**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 31/10/2019

Name of respondent: Fulgensia

H.H I. D: 4520091

Title status: Joint title

Interview start time: 8:50 am

Interview stop time: 11:15 pm

Age: 62

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 2

No. of people living in the household: 3

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: sells goats and gets money from money lending

Highest level of education: Primary 6

No. of years living in the village:

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: mud, sand, poles, solar

Interview Duration: 2:25:03

We had the interview in the respondent’s kitchen, we had no interruptions except for her casual laborers who would come to greet her then slope to the garden and the children who came to buy sugarcanes. Their house is made of mud, sand, poles and they have solar for lighting. She knows about titling and told me that her husband had refused because he thought she is the one who had called the titling people to come and title their land. She said that her father in-law told the son that the woman was now controlling him and he wouldn’t be able to sell his land once it is titled, when the husband came to confront her she asked him if she is the one who also went and asked all the other people that were chosen for titling to join the process. After the husband realizing this, he allowed and they titled together. She didn’t have a good relationship with the father in law whom she said never loved her, so he would most of the time influence the son’s decisions in their home. She has a history of engaging in different leadership activity in the village, she speaks good English and some of the responses were partly in English. She told me that they haven’t had a good marriage with the husband because he was in the army for too long and would spend many years without returning home, and when he would return, he would come with nothing a thing that made her live a widow life and support her family alone. They have only 2 children and 1 is her step child whom she found with the husband when she got married; Many of her other children were miscarriages and the ones that survived died when they were babies because she couldn’t access treatment for them. She said that her husband’s main problem is drinking alcohol therefore whatever money he gets he drinks it and this caused them to separate their gardens; the man has sugarcane and coffee while the woman grows her various crops and rares goats. They look to be in between middle class and poor.

Together with the husband they have one plot which they titled and it was his inheritance from the father. She said that she owns 3 plots of land that are in her names. She lives with her husband and her sister’s granddaughter who started living with them since she was 8 years of age. She is sick and hasn’t been well with a nose blood flow and kidney problems, so she is unable to cultivate but employs some casual laborers to help her. She said that the title has helped them so much because the husband can no longer sell land and then she has to pay back the people he sold to in the bars so that their land can be saved. She was warm, chatty with many stories about her life, engaged and welcoming.

**Warm up**

I: Good morning Mama, how has the day began?

R: It is a good morning but I am in pain and I have never healed in the past 3 months.

I: What is paining you Mama?

R: I bleed only in one side of the nose, and I have spent a time with this problem. Since July, it worsened and I bleed every day and every time.

I: When you went to the hospital, what did they tell you?

R: They said that it is my veins but there is no where I have gone and they have healed me totally of this disease.

I: So they said that what is wrong with the veins?

R: They said that all my veins are blocked. At first they kept telling me about the veins and they gave me medicine but nothing was changing. And now, in July, it came back again worse and then I saw my feet swell and my eyes swell so I went to the hospital for a checkup at Kagongo and they found that my kidney was not well and some virus in my uterus. So I am looking for medication, I haven’t gone back yet to see what progress I have.

I: Let us hope that you will be well. Is there any herbal medication that you tried for the nose problem?

R: They told me about many types of local herbs and I tried them but they failed healing me.

I: Then you have prayers for now.

R: Yes, it is only prayers and I trust The Lord to heal me. And if I am to die, it is okay I have nothing to do when the time comes.

I: When the time comes, that is it, you can only prepare yourself now.

R: I am very peaceful about it, if I rest that is it. That is how I am, that pain is the one that keeps me up and down.

I: We hope that you will be fine and sorry about this. So how are the others doing in your home?

R: It is a great day for us all.

I: How about yesterday, how did it go for you?

R: It was well.

00:03:10

I: I have heard you tell the woman to go and be working, is he your laborer?

R: Yes, she is going to weed my millet.

I: Do you still have energy to go and weed?

R: No, I don’t go there. When I go there, I get a headache, as I bend to weed because of the blood I loose through my nose, the headache becomes so much.

I: I think that when you lose blood, you get such headaches. So you have workers that are working for you?

R: I get them and they work for shifts but also others I have been giving them maize flour that I had.

I: Is she your daughter, Gloria?

R: The one who has gone to cook?

I: Yes.

R: No, she is my grandchild but not my own, she is a daughter of my sister’s daughter.

I: Otherwise you are okay.

R: Yes, we are.

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

I: Okay Mama, in our first part of this conversation, we are going to talk about your household, family, and your land. How many people are you that live here?

R: We are 3 people but we have 3 children, they don’t live here, they come as visitors.

I: They are all grown up, so how many girls and boys are they?

R: They are 2 girls and 1 boy.

I: Where do they stay?

R: They are there working. The first born girl, I found her here, she was the man’s child and she stays in Kampala. My first born girl is married and the boy is in Kamwengye.

I: You have three children. So you stay here with your husband and granddaughter.

R: Yes.

I: Doesn’t Gloria go to school?

R: She does but because I fell sick, she didn’t go back. She finished primary 7, the money has been spent in hospitals, don’t even tell me about Ishaka I got tired of it.

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There is no where I haven’t reached, apart from Kampala. Mbarara, Ibanda and Ishaka I have gone to all the hospitals in these districts, so my money has been spent like this but I have a thought of taking her in a vocational school.

I: Wherever you have been going, have been taking her with you?

R: No, she stays here then I go to the hospital.

I: Thanks to her for taking care of you.

R: She came here when she was 8 years old.

I: So how old is she now?

R: She must either 15 or 16 years old.

I: That is a long time she has stayed with you. So your other children only come in festive seasons.

R: Yes, or any time the boy wants to come visit me, he comes.

I: I wondering to know why you gave birth to only two children yet I hear Banyankore give birth to many children.

R: The reason is this, though child, it is a lot and I can’t tell you about it all. The first reason, this man was always away never home. I would spend 6 years without seeing him that he is there working. This man was in the army; Obote 1, Obote 2 and Amin regimes (all were former presidents of Uganda). They arrested him in prison and after leaving prison, he then came here to marry me. That old girl I told you about, he gave birth to him while he was in the army.

I: So how did they bring her here to you?

R: He has stayed there with the other women and the festive season they used to come back here because they knew their home. They would come and visit and spend the time and then they get back on the road and go their way.

I: Where were you by this time?

R: I wasn’t yet married here. When time came and they arrested him, the mother brought her child and they came to my father in-law’s home and sat. I don’t know how long they arrested him. The woman was a mutooro, so after a while they looked for things and sent her to go and see the prisoner, and when she reached there, she would also enjoy her life with the money they gave her. My father in law was a very rude and stubborn man, he died in may this year. So the woman saw that she couldn’t handle the father in law and she left so the girl remained here. After finishing his prison sentence, he came and then married me.

I: I would love to know why they had arrested him?

R: I told you that he was in the army so when one regime left, they would arrest them all that were serving the previous regime.

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I: So you decided to give birth to only two children because of this.

I: No, when he married me we stayed at my father in-law’s home and I started cooking with them and we also started cultivating land. So I told him to go and look for money because he couldn’t just stay there like that. He allowed, people tried to look for him jobs and you see him there he knows how to drive any car. I am sure and certain of this, if you give him any car he will drive it even in the army he said that he was driving the big tank cars. So he went to look for work and he left, he would go and spend 3 years without coming back, other days he would go and spend 4 years without coming back, and other times even 6 years but I would remain here. My boy I gave birth to him by chance because my husband slept here for a night, in the morning he left but he knew that he had impregnated me. My father in-law tried to bring wrangles that this boy wasn’t for my husband but he told his father that he knows that the child is his. The good chance is that he came out resembling his grandfather, the relatives even started saying that maybe my father in law is the one who had given birth to that son with me since he was even over talking that the boy is not for my husband. Whenever they would talk to him about this, he would tell them that he knows that is it his son. For this story to start happening, they lost their uncle in Nyakashaka, his grandmother asked him why he leaves me for long periods of time at home. He got a job in Bushenyi so the grandmother sent a man called Fred to come and check if I was pregnant and if I wasn’t then she told him to take me and I find my husband there. He came home and started asking me and I denied then he told me how grandmother had told my husband about how he was abandoning me, so finally I told home that I was pregnant for some months and he said okay and went back to deliver the news. This is how I gave birth to my son. I have seven pregnancies but only two survived, some were miscarriages and other two who had died were already weaned and they died.

I: What do you think killed them?

R: I don’t know, they would just die and because I also didn’t have where to get medication from. That was the time we didn’t know much, loans were not there so I would give them herbs until they left my hands and died.

I: Sorry about this. So had they all survived, they would have been 7 children.

R: Yes, including the miscarriages.

I: Mama, how old are you?

R: I am 62 years old.

I: You are still going I can see.

R: It is just that I am sick, I wasn’t looking like this. If I would put on a *gomesi* (traditional attire), people would say that surely Fulge (short form of her name) has passed by here. But now I have lost weight.

I: You went to school up to what class?

R: Primary 6.

I: I hear you speaking good English.

00:15:53

R: Yes

I: Primary 6 of those days taught you all this?

R: Yes and imagine we used to study by only writing and we used not to mind that maybe tomorrow we would get jobs, no all you needed was just to learn how to read and write, this is what we were in.

(Respondent picks up a call)

R: That is my son, he knows that am not well so he calls always to check on me

I: Okay. You were still telling me about your education. Most people that studied in the early years and stopped in the same class don’t speak like you.

R: That is how I studied, what made me drop out of school was when I started my monthly periods and I left. I used to see the other girls who would have their periods fall sick so I started mine in primary 6 and I left. I never stepped in primary 7.

I: What activities Mama give you money?

R: They are many things I try and find a way of getting income. We first put our eyes on men for money and if your husband doesn’t give you the money then that is it but these years when Museveni gave us a way forward. I thought about how I would survive so by God’s grace I got a way. I educated my son mostly through selling goats. Those days the land was good and fertile giving us good yields from beans, ground nuts and millet. So I had 20,000 and I lent it to someone so they failed to pay me back and they told me that they are unable to pay me back but they had a goat and he said that he can give it to me to compensate for the money. I couldn’t handle goats so I told him that I would not take it because it might fall sick. He told me that if I wanted it, he would stay with it and graze it for me and I told him to leave the money. The goat gave birth 5 times but all the kids would die, he told me that maybe his hand was not good at grazing so he decided that he should bring the goat to my home and he would always come to check on it. You see my father in-law had given us this land although he had big land stretching to the end of that hill. I kept on raring the goat and that is how it produced and I started the goat’s business. My old daughter stopped in primary 6 and her legs and hands started paining her so she went out of school because she had repeated the class twice so she told me that the children from primary 5 wouldn’t find her in primary 6 because it was a shame for her so she dropped out. I remained educating the boy and he finished primary 7 then he went on up to senior 4 and that year when he was starting secondary school, I went to prison for this.

I: Tell me why you went to prison.

R: My husband didn’t want our son to continue with school and I talked so much about it that he went to his father and they plotted a section against me and my son that we had beaten him. My father in law was a hard man, he was also a soldier at the sub county those years ago. They reported me and I was there when the soldiers came to pick me up and took me but the good chance is that my son was sick. I asked them how we beat the man and how could my sick son beat his father. So I paid bail of 30,000 shillings then I left the prison. Our sub county was not yet stable and our chairman was always going to Mbarara so I needed to go and report myself

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every day but I wouldn’t find him there. It was one day and we met him, so in this process before we met the chairman, there was a man who asked my husband what we fighting for and he told the man that this woman beat me with the son. He asked him why we had beaten him and he said that the wife wanted him to educate the son but for him he doesn’t have money. The man told him that he knows me and I know what am doing and he will be found guilty if he pursues this case of not educating his son. After seeing this man, my husband went to his father and they went back added another section on me and reported me. When he accused me I told him I don’t know that. The chairman saw him and knew that the problem was him drinking alcohol.

I: Does he still drink?

R: Even at this time. The chairman told my husband that he knew he was a drunkard and he asked me what the issue was and I told him that our son has finished primary 7 and is going to senior one and he has good marks but my husband doesn’t want to pay school fees. My husband then told the chairman that he didn’t have money. I gave the chairman 10,000 shillings and told him to fuel hos motorcycle then he comes home and I show him where the money is. We had coffee in that sugarcane and it was first class with good beans but he would sell and drink, so the chairman told my husband that his only problem was drinking therefore he needs to go and pay the schools fees. This is how my son went ahead to school.

I: So Mama, do you still graze goats, I see some there.

R: I had goats but recently thieves came and stole 3 big ones and the rest I sold to go to hospital. I now have very few left but I used to graze goats here and people were amused.

I: How about in the banana plantation, are you able to sell bananas from there?

R: No, the plantation got sick so we remained with getting food but it is also failing.

I: I would love to know if you get money from only goats.

R: No, even when I was educating those children in the lower classes that I could handle I would sell goats and sometimes when the season is good, you harvest and sell. If you plant beans and groundnuts then you can sell and get money, I still do this now. Also the other way is the savings group that we started in 1997, so we would save and get loans. You see me here just that am sick but I was not born without wisdom. Even in my girl days, I was making speeches for other girls who were going to get married, I would write the gift lists and read them for the girls getting married. You don’t know this these days. When I got married, I still remained an exemplary woman in this village. Every time they would ask who would handle a task, people would say that Fulge will handle it. So without going far, when I reached in this village, I became vice chairman LC1, then I later became the LC1 chairman because our chairman by then was a teacher so he went to study in St. Kalemba and I remained as the chairman. I know how to use the stamp and I can’t give it to thieves who want to bribe. I also became the woman leader for all women in this cell and in the campaigns I was the campaign manager for Museveni here, after this I became the secretary for women at the sub county for years that I can’t count. I was leading almost everything in the campaigns from picking people to organizing campaign grounds. When this got done I went on the land committee where I worked for 6 years two terms. I know Kamukuzi where the land offices are in Mbarara.

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I would go there to sign and swear in.

I: Before you fell sick, what were you doing?

R: I have spent many years’ sick but when I left the land committee and I went to the hospital committee in this village, I was a vice chairman LC1 and they have just done the LC1 chairmen elections and we just left. Right now am on the hospital committee of Kagongi.

I: Mama, do they pay you?

R: They give us allowances of 5,000 shillings or more depending. The other thins am doing is leading our village groups.

I: Mama, for how long have you lived here?

R: They are many years; I don’t know them my child.

I: When did you get married?

R: In 1982.

I: Those are 37 years.

R: Yes, they are the ones.

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

R: I was coming from Kyandahi.

I: Kyandahi of where?

R: It is there across; the village is behind those hills you see. If you leave here, you go to the centre then you go to another centre and the next village is Kyandahi.

I: Okay. So the 37 years are also your marriage years?

R: Yes.

I: Do you often go back to your home?

R: Yes, but my parents are not there but I have my older siblings.

I: They received their share there?

R: Yes

I: For what kind of reason would you decide to go back home?

R: I go to visit them just.

I: After how long?

00:33:12

R: Now that I am old and I have less energy, it can after 6 months or a year and you see death has become common these days, sometimes they will tell you that so and so died then you walk and go there and bury but you also get a chance to greet the people and see them then you come back home. I had not finished telling you about my income and my wellbeing.

I: Okay.

R: In my being a vice chairman, I would handle cases of people overgrazing in the other person’s land or someone’s cows eating the other person’s crops co I would get some little money from there. So we started the savings groups I told you about and we kept our money and the good chance I was the secretary, treasurer and the chairman but I did all this with all honesty and truthfulness. It is not like you Fiona you will bring your money and I start telling you that you didn’t give me your savings for June.

I: Is this savings group still operational?

R: It is still there but there was some delay in progress somewhere even if I show you my records of books. What helped me was that I would put there my money and save it and at the time of sharing I would get it. So I became wise and seeing that my money was there why wouldn’t I also start lending my money because some members had not paid. So I kept giving there my little money, if you could come I would tell you that the group money is there and I ask you how much then I give you from my money. They would repay me profits and that is how I survived with my seasons of harvest and goats. That is how I have been, I have been taking care of myself in paying treatment money. This man doesn’t know anything about caring for me. All these days I have been taking care of myself and the children and even this home, it is me that takes care of it. I bought that solar you see there, have you seen it?

I: Yes I saw the bulbs inside.

R: I bought the solar panel out of my money and I also brought water behind here we have a tap so I have a water bill waiting for me to pay. I also bought my own small pieces of land, they are 3 of them.

I: Okay, you have land that you personally own?

R: Yes.

I: How big are they in size?

R: One is quarter of a quarter acre, the other one is close to a quarter acre of land but the road cut off a piece and this other side is another piece of land that is close to a quarter acre of land too. I have these pieces of land as Fulge.

I: Okay, how about at home, didn’t you receive a share?

R: Because some of my older siblings are not able to take care of themselves, I left them with the share.

I: So for the lands that you own, how much did you pay for each of them?

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R: The first one I bought it 200,000, the second one I bought it at 300,000 and the third one I bought it at 850,000 shillings

I: When the road cut off your land, didn’t they compensate you?

R: No, they don’t cut off your land and pay you.

I: I would love to know what activities you carry out on these pieces of land.

R: I have coffee and if it is ready I get like 40,000 shillings. For the other piece of land, I haven’t cultivated it, I graze my goats there and the other side was a banana plantation but the plantation got sick and because it was also stony there is still land only.

I: As you bought this land, do you have proof of ownership over them all?

R: Yes, I have my agreements.

I: Is there land that you own with your husband Mama?

R: Yes, this land where we are on it is for both of us.

I: Tell me how you acquired it.

R: His father gave it to him as his inheritance.

I: Do you have approved shares on it since it was given to him?

R: But I am married to him. It is me who cooks for him. This land is ours. He has started selling and I told him no.

I: How big is it?

R: I don’t really know.

I: Tell me according to how you estimate it to be.

R: We come from up there where you packed your car, we go up to the other tress you see down there but they are not ours they are the boundary, us we go up to the sugarcanes. Then we slope behind the kitchen up to down there. In my view it is about 1 and a half acres of land.

I: So that was his share from his father and you say you have a share because you are his wife.

R: Yes.

I: Mama, are you wedded with your husband?

R: Yes, we did. He had started on the land selling it even before the children had grown up and I stopped him. Actually there is a time he sold land for 20,000, I got this money from my money and paid back the person he had sold to because they would have these discussions in the bar taking alcohol. That side down there where you see sugarcane, it was a bushy swamp with trees,

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straw grass with snakes so he said that this place wouldn’t benefit us so he was going to sell it but I told him to leave it. He told me that he had already eaten the buyer’s money so I asked him who it is to come and I pay them their money back.

I: Okay, this is how you stopped him from selling.

R: Yes, and he would never bring this money they gave him. So one day he woke up and cut the bush and that is how it became a good place. But he was going to sell it but I stopped him. Now he decided to go and sell the land that is at one of our corners and I told him that he won’t sell it, he said that he will murder me and I also told him that if he murders me then he will also be murdered.

I: You are the ones that work on the land alone?

R: Yes, there is no other person.

I: Does your husband cultivate too?

R: Yes, the other side was so bad and water was full so when time came he dug ridges to help move the water. His only problem is he rinks too much more than the usual. Even when he was still there working, this house you see us in it is all me. We were in a grass thatched house and I said to myself how can we still be in this kind of house. So I first bought my 10 iron sheets and I consulted some man friend of mine and he told me that I buy them and when he comes and refuses to contribute or to allow me build then he will buy the iron sheets from me and use them to build his kitchen. I said yes and bought them and that friend of mine kept them so when my husband came back, my friend told him. So he also started to buy other things for the house like that. On this house I have my 10 iron sheets from my own money. The house was not yet done and left after doing some shabby work and he left, so I had to build the house using my money. When I would get money I would buy a trip of sand and they plaster the house and everything else is me.

**General land**

I: So Mama we will now talk about land in general, yours and for others inclusive. How do people come about to own land in this village?

R: By buying it. Others like my father in-law can be having his big land and he sells to educate his children. There is our neighbor there who shifted because you see this land here is no longer fertile and the income for farmers has greatly reduced so people who have money and energy are buying big land in Kyaaka (a district in western Uganda). So people sell and you get some land like that. There are others who have received land from their parents.

I: Is there a way someone can use land that is not theirs in this village?

R: You go to someone who has big land and wants money though he doesn’t want to sell. He calls people to rent his land. Before we would rent and grow millet and when harvesting you give him a share but after the land owners removed this system. So they started asking for 20,000 at first then they went on to 30,000 and now they have become expensive and they are asking for 70,000 for a quarter acre of land for every season.

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I: Let us say that someone wants to sell his land that he owns, can they sell it?

R: Yes.

I: Is there anyone he needs to consult first before selling?

R: It is your family only. The wife and his children. He can come and say that he saw land somewhere and they have good yields there and income so why don’t they shift. So the family agrees together that is it full stop (This reply was partly given by the respondent in English). The man now starts advertising and you already know that he is not a land cheat so the buyer comes and he may decide to buy you off in pieces or buy the whole land at once.

I: Outside the family, can he consult anyone?

R: He can call the chairman and some village people to witness and they sign for him the agreement that is it.

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

R: I understand it because it is land for the family meaning that Fiona you will not sell when Fulge is not around, and also Paulo will not sell when Alex is not around. All of you it is your land so you have to agree on selling whether to go or sell a part of the land.

I: So all the family people, can each one do whatever they want on the land?

R: Yes, everyone can do the thing that they want.

I: At the end of it all, is there anyone who has authority over this land?

R: Yes, the person with the authority is the head of the house, the man. If you want to cultivate you talk to him. Now like these men who have animals to graze, you can ask such a man if you want to plant onions and he may tell you that the animals will spoil your crops and he instead advises you to dig the other side of the land.

I: Okay. Supposing tomorrow, the family is not around, who will have the authority over this family land?

R: Now, when a family head has died, he leaves a will behind. It can say that you Fiona I educated you so you don’t have a share on my land, Fulge didn’t go to school therefore she has a quarter acre, Naboth I did for you this and this but you spoilt my money so you should be given a half of a quarter acre of land, you Patalewo you ate badly the things I gave you so you don’t have any share on my land. This is all the responsibility of a family head to make a will and he keeps it with someone so that after his death, whoever he left it with comes and reads it then everyone knows what their father left for them.

I: Okay. Mama, do you rent land?

R: Yes, when I still had energy and when my daughter had not yet gone. I rented land out and cultivated there but after my daughter left and I no longer had the energy to work I decide to keep digging on my land only.

00:50:22

I: So you had told me that you had bought your land that you own, I would love to know if you have ever sold land.

R: No. I have never sold.

I: For you to own these 3 pieces of land that you told me about, what does this mean to you having ownership over them?

R: It means that it is mine and the man has no say on it (Respondent gave this reply in English). The land is mine and I bought it in my money which he doesn’t know how I got it therefore it is me who works on it and I control it. If I die, my children are only 2 so they will share the land.

I: For them to share this land, will you have left a will or?

R: Yes, I will leave for them a will. I will tell Alex to take this part and Ashaba to take the other part. Like that.

I: I see you have planned well already.

R: Yes, I have.

I: What are the different ways to show that someone truly owns this land apart from the will?

R: Also the village people because they know that the land we are on is for the man and maybe it ends here, the other land they may say that the woman bought it for herself. Village people know about people’s land and they know that this land belongs to Fulge therefore it is not related to Mugisha’s land (Mugisha is the husband). They even know how I bought it with before that seller even shifted from the village.

I: Is there any other way to show ownership on the land?

R: There is an agreement too.

I: Tell me about what shows that you own this land apart from the will?

R: The village people in the neighborhood know it how our father in law gave us and if he was still alive he would say that it is his land he is the one that gave it to his son.

I: Okay. In your view, what advantages are there in having women’s names listed on the land documents that you have mentioned?

R: It is all good and I love Museveni like a sweet because he saved us a lot. If he didn’t save us, hadn’t I told you how my husband used to go there in the bar and they drink and after drinking he tells someone that he has sold to him a part of the land. If it were not for Museveni saying that women should first sign before the man sells the land, would we still be with land. We wouldn’t even have where to go at all.

I: Aside from knowing that he can’t sell where you are not present, what other advantages are there?

00:54:07

R: The good thing is that he can’t sell it without my presence, he can’t rent it out when I have not allowed, he can’t do anything bad on the land. Even if he rents it out to people when am not there, I am right to come and chase you away and the money you paid will be your loss if you didn’t tell me how you are buying the land too.

I: Are there any issues that would come from including a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: No, me as a woman I don’t see them but the men see the issues.

I: Tell me about the issues that men see.

R: To find the woman on the land, the man will say that he can’t sell when the woman is on the land therefore she disturbs him and doesn’t allow him to sell or rent the land to others. Of course if I am to refuse it is because he is going to take all the money to the bar and drink it. He can get the money and say that let me buy a goat at home so that tomorrow if I develop then I can buy this. I am talking about my home because I don’t know what others do. For him all the money is for drinking alcohol all the time. This is where the good thing is, he can’t sell where I am not.

I: Mama, you had told me that at your parents’ home, that you left there land.

R: They gave us both the girls and the boys an I told you that my share; we were 3 girls so I told them that my share is for taking care of my mother.

I: How big was it?

R: It was like a quarter acre of land and my mother was alive and I was taking care of her so I decided to leave my share to take care of her. After, my older sister failed to get a house and we had left our land with our other older sister. Our father died long ago so our sister got married near home and stayed with the land. I told my sister who didn’t have a house to sell her share and go build her house, my other older sister also came and got her share and sold it so I left mine.

I: When you mother died, did your sister remain with the land?

R: No, we sold it and had built for her a house and the house is still there now but I can’t give you the answer concerning it but it is still there. We have never talked about it.

I: All you girls got the same share?

R: Yes.

I: Did you all sell all their shares?

R: My first older sister sold hers because we had given our other sister to cultivate on it but I told her to come and sell her land because she was suffering there with rain hitting her yet she had no house and our sister was here using the land. She sold and built her house. My other sister sold and remained with the rest then my share built for my mother a house and she wasn’t being beaten by rain in the grass thatched house anymore.

00:58:26

I: Do you hope to inherit more land?

R: No, it is done but I might think of it but I have much pain because people have refused to pay my money that I gave them for the loans. You see me here I have debts of 4 million shillings. If I am still alive and God helps me with these people and they pay me back, I will buy it.

I: Do you think that people in this village are fearful of losing their land in any way?

R: Yes.

I: Why do you say so?

R: Even us when you people came, people knew that tomorrow you will cheat our land and take it.

I: Who are these did they say would cheat your land?

R: You people and many people scared us that you are thieves and tomorrow you will come and take away our land. People id these things.

I: You are still fearful up to now?

R: Yes, us with titles.

I: Whom are you scared of taking your land?

R: That the government will come and take away the land. Many of these words were spoken here. We are fearing because the people that don’t have title and have their land know that no one is coming to take away their land.

I: So what have you been doing to help you prevent your land from being taken?

R: Nothing to do.

I: So Mama, they visited you all these times and you would sign on whatever they asked you to but you had never trusted them.

R: We don’t even know how our names went there, I know they would choose randomly.

I: After all these years, you are still fearing that the government is coming to steal your land?

R: That is what people are telling us that we are finished.

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

R: I would buy it.

I: I would love to know if you have family land.

R: It is here on this land.

1:01:33

I: Do you have the shares?

R: Yes, and I allowed to dig on it the way I want forever and ever but I have no right to sell it. I can cultivate, graze my goats, I can stop you from renting it if I don’t allow you but I am not allowed to sell it.

I: What activities and crops do you have on this land. I see the banana plantation.

R: The coffee is there in the sugar canes, though it has been getting spoilt and uprooted, we have millet, beans the banana plants are there, we have sweet potatoes and cassava. The cassava has been much but there is a storm that came and had too much wind and it broke the cassava. My husband has his sugar canes there but he has drank alcohol out of them but I have no issue with him because he gave me a way forward. I can do my own things, keep my own money, if he finds me hosting a meeting here, he doesn’t disturb me he knows what I am doing. Also me I don’t interfere his coffee and sugarcanes, that is his to eat from as he wants, I don’t disturb him at all.

I: Mama, are you the only woman in this home?

R: Yes

I: Thanks for telling me about that. So about making decisions on the land that you should plant this and in this place, who makes them?

R: When he became a drunkard, I stopped cultivating with him because when we would harvest beans, he would want to sell and go to drink and tomorrow you find that I have nothing to cook. Every one cultivates on their own. In his cultivation, he looks after his coffee and sugar canes then me I grow beans, millet, sweet potatoes and the rest.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks Mama for explaining to me all this. Our next part we will talk about your experience of the titling process. What do you understand a title to mean?

R: I understand that this title; if you are a family and you agree together then it can help you to go and get a loan and you know that now getting this money from bank will help you make more money out of something and then you pay back the loan. This is one way I know about it and its use, you borrow money, get helped and then you repay it.

I: What uses does the title have?

R: I don’t know another one and I have my question because they didn’t teach us.

I: Okay, we will talk about it at the end. Is there anything that you have liked in this titling journey?

R: Of course I love it because we have a way forward to leave and take this title and we get money. It also keeps our land; right now can we sell again? Now this man who used to go to the bar and say that he is selling his land as his can’t do this anymore because the title helped me, he can no longer talk about this. Where will he pass to sell.

1:06:00

I: So this is another use to you.

R: Yes, that is another good thing about it.

I: Is there any concern about this journey that you would like us to know?

R: What I would love you to know are my questions that I will talk about in the end.

I: Okay. So Mama what difference is there between a title and other land documents like an agreement?

R: The agreement says that Fulge boarders the land with Fiona and this is what is in between them. Now should we start quarreling that you have entered my land or that I have entered your land I will show you my stones in my land and this is the difference between the agreement which uses *emigorora* and the title which has stones in the land. I will ask for what identifies your land and then you start telling me how you had an avocado tree, I will tell you that my land has proof of the stones the government brought for us.

I: I have an understanding that you are on the title together, did the man first talk to you, tell me how it all went.

R: Yes, we consulted each other. He went and drank alcohol to come and abuse me, he came and started confronting me that it is me who went and brought you people to put atones in his land because I have ever worked with the land committee so that he doesn’t sell. I told him that if I did it for us then how and why did I go to put other neighbors in the village to also make them get stones. He quarreled saying that am stubborn and he had his father influencing him telling the son that I was now wiser than him since I have put the title in the land meaning that he can no longer sell the land to eat. So when he would come from his father and abuse me saying it is me who start all this bringing your people.

I: Tell me how you came to agree and decide on the title after this.

R: He saw and thought to himself that if Fulge is the one that became stubborn and called these people then how about Donado, Vinsa and Mwesigye were also selected so he knew that he was not alone but had his neighbors.

I: So did he like it after this?

R: He loved it because, he loves where there is money and he knew that now he can go and get a loan but I can’t allow him so that they take away the land when he fails to pay back the money. If he gets it, he will go and drink alcohol, if he is lucky, he will buy for himself a shirt and that is it.

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

R: Yes, because these women who are young and are still educating their children but after seeing that if her husband gets a loan he knows that it is not their money, they work hard use the money to buy cows if they have big land and they graze them or they buy goats and should they fail to repay the loan, they can come back and sell a cow or the goats to repay that money.

1:10:28

I: You mean they love it because of the money they are able to get in loans and use it for something meaningful.

R: Yes.

I: Do you think that there are women who wouldn’t want to be on the title with their husband?

R: There is no one, they all want to be there.

I: Okay. Did you prefer it yourself?

R: I loved it very much.

I: Finding that you are on the title with your husband, is there a way it has affected your marriage?

R: The good thing now like I had told you, he can no longer go to the bar to drink alcohol and end up selling the land then our children end up with nothing. You know in the past, they would go and drink and after a while you would see people coming to plant *emigorora* saying that your husband took their money for land. You didn’t have the means to take back the money so the land would go away. This title has helped, he can’t just go and do this anymore.

I: The other time when he would go and drink and sell, how was it a problem to your marriage?

R: Yes, how can someone just cut off land to drink alcohol without even buying anything. This was a problem and I wouldn’t speak because I would fear him beating me like other men beat their wives or abuse you. My father in law died knowing that I am a hard woman because I told them that before I die, there will be no *mugorora* coming into this land that he has sold to someone. And I have been telling him that before I die, he has no chance of selling the land and no one will come in if I am still breathing. The father would then begin saying that I am ruling his son, I am stubborn, and he would tell my husband that why am I refusing him to buy yet I didn’t get married with land, I came with no land to his house. I turned a deaf ear to all this and stuck to my decision of no selling land.

I: After getting the title, what changed in your marriage?

R: We no longer quarrel. He doesn’t have any hope left for him to sell so the selling fights are no longer there.

I: Are there people that you have seen have changes before and after getting the title so that you tell me about it.

R: Me I prefer telling my own stories because I see from myself, I may not be able to tell you about the other people there.

I: Okay. What good things do you think will there in having both a man and his wife listed on the title?

R: There are good things and like I told you, it helped us here that the men no longer drink their land away in alcohol at the bars. Not saying that I doubt my husband, we would have been able

1:13:27

to go and get a loan and use this money to build another house. Like how you see people agree together, we can get that title and take it to get money then we come and build a new versa tiled house.

I: What reasons do you think cause men not to put women on the title?

R: Do you even allow men to get titles without their wives?

I: There are men who may go to get a title using his money not in the way you got it from us but he refuses to add his wife there. For what reasons do you think this man decides like this?

R: It is this, first, there is a woman who will get married in a home, she gives birth to like 2 children then she leaves. She comes to get married in a new home and gives birth to like 6 children. The man will be right not to put her on the title knowing that you might get his land and try to include your children that you left in the other marriage if he is gone tomorrow. This is the first reason. The second reason is that the man will refuse to put you on the title and mostly these men like my husband who like drinking alcohol because he knows that whenever he wants to sell land and get some money the woman will stop him so he the decides not to add her there. These are my two reasons that I see in people.

I: Before you encountered the titling people, how were people in this village getting titles?

R: When I was working on the land committee at the sub county, I saw the people who had them were the educated people with money. The ones that were enlightened and had good jobs that could give them the money to get it. I want to be truthful to you, wherever we would go I would hear that the man works in Mbarara or Kampala, all of them were somewhere good. Of course us we were like surveyors, we were the first team to come and see who the person boarders with, we check where the boundaries pass and which neighbor is at that boundary in all corners. This is what we used to do.

I: I would love to know for how long you worked at the land committee.

R: Do I remember really, but I think it was around 2013 and 201 when we stopped because we worked for two terms which were 6 years. Each term was 3 years long. And because for us people in this village had not understood this well, we worked for a second term and when the third term came, they stopped us that it was too much. I didn’t record the years we started.

I: Okay this was the period for which you worked on the land committee.

R: I would see only educated people. They would come and tell us that we are going to some land in Bwengule, these people had their good jobs and they knew the importance of a title. But us village people we didn’t know how a title was useful.

I: So where would they pass through to get them?

R: I think when they saw that people understood titles, they decided that every sub county should get a land’s committee so that if someone wants to get the title, they know where to start from.

I: Let us say that I am here and I want to get a title, where can I go?

1:18:19

R: You go to the sub county and the lands committee comes to tour your land like I told you. You first go to the chairman who calls the land committee chairman who then makes time and an appointment. They call you the land owner and 5 people from the committee come to tour your land. They will come and tour to know that on the right hand side, you boarder with Fiona, Rwakuburya and Federesi, then they see that on the left hand side you boarder with Paulo, Bungonzya and James. The land committee has certain forms that we fill and we would even draw the map of your land on the form how the land goes capturing every corner. This is what we used to do, drawing these maps, filling the forms and we take them back then they call the land owner to fill other forms and they give him a way forward. After the sub county allowing you, they call the surveyors who come to measure your land. After the surveyors taking the forms they bring the title.

I: Where do they get this title from?

R: From the government.

I: Where is this government this side where you get the title from?

R: It is there in Kamukuzi in Mbarara

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

R: Some think that if they get a title then they will get free money through loans and others think that this title which will cheat their land, they don’t want it. They think that the people who give title are thieves who want to take their land.

I: In you view, do you see that they like them or not?

R: I told you that people who are young and are still educating their children love them because they will help them get loans.

I: Thanks for telling me about this.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

In this part we would love to hear the conversations you had with your husband about the title after visiting you. During the first time, they came to visit you and left after, what did you converse with you husband?

R: After they left we said that how did these people come, how did our names go there to them, how did they even come to know about us. We asked ourselves this one and we failed to understand it. My husband went to talk to his father after this and his father said that it is me who has been working in the land things so I the one and it is my stubbornness that made mer do this. The man came back and told me that my father in law had said that it is me who did it by myself to bring these people. I asked him that if it is me who did it then how about all the other people that were chosen in the village, did I go and bring those people to them too. I told him that I don’t know how the names went and I don’t know the person who picked the families.

I: So they came back aging to visit you the second time, what did you talk about after?

1:22:39

R: They told us but I don’t remember these one so they came back again and told us that they were bringing for us our stones and they brought them.

I: So after seeing the stones planted in your land, what conversation did you have with your husband?

R: They brought the stones and put them there and they brought the title and gave it to us. They told us that if we want to go and borrow money we can go. We received it and kept it.

I: Before adding your name on the title, did your husband first talk to you in any way?

R: No, those people came and explained to us with forms that the land was for him and his wife too therefore he had to put me there. His only problem is putting alcohol in his mouth but if he has not, he has no issue at all. The other thing, he loves someone else to come and explain or talk to him about something rather than me telling him. If you tell him something, he will listen to it more than if it is coming from me.

I: Why do you think that he doesn’t listen to you most of the time?

R: I don’t know why but maybe he despises me and says that the land is not for the woman because she didn’t come with it here. This thing is always in men, that the land is his and the woman doesn’t have a share.

I: After getting the title, what other conversations did you have with your husband?

R: We talked and he told me that we should go and get money from the bank.

I: How much did he want you to go and get from the bank?

R: He didn’t say the amount, so I told him that we can go and get it but tell me what you are going to use it for. He told me that things to do can’t fail to be there and I replied him to be specific and tell me exactly what we were going to do. I asked what he would use the money for from the bank and he told that he knows that I will refuse no matter what he does. I also told him that why would I be refusing yet I know what the money is going to do so he told me that I don’t even care because I have my own money because he used to see people coming to borrow from me and bring back my profits and loans. So at the end, he didn’t have anything that the money was going to do so we didn’t get the money.

I: Mama, from the time you were listed on the title, has anything changed in your home?

R: We haven’t yet got the loan to use that money. The change that has happened is that this has helped me, he can no longer to go and drink money for the land. He would always confront me about why I would stop him from selling yet I didn’t come with land here and the land we are on is his. He no longer says these things now he knows that the land is in the hands of two people therefore one can’t have right to use it alone without the other person’s involvement.

I: Okay. You had told me that you have spent 37 years with your husband. Tell me about how these years have been for you.

R: The years were hard for me because I passed through much to be here and only God’s

1:26:02

grace picked me from there to here. He picked me from far, it has been a long journey for me. In my marriage in the early years, I was a widow yet my husband was still alive. They can only be like 3 or 4 years that I sat with this man here. After marrying me, he left, and I started working hard to survive from then.

I: Wouldn’t he send you money?

R: No, and he had never gone to work and bring money here. The way he went is the way he would come back, he used to eat that money with other women there and drink alcohol. It was bad for me, I became the husband and wife in this home. We first slept in a grass thatched house and the rain hit me, I stayed there and tried to work hard and even at some point I wanted to leave the marriage but my mother was still alive and she told me not to leave the children. I told her that I was tired of working hard to make ends meet, she said that I should be patient. I cultivated the land, took care of the home. By the time we started that savings group, and when I also lending people money, they would bring my profits and I keep it together and I started building a new house. That sand you see on house, that is me, I took care of this home in excess and I got tired. I always tell him that he made me become a widow while he was still alive so he should not disturb me in any way. I built the kitchen, you can imagine a woman digging a pit latrine for her home. Most of the years were the ones that made our home.

I: How many children did your father in law have?

R: They are 13

I: Did he give them all the same share on the land?

R: Yes. They are for two women. He died but there is still chaos over the land because he died abruptly.

I: He wasn’t sick at all?

R: He died but wasn’t badly sick, he was sick of prostate cancer so he would be in pain but still talk. The children of the younger wife went to school, they are educated. One of his sons from this woman was in Kampala and asked him to go to hospital in Kitagata, but as soon he reached the hospital, he died. He didn’t speak much and he left no will. He was a stubborn, ruling man who when he spoke, no one would dare answer him back.

I: So how did they go about this?

R: They are still there trying to talk through this. For us here, my husband and his brother are for the older wife and it is compulsory that if a son marries, you give them their share of land. So when these two married, he gave them their shares. Now, if it is possible, we wouldn’t have another share from whatever he left. Our land is bigger than for my husband’s brother because their father told them that my husband decided to go to the army early so he didn’t waste his father’s money like his brother did who went to school. So he gave him only land to put his house, toilet and bathroom but gave my husband a bigger share. But it is also because my father in-law was a cheat we would have more land, my husband would send him the money he was paid in the army to buy for him land. He bought the land but took them and owned them in his names so my husband came and found nothing. He bought cows also and kept adding land to his land and because my husband was not there to see what had been bought,

1:31:08

he couldn’t argue about anything when he came back.

I: So your husband only got this land?

R: It is the only one he has.

I: The children of the younger wife haven’t received land?

R: They haven’t received any share yet plus the sisters to my husband. Two of the children of this younger wife are educated and they are in Kampala and others also studied but they didn’t finish.

I: Well done too. Do you feel that your husband supports you in the things that you do?

R: Now that he has not drank alcohol, he will work. He will ask me if I have done everything and of not he will help. He will go and tell people how I am the one that paid for the digging of the holes to plant bananas. But I know better what we eat or drink, my husband only plans for his alcohol. His share of the gardens is the coffee and the sugarcanes and on those one I don’t speak anything but if there is a ripe banana, he will not sell it. If the millet, beans and cassava are there, he doesn’t touch them also. He only buys salt here and nothing else. Even he can’t buy meat but the good chance I don’t eat any type of meat.

I: Why is it that you don’t eat meat?

R: I don’t know, I don’t even drink milk or eat ghee. As you see me here only God has kept me because the years I have spent bleeding and yet I have nothing in my body, to see that I am alive, I am thankful. You see me here, I only eat beans, ground nuts, bitter berries and greens that is all. All these meats, fish or milk I don’t eat it. For the meat to be cooked in this home it is when our children come and on other days it is me who will decide to buy for this girl the meat to cook and eat.

I: How would you compare all this to other marriages, is it the dame or there is a difference in your view?

R: Many women are like me out there. There are only few that are helped by their husbands, they are few families where you find that the man cares to know how the home is, if the children have gone to school or what they are going to eat and how they will live. Many women are the ones that are working hard to find ways of taking care of the home.

I: How do you provide encouragement to your husband, in what ways do you do it?

R: This is all I have done; I cook for him lunch and supper then he eats. Whatever has failed, he sees me take care of it. If the plantation is badly off he sees me pay a casual laborer to come and weed and dig there. Whenever he goes to drink his alcohol he knows that I am there. He knows how to tell people to come and buy the sugar canes because I am always home. He doesn’t worry about me and his money, he will tell them to bring the money and give it to me because I am home. When he comes back, I give him all his money and on this issue of money, I don’t doubt him and he doesn’t doubt me. If you are there and you find him and tell him that you have my loan profit money and you would want to give it to him to bring it to me,

1:38:14

He will bring the money to me. Also me, if they come to buy sugarcanes and he is not around, I tell them to give me the money and they go and cut the sugar canes and I give him the money when he comes back. Sometimes he cuts many sugarcane and out them here, we have school children from that school up there who come to buy and they are about to come now, I sell for him and when he comes I give him his money. This is how I am useful to him.

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

R: There are those women that are not like me. A woman will go and rent land at Fiona’s, she plants beans, millet and ground nuts then after harvesting, the man comes and steals the produce and sells them to go to the bar. But my husband has not done this yet.

I: Do you think that all women still care for their husbands like you even though their marriage is not working well?

R: No, they don’t. it doesn’t happen easily because there are women who are angry, now for this one whom the husband stole her produce, she will be angry and even not think that her husband needs to eat food. She will also start selling to eat and cook her own food because you stole the millet so you ate your share. There are these kinds of homes.

I: Okay. Who makes the major decisions in your household? On the major things that you consider to be important in your home.

R: It is me; I make the most of these decisions. When he wants to rent land to other people, is top him because I know that the money they will give him will not be used for anything to benefit our home but for his alcohol so I will go and chase away whoever he has put there, I decide on this and I refuse. Also, on the land, he doesn’t touch my goats and my money. What I command and he commands is the land. We have that place down there in the swamp, the people from the wetland before they came, women loved it because it would yield good potatoes and if it is not the rainy days, it also has good tomatoes. So if I don’t want you to dig there, you can’t.

I: The wetland people came here, tell me what happened.

R: They came and told us to leave the swamp because it is government land.

I: So what did you do after this?

R: We cut the swamp and the grass that was there, they made us work because they said that if they come back and we haven’t cut the grass and bush around that land in the swamp, they will arrest us and make us a pay a fine. We were worried during this time.

I: After cutting it, did they even come back?

R: They have never come back. We had many trees from some organization called Karitas that had come and them to us to plant. They told us that we needed to cut those trees because if they come and we have not cut them, the wetlands people will cut the tress and makes pay a fine and arrest us for some good time. They have never come back here.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. So what is the latest major decision you have done here?

1:42:51

R: In the recent days, he wanted to bring the loan forms and I sign for him to get money. That is when I asked him that if he brings that money, what is it going to do here, this question held him. He failed to tell me what the money would do and that ended there with me refusing.

I: Supposing it is you who wants the loan, and you come to get his signature, what will happen?

R: I actually told our son to come and get 500,000 shillings and get something to do. If I want the money and I bring the forms to my husband, he will sign if I tell him that I will give him like 120,000 shillings off the money I am getting. He will do it and not refuse, I told this son of ours to come and use the title then he told me that not now, the years of using the title are yet to come. He said that he can’t get the money now because he is still able to do his work using his money for now, but when the time comes and he is not able he will come and use the title to get a loan.

I: So you have never used the title to get money?

R: No, we haven’t used it yet.

I: I am also wondering if you have ever used loans without the title.

R: No, we have never. These normal loans from our savings groups we have never used them. I wouldn’t borrow yet I was the one heading the group and later on I was the one lending people instead. It is just that this disease has got me but I have never been there that I am going to get a loan.

I: How about during this sickness., have you borrowed yet?

R: No, I haven’t yet. But the money is done and still it is because people have not yet returned my money otherwise I would still have some money.

I: The way you make decisions in your home, do you think that it is similar to how other families make their decisions?

R: No, it is not the same elsewhere. There are some where the man and woman agree together if they are going to educate their children or if one of them went to the bank and got a loan but used it to buy cows together. I have my friends who have done this and they used the other loan money balance to pay school fess and for the next term of school they will not borrow abut sell the cows they bought. And there are others that don’t agree together, everyone does their own decisions.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks Mama, for talking to me about that. We are going to our next part about women and land. We know that land is mostly for the men than the women and there are some things we want to understand about this. We don’t have any truth about this but we want to get your thoughts on it. Are there women who own land in this village?

R: Yes

I: How have they acquired it?

1:47:24

R: Like what we have been talking about, women are involved in saving groups. She can cultivate a season and she gets good yields out of it like 200,000 or 250,000 shillings. Those days we bought land at good prices like at 800,000 shillings so women would buy their land.

I: So many women have bought their own land.

R: Yes.

I: Are there women who have land that they own but they didn’t buy it?

R: There are some who have inheritance from their fathers but they are few.

I: These women that own land, do their husband know about this land or they don’t?

R: Many men know about this land but some women have land in secret and the husband has never known about it.

I: Are their women who own land with their husbands?

R: Yes. In secret is like this, there is a woman working money from here and then she takes it to her parent’s home and asks the siblings or parent to buy for her land. This is her land that she knows about alone.

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

R: Yes, because before this government came into power, the man would sell until the house is also gone. You see yourself remaining with just the house and here is nothing you would to him because it is his land.

I: How about now?

R: He is not allowed, if the woman doesn’t sign for you, the buyer can pay money for nothing.

I: In your view, do you think women want to own land with their husbands or they want to own it alone?

R: If not for the who drink like ours, it would be good if you have land together and get income to educate you children, cultivate and get food to eat and sell the rest to pay school fees for the children.

I: Do you think women want to own land with their husbands?

R: Yes, with their husband because now for me why would I want to keep owning land alone, how does it help me if not for my family. The children are for both of us, if I cultivate on the land we get food to eat all of us. So if you see that the man doesn’t not have a heart to sell and eat alone, it is good to have land together. There are no women who just want to own land alone but it is all dependent on the way your man treats your family and carries himself in the home that makes them decide to own land alone.

I: I know that we had talked about family land, we also talked about men and women owning

1:51:41

land. Do you think this is related to family land in the way you explained it to me?

R: They are not related. The land that I own has no relation to family land.

I: And land for the man is family land?

R: Yes, mine is not related to family land at all.

I: Why is it that your land is not related to family land?

R: That is just how it is.

I: Do you think that women have approved shares on this family land?

R: Men don’t have the same hearts, you see like how my father in law has died, if he was a good man he would have given every child like a half acre of land and then left for their mother like an acre of land.

I: You have told me that some men give the women shares does this mean that there are some women that don’t get any share of this land?

R: Yes, now like this woman who had come here to go and weed for me. She left her husband because he sold all the land. This government of Museveni came when her children were already grown so they reported him but the land that had remained was very small to even have a bath room built there so she left the home and came back to her father’s land. Good thing her father still had his land and she had given birth to 3 children so her father gave her some land and she built there.

I: In a marriage, if the man wants to sell family land, does he need to get approval from his wife?

R: Yes, he must get the permission. We must agree together that we are going to sell to Fiona this land near our compound because of the other reason. Then after Fiona comes to sign, and I sign for her with one heart.

I: You mean to say that for every land the man is going to sell whether it is his or yours together, he must get an approval from his wife?

R: Yes

I: Is this a law in your village or?

R: It is a law.

I: Who passed it that the man can’t sell without getting permission from his wife?

R: At the local council committees it was found out that many men mishandled land and most men would sell the land and instead of using the money at home, they would finish it from the bars, so the leaders saw that this was too much. The chairman LC1 and the village people decided that a woman should be there when a man is selling and why he is selling.

1:54:59

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

R: Yes.

I: Is there any difference on the land; if she found him with the land or if they acquired it together?

R: Whether she found it with him or they worked and bought it together, after the man has died, the widow is supposed to remain the land. No in law or father in law should come and disturb or interfere with her. She has the right to stay there with her children.

I: Let us say that she didn’t give birth to any children.

R: Yes, the family can try to chase her away but she has the right to sell it and go away with the money and buy elsewhere. If she didn’t give birth, and the in-laws start looking at her badly, she can sell and go buy land at her home.

I: Supposing the man has died and he didn’t leave a will or on the proof of ownership of the land the woman has no signature anywhere, can she still remain on the land or sell and go away.

R: She will remain on the land or sell it if she wants to.

I: Let us say that the man had other children out there in secret or he talked about that, can they also come and share on this land with the widow?

R: The other woman is not allowed but the children can get a share and even still, he must have talked about them before and they would come home and people and the family has seen them. If he has never said anything about them, they get nothing.

I: Okay. When the widow dies too, who owns the land now?

R: When your husband dies and you die too, the land is for the children.

I: You see sometimes he children are still young and some are in school, how do they go about this?

R: They remain on the land, or they look for someone in their family who has nowhere to live and he comes on their land and takes care of the home as they continue schooling.

I: I would love to know how common it is that these children find someone to take care of them and the land.

R: There are those that will want to take the land but then there are others who are good. They will find a relative who has not been well off in life and they bring him as a caretaker of the home and land.

I: Are there widows that remarry?

R: Yes. They even leave the children behind and go to get married.

I: What if the children are young?

1:58:54

R: What are you talking (says the respondent). When the man dies, the man goes to the bar day and night and the family decides to stop her and they tell her to either stop or go away. There is one who said that she can’t stay there without a husband and she left.

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

R: She will go and find the husband that side but not bringing him here.

I: I am wondering whether you don’t have women that bring the men here on the land.

R: We don’t have them here. If she wants to get married, she will go to her husband. The other women who don’t want to go but still want to give birth to more children will stay on the land but give birth to other children from there. But even if she has given birth to that child, the deceased’s husband family will tell her that she needs to find the family of that child. Whether she breast feeds, educates that child and takes care of the child, they tell her that she will get the child’s share at his father’s home not here.

I: Why do you think these widows get married again?

R: They are adulterous. If it is not this, for all the time my husband was not here, I would have given birth to other children.

I: Has it happened in this village whereby after the husband’s death, the male relatives come and try to grab land from the widow?

R: In the past years, they would try and take the land away from her and their children but it has not happened in this village. I have seen it happen elsewhere that the widow is in court because her in-laws want to take away the land.

I: Why do you think that it has not yet happened here in this village?

R: Why it hasn’t happened is because people here are not self-seeking and heating widows land. We don’t have people who have tried to lie that something belongs to them yet it is not theirs. In this village, what is common are the fights that happen in bars, people’s cows eating another person’s crops and trying to dig into someone’s land. These are the common case found in this village.

I: Okay. Why do you think some widows choose not to marry?

R: It I because they don’t have an adulterous heart and they love their children so she takes care of her children.

I: The way widows are treated, has it changed in the recent years?

R: Yes. When a woman loses her husband, and they had land she has the right to control the land and remain there with her children.

I: How were they treated in the past years?

R: When a man would pass on, his relatives would chase away the widow and tell her to leave.

2:03:14

They would tell her to also leave their children behind that they will take care of them on their own. They would just eat the land.

I: Didn’t the widow have a right to try and report them?

R: No, where would she go and report to. Before the government of Museveni, where would the woman report saying that she wants to stay with her children but her in-laws are chasing her away, you wouldn’t say this. If they chased you away, you had to go.

I: You mean to say that women can report these days.

R: They do, she can go and report them.

I: Is there any way that they were treated well in the past which has changed recently?

R: Nothing was good in the past; it was all bad the way they were treated. Now like me I don’t know my father for example to know that the treatment was very bad. I was told that my father died and left me when I was 2 months old. To even give me my second name which is Baryomuntebe they had gone to Kampala to pick my father’s dead body with my grandfather. When they came back, people came home to ask what happened and what news they had brought and one of the women asked what name they will give me and she suggested that name meaning that my father died before seeing me. In the past, the treatment was bad, after my father’s death, my uncle tried to forcefully remarry my mother. I asked her about why they gave me that name and she told me this story too. My father’s father agreed with his other sons my uncles that they will remarry my mother, our birth village actually is behind here in this village but after my mother seeing how she was treated and the uncles who wanted to remarry her were badly off and drunkards beating their wives and not taking care of their children, she asked herself why such men would marry her and what good thing would they add to her. I told you that I came from Kyandahi before getting married here in this village; my mother took me when I was young and my siblings and shifted from that village and bought new land where we grew up from.

I: Did she leave her land behind?

R: No, she reported them to the authorities and argued a case against them but she passed through a lot although she was wise. They had told her that if she wants the land she should remain there on it but remaining there is the same as suffering, have you seen it.

I: Yes I have understood that. Mama, let us talk about the women who separate with their husbands or divorce, do they get a share of the land and remain or they have to go elsewhere?

R: No, if you have separated with the man, you no longer have a right there.

I: Is he allowed to go with her children?

R: No, for example my mother in-law separated with my father in-law and she left but she died. She didn’t have the right to come back and touch the land.

I: Okay, let us say that the land they have, they bought it together?

2:07:21

R: If you have decided to go or if the man doesn’t want you anymore and he chases you away you have no hope over this land no matter if you got it with him or not.

I: What if the fault is for the man?

R: Even if it his fault and he chases you away, you will not get the land.

I: Tell me about an example of people who have separated in this village recently.

R: Many women have separated and gone. There is a woman who becomes unfaithful and wherever you go they tell you that your wife has been with another man or was drunk somewhere yet there is no food at home and at times she doesn’t even cultivate the land so the man decides to chase her away.

I: So in this village, when a man and woman separate it is the woman who is chased away?

R: Yes.

I: Hasn’t it happened whereby they separate but the woman remains on the land?

R: No, it has never happened. Whether you have decided to go or the man doesn’t want you and he sends you away, you have to go. Maybe if he doesn’t want you, a good man will decide to give you some land and you on there then he remains with the other part where he marries another women and they live there.

I: The way these women are treated that separate with their husband, is it acceptable or you would love to see something change.

R: If a man sees that the woman has not done the right things and the man wants to separate with her, he should give her a share of the land so that she lives there with her children then for him, he can marry his other woman.

I: So you would like for men to give women land after separating?

R: Yes, they should give them because they have worked for it together. Even if he went to work and look for money but left me at home, if he buys the land, I am supposed to get share because while he was working I was keeping his home and preparing for him.

I: Supposing the woman separates with the husband but she had not given birth to any children, should she get a share of the land?

R: They will not give this one, he might go with nothing.

I: Wasn’t she also preparing and keeping the home while her husband was working just like other women do?

R: The man will not allow to give her land because she has no children.

I: Do you think that she can go and report him and get a share?

R: In these days, she can go and report him and they will give her something.

2:11:06

I: In general, how are widows treated in this village?

R: When the man passes on, the widow ways at her home and talks care of her children, she cultivates and tried her best to keep thing going on. We don’t mistreat her because her husband has died.

I: I would love to know your view on why men don’t include their wives’ names on the title?

R: These are the men who want to eat and satisfy themselves and they don’t care about their children or tomorrow they say that they might not be alive tomorrow so they live for today. My husband used to tell me about selling land because he wouldn’t be alive tomorrow so I remind him that how come he has not yet died. I tell him that if he had sold the land, where would he be living now. I remind him of these words because he would tell me that he will not be here for all those years, but isn’t he here today, he hasn’t yet died.

I: Why do you think some men choose to add include their wives’ names on the title?

R: These are the men who work as one in their home. They cultivate land together, they buy land together and do everything together so they see that it is right to have their wife on the title. You will find some men saying that their wife went to her home and she was given some goats and she brought them here o now they have given birth and we sold some which bought this land. These men will not leave their woman out when they are doing anything concerning the land.

I: Do you think any problems would come out of the man not adding his wife on the title?

R: The woman will then report the man. You may find that they have many pieces of land in different places so the woman may say that she contributed to buying that land by selling her cow that she got from her home therefore she has a right on the land.

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

R: Yes, because you will cultivate the land and grow food, if you harvest you sell and pay for the children school fees, where will the conflict come from.

R: Do you think that if they own it together then it might increase conflict in their marriage?

R: No, it can’t happen because like the woman I told you about whose husband sold the land, their marriage broke because she wasn’t on the land.

I: Is there any example you have seen where the man and woman having land together has helped decrease the conflicts their marriage?

R: When the season reaches and I want to go and rent land but the man tells me that he doesn’t have the money won’t we start fighting from there but if we have our land when the season reaches, I will go on and plant the crop.

(School child comes to pick sugar and the respondent first talks to her)

2:16:12

**Land disputes**

I: Let us now talk about our last part of the conversation which is about disputes on land. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: It is the man allowing people to come and dig on the land yet I don’t know what the money he got was used for, there will be a fight here.

I: How about generally in your village, what has been the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: If a man has sold land without the woman knowing about it or even what the money was used for. She will ask what the money has done after him selling the land. The man will then tell her that is the land for her father or is the money hers and from there they will want to even kill each other.

I: Is there any recent example of a dispute that has happened and you tell me about it.

R: The woman who went to weed for me, she has just left. She fought with her husband after asking him about how he sold the land and the man asked her if it was for her father and then he started beating her.

I: How can this dispute be resolved in the family?

R: There are families that are good and they can sometimes see that the woman always does sensible things in the home, she can go and call them and they sit to reconcile them. When he was going to sell the land, I talked to his father and he asked what he was going to buy after selling land. One day he went to the bar and when they were drinking he told his friend that he would sell some part of our land to him, the friend said yes you can to sell it to me. The friend gave him money and I didn’t know about this or how long it spent. After a while, he got sick and then he called his friend again to give him money then he sells more land to him. The friend came and found him here and he told him that he wanted money to go and get medication because he was in pain. People know me in this village, whatever he does out there that I don’t know about, it comes out in the light afterwards. So the friend doubted and he came and found me down there and told me how my husband asked him for 20,000 shillings and sold to him a piece off the land. I asked him who allowed him to buy the land, so we came back home and I asked my husband how he sold the land and I told him that the land he sold is not there and the friend will not take it. He started telling me how I didn’t have the energy to dig on all that land and I told him that whether I have energy to cultivate it or not it will not be sold. That time I ran and called my father in law who came and I told him the whole story and he advised me to avoid a bigger dispute, I should get the money my husband had received and pay it back to his friend and then about medication he said his son should go and take care of himself and if he wants to die let him die.

I: When do you call the village people to help in resolving such a conflict?

R: Yes, you can call them and you sit in the issues and talk.

I: What normally happens when there are disputes in this village?

2:22:58

R: You first call the village people and the woman will tell them how her husband has sold the land without telling her or knowing what the money he was given did, so how can she allow him to sell again. We also call the LC1 committee which will command the man to stop selling the land.

I: Lets us say that one side of the people in a dispute has a title, will this help in resolving the dispute?

R: Yes, if there is a title this dispute can’t even happen in the first place. How will he start trying to sell the land?

I: In general, what do you think should be done to help these people who have land security issue?

R: These titles would help them keep the land for their children.

I: What if they don’t have the money to get the titles?

R: The government should help them get free titles or if a person wants to get the title and they are supposed to pay 1 million shillings, that person should pay half the money and the government pays the other half.

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about all this, I am glad to talk to you. Here is a small gift to thank you for your time that you have given me. I would love to ask you where you think we come from.

R: Thank you. You come from the office of the land committee in Mbarara at the district offices. This is how I know it.

I: Okay.

2:25:03