**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 04/11/2019

Name of respondent: Innocent

H.H I. D: 4390071

Title status: Solo title (but the respondent told he has a joint title)

Interview start time: 02:20 pm

Interview stop time: 04:30 pm

Age: 37

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 5

No. of people living in the household: 6

Occupation: Soldier (public servant)

Highest level of education: S.6/ grade 3 teacher

No. of years living in the village:37

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud and poles

Interview Duration: 1:48:22

The interview took place outside the respondent’s home in the farm. He was eager to participate in the interview and had travelled from another district that morning for the interview and it went well without any interruptions. He is a soldier and in posted at barracks in Rukungiri district. He has a mud and poles house with iron sheets, cemented floor and has a solar. They have 7 plots of land and the plot that was titled is half an acre. They plot where they stay was inherited from the father and the other plots one was given to the husband by the aunt and the rest of the plots, he bought them. Judging from their ability to buy plots of land and their sources of income, they are middle class

They have 5 children with the wife. The wife has full authority of all their plots and controls them and the money she gets she pays school fees for the children. She was able to buy her own land with the money she gets from the banana, coffee and the sale of sheep but the husband says it still land for the whole family. She also inherited land from her parents although the husband refused her to sell and buy another land in their village. the husband said that they received a joint title because they were taught about the different types of titles and their purpose and he choose a joint title.

**Warm-up**

I: How was your day yesterday?

R: Since I have not been this side, the situation this side is different from the other side but generally it’s not bad because it did all work well because I wake up and treat things in my work as a soldier and I finished my work and reminded my bosses about my program today and they wanted me to come yesterday but I told the them that there things that I wanted to first do in Mbarara so I came and reached here at a half past ten, then I called your friend since I didn’t have your number then he said your visitors have reached somewhere in Rugaaga and I waited for you here. As usual there are things that are not right at home but most of the thing are in the right place because you know that the jobs in the village became hard and heavy we decided to go out and look for money to supplement our incomes because villages work is hard and has less money although we have not been able to make more money. But it is also good to reach home and see how things are going and to have visitors like you to add on our knowledge because in the thing that I did, In my life I did two things the money I got I used it to go to school, then bought land, those are two things I put money in. After school I bought more land.

I: So, what’s your highest level of education?

R: I finished senior six then college then I came back here. I started using land to get money but when I say that money reduced that’s why I went back to work to supplement my income.

I: Tell about the jobs you do. What are some of the jobs that you do?

R: I’m a soldier.

I: In police or military?

R: Am a UPDF (Uganda peoples defense force) officer.

I: Because they had told me that you’re a police officer

R: I was in police but left it long time, it was SPC.

I: Where is your duty station?

R: I Work in Ntungamo in the kyamugasi detach.

I: How do you find being in the service for your country?

R: Its fine you being in UPDF, it is not like you are working for a “profession” because before joining the army, I was a teacher and now I help the doctor and take care of goats am a farmer so it helped and I went back to looking after animals which I like, and when the doctor is not there it’s me who gives out drugs.

I: So, you also give drugs?

R: When the doctor is not around and, I do give out drugs.

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I: Do you give out drugs to army officers only?

R: We give everybody including civilians

I: Is there a government hospital?

R: Yes

I: What’s the name of that hospital?

R: It’s a barracks so the hospital is there it has “structure” so they bring drugs for both civilian and army and we give them out.

I: Did you get any training on how to dispense drugs?

R: Yes, they trained us, and I got “initials”, and when you are educated, this is an “integrated world”, as you know, it does not mean that when you study education, you can’t do any other things. It does not mean that you must keep in the classroom teaching. So, because I was a teacher, I was chosen like that if I get some training on how give out drugs, I can give them out well

I: Did you practice teaching in schools?

R: Yes, I was in college 2000 but my mother died and she was the one taking care of me because my father had died long time ago so I had no one to leave here, I decided to marry then I went to Mbarara and I was given an interview then I started teaching from 2003 to 2008 but in 2005 I went into service up to 2008 and the government was chasing out LT so instead of teaching for free, I decided to be doing my own things to get money.

I: Who are the LTs?

R: Licensed teachers. You could go and do an interview and if you pass it, then you go and start to teach

I: Where did you teach from?

R: I started at Rwamarungu teaching primary, was teaching primary three then I went to Nyabwenda primary school then kiira primary school it’s in kiruhura district then kamadya primary school that’s where I ended my teaching carrier and started doing my own things.

I: How long were you teaching?

R: From 2003 to 2008

I: So, what made you leave teaching as a profession?

R: It’s very hard, firstly, “physiologically” people may not understand why you have left a job but when you have a reason why you have done it. I looked for school fees for myself from primary six until where I stopped so I saw how suffered because I finished education and I was given an “appointment” but I finished three years without being a “government payroll”, I was

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putting money to go on the payroll but it failed yet I was not receiving my money for teaching but they paid me my money later, so I looked at the situation of spending two years without any payment and now they have canceled the job because they want licensed teachers, and to continue without being on payroll for another 2 years. So, I decided to do my own things because of family. Because you can’t have a family and spend two years working for free. Also, the reason why I joined the army was that if I get a chance to get back into teaching, I go, but I looked for the change and I could not get it you know how uneasy it is in Mbarara.

I: So, you joined army when you had married?

R: I joined army yesterday, my first boy was in senior one. It is recent that I joined the army

I: How did you make that decision of joining the army?

R: I have not understood that question

I: Did you consult on any body about joining the army?

R: I was old enough and I made the decision myself, I did all my jobs alone. I could not start digging as if I didn’t go to school like uneducated people because we can’t be the same, I plant the crops die and same happens for the uneducated? I decided to use my head. I wanted to use my head not my energy because I started doing hard work in 1994 when I was in primary six I even bought that forest shillings 36,000 am now 38 years so my energy had reduced so I could not dig that’s why I decided to join army and I also get money from government so that I can get people to work for me. That’s what I tell my friends in army, I use my money to buy fertilizer and school fees there is nothing else I want from the army.

I: Why did you join army not any other profession?

R: The other take long but the army is good because after training, you start getting money. I planned going to the army for almost two years, I was renting land you see and I add my own land here and I work and look after animals, I had like 100 sheep so I sold my cows and sheep and joined because I knew I was no longer going to use a lot of energy but the head

I: So, do you still have sheep?

R: I have them, they are their kraal but they get them out at 4 pm and some cows but there is no one to look after them, I decided to rear some when the government gives me my “pension”, I will retire well the way I want. I intend to put back my projects in future and “modernize” them. Let me first settle you will see

I: How many cows do you have now?

R: They are only two, the ones your seeing there

I: What of sheep?

R: I have like 10 only, I had like 100 but I decided to sell some when I joined the army because it required a lot of energy

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**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. I would like to ask you about your household and your land. How many people stay here in your household?

R: It’s me my wife and our five kids

I: Tell about the children, are they in school?

R: Yes, they go to school except the last born who is still young. He delayed speaking so I decided to wait before he joins school, but he understands everything. But he would be in school, I feared taking him there

I: But I thought if you put him school he can easily learn how to speak if he interacts with other kids?

R: No, for a person that studied psychology, that’s not how it is. In psychology they say we have four “aspects” that is speaking, hearing, listening and learning. He now has two aspects only missing other two and it can be difficult maybe if he had like 3 aspects

I: Where do your children study from?

R: Two are in Rwamanuma p/s another one is nakabeera p/s and another one at st.pauls p/s

I: Which class is the oldest in?

R: Senior three

I: What’s your daily program in your normal days?

R: The army has no program, use only use orders. Now like yesterday, everybody was on his duty am in the hospital section, the program was for cleaning but the order came saying that we all go to papyrus I came back at 6pm remember I have to bring back goats, closing the hospital, injecting patients and time has passed so you can’t be “effective” at work.

I: Which rank are you in the army?

R Am on auxiliary force, no rank yet, it is the “helping force” they have not given any rank

I: what about when you were in teaching, what grade were you?

R: I finished grade three after, but I was acting as an LT and I studied grade 3 later

I: So how do you compare life now in the army to life when you were teaching?

R: Life is better because I get money and kids and children go to school so if I get more money, I will do something bigger and I become a “freeman” without stress all the time.

I: How many separate plots of land do you have?

R: I have seven separate plots of land.

I: Are they all located in this village?

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R: I have two here, there is another one the one that you gave me the land tittle behind that side

I: What of other plots?

R: Another one is in kahanga where you passed, another in kyabamuhiga up there, another one in kyabamihaama,, omukakyeeka and another one up here.

I: Tell me about the size of these lands

R: I have never measure it but it’s like 7.5 acres, its big land.

I: What activity do you do in this land?

R: I graze my animals from there

I; Do you have any workers that help you on this land?

R: I don’t have that’s why I reduced cows, I remained with few to keep my land not to be busy because the money I was using from government could not allow me to pay workers.

I: What about other plots, do you have workers because I see they are in different places?

R: I only have casual workers.

I: What’s the size of other plots?

R: The one which is big that I bought is up there, it’s like two acres, another one here is 3 quarters of an acre is one acre, another one on the road where you came from is half an acre, that one of Ruhaama is half an acre of a banana plantation the rest are plots of land in trading centers which are about quarter an acre each

I: How did you acquire these plots?

R: I acquired them differently, for example, the banana plantation in Ruhama, part of it was given to me by my aunt and my father gave me the other part of it. The plot in the trading center was given to me by my aunt also. Here my father gave me, but I added on it by buying more land. The land up there I bought it myself and also the plot down there, I bought myself

I: Tell me about the process of buying land in this village?

R: I t depends on your luck, sometimes I buy on credit then I pay later, someone tell you that they have land for sell but you tell them that you do not have money and they say you can pay them later if you have some for example, like the other plot up here that is 2 acres, some rich man had chased me away from the land where I grazing because the rich man had cattle and I had my sheep, so someone told me to give him some cows and sheep and he gives me land in exchange since the rich man has chased me from his land but I refused because some time back he had disturbed when I was buying land that I bought 1400000 yet it was 900,000. So, I told him that on this of 11 million he wanted for the 2 acres, am going to give you 6 million but make an agreement of 11million and I pay the remaining money later he accepted, and they are

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people who had cash, but he refused sell to them so am lucky here. So, land here is cheap because quarter of an acre is 1.5 million but even 1million you can get.

I: With a banana plantation on it?

R: No, when it is plain. But if it has a banana plantation of coffee A quarter of an acre with a plantation is 4 to 5 million

I: Tell about making agreements for buying land

R: The seller right for you the agreement that I so have sold my to so at this amount and people sign and you get your land

I: Do you need your wife to be presence when you’re buying land?

R: In reality, the wife should be there, but competition is high so when you start talking this and that, other people can buy it. You buy then after you come with your wife then you make an agreement with your wife. But “initially” you start when your alone. But in good faith she should be there for example there is when I was in training and my wife bought land so I told her to make the agreement and to leave space for my name and take it to the chairman and he starts it, the I will sign when I get back. So, she bought the land and when I came back from the training, I signed and put my name

I: So, do you have agreements for all the plots that you have bought?

R: Yes, there is no land that I do not have an agreement, where I don’t have an agreement, I have the will.

I; So, is there where your wife’s name put on any of those agreements?

R: Yes, but sometimes the husband can accept to buy, the kids also accept but the wife refuses, so you buy it like that. You can’t leave that land, you buy it and leave it in “suspense”, for example, there is the one that I bought, and I spent 6 years without using it. I went through my friend and bought because they could not sell it to me directly. The sell could not have sold it me so I went through my friend and bought that land for in such case you cannot go with your wife but up to now the land is still in my friends names but it is between my plot now so there is no way he can disturb me

I: If the seller wants to sell his land, does he also need to have his wife?

R: He must have his wife but sometimes are is when you use the right way but get a bad thing and there is when you use the wrong way and get the good thing because if you want to put it on the “straight line”, you find when other people have bought the land and you end up losing. So, we normally buy then you finish the rest with your wife when you have already bought it because of competition. But the right way should be to have your wife sign on the agreement.

I: Is it possible for you to buy land without a signature from the seller’s wife?

R: Its possible because we buy land for business so, in case I have a problem, I sell even the

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wife can’t ask me a lot. Because I have told you that my investments were in two things; in education and land and if got money and am going back to school, I would invest it in land so in case of any problem, I can sell it and the wife does not have to ask me because it is my business. There are plots which I have bought with her but there are those that I have bought for myself for example the plot where you gave me the title, I bought myself like when I was in S.4 but now when you came and taught us about titles it is now in my both ours and it is in both our names the husband and wife but I had bought it and she found me it. It is not my father’s land or my aunt that gave it to me, but I bought it at 560,000 shilling in 1999 so it’s mine.

I: So, why did you choose to put you wife’s name on the title?

R: they explained to us how the titles are, the type of title and the advantages of it and because I did not want to discriminate the woman because the things are ours and the land is our and these things are ours and our children unless she has her own motives but if she does not have a want to steal or have big voice, I have no problem it the land is ours and she is using it as we speak because she has planted her crops there

I: So, who made the decision to put the woman’s name on the title?

R: It was my decision, and that is how I it happened But there is land near the road we bought it together but I want to get a land title for one person and use for business, in case I want a loan I use it as security so I want to make that land tittle in my names for just business purposes. Because you know the things of the army, I do not have to first call my wife every time I want a loan, because I can even do it on phone. For example, if I get a deal at 10 pm I can do it “online” and sell that is why I need a title that can I use easily

I: So, will you need to first consult your wife when you have this title in case you want to sell land?

R: Yes, I will tell her and ask her about it and even give her time to think about.

I: What are some of the advantages of including your wife’s name on the Land tittle?

R; The woman gets proof and energy to work on that land for example I have told you that we processed the title and when I got her I found when she had bought land but what encouraged her was the title but when I could try to buy land she could run away and go back to her home because in buying these plots you could find that we have some debts and we are poor but because a person has called for a plot of land, you also go to the money lenders and get a loan and buy that land but the woman would say that I will not make suffer because I want to buy land and she goes back to her home but the title has encouraged her to buy land also

I: So, she bought that land a lone?

R: She used her energy and got money to buy the land but its for the family.

I: How big is the land that she bought?

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R: Its quarter an acre and it was added on this land, that’s 1.5 million shillings.

I: So, did she also include your name on the agreement?

R: She put her name, as husband and wife who have bought land together but left the space for me to put my name

I: What are some of the disadvantages of putting a woman’s name on the land tittle?

R: The problems are there but at my level, I haven’t seen it maybe young ones, you can marry her after five years when she sees you have no direction, you separate and divide land and she get married elsewhere because in the title it does not mean that you will die with that person and you divide the land and you find that you got the money to buy that land through all of trouble. But for me if she wants to go now, this land is for the kids, she cannot eat it alone because of the title since it is for the wife and husband

R: You have told me that sometimes she goes back home, Has she gone back home, since you got the title?

I: Those days when she was still young but when I left her alone, she grew up mentally.

**General land**

R: In this topic, I want to ask about land in general.

R: How do people acquire land in this village?

I: Some buy and others inherit land from their Parents others use their friends land through renting but the main ways in this village is to buy the land or inherit it, but you can also work on someone else’s land and you get money to their own land

R; So, are there many people who use other people’s land by renting it?

I: Yes, and even the land behind here that I told you about, I have been renting it because a rich person had enclosed me inside, so I decided to rent it to other people

R: So how much is renting land?

I: Quarter of an acre is 70,000 shillings and 140,000 shillings a year and you plant only two seasons in the year but for grazing, it starts on 300,000 because that land is about 10 where we used to rent, we started in 250,000 but we now ended in 1,500,000 for grazing for a year for example renting that land up there the owner should have collected around 4 million from that land

I: So, there is it profitable to rent out land?

R: Yes, it is very profitable because that land I ought up there the 2 acres, after buying it, people started giving me money, when I was still paying for land they started giving me that money and I finished paying for that land, I was renting it at 50,000 shillings

I: Do you normally write agreements when your renting?

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R: If your trustworthy, there is no need to make an agreement but if you are not clear and they think you have a bad heart then you must make an agreement but if you are easy and a free man, because for I even called them on phone and they brought me the money here

I: Have you ever sold land?

R: Yes

I: How did it go?

R: My land was good but small and is at high risk for “natural disaster” and each year it could be flooded so they told me that any time thunderstorm will come and take it way and I sold it then I bought another land which was flat without any “natural disaster”

I: So, before selling that land, did you consult your wife?

R: Yes, but she refused because she was getting better yields from the land but at first and I had to convince her that we need to sell this land and we put our land together but she was not understanding what I wanted. She later accepted but actually we had already agreed and sold the land between us the men but she later accepted and signed for him to sign because I was selling land at the same time buying another land, so it was like I was exchanging it.

I: You said your wife bought land, what does she do?

R: I left her at home and all the work is for her here at home. She has some cows she gets milk, coffee she gets some money for school fees and salt from the banana plantation and sheep for school fees purposes. So, it is the cows, the coffee and the banana plantation where she gets the money that I left with her here, even the sheep when there are male ones, she can sell them and get school fees and have some balance for herself

I: You have told me that land is for the family, what does it mean?

R: My Runyankore may defer from yours but let me explain in another way that you understand, it means the land is for the family so we should use it all together and the profits should be equal for the child the mother and the husband that is how I understand it. The othe way to say the land is for the family it means that land, like how Buganda people were wiser than us, land should remain and be for the family then the children want they should buy their own land for example, if you want to buy you can buy anywhere like in kibooga but he or she has responsibility over this land. But in case he wants to build and have a family he goes somewhere and builds there so that this land remains for us all as the family

I: So, who has authority over family land, the way you have explained it to me?

R: It’s the husband and wife they started on the land and they should have equal responsibility on the land, 50/50. Even the children later can have equal responsibility on this land but there however we might all have authority on the land there is a manager who will show you the way for example, I told them to remove this banana plantation and we makes it a farm for grazing

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animal but they refused since I do not stay here but I think they were right because we do not have as many cows yet but if I get money and have more cows then the banana plantation goes away because you must have a leader as the manager who can decide that now let have animals like cows, goat and cows but you have equal authority over this land

I: What does it mean to own land, how do you define land that you own?

R:It means its mine as a head of the family, and in case of anything, its me to be called and talk about it for example like the way this land has no land tittle, if a person removes emigorora, am responsible to answer for everything because it is me know the boundaries of this land and for the most of the plot that I bought, it is me that has the agreement for those plots so, I know everything about this land. I understand everything like now you see that I know why I was making my firms in a V-shape, but a child might say that I fenced the land poor, yet I know why I did that. But that is how it is, you have to make a plan for the land the way it is because you know your it is your land and it is you that gives the “guidelines”

I: Other the agreement that you have what other ways can show proof of ownership of the land?

R: One-way people might not have seen but for me I know it, if the government has not approved that this is a road, then it is not a road. Because I can stand here and say in my plot, I want 5 million and get a buyer on and we agree on phone for example, like now you have a recorder and you record the phone call then that can also be an agreement in this dot com world, you can use your phone to record an agreement or say pay on my mobile money to prove that you bought this land and this agreement is enough. Another one is trustworthy, like my brother gave me land and I gave him 23 goats and we did not make any agreement, but it can cause you problems because after his death other brothers brought issues.

I; That’s why I wanted to ask you that can’t such arrangement bring disagreements on the land?

R: It’s about being trustworthy, because even when you wright agreements, what if they get burnt would that proof die? So that is why the best was to say that the land id mine, is to have a land title

I: So, what is the difference between the land tittle and an agreement?

R: To get a land tittle, you must be have all the your neighbors to the land but an agreement you don’t need all if the chairman agrees that you have got the land in the right way the you might not need other people but the title all the neighbors must be around because there is someone I sold land up there and he got a title but his stone was removed and there was no omugorora and they fighting with my wife over that boundary but I told my wife that it’s me who sold the man the land and I made him an agreement and he now has a land tittle which came from an agreement. So, I told my wife to stop passing through his land and it is not a big issue and I already had enough land conflicts but the problem was that I had no water and that’s the person had denied me access and the road, I decided to sell him so that I can get away because it is the land that I told you that I never used for 6 years so I told my wife that I will find the way to the land since the father to the boy was my friend

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I: So, how did that man get that land tittle?

R: He got it the same way I got my title

I: You have told that you inherited land from your parents, how did it go?

R; We were born many children of different kind, that trading center you see is in our land, but that trading center has taken some of the land, the church has also taken land and they are going to get the land tittle for it. So, I got this land from my parents in this way, we were born three two boys and a girl, and my father told us to follow our mother’s side in his will. Unfortunately, my father died today and my brother the following day, so me I got my share of the land and for my brother that’s why my land is divided the way you see it because that side of the land was my elder brother’s land, this was mine and that for my brother. That how I got my land

I; So, was the girl also given land?

R: Yes, she was give land but it was me who gave her, in my father’s will, I was supposed to take care of her if she fails in her marriage and because of the dot com world that we are I you have to have you own thing, so I gave her own part of the land and she again sold it to me and that how she left the land and she has her family and I also have my family and I use that land the way I want

I: You have talked of your mother’s side, did your father have other wives?

R: Yes

I: how many did he have?

R: He had three wives

I: In this village, are people worried about losing their land?

R: Yes, but in a different way.

I: How? Tell me more

R: First, the way I see it and where other people do not see it, all the children look at sharing their father’s land and when you share your land to you sons, it means that it is no longer land because everyone would want to sell the land and when you sell the land you lose, that land would be wasted because money which is just paper and land are different. Secondly, its because we have no land tittles but right now I have my plans for my family but when am gone no body can stop them from selling land because I have no land tittle for this and other plots but if I have a title, you can say that you do not want them to sell the land and you find that they have their family things and using them together

I: Is there any way where people fear to lose their land?

R: Yes, like a rich man can come put his land tittle and enclose your land in his?

I: Has it happened here in this village?

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R: It has not happened in this village but we hear it in rumors but you find your land is in between rich people for example where you gave a title, this side was a rich man and the other side was another and I was lucky that you gave a land title there because am surrounded by rich men there is a possibility that he may take my land, anytime he could have taken it

I: What can people do to avoid losing their land?

R: First, it’s getting land tittle, if you have it, no body can take your land. You can even get alone on phone by sending your wife to the bank and give them the title and you get quick loans.

I: How do you think people think about land tittles in this village?

R: They think about it and getting money to get land tittles but the challenge is that it takes long time to get it like two years but I want to acquire my own title and the family title remains as the family title and I get my other title for my businesses as a man

I: What of money for getting it, how much do you think a title cost?

R: It depends on the size of land that you have, like my land I calculate between 3,200,000 to 4,500,000 shillings it’s a lot at our level but if it comes now, am ready to put that money and get. It will even help me to get agricultural loan of about 20 million with a grace period of one year when I have used my land.

I: If you want to get land tittles for your other plots, what are the ways can you through?

R: The process you started with involved awareness, field study, teaching

I: I mean if you wanted a land tittle, where would you go?

R: I go to the land board at the district level and inquired about the procedure and the money needed for the tittle then we continue to get it in a period of two years but yours started long time, but this takes only two years. But even if you go to the subcounty you can have someone that can tell you what to do if you need a land title

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: talking of the land title, I would like to ask you about having a land tittle and your knowledge of titling, what does it mean to have a land title?

R: In Runyankore, having a land tittle means having a proof of ownership of your land.

I: What are the advantages of a land tittle?

R: It’s a proof that the land is yours even your died, you know the land is your, secondly, it helps you to get a loan from any money lender because in this global world, without money you cant make money, so if you don’t have it, you must borrow so it acts as security while your acquiring more things that you need. Thirdly, if you want to rent land even if your far away, you can only use coordinates to know the size of your land and that’s enough.

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I: How did you find having a land tittle?

R: There is a big change difference and you change the standard of life. Although people might not see the difference, but you change the level

I: Tell me more,

R: Firstly, you get proof, secondly, you do what you want with your land. Sometimes you buy land after three years they chase you from that land. You have an agreement but the person who sold you died long time, so you lose it because you don’t have a tittle. So, it’s very important to have a title

I: What did you like in this journey of getting this land tittle?

R: Because I went to school, what I liked is that the people who wanted to give us tittles first studied us and understood us and how it works, we were even taught the advantages of having the title and for example, I learnt that you are not supposed to get that tittle when you are alone and you should consult before getting a title for example, you can get a solo tittle but when you die, who takes that land? So, you should ask and make a title for a family even if you die, its stays for the family and even the government can prove it. That’s how I think about it. That if you have a solo title it can help you in your business but when you die, it disturbs the remaining people

I: What didn’t you like in this process of getting land tittle?

R: My plots were big but they chose the smallest of all but if they chose the bigger one not this, it would have helped me because its enclosed in someone’s land and it has no way so it would help me in that and even the quality would increase but it will stay low because it has no way from outside..

I: You have said that your wife’s name is on that land tittle, how does that make you feel?

R: Very good because am not always here incase she gets a deal and she want money; she can run to the bank and get money then she does her business that’s the advantage. Because her names are on the title, they can give her a loan and she can do her things

I: So, you think wives’ like their names being on the land tittle?

R: They like it so much and that’s how it should be.

I; Why do you think it should be like that?

R: Its good because nobody can stay alone and nobody has ever done bussines alone even where I work, I have left someone there in my place but if there was no person to do what am supposed to be doing then there is no work, the same applies here when am not here, my wife is here so we work together.

I: What has changed after getting this land tittle?

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R: I use this land the way I want it, I get work loans, bank loans because I have the proof and if the government reduces bureaucracy in getting land tittles, I will get tittles for all my plots.

I: Are there things you expected to change that have not changed after getting this land tittle?

R: They are there, and they haven’t change because by the time I got this title, I had not gone to the army and after getting in the army, my programmes of using land have changed.

I; What do you think men choose not to include their wives on the title?

R: I have told you some women are big headed, some wives come to steal not to get married they come with missions for years and years to steal you without you knowing it. After making the title she wants to go so that she can share the land. So, the man may decide to include the children on the title instead of wife. That’s how things come about.

I; How do you know that this wife has come with a mission to steal you?

R: There is what they call “consent” I see it is even written here, willingness of a person example, you tell your not to grow millet but a person tells you, she will plant millet because she came to dig yet you have a lot of things to do and millet requires a lot of time, that’s how you learn someone over something small. So, you end up putting your children not your wife because there she becomes like a visitor but in real sense, a wife should be on the title.

I: How did you come to decide to put your wife on the land tittle?

R: It’s my understanding like I have told you that my money was invested in land and I know that if you invest money in land you cannot lose and if you want to get help you must do something that is quicker and easier so I had to put my wife so that I first get the title and explain to her later

I: So, did you consult her about including her name on the title?

R; When I knew it was a title I told them to include my wife because I knew the land is ours and I explained to her later that she now has land and instead of going to the savings groups, she can use the title to get the loan from the bank because she has her name on the title and that is how she came to understand and that is when she knew the advantages of having a tittle and she understood me. I told her that instead of getting little money from these saving groups which give very little money, you can go to the bank and take and get money to buy what you want then she was okay with it.

I: So, in the meetings with the titling people, would be there with your wife?

R: Yes, we used to go together but they asked us independently but they were not hidden questions, I heard her answers and she heard mine, so it was open it was not secret.

I: How does she feel that she is on that land tittle?

R: She feels good because she is now the manager here and I also went to manage government work. She does everything and she is independent she only consults but if she takes her decision

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and I can’t refuse or disagree with her decisions because I gave her authority over everything.

I: Is she your only wife?

R: Yes, I have only one wife

I: What about children outside your marriage

R: No, I only have the 5 children I told you about

I: Before you met the titling people, were there people in this village that were able to get land titles?

R: No, I only know my grandfather called katungye, he is a rich man in kashongyi because he had a case with these people who construct roads but he won them he even closed a way to the wale that’s when I started believing in land tittles and he got it in 80’s and he had constructed valley dams in his land. I even got all these sheep I was telling you, he had a lot of sheep and a banana plantation and I discovered if you have sheep, you can have a plantation because you can get manure. That’s why I also rushed to accept the land tittle offer when these people came.

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

I; Thank you for explaining about all that, Now let me ask you about your marriage. How long have you been together in your wife?

R: In reality, I married on 27th July 2009.

I: What do you mean in reality?

R: I married without my parents, I was like this, I remember it was census day. Actually the sub county chief who was conducting census had disagreements with me so we could not agree, because when a new wife has already entered the house, she cant get out so, when she got out to be counted, that man said that I have married a teenager so my elder brother was in hospital he called him telling him how I had no parents and why are you allowing me to get married to a teenager, so he went back to the sub county and brought all the twelve guns claiming that I have stopped government programmes to go ahead. So, I was arrested and I told my wife to go back home because I didn’t know how old she was. After coming from prison, I went back to get my wife but my father in law refused and told me to wait, then I went back the second time, he still refused to give me saying that he will give me my wife during the day not at night. I went back the third time that’s when I got her back and that’s why I say in reality I married on that day.

I; How long have you been here in this house?

R: all these years we have been here

I: Are you wedded?

R: No

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I: How did you choose your wife?

R: My history is long and hard, to tell you the story you see that church, there was a rainstorm that put down a church and some houses there is a man called Basiime there who works with National water and sewerage cooperation he built his house but he had not roofed it so he house and church were taken away by wind even mine was half taken so when they looked for builders, I had finished college and my mother had died, so, I decided to go and work there because I had no money and the manager who was heading building there is the one who looked for me this wife. I was even given a tender to bring them matoke for cooking so, in our story he told me that there is a girl that side he even took me to the member of parliament mr.Tasobya Yaguma by that time he was still chairman L .C .V. so, chairman called principle that I go back to college but in first year, then I looked at it in a way that was hard because I had no wife, kid and I had nothing. He offered me a job in Ankole cell to work 24/7 but I could not manage it then we left and went back home. That manager advised me to marry and if I want to go back to school I go back. I went there and saw her while I was working until I married her.

I: So, she was also working there?

R: Yes, she was working from around there

I: Tell me about the good things that you have gotten in marriage.

R: They are very many, I had no kids, I had no manager but I got in manager in fact all my kids name should start with “ARI” then you add your name. So, I have social capital at home and I don’t need any worker. I only need capital and legumes then the family does the work.

I: What are some of the challenges encountered in marriage?

R: I encountered them at the start the ones I have told you because they say” a bad beginning gives you a good ending”. I started badly but am now okay and my wife is very okay and she has never divorced. I told here that we started badly but concentrate and we work, she is now in line and am also in line working. I even started paying fees in primary six and soap so My prayers is to maintain my job and then we see what will follow.

I: Do feel supported by your wife?

R: Absolutely yes, she does all the work, she takes care of sheep, cows and land so, in few years, I will make her a better woman.

I: Which example can you give me that shows how she supports and motivates you?

R: You see our cows how they look good; she is one taking care of them, she cuts grass for them and they are okay, and they know when it is time to feed. You can see such a person who can try a come to know it time for feeding she can understand and support me.

I: what about you, do you feel that you provide her with support and encouragement?

R: I do, we agreed to come on 25th and I asked her whether she has talked to them and she told me to call you, is it you whom I called? I think it’s somebody else because her phone is spoiled

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So, when I was coming, I passed somewhere and bought this phone and gave her the one I have been using because the other side there is poor network. So, now we shall be communicating with her. I don’t still remember my phone has been off, so I motivated her that I will come that on 4th I will come though my phone had no network so I passed Mbarara and I bought another phone and I repaired me and then I gave her so we are now connected.

I: Why do you think some other couples don’t feel supported by their partners?

R: Lack understanding for each other. Give that person your principle and allow them to understand you, as you also understand theirs because you don’t say am the head at home so I should not learn her ways because they also have their principles and rules. Understand what they like and what they do not like, their dos and don’ts the rest follows. Know the 3 things she like and the 3 she does not like, and she should know you 3 too

I: So, do you know her three things that she likes

R: Yes, she likes planting millet, digging though I don’t like it, but I will change her slowly and she wants me to go home by 7pm in the evening. She is lucky because I don’t drink alcohol so by seven am always home.

I: Thank you for explaining about that, Now lets talk about putting your wife’s name on the land tittle, what does it change on your marriage?

R: It strengthens marriage even though she likes the ring but it’s not in my head because I married her, and she is mine she can’t go anywhere. I know this land title is bigger than the ring, if we get another land title and the third and so on because lack of belief, facts and evidence is not the reality because seeing a ring does not mean belief.

**Gender norms around land**

I: I Want to ask you about something else, we know in Uganda land is for men but they are somethings we need to understand about women and it’s not that we have an opinion about them but we want know how you think about them. Like you have told me that your wife bought land for herself?

R: She used her money but its for us all and the family. Maybe her own land is at her father’s home.

I: How do women acquire land in this village?

R: For example, she inherited land from her parents and she wanted to bring it here in our family but I refused, she has that land, secondly, they get land tittles with their husbands and lastly if you’re an understanding man, you allow your wife to save some money so that she can buy her own land.

I; Some people think that women should not be allowed to own land?

R: No, a person should own something, not being an assistant all the time. And what the call

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“psychological skills”, a person should have their own property and have a personal documenet, personal property and have full authority for example, I have my rugabire (local sandals) and when am here I put them on and not body can ask me why I’m putting them on but if am at work, they cannot allow me to put them on. If something is yours, you use it the way you want it and if you like you can change the plan for example, I planted these trees when I was in primary five so, time came and I changed it to a farm, it was all a tree plantation but if it was not mine, I wouldn’t have changed it that easily. In case its hers even if she wants to give it to any child of ours, I have no problem with it. The same applies to my personal properties.

I: You have said that your wife has land that she got from her parents. I’m wondering why you refused her to bring her land this side.

R: She can bring it this side then it disappears in mine in away of school fees which is “liquid asset” but a “permanent asset” like land is better if she keeps it at her home because I do not want to mix a liquid asset with a permanent asset. Let her use it from there, I don’t want to mix a liquid asset to a permanent asset.

I: You think most women like to bring their land from their father’s home to their husband’s home?

R: Most of women don’t like it but this one wants to do it because people who were using it started using it badly. I told her to let them use it the way they use it because it will still be there and even thought about planting pine tree, but I thought it might the peace of the people there because she still has some parents there

I: Why do think other women do not like to bring land near their husbands?

R: They do not understand their men because getting old does not mean that you understand or getting educated. Understanding is to listen and if do listen to someone you cannot understand them. You find people have been together, but they do not understand each because they do not listen. That is what causes the that

I: We have talked about land, wives and others, so, does that work when you only have land?

R: It works well in this world we are living in, there is no body who works alone, if your working alone just know you are not intelligent and you can’t develop it works well when land is for the father, wife and children but not wife and husband. Like the 2 acres I have told you, I planted their mangoes and I want to make a full business for my children. So, it will be their business and my wife.

I: Do you get the market for mangoes business?

R: When I was learning, they told me that when the town is developing markets emerge so the market is there and I want my children to work and we work together because I worked alone and I suffered a lot so what am talking is through experience but when your all working, it helps you. I spent 6 months on training, but my boys looked for school fees and went to school and they have experience before I leave them.

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I: Can a widow stay on land when her husband dies?

R: Yes

I: Because in some villages they say when the husband dies, the widow chased out of the land?

R: What am meaning is this, if the land has a land tittle, she can stay there, nobody can take it.

I: For example, you land that does not have a title, if you die can your wife be chased away?

R: The children say that the land is for their father and they take it away from her

I: What about like your relatives?

R: No, my family is independent even if you have a 5 or 3year old as long as the mother is there.

I: What happens when the woman does not have children and the husband dies?

R: If she does not have proof for that land the that land is lost. The uncles and other relatives will come and grab it or other relatives, so generally that land is mis used.

I: What if she has the tittle but has no children?

R: There is no problem there that’s what I was telling you. If it has it then its safe. You can give it to anybody that you feel like. Now like mine, I can give it anybody whom I deem fit to take it. A person like uncles or brothers in law may try to grab it but its unlawful.

I: Are there laws that restrict or protect that land from the relatives from grabbing that land?

R: With a land tittle or not?

I: Even if it has no tittle.

R: It depends on the will, if the will says its my brothers to take it or sisters or kids or my wife that’s how it goes or a friend because not all that we have was inherited.

I: Do people follow wills?

R: Yes, we follow them like my father said I help my sister in case she fails in marriage.

I: What about government laws that stop people from grabbing land when the husband dies?

R: They are there but we do not know them, but the laws are there because government has wanted its people to be oppressed. They tell you to first agree then when you fail, the government comes in and sort it out.

I; Has it happened here in your village like relatives trying to grab land?

R: No

I: What are some of the reasons why it has not happened in this village?

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R: People this side trust culture, a person says I have left my land with my son or daughter or wife or anybody. Or I have left my land with boys not girls and the local authority will enforce it incase there is a problem.

I: What are some of the reasons why girls were denied land by their parents?

R; First there is what we call riches, now why would you give someone who is the source of wealth. Our grandparent used to get dowry from girls so they could not count them. That was the first reason there is a saying in Runyankore which says that “a hunter from far can’t separate dogs when they are fighting”. Example, my sister left me when I was fours years old so that person is not fit to know what’s going on land because she is married somewhere. I had told her that her land would educate her some up to S.4 but I have been paying school fees for her son and when I completed S.4, she came and claimed which I gave her but I was angry about her for leaving me when I was young and for changing the agreement we had for land yet its me taking care of land.

I: So, in your thinking, are girls supposed to be getting a share of land?

R: Yes, girls should get land from their husbands. I can say it even now. That’s why I even stopped my wife from bringing hers this side. You go and work from there, if you do nothing, you stay with nothing, but you can’t come back here claiming for land after fifteen years.

I: Can widows get married again?

R: Yes, because biologically a person must marry or get married and a person should not stay a lone its even in blood. She should leave behind for the kids what the husband left behind moves on to another man.

I: Is it allowed for a widow to marry and stay on that very land the husband left?

R: No, she has a responsibility on that land but not allowed to marry on that land according to my understanding. Imagine you get married to a man so the man decides to control that land because he married the widow, they may use it but its not their second family.

I: When is that widow allowed to use it?

R: If that land was for the husband and wife and the tittles says so but other than that, she is not allowed.

I: Has it happened in this village that a widow to remarries and stays on the land?

R: No, it has not happened in this village because if it happens here, the relatives cannot allow it, they ran after her.

I: What happens in this village when a woman loses her husband?

R: A woman stays there with her children if the children are not bad mannered, she even produces more in that family.

I: When she produces other kids, do they have any authority over that land?

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R: They have little responsibility on that land like only 20% over that land, but they do not have authority on the land. the right they have is they use that land like others, but they look for their land.

I: So, can’t they share on that land?

R: No, if their mother is wise, she uses that land to get money and buy for them land but do not share on that land.

I: If you compare today and the past, has the treatment of widows changed?

R: Yes, the treatment of widows has changed because change geos in hand with understanding and people’s understanding as improved and if she is a widow, she knows that she is a widow and she know where to start and where to stop

I: What is your opinion on what should happen to widows when their husbands die?

R: I do not have one opinion, when a woman loses her husband, if she is wise, she can stay on the land and if she is not wise she should leave and go because she will destroys everything for the family with other men and the children will not have where to go

I: What do you mean by if she is not wise?

R: If she can’t keep what her husband has left her and they keep functioning, for example, they leave with cows like and for you because you have problems, you sell the cows, the trees and even sell the land, at least sell the cows but keep the land so that’s what I mean by being wise

I: So, the general treatment of the widows by other people is okay?

R: The widows are treated well if they are wise but if they lack knowledge they are treated badly. If people know that she does not have a man and she does what is good, she is treated well but she does irresponsible things, she is treated badly because they can easily chase her away from the land for example if a man leaves you with property but you cannot look after it, then what is your purpose? Then go and look for a man that can look after you

I: But do you think it is right to chase her away?

R: It is not that they chase her away, but it is her own doing that they chase her away, there is no one allowed to chase anyone away

I: What are some of the things a widow can do that can cause her to be chase away from the land?

R: For example, I have a friend of mine here called innocent he had made money and became rich, he had a shop and everything and he was lucky and married my friend but what hurt me, as we speak the shop is no more, the land is no more because the woman has sold everything and she has failed and left the land herself. Now, should she also come back and ask for something? Because she has taken herself although she says that she was chased way

I: Did she have children?

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R: Yes, she had children

I: So, now who has authority over the land?

R: The land is there “redundant” because the children are still young, and they have not learnt how to take care of them.

I: So, who is now responsible for the land?

R: It is still the woman, but she is controlling them over the phone, but she will fail because if she gets another man, she will have nothing to do here and she will not have authority on this land

I: So, if she no longer has authority over the land, who will have authority on this land since the children are still young?

R: the father in-law or the uncle to the husband will have authority over this land

I: What should happen to women when they separate with their husbands in terms of their land?

R: If they do not have children, they can share the land but if they have children the land should remain as one. They can use the land use the land in different parts, but the land should remain as one. If the man wants to graze cows, he can use one part and if the woman wants to dig, is can also use another part

I: Why should the land remain as one when they have children?

R: Because the land is not theirs, there job is to use the land and get what to eat but the land is for the children when the parents are no longer there

I: So, does this mean that the woman can separate and stay on the land?

R: Yes, in this dot com, it is possible but in culture it is not there because if we do not agree the everyone has there thinking

I: So, what usually happens in this village when couples separate?

R: For example, there is a man called Kadobodo who left his land, the woman became a problem to him and the man decide to leave, the woman stayed on the land and raised the children but the problem a woman can find another man and he disturbs but man left and bought other land but what disturbs is that the man still brings mature to the banana plantation but when he cuts matooke the woman wants quarrel and she cannot even cook for him food

I: Is there something you would like to see change about what happens to women when they separate with their husbands?

R: If a woman separates with the husband, they should get quarter of the property and give it to the man and the 3 quarters goes to the wife and children and if the man wants to marry again, he can marry but none of them should sell the land because there is already a disagreement in the marriage so the land should stay

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I: What is the common cause of separations in the marriages in this village?

R: Not understanding one another, the other wants to plant this and the other want something different like grazing. That’s the main reason. Another reason is that people do not know what they want in life, they do not know whether they want to be famers or not, they do not know what they want in a marriage. Just lack of understanding

I: If the cause of separation is entirely dependent on the man, can the woman’s things be taken away from her

R: No, there is no way you can take away her things

I: What about children

R: The children are not for the man are for the woman

I: But some people say that children are for the man?

R: They are yours because you are the father but the responsibility after separation, is with the woman so they stay with the mother

I: why wouldn’t a man have responsibility?

R: Even if he stays with the children, he cannot take care of them but when the children grow up, they can look for their father

I: Do you think a joint title can increase or decrease conflicts in the marriage

R: it reduces conflicts because most conflicts are brought by children because children these days are knowledgeable and understanding they can go on their mother side and you the man, you are the “minority” and they can win you in the government but if you have a joint title and have the same authority on the land, you can agree together. If the man wanted to look after cattle and the others wanted to dig, they can agree and give the man money for drinking if he has been getting it out of the cows, and they can dig the land but if there no title, everyone does their things, if you want plant tomatoes, rear chicken, the other can sell and but a motorcycle like that and in the end conflicts start

**Land disputes**

I: Some come to the end, I would like to ask you about land disputes. what is the common cause of disputes on land?

R: In the family, not knowing where to stop. The woman should know where to starts and where to stop, even the children should know

I: What do you mean by that

R: Having too much authority. They gave women too much authority and when that happened, you can tell you wife that I want to sell this land because it is at high risk of natural disasters

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and I will lose the money that I bought this land because she has authority, she stops and when she stops floods take way the land and the children sleep angry and conflicts start from there

I: So, where did women get to much authority?

R: I don’t know but Museven gave then too much authority but those who understand they do not show all this authority they remain as women in their rights and those who want to their authority and exceed it, that is where problems begin

I: what about land disputed outside the family, what causes them?

R: It is poverty

I: Tell me more

R: Poverty in Runyankole means a person who does not want to work and most people who do not like to work enjoy free things. You find that a person does not want to work and buy their land, but they want to remove another person’s emigorora and steal his land

I: What was the last time there was a land dispute in this village?

R: The is a man here called Bareba, he bought his many plots of land, so the woman became the problem and the man chased her away they to FIDA and the things could not resolved for like 15 years but the good thing is that the children have grown up and they have brought back the father but woman is now in sorrows because she knew she had cooperated with the children to take the land from the man but the children have grown up and brought the father back and they agree with him. if the woman tells the child to build somewhere the son tells her he can build wherever he wants because the land belongs to the father

I: So, the woman had chased away the man from the land?

R: No, the man had just left the land, but the children have brought him back

I: How can conflicts on land be resolved within the family?

R: The land title can resolve all land disputes on the land and the second thing is to respect tradition, you must listen to your uncles and other old people what they tell you about land and should not disagree because you have the government because they are owners of the land and the know how it all went to get that land

I: Have you ever had any land disagreements?

R: In the family or outside the family?

I: Both in the family and outside

R: In the family I have never but outside the family I have. For example, I have told you that I sold a plot there and the person removed the emigorora and I found they were fighting with my wife. There I had my farm and I had left 3 feet of my land from where may fence is but the owner sold the land and the one that bought the land has removed the emigorora and the other

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person came and put the emigorora exactly on my fence and he claims I had not left there the 3 feet and the case is still in the LC and I do not think I will go there because I’m going back but if I fail UPDF gave us a lawyer and if I tell them and they refuse, I will use the lawyer

I: So, what happens when there is land dispute?

R: For the example, there is where the father sold men land but the son came and said his boundary was somewhere like there, so what I did I told him to but the emigorora wherever he feel his boundary was and he said what about the LC and I told him I did not want to go there just put where you feel like according to what you father gave you. I resolved it myself and he is even the one taking care of that land now. Even the other people I told them that of the 3 feet I can lose 1.5 and we put emigorora and they refused, they killed the brother that is what scared me, and I left them but most people go to the LCs

I: Did they kill their brother because of a land dispute?

R: No, because od other things

I: In general, what should be done to help people problems of security on their land?

R: The first thing is the title and making a will if you can not afford a land title

I: So, whom do you think gave you the land title?

R: whom do I think or whom do I know?

I: Ok, who you know gave you the title?

R: It is the world bank to teach people how to know that that their land is theirs and to give examples to how people can get land titles in Uganda

I: So, do you have like a question you would like to ask?

R: The questions would be many but to ask many questions and you do not get what you want does not help. But the first time they came and asked me about the land I have, the things I have on the land, what I want to use the land for and they told me that I can get a loan with the title and I told them that I would interested in money that can look after my land because the land has lost fertility and we would like to have fertilizers or manure for our land but ever since that time, we have not seen the government coming up to give us these things so we would like to know what programs you have to know the land has lost fertility and what plans do have for us on that matter?

I: About the government programs to get fertilizers you can go through your leaders and they raise you issue to the government but for me I’m not a government work and I don’t know much about government programs. So, you can tell your leader to tell the government

R: told them and they brought wealth creation program, but it also died. Second question, what is the value of the land now where you gave me the title?

I: I don’t know about that but according to you, how much do you think your land is worth?

01:46:59

R: The land is half an acre and according todays market it should be 4 million and if you put the titles strength the it can be like 6 million

I: Yes, that’s it, you know it

R: Third question, if you have 3 quarters of an acre, how much do I need to get a title?

I: Approximately between 2 million and 2 and a half. That you very much for your time.

01:48:22