can’t she get married again?

R: If she didn’t give birth then that is her chance, she should carry luggage and go get a man but still she can bring her here. They can chase her away.

I: Has it happened here in this village that a widow loses her husband and then after the male relatives come and try to grab land from her.

R: Yes.

I: Tell me how it happened.

R: I am giving you an example because I haven’t seen it happen.

I: Okay.

R: The woman has children, they want to eat and she also doesn’t have where she is. They interfere with her but in the middle there you find that they want to marry her and when she refuses then they use this as a way to chase her away. They even tell her that they can take care of their children so she should leave them behind and go.

I: Can she leave the children and go or?

R: When she fails, she goes away, when they give you such hardship won’t you go away.

I: Thanks for explain this to me. In your view Mama, the way widows were treated in the past and how they are treated now, is there anything that has changed?

R: From the past and these days.

I: Yes, how they were treated then and how they are treated in recently.

R: You think that I know these.

I: In your view.

R: I don’t know those things of the past.

I: How are they treated now?

R: These days, the widow without a man can you go to try and advise here, she can beat you. She can beat you, to advise her are you the mother who gave birth to her and even if you are the mother, they are not easy. You can’t talk about her. She would rather beat you.

I: You were still telling me that they can’t be talked to.

1:25:51

I: How about the way you treat widows here, how is it?

R: What do I want with them, everyone remains in their own home. And if you treat her badly what if yours also dies.

I: Do you think that the way other people treat them is okay or it is not?

R: Other people in the village.

I: Yes.

R: When a woman loses her husband, she will have gone to hell. You will go into suffering.

I: Mama, which suffering do they go into?

R: It is big, when you go here they will say that you are seeing other people’s husbands, when you go there it is the same. She will just be there.

I: This means that they don’t treat them well?

R: They don’t.

I: So what would you like to see change about this?

R: But it may not change because am not God.

I: For all the things that happen to women after losing their husbands, what do you think about them?

R: They suffer and endure the hardships of the world and take care of their children.

I: Is there any other way widows are treated today?

R: The widow can decide and keep quiet and know that whatever they are talking about her she doesn’t do it so she chooses to take care of her children and they grow and she educates them. She looks for their food and sits in her home, she says that whoever she can handle then that one will study.

I: The women who divorce or separate with their husbands, are they given land or?

R: For this one, they share.

I: Is it usual that when a man separates with the wife then they will share the land?

R: If she has a signature on the land.

I: Supposing she doesn’t have it?

R: Where will she start from. He can say that he bought the land after he had chased you from his home. Will you complain. He will say that he bought the land after you left therefore, it is his own land, there is nothing you can do.

1:29:13

I: I would love to know; when a woman separates with her husband, do they take away the children from her?

R: There is a separation that becomes very hard, they share the land and the woman takes her children and grows them by herself.

I: Most of the time, when they separate is it the woman that goes away no matter if the fault is for the man or for the woman or there are times the woman stays in the home.

R: Where will the woman stay, she has to go and figure out her life and see how to start afresh.

I: Are there times when the man can decide to stay with the children?

R: Can a man take care of the children, no he can’t.

I: Is there any recent example of this that you have seen here of a man and woman who have separated?

R: No I haven’t seen it.

I: Here couples don’t separate?

R: No. For us only death can separate us.

I: So even if the fault is for the man that has caused the separation, the woman is chased away?

R: Yes.

I: And for the land, they share it only if the woman had a signature on the land?

R: Yes, if she doesn’t have it then she goes like that.

I: How about the children, do they give them a share later?

R: They can get from their father but if he is not a good one then he can refuse to give it to them.

I: I have understood this. Let us say that the man has refused to include the woman’s name on the title, are there problems that could come from this?

R: It can mean that even before when they were buying the land the man didn’t put her there and he doesn’t understand her.

I: In your view, what reason do you think cause a man to add his wife on the title?

R: It is love or even still they worked to get it together.

I: How about when he decides not to add the wife, what reasons make him do this?

R: It is lack of agreement in their home.

1:33:02

I: I would love to know this; if a woman is able to own land together with her husband, will this decrease conflict in their marriage?

R: I haven’t understood this. Don’t you think the matooke (cooked bananas) have made me lose my mind.

I: Let us say that a woman has now got land together with her husband and they own it together, is there a way it can decrease misunderstandings in their marriage?

R: Do you think that for people who have no agreement in the home, there will be any development. It is not there.

I: Now that she has land with her husband, will this increase conflict in their marriage?

R: Where will it come from. It is disagreement from the start or agreement from the start.

I: Let us imagine that you have a misunderstanding, and having land together can’t end it. How can it be resolved?

R: In the middle there, they will sort themselves and whoever offended the other asks for forgiveness and they decide to forget the past and leave it and start a new thing.

I: They start something new.

**Land disputes**

Mama, let us go into our last part which is about disputes on land. What do you think is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: For a man and woman or how we live in the village.

I: All together in general, what causes disputes mostly.

R: The issue I know is when you neighbor someone and everyone has their heart, we don’t have the same hearts. After you leaving, he enters your land and up roots the *mugorora* and extends it there. You go there again another day and you find that he extended it again. You ask him that the *mugorora* has been here so why has he uprooted it and extended it here. They start from there and they fight.

I: Mama, has this happened in this village about the *mugorora*?

R: No it hasn’t happened.

I: When there is such a dispute, what happens?

R: There will come people to reconcile you.

I: Like who Mama?

R: The chairman LC 1 and those of LC 2 and if they fail then you reach at LC 3.

1:36:53

I have given this as my example though as you have asked me about it but it hasn’t happened here.

I: You don’t have land disputes here?

R: They happen but not here. I hear them out there in other parishes.

I: Let us say that there is this dispute, is there a way they can sit as a family and they resolve it there.

R: There comes a time and they settle it.

I: Who do they call in the family?

R: The family can call village people and the LC 1 chairman and he sits in that family and talks with them without calling the whole committee.

I: You call the village people; which ones do you call to resolve it?

R: They call the ones that are neighboring them.

I: Why do they call the ones that are neighboring them?

R: They know who of the two is in wrong because they know who may have started the dispute and they know the land as it has been in the village.

I: What if one of the sides of the people in the dispute has a land title, is there a way this will help in resolving this dispute?

R: Yes, it can.

I: Tell me how Mama.

R: I think that for it to resolve it, he has to call the people that out the title and he discusses with them then they also advise him.

I: How about these stones in the land, is there a way they can help them?

R: I know and I think that they are like *migorora* because they both show how the land is separated.

I: In general, for all these people with land security problems, what would you suggest be done to help them.

R: I see that like how you brought for us the help of a title, if they like too when it comes back again they shouldn’t miss out.

I: There are some who may not afford the title or the ones who were not considered for titling. What can they do?

R: You people who gave us the title.

1:39:55

I: But this ended, they picked the ones they picked and that was it.

R: Can’t others join and also get them.

I: It don’t think that it is happening again but if they ever want to do it again then they will let you know about it.

R: I hear that many people would want the title.

I: They came that time and gave at once. Now that they may not afford titles, how can they be helped?

R: We can keep on using the authorities who will helps us see where the *mugorora* has passed and where it should be and where it ends and they straighten it. This is the help we can get.

I: Thanks for talking to me today Mama. My last question is where do you think we are coming from?

R: You think I know there.

I: In your view, where do you think it is?

R: Whether you come from Mbarara or Masaka. I don’t know. The name of the organization has left my mind but I think it is Lala. I think you are the same organization and the same team of the titles.

I: As we are ending, I would love to know whether you have any question for me on what we have discussed today.

R: No, if I think about it I will make a phone call to you and ask you.

I: Here is your gift to thank you for your time.

R: Thank you too.

1:42:14