Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 31/10/2019

Name of respondent: Moses

Household ID: 4540231

Title status: Joint title

Age: 47

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 5

No. of people living in the household: 5

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: grocery store

Highest level of education: P.3

No. of years living in the village: 20

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles,

Interview start time: 11:54 am

Interview stop time: 02:50 pm

Interview Duration: 1:56:15

The interview the interview took place outside the respondent’s house in the compound, but we are interrupted by rain and we move to the kitchen and continued the interview. He was welcoming and talkative. He has 4 plots of land which they have worked together with the wife because he did not inherit any land. Their biggest plot is the one that was title and he was happy that it is the one that the chosen for a title and it is about 2 acres and he has a coffee plantation and plants other crops. He has a mud and poles house with iron sheet and a solar. And judging from the structure of their house and their sources of income, they are close to middle income.

They have 5 children and they also have the brother’s son that they have educated and taken care of. The man is very passionate about educating his children because he never got the chance to study himself, yet he was bright in class and love to study and it motivates him to work so hard. He received a joint title for their land because he worked together with the wife to buy the land although the wife was hesitant to accept the title because of influence of other people that were saying that their land would be stole but he told her people cannot come and they choose to steal only their piece of land.

**Warm-up**

I: Thank you for welcoming as, how has been your day?

R: The day is not bad

I: How about yesterday, how did it do?

R: Yesterday went well, we did have any problems

I: So, what did you do yesterday?

R: I wake up, prayed, took a shower and went to my garden and started working. These days we have a lot of weeds, so I was weeding and about 1 pm I came back and had lunch and went to look for money elsewhere. That is where I go every evening

I: So, you go there every evening?

R: Yes, I have a “grocery” business

I: Is the business in a trading center?

R: Yes, it is in the small town I *Kagongi* where you branched off coming here

I: You mean at the tarmac toad?

R: Yes

I: Isn’t very far from here?

R: It’s not far only that for us we are used to it and for you it’s because you are not used to it that’s why it looked far but it just 3 kilometers to reach here

I: Ok, what about your wife, what does she do?

R: She is also a farmer; we are both farmers

I: I have seen a certificate of appreciation on the wall in your house from the local government in your house, tell how you got it

R: That certificate, we had a sanitation challenge and as were there doing our sanitation, actually,

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we had an organization call cultus Mbarara that came and formed groups and taught us about sanitation, agriculture so that the little things that you have can help you and help your family especially about school fees and taking care of your family. As they were still teaching us, that when the government also put a program about sanitation so that people can put in effort about sanitation. So, when that program started, they kept vising us and I happened to be the VHT (village health team) of this village and the coordinator of the parish. So, the kept coming and vising me here to see about sanitation in homes and they found everything well prepared and appreciated. Last year according to their valuation they found out that this village was leading in terms of sanitation for the whole parish and subcounty. That’s when they gave me this certificate.

I: Well done, about sanitation

R: That’s for appreciating

I: So, were you the leader for this program in the village

R: Yes, because I was the VHT

I: Tell about your VHT work

R: Our work is to make sure that people in villages have better sanitation standards for example, have wires to hang their clothes, place to dry there utensils, birth room, latrines and the pregnant women to make sure that they go for antenatal visits and also when giving birth, to make sure that they give birth form a hospital so that they children are born well and get immunization for disease that attach young children. the other task is to visit sick people in the village and talk to them about their sickness and advise them to go to the hospital and see a doctor and he helps them. And, to make sure that the newborn children keep going for immunization like polio, measles and they grow up with good health. The last one is that we are not doctors and do not have medicines to treat people, but the important job is to link patients to doctors. We are a bridge between patients and doctors so that they can get close each other and know each other, and they get treatment in time and we keep advising them and following them.

I: You have told me that you do not have drugs but some VHTs have drugs especially for the children

R: No, here we do not have drugs and they have never brought for us drugs. Anyway, there is when that had brought for us diarrhea drugs for the children, but they later stopped. They now stay at the health center but with time the doctors put a program on specific days and give out the drugs. Sometimes they go to different schools and distribute the drugs. So, it is the heath workers that do that these days

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I: What qualifications to you need to be a VHT?

R: like for us they called us and trained us for the whole week. They made an announcement in the village and they need 2 people to be VHTs and we went and received the training and after the training they told us to continue and start working. Nothing else was required because they did not need whether you are educated or not, they needed people who could volunteer

I: Ok, do get refresher trainings?

R: It’s rare accept if there is program running for example the recently concluded immunization program about measles. They call you and teach you about that program and they tell you want you are going to do but there has never been any other training. If there is a program that requires the VHT that’s when they call you and if there’s not program, we keep doing our work normally

I: When was this last program?

R: It was in October this year about measles and the newborn children

I: So, do you get paid for this job?

R: When there is program, they give us some facilitation fee as application, but we do not get a salary like monthly. The only thing we get is when there is a program but if there is no program, we do not get anything, we survive on the mercy of God because they told us that we are volunteers and we work for heaven like Frela

I: What do you mean you work for heaven? Who is Frela?

R: They were there long time ago. They were religious people who used to cover their heads with a piece of cloth and people you to say that they do not get salaries they work for heaven so that if they die they go to heaven and find everything there so that is the position government also put us.

I: In general, how do you find your village, the bad and good as a VHT?

R: The good things about our village is that most of us in the village are farmers and most people that have families, men are responsible, and they try to take care of their families and even the women also do. And since we are all farmers, we are all at the same level not that we have like a rich man that disturbs other people because there are villages where you find a rich man disturbing other people in the village for example, he has cows that destroy other people’s gardens but in our village however much people have cows, they are not many you find a person has 1 or 2 and if they destroy someone’s crops we agree and settle it. Another good thing is that

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we have unity in our being for example, if a person loses someone we get together and contribute for the person and make sure that the burial goes well. We also have developmental group like savings and credit groups and burial groups that I have already told you about. Even the people in this village, most of them try and educate their children as a government policy says and most of the children are in school which means that our village can develop in the future. That’s why you can not see any children in the village like at this time because all children are at school. Another good thing is that our wives in the village, are well behaved and you can’t find anyone pointing figures at them that women in this village are for example do not get out bars. Our women love their families and take care of them and their children. so those are the good things that I can tell you about our village. The bad things in our village, like I have told you that we are almost equal but there are family that worse and you find that men neglect their families and it is women that are taking care of the families and you find that the have children that are more than five and it is the woman that is suffering with the children. Worst of all if the man neglects his home and the wife wants to tell him about it, the men abuse the woman that it is her children. For example, you find that the woman wants the man to use family planning, but the man does not want and that brings disagreements in the home. Another bad thing in the village is we have had young people who have refused to study and have become thieves if you have like a goat or pig, they steal it, they harvest people’s coffee and they disturb the village. Also, some parents, a few of them not all, if they educate the children up to P.7 they stop at that and do not teach their children any skills to live. And we squeezed and do not have enough land in the village if a child does not study, parents do not even have land to give to this child and they end becoming thieves and destabilize the village.

I: You have told me about families where men neglect their families, how do they compare to families where men are responsible for their families

R: Most families are ok, there is unity among couples but there are few that men do not work together. But most of them agree and work together

I: And for these few where men neglect their families, what causes that?

R: What causes this is when you find a man drinks alcohol and most of time he spends in bars or if he makes money instead of buying posho for his home, he spends all money on alcohol and in the end it is the woman that suffers to look for food for the children and also if a comes home drunk, you find that he disturbs the family by quarreling with them. The other bad thing I had forgotten is that there is lack of enough food in the village. And if children hear these words especially from the drunk father, because when a man is drunk there are words that they say and the children are not supposed to hear such word, and you find that there a lot of disagreements in that home.

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I: Do such disagreements sometimes lead to separation?

R: Yes, it happens because if there are disagreements because the man makes money and spends it in a bar and it is the woman that has to look for food for the children or if they send away children from school because of lack of school fees and the man can not provide, then the woman get angry and hates the man because of his behaviors and she leaves the home and the children are left suffering

I: Has it happened in this village that couples separate?

R: Yes, there is 1 that I know where the woman has separated because the man does not want to work and take care of the family. The man might not even drink alcohol but if he can not provide for his family, then the woman can leave. There are even men who do not have wives because of the same reason of not taking care of their families. You find that the woman left, and children also left, we such men in our village.

I: So, what happens to their land if the woman separates?

R: Sometimes men want to sell their land after separation because of lack of enough money and you find that the woman refuses because she does not know where the money is going yet they have and the man forces her to sell the land and if that happens the woman decides to leave the man and go elsewhere but in this village, it is not common for people to separate with their wives. Even men tying to sell their land is not common.

I: Can a woman separate and share land with the man?

R: No, here the woman separates and goes away and the land remains for the man and women do not feel like they should share the land, or they do not know that they should share.

I: So, is there something that you would like to see change about what happens to women who separate with their husbands?

R: Yes, I want things to change because you know when God created man, he put woman to help the man. And when he created them, he showed them that they should live together so if there are disagreements and they separate, it means they have disobeyed God’s agreement. What I would like to see change is that such people get educated about how to live with one another because it means that such a person does not know how live with another person. We have found out that people do not understand it, they might think what they are is better, yet other people feel different about it. For example, like you have come to visit us today there is a lot that we are going to learn from one another because when you talk to a person you always learn something from them because learning does not stop so it would be better like you have been visiting us, to

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continue coming and visit us and give us advise about marriages so that even the families that have problems can change and be at the same level with others

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Thankyou for explaining this to me. I would like to ask you about yourself, your family and about your land. So, how old are you?

R: I’m 47 years

I: What class did you complete

R: I completed P.3

I: So, what happened when you completed P.3

R: You see, I grew without my mother and my father had 2 wives and my mother was the younger wife and my father was a soldier in the Amin government. My mother was a Mugisu (tribe in eastern Uganda) from Mbale. We were born 2 children and my brother died. When my brother died, my mother took me to my father in the army barracks in *kabamba* and I was still very young like 6 years. So, my mother separated with my father and my father also so took me to the village where we were born, in *Nyakabira* *Ruhinda* at my grandmother’s home. Because of my father being a soldier, he went into his life and did not care about his children. When I was older it is my grand mother that took me to school, and I started studying but my father never gave me anything. Even the little that I studied, it was my grand mother that paid the school fees. When I finished P.3 going to P.4, my grandmother got very seriously sick and I did not have anybody to pay for me school fees. I dropped out and took care of my grand mother and after she got better, she did not have enough money to pay for my school fees. Life became hard and I also started working for other people looking after their cattle and to get money to buy a trouser to put on. Because I remember I was 15 years when I first put on a trouser, I had a long sweater that reached my feet. So, stayed in that life, my father was a live and later there was change of government and the were arrested and put in prison on Obote’s regime. From prison he went to *Katwe* and started working from there. My grandmother later died in 1987. But at that time my father had also separated with my stepmother and when she came for my grandmother’s burial, the found out that I was there but I had gone to look after someone’s cattle in Rukungiri. So, my stepmother asked for me and they told her that I had gone work and she asked why I was not informed to come and bury my grandmother. My father was there but he was not bothered. So, my stepmother came and picked. I had spent 5 months and 26 day looking after cattle for a bull. I was supposed to look after cattle for the whole year and the give a bull

I: So, they were going to pay you in form of cow for looking after the cattle?

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R: Yes, that is when my stepmother brought me here and started staying here. I had refused but she told that if I get the cow and come back with and find nobody at home to look after it because my grandmother and brother had died so I decided to come with her but I did not continue with education

I: Did you come with your cow?

R: No, I had finished working for it because I was supposed to work for the full year. I asked the owner for the cows to pay at least for the time I had looked after the cattle, but he said he did not have money and I left. So, I did not come with anything and that’s the how my education stopped. My father was there actually he died recently in 2003 but to give money to go to school was not possible

I: What about your stepbrothers and sister?

R: They were also taken care of by their mother. They were also 2 and the boy stopped in P.7 and the girl also stopped in P.5 and later died but still it was their mother that took care of everything

I: It must have been a difficult childhood

R: It was very difficult remember it is my stepmother that brought me, and they land that we went to, my stepmother after separating with my father she went and started working in Banyonkole kweterana society as a cleaner. She could sweep coffee husks and got some money and bought that land and built her house. When my father came back from *katwe* he came and stayed here with my step mother and the Land that he had left the other side he started selling it piece by piece and by the time he died in 2003 he had no land, he had sold the whole of it.

R: Did he consult you or your stepmother about selling the land?

I: He was looking at us as not important because we told him not sell the land, but he said he was the one who worked for his land and knows how got the land. We were old men, but he did not care

I: Does that mean you did not inherit land from your father?

R: I did not get anything from my father

I: You have told me that your father was a soldier and the other Mzee across also told me he was a soldier; it seems you had many soldiers in this village

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R: My father was not born in this village, he is from *Mitooma* and I have told you how we came to this village. we came our stepmother’s “ticket” and my father also followed his wife her, but we are from *Kabira*, *Mitooma* “district”

I: I understand, so, how many children do you have?

R: I have 5 children, but I also have my brother’s son that I look after. I have educated him up to S.4 and he has no joint the garage to learn how to repair cars and is now in Kampala but for us we have 5 biological children.

I: So, do you stay with all the 5 children in the house?

R: They are all at school. They older boy finished S.4 and refused to study went to work and his now married and they have a child and the girl also finished her studies and she in *mubende* working

I: Is she the one that I saw her photo in the house wearing a degree gown?

R: Yes, but it a diploma. She has a diploma in “civil engineering” but we now have 3 children that are in school and they are all in secondary schools. 2 are in S.4 they soon finishing their exams and the last is in S.1.

I: Well done

R: We are trying. And I have this passion for educating my children because I did not get the chance to study and I very bright in class nobody would beat me but for my father having not paid for me to study yet he had the money, I don’t want my children to feel like that and you find them regretting like me.

I: So, where did your daughter study civil engineering from?

R: She studies from Lira

I: I hear there is a good technical institute

R: Yes

I: So, how many people stay in this house?

R: Including those in school?

I: Are they in boarding school?

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R: Yes, all of them

I: But they come here during holidays

R: Yes, and when they are in holidays, we are 5 but now we are only 2.

I: Since you have told that you did not inherit land from your father, how did you come to own land here?

R: I married my wife in 1995 January, and she found me when I had built a house on my stepmother’s land. I had gone to Mbarara to work land all other people go to look what to do in town. I worked for one year then the second year and realized that I will not make enough money there.

I: What work were you doing in Mbarara?

R: We were working in NIFA “construction company” for Rugunda. We are digging trenches for “sewage” pipelines

I: Prime minister Rugunda?

R: No, another Rugunda in Mbarara and he has this company they build and do other thing. Later in 1992 I decided to quit and come back to the village. I had a friend and I told him me I was leaving for the village. I bought a hoe and started digging. I was renting land behind here at the church and planted maize, sorghum etc. so, when I married my wife we started digging and whenever when could get money at the end of the season, we used to buy goats and rear them from people’s land. Another season would find when goat has already produced and it helped me to sell the goat and add money from that season and when a person is selling like quarter an acre, I buy it. So, I put in my mind every year I don’t buy quarter an acre, at least I buy half of it. I had this passion that I should also have my own land and build my own house and have own family. I could be there and when I see a man with his wife, the wife giving him food and I admired it and it kept bothering me in my head so that I can also have a wife. So, when I married, I also wanted to have my own land because I had built on someone’s land.

I: So, it means that all the land that you have, you have bought it together with your wife?

R: Yes, you have understood it

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

R: There are 4 in different places and sizes

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I: Ok, being able to work together with your wife and buy land together, what does it change about your marriage?

R: First, it increases love because my woman is very hard working she did not want to have good dresses, eat well like other woman want, she did not want new clothes for festive days, she knew the status that I was in and at her home they are not poor, they are middle income but she understood my income status and that increased my love for her because she was a woman that is trustworthy. This meant that we work together because I also had an idea of the life that I wanted, and you find that our children in the future feel proud about us and might not suffer if we not a live because we worked together for them

I: Can you say that there many families in this village where a man and wife work together and buy land?

R: No, they are few, but they are there only that they are few

I: So, tell me about your 4 plot and we can start with this one where you live. How big is it?

R: This plot is about half an acre

I: Is you have a banana plantation what else do you do on this plot

R: On this plot I have my family, matooke and coffee but matooke was doing well here that why I decided to plant coffee, but it is for the home and if me get like a pig we can rear it from here

I: And the other plot which side is it?

R: It is down here, and it is the one that was titled, and it is about 2 acres and the other one is below it and I planted coffee there and it is quarter an acre. And another is the across where you came from and it is a banana plantation and is quarter an acre

I: What about the plot that was titled?

R: I have coffee there, but we also use it for planting other crops like cassava, beans, maize, etc. and we are planting more robuster coffee so that we can have a bigger coffee plantation and the one below it is also coffee. It was a banana plantation, but it got attached by the wilt and I decided to plant coffee. That why I even bought the other plot that has a banana plant across because this side banana were doing well and if you do not have food it means that even children will not go to school because you would be spend money on buying for instead of paying school fees

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I: Like you have told that you bought all these plots with your wife, do have agreements for them?  
R: Yes, we have them

I: Are her names included in these agreements

R: You know when you are making an agreement, you say me so, has sold land to this person and that’s how most of our agreements are but saying that me Moses has sold land to you and your wife did not happen. if I told that we made such agreements it would be a lie

I: Do you think not including her on these agreements can affect your marriage?

R: Yes, there is when I was there and chatting with my wife and she said that the plots we have are not important to her and I asked why, and she said that it is because she is not on the agreements. And I told her is the sellers that write the agreement not me the buyer and I told her she is the one using land now and there is not any other woman using the land. But I saw she was not happy, and I got the agreements and asked to include her names (respondent laughs) and there some I see and laugh where she tried to include her name. But generally, I think she was not happy that her name was not on the title she also wanted her name to be on that agreement. But when we were buying, I could take her, and her the land and we agree if you should buy it or not. If she agreed, we could buy and if disagreed then we could not buy. But including her name, I did not mind about it and you know in life when things were done some time ago, there things that you learn later. That is why I have told you that when you visit us, there things that we learn and find you had done it in the past because you did not know it. For example, I last bought land is 2002 and the other plot we bought them in 1998,99 like this plot I bought it in 1999 and that thinking that a woman should be put on the agreement, was not there

I: Now that you about this thinking, what are some of the good things about putting a woman on an agreement?

R: The good thing about it is that when buying this land it is for 2 people not 1 person which helps the woman to also love that land because if it is for the man alone, even is working, she works without loving the land because she knows that anytime a man marry and bring another woman on that land or he sells the land so she does not work whole heartedly but if she is on the agreement the she works with love knowing that land is hers too and if anyone comes on the land she can ask if they have proof of ownership because she has confidence that the land is her and she has an agreement for it

I: Is there any bad thing about including the woman’s name on the agreement?

R: No, there not many but you even women have learnt these days. You can be out of the home

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and she goes and gets a loan and before you know it, they get you out of land and if you ask her, she tells you that it’s her land too. It’s important before putting her name on the title, to know how your wife behaves. These days a woman can even sell your land, so you need to be steady.

I: Can she sell the land without consulting you?

R: Yes, same women have sold the land

I: In this village?

R: It might not be in this village but we it in other villages. There is a woman in the other village who sold all the land and there are there struggling with man

I: So, they sold it together?

R: She also sold some of their land. There are women who know that they can do something, and if the man takes her to court, she can defend herself. She first sees that the man is weak maybe he does not have enough money and she sell the land knowing that man can’t do anything about it, but they are few who do that.

I: I see that you have many plots, do you have workers on these plots?

R: No, we do not have workers we work for ourselves maybe you hire someone for a day and the do for you some work but in most cases, we work by ourselves

I: So, what does it means to say that this is my land?

R: I means you know that the land is yours and you have proof of it and work on it with love so that even when a person passes by and sees the way you are maintaining it, then he knows that the land belongs to you and it can help you to develop because there are people who say it is their but you wonder whether it’s their land on not by the way they use the land

I: Other than the agreements, what other ways can show ownership of the land

R: There are ways that we are used to for example when a person is selling land, he can make you an agreement that I have sold my land to this person at this amount and they but a stamp and other people can sign. And these days if you have a wife and children, they can also sign on this agreement so that in the future the children do not disturb the buyer, and this is the common way here in our villages. The other way is the land title like this but for us the title we have not have not learnt how to use them because they require some money and you find most people because of our situation in the village we do not have that money so we keep using our agreements

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I: So, people in the village, how much do think a title cost?

R: Some people have told us that it ranges from 3 million to 5 million depending on the size of the land

I: And what is the difference between a land title and an agreement?

R: The difference is that when you have an agreement, yes, it is your land but a person can come and claim your land and take you to court because there are people who don not fear court for example, if you had a person in the family that you do not agree with. But if it is a title, no one can claim your land. Another thing if the government wants to do it programmes, it can do anything it wants on your land if you have an agreement but if it is a title it can help you get compensation for you land because your land is know in the government but if you have a agreement then your land is not known in the government. I even saw the when they are making a title for your land, all your neighbors to the land must sign for you which means that the land is yours but when making agreement you can make it without a neighbor to the land which means that the neighbor can even say the he does not know as the owner of the land.

I: Is common to make agreements without neighbors to the land?

R: It happens in most cases you find that maybe only 1 or 2 are put on the agreement and the others are not

I: I’m wondering, does your wife also have land elsewhere?

R: Maybe if it is at her home but here she doesn’t have or maybe I don’t know about it because I do not know any of her land. The land she has is the land that we have bought together

I: Are her parents still alive?

R: She only has mother that is still alive

I: Ok, how did you find your wife?

R: I married her in 1995, I went to her home and for me am a singer in church and we were singing together in the church choir and I looked at her and admired her and I asked her to marry me and she agreed and after some time I went to her home and she introduced me to her family and we agreed how much bride price I would pay but before I paid the bride price, her father passed on and later we had our children we wedded actually the girl in S.1 was born in 2003 and we wedded in 2007 and that’s how we have lived

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**General** **land**

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. The next topic, I would like to ask you about land in general. How do people in this village come to own land?

R: Some have parents that have big plots of land and they divide the land a give to them. If is a boy and grows and gets a wife, the father gives him land while others buy land. Maybe he was given small land when he gets money, he buys more land. The reason why most people get small land is because land is scarce these days, so they must work hard with the wife and buy their own land

I: Ok, can you tell me about the process of buying Land in this village?

R: The way we get land is different, some people get land from farming and others have jobs and they work and buy land, there are traders who sell like coffee, beans etc. then we have government works like teachers who also work and buy land but these are not many in this village. most people who buy land in this village are farmer and traders of agricultural products.

I: And how do you get to know that some one has land for sell?

R: The land owner tells people when he wants to sell the land for example if he is your neighbor he can tell you that he is selling his land or you here it from other people that so and so is selling his land. So, we know from other people spreading information

I: How do you compared buying land in the past to today in this village?

R: The price for land has increased these days because I remember the first quarter an acre that I bought was 40,000 shillings and the last quarter an acre of land that I bought was 1.24 million and the last time I bought land was in 2014 this means that the price has been increasing

I: Why do you think the price has increased?

R: People have increased, and everyone wants land and because everyone wants to buy land then the landowner increases prices depending on the demand for that land

I: You have told that you started by renting land elsewhere, do you still rent land?

R: Not so often, it is rare today for me to rent land outside, I use mine

I: So, how does renting land in this village go?

R: Most people in the village do not have enough land so they rent land elsewhere. And I have

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heard that quarter an acre of land is now at 60,000-70,000 shilling per season and you go and plant your crops whether beans or millet and harvest and after harvest if you still want to use the land, then you must pay more money. but these days it is disappointing because a person rents land at 70,000 but after harvest the money he used, he does not get it that means that if he wants to rent the land again, he must get it elsewhere and because we only look for life from the soil, we must try it again but most people are losing

I: What do think has caused this?

R: The biggest problem is that the soils have lost fertility because they have been overused

I: So, what do you think should be done about this problem?

R: The most important thing is to teach people how to use their land even if you have a small piece of land, they can teach how to use it well and get much out of it. But another problem that we have is that people for example, like now that you have come to talk to us, when you invite people in the village to talk to them about something, people expect to get money and you find that they have this thinking that I go there and they give me money but when they come and do not get money, next time they will not come again if you invite them. So, people’s understanding is that they do not know that they should be learning instead of being given money. It a very big problem in villages in Uganda but I think that if people were taught about land use, it can help them even when they have a small piece of land to get what they want

I: Do you make agreements for renting land?

R: It is not common people do not make agreements. You just go and they measure for you the land and you pay and start using the land it is very rare to sign agreements

I: What about you, have you ever sold land?

R: Yes, many times, I buy and sell and educating children can’t leave you with land. I remember even during this “exercise” I had my good-looking banana plantation down here near the road, but I ended up selling it when my child was going to study in Lira. It was at that junction where you passed.

I: It must have been a difficult decision

R: We had no choice, but we agreed with my wife because we usually agree together. I told her that we needed the money and we did not have any other way and she accepted, and we sold the land and the child went to school. It was the easiest plot to sell in all the plots that we had because here we had our home, down there, the plot is big and in one place, the downer plot is

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where we used to get matooke for food and the other plot was difficult to sell people would not buy it quickly. She accepted and we go the money

I: How big was that plot that you sold?

R: It was half quarter an acre

I: How much did you sell it

R: I had bought it 420,000 shillings and I sold it at 1.2 million

I: Which year was it?

R: It was 2015

I: If someone told you that this is family land, what does it mean to you?

R: For me to be family land, it means it is land for the man, wife and the children and they use it together and what they get, takes care of all of them

I: If it is family land, who has authority over that land?

R: I think there is no one that has individual authority but the “base” for this land is the man because in case something happens on this land maybe a person wants to steal some land the woman reports to the husband and in settling such a dispute, it is the man that can decide.

I: So, do you need to consult your wife if you want to sell family land?

R: Yes, because it is land for the family and if you do not ask her it means it not family land it is your individual land. But you should ask they woman and she can know why you want to sell the land, and which plot you want to sell, and you share knowledge

I: So, if it is individual land, wouldn’t you consult your wife if you want to sell it?

R: Me I believe that if you have you wife and you are married, there no such thing as this is for the wife, and this is for the man or it is for the man and the wife does not know about it, that is a mistake because if the man has something the wife should know about it. Not only land even animals and other things should be for the whole family. And also, if you have children that are old, they should also know about the things that you are doing.

I: Let’s say that your father gave you land together with your sisters and brother and you are all using it, would that also be family land?

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R: It can also works but I have not seen it in this village but I think it is also good because it can help you to all get something form this land for example if it is a coffee plantation you get the money after the season and share it together instead of dividing the land and getting a small piece. I think president has been having this campaign against sharing the land, but people have not yet followed it. People are still dividing the land

I: I your view, do you think it is a good idea?

R: Yes, it is a good idea because I look at my plots of land and if I was to divide them and give to the 5 children then also remain with my part and also give to my brothers son because it is me that has taken care of him this means that will be 8 people to share on this land and if you add up my all plots, you get 11 quarters of an acre which means everyone will get 1 quarter of an acre. So, can you build on quarter an acre, have a kitchen, latrine, bananas or coffee?

I: Let’s say that you have not divide the land but one of the family members does not have enough money to invest in this land, do you think he won’t be able to use and gain from this land?

R: I think as a family you show agree together because you might not use money but use your energy to work on the land. You understand? For example, I have told that we have been working with my wife, if we get 2 million out of the season, if we want to use money can’t start with this 2 million?

I: I get you. Do people fear losing their land in this village? (it starts to rain, and we go to the kitchen because Fiona was in the house with the wife)

R: It is rare, I see that people have not yet thought about losing their land because why I think like this, since you started visiting us about this “program” and towards the end, the last girl that came here told that we would receive land titles and when other people came to know that we were going to get titles, they started saying that we would lose our land and I told them that my land was given to me by God and my energy and if the want to take it then they can take it. And they were understanding people, people that are educated but I think people have not thought about land titles and they think that they are safe on their land the way they are.

I: For example, in some villages people fear that if they get a town council and government wants to do its projects on your land, you can lose that land

R: No, that thinking has not reached in this village maybe a few people have thought about it, but the majority people here have not thought about it.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

01:03:10

I: Next, I would like to ask you about how your knowledge on titles and there no right or wrong answer. What does it mean to have a title?

R: The little that I know about the title is that when you have a title, it is proof that the land is yours and if the government has programmes it wants to do on your land, then it must ask for your permission because they know that you are the owner of the land. Another thing that I know is when you have a title and you want some money from the bank, it becomes very easy. And, if you wanted to sell your land like at 200,000 shillings, if it has a title, it becomes 300,000 shillings which means that it adds “value” to the land

I: Ok, tell about the process of getting this title

R: The girl was the first to come and before she came, they had informed us at someone would come. So, there comes a girl she came very early and she asked for my wife to also be present. We sat there and she told us she was coming from Kampala and working for an organization that I do not remember. She asked us about the plots of land that we have, size, location and what we use the land for. She asked our harvests and what we use the money from our harvest. She asked very many other questions. She also wanted us to go and measure the land but as we were still here, it rained heavily, and her colleagues called her, and they left. It seems you are lucky because every time you come here it rains. After some time, the second girl came and asked us the same questions as the first girl. Then came the third girl and I think that it was the 3rd one that told us we would get titles. after some time, we saw the subcounty people on land committee visiting and measuring the land after like 2 months “surveyors” came and measured the land. That is when people started telling us that we would lose our land and the titles would never come and my wife also got scared but I told her that people cannot come and still only our small land. So, in November last year that when they called me that they had brought my title but we were not around we were in Kampala, that when our daughter was graduating I called the chairman to receive it for me but the man that had brought it refuse and said he would come back and bring it. So, after a few days he called and brought the title and we signed.

I: So, were you given any conditions for receiving this title?

R: No, we signed the forms from the subcounty, even when the surveyors came, we signed and when receiving the title, we also signed

I: I mean like if you do not do this, you won’t be able to get the title?

R: No, there was no conditions, no money they just told us to be at home together with my wife and they could find us home but still they did not say that if they do not find the woman at home, we will not get the title. maybe if I did not hear it but they did not say it.

01:08:40

I: Since you were not given any conditions, how do did you came to put your wife on the title?

R: The first person that came asked me to have my wife present and told us that the program is for the whole family. In fact, she even asked for all the names of our children and how they follow each other and that the program is for the family not an individual which means that the woman must also be included because a there is no family without a woman. I clammed it as prayer and very time they called me, I would inform my wife to be there

I Is there any other reason why you included your wife’s name on the title?

R: Do you think it was me that put the name there, she was there and she out it herself

I: You could have said no I don’t want her name on the title?

R: No, you see in this life, sometimes you may not even know you can survive and make it so when you look at how you have earned something the way you have worked for it, then you should also know where to stop. For example, I have worked for everything that we have with my wife, and I the end I stand and say it mine alone? It is a mistake and it angers the other person and family because you would have chased her away form the land that you worked for together and her heart changes and she might not work hard as she has been working

I: Why do you think other men choose not to include their wives on the title?

R: I think it selfishness and I also think that is because we men know that we are household heads and we have not realized that a woman is also a human being because some treat them as cows and goats thinking that the knowledge the have, women do not have it. So, you think that the person you are living with has no understanding of things as you. That why is I think men don’t bother to put their wives because we do not know who our women are and how important they are. We do not know that the time the spent in the mother’s womb is the same time that we spend

I: Do you think that most men have not realized this, or they do not want to agree with it?

R: They are some who have not realized but there are others who do not want to know it like that so that they do not look weak. Wanting to show in people that he has power, knowledge and authority, he can make the last decision thinking that they have more brains that the other

I: What differences are there if you compare marriages where men want show power and marriages where mean listen to their wives

R: The is a big difference, in families where the man want the woman to be under his feet you find that family does not develop because it means if the man is not at home then there is nothing that can go on in that family. Because in such situation, it means the woman cannot develop her talents or can not do what she could do because the man is sitting on her back. The children will not go to school because it is the man that decides. If a child is going to make a mistake the woman will not speak because the man decides. And on the other hand, also if the woman has more authority too the family does not develop either. And a single person cannot be independent, you need other people, but if you are 2 people you can advise one another, and things move forward.

I: What has changed in your life because of this title?

R: When that lady told us we would get a title, I had always wanted to have a title for that plot of land but I did not know which plot they would title although I would still be happy if they titled any of my plots but I have been very happy and I feel that this plot now is mine there is no one that can claim my land

I: Is there anything that you were worried about before getting the title?

R: Yes, I was worried that someone can come and claim that the land is for his father or mother because I bought this land from my cousin who had separated with his wife long time ago. So, thought his children or mother would come back and claim the land but now I know even if they come back, they have nowhere to begin from.

I: Ok, are there thing that you thought would change after getting the title but have not changed?

R: No, I have not thought about them

I: So, you have told me that you can use the title to get a loan, have you used it to get a loan?

R: You think it is still in this house? They said you cannot keep it in the house. It is already in the bank. Children could not fail to go to school and I have a title kept in the house (respondent laughs) it already gone I have used it already

I: Yes, most people fear keeping them in the house

R: If they say they can steal it but I would not be scared of keeping it in the house, I can keep it there but now I have gone to the bank and they ask for the proof of ownership of the land that you are using as security for the loan and I have my title, what else would I be waiting for? I give them the title and it helped me because when I put the title, the bank did not even come to see the land. When I gave the title, they called me the next week that why I’m not picking the money and I told that why have they come to see the land and I get the money. they told it was not necessary since I had a title

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I: So, how much money did you get?

R: I got 500,000 shillings

I: Which bank did you get the loan?

R: Actually, I got it from a sacco called Rubind farmers sacco

I: So, how did this process go?

R: It was very easy, I picked the form, I already had my guarantors, I took the form to the chairman and he put a stamp for me and took the form to the bank and it took a week to get the money

I: Had you taken a loan before getting the title?

R: Yes, many times but it has been a challenge. Getting the bank people to cone take photos of the land but it is much better now that I have a land title

I: In getting loans do you consult your wife?

R: Yes, I must consult her because we must work together and the forms we fill, she must also sign on them. So, we agree together

I What if she refuses to sign on the forms?

R: If she refuses, I leave the loan because I cannot force her but still, she cannot refuse because she knows what the money is going to do. I don’t not drink alcohol that I’m going waste the money on alcohol and when I get the money and am distributing it to children going back to school, she is always there seeing. So, she cannot refuse because she knows where the money goes because I don’t even keep balance

I: In your view, what reasons would a woman refuse to sign on the forms?

R: I think the reason why a woman would refuse you to get loan is if the last loan was not used well for example if the loan was for paying school fees are buying land but you do not do it and the money disappears yet the bank is demanding for its money, I think that then she can refuse

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

R: No, I don’t know of any one

01:19:38

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

R: the ones that we got?

I: No, title in general

R: I think people have not yet understood the purpose of land title because even when we are in meetings and we talk about it you find that people have not taken interest in them

I: Why do you think they have not taken interest in titles?

R: When you talk about the title people think that it is for too much money that why I think people have not thought about them because they know the can afford them. Even me here where we are, I would want it to have a land title but because of our situation we think its very expensive

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. I would like now to ask you more about your marriage and the discussions you could have had about the title? You have told me that you married you wife in 1995?

R: Yes

I: Tell me about you experience in marriage for these years

R: It has been easy but hard at the same time

I: I don’t understand, tell me more

R: (respondent laughs) I have found that these years have not been easy because of the situation we have been in, like I have told you where we started from but what helped us was that we were cooperative and we have kept our love. Now me because I grew up an orphan it helped that whether the situation is hard or difficult, I can be patient until and get out that situation. Now my wife, when I married her, I explain to her and she was quick to understand me and it has helped me that am not a picky person and I love working so my wife accepted my situation the way it was but we have gone from this situation with difficulty because we use a lot of energy.

I: So, you have talked about not being picky what do mean by that?

R: Drink alcohol, have other women and waste money on things that are not part of my family

01:23:19

I: What are good things that you have found in this marriage?

R: The goods things that I have found in my marriage is that if you are patient you can get what you want for example, you wanted to get money and you are patient and work together, you can get it, if you want to educate your children you can if you are patient. Another thing is that gives you respect in people if your marriage is well and you do not have fights and you find your family is talked about as an example of a good home which gives you respect. Another good thing is that people have trusted us in the things that we do as a family and they ask for advise from us and we give it to them. So, in the future when you are stranded somewhere someone can recognize you and help one other

I: Other than working so hard with a lot energy, are there any other challenges that you have faced in your marriage?

R: Of course there must be challenges and problems in a marriage for example, if you find yourself in a situation when you do not have enough money because life depends on money, you find a person wants to fall out from the other and there are some conflicts and you do not agree on certain things but you have to be patient. Sometimes you even plant crops and they do not yield, the children do not have school fees and you have a lot of debts and the whole situation is not good generally, but you be patient with one another and go through it. But however much there are these challenges, we have never separated with my wife.

I: So, do feel supported by your wife?

R: Yes, because if I see that she trusts me in the thing that we do for example if we plant our crops and harvest we sell together and I have not seen her trying to steal the money from our crops and when we have something to sell and am not around, she can sell and tell me about it and we plan for that money

I: Do you also feel that you support her?

R: Yes, a lot because someone who is trustworthy and she does not leave you and home and find everything well, why wouldn’t I support her

I: Can you give me like an example of how you support your wife?

R: How I support my wife is like the way I talk to her for example if she asks something I have to respond to her well. To see that if she has a problem, I should notice it and ask her the matter because if she is not happy am also not happy and if there is a problem, I find ways to take her to hospital. And I our work, when we are working together, she sees that am working hard and even the little money we get she sees that I put it into good use and she also feel supported and keeps

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on the line like what people say.

I: So, do you think even in other families in this village, couples support each other?

R: Yes, but they are not so many and like a saying goes that ‘*nibinanya embeba*’ issues in a marriage are known by the rats in the house so, I just think they are there but very few

I: Tell me more about the discussions that you had with your wife about the title?

R: Like I have told you that she was hesitant about the title because of what people were telling us that our land would be stolen, I told her that God has helped us work together to have this land and people cannot come and steal it. And if they steal it, we will still work and buy more land. But as they keep coming and told us about the title, she became ok with it and we agreed together and waited for our title and when were in Kampala with her that’s when they called that our title was ready and when we received it, she was very happy because her name was included on the title and now it is helping us educate our children

I: How makes major decisions for your home?

R: Now, for example school fees because you know that in this era you must educate children, when children are going back to school, the woman will keep quite and wait for you to decide but as a man when you think of something you have to share it with you wife and agree together but if she disagrees then you leave that for example, if you want to sell land and she agrees, I think it is you the man that has made this decision because it will be you to look for the buyer but after agreeing with the wife.

I: So, was the last major decision that you have made about?

R: The last one is this recent loan that we took from the bank. So, I sat there and thought where else to get the money for your children’s school fees and told my wife that if we could get a loan from the bank, wouldn’t it be helpful? She also said that since we do have something to sell and get money then we can take the loan

I: Do you think this is what happens in other families when it comes to decision-making?

R: In most cases that’s not what happens because in most families, men still force women like an injection even the way he tells her about it, if the woman wanted to say no, she just agrees or even when she disagrees and give her reasons, the man refuses it even when it is right.

I: So, even when men tell their wives, they still decide on their own?

R: Yes, some of them

01:33:18

I: But do you think that decision-making today has changed if you care it with the past?

R: Yes, the change has been there and because of this change some families have developed

I: So, what do you think has caused this change?

R: People are now educated and have information and have developed ideas and you find that women now bring ideas that men did not know and the follow them, even the children and you find that it has helped the family to develop.

**Gender norms around land**

I: As we know that most land in Uganda is owned by men, there are some aspects to this system that we’d like to understand especially, concerning women. We do not have an opinion about the in one way or the other, but we’d like to know how you think about this subject. And there are no wrong or right answer. Do women own land in this village?

R: No, I have not seen it. Yes, remember they are there

I: How did the acquire the land?

R: They buy land. There some women who have their small business and they trade here and there and get their own money and buy land.

I: But is it common for women to buy land?

R: It is not common you find they are like 1 or 2 in the village

I: Do they tell their husbands about the land?

R: Some do but most of the do not tell the husbands about the land. Men hear about it later that your wife has bought land somewhere. Sometimes you find a man and woman in a home, but they are all kings, and everyone does his own thing

I: Does that mean even when they are making agreements men are not included?

R: Yes, men are not part of the transaction at all because everybody does his or her own thing and sometimes, they do not even have time to talk to one another, so the man makes his own agreements and the woman also makes her own agreements

I: But do you think women would want to jointly own land with their husband or they prefer the own separate land?

01:35:45

R: There few women that would want to have their own separate land, but most women would want have land together with their husbands

I: Why would some women want to have their own separate land?

R: Some women cannot be satisfied with what they have because there is when you find a woman with everything, but she wants more and hers alone. Even there are women who disrespect their husbands not because the man size, or money but they just under look the man and want to have their own things and separate with man or they think that they are now more understanding and they want to do their own things

I: What about women who inherit land from their parents?

R: I do not know about those one because I have not seen any of them

I: Why do you think this is so? Do you think parents in this village don’t give land to girls?

R: I can’t know the reason why, but I have not seen any woman who has inherited land from their parents

I: If you were to give land to you children, would you give to the girls?

R: Yes, I give to all of them because they are all my children

I: Taking about children, do you have children outside of your marriage?

R: No, and am tired of giving birth to children I would not have other children outside my marriage

I: In your view should women in this village be allowed to have their own land?

R: Me I think if it is a family they should have land for the family and it is neither for the man or for the woman because a man and woman in most cases they have children and if they buy things, they buy them for their children that they have. Now if the woman has her land and the man also has his land, if they want to give this land to their children, should they each of them give land separately? Or should they first share their mother and later share their fathers? I think it would be better if they have land, they make it for family, not land for the woman or the man. Because if they have separate land, they might even separate their children and find that the man has his children and the woman also has her children which is not good.

I: You might find that the woman inherited land from her parents

01:40:23

R: Yes, even if she inherited land, she was married to this man so it should be land for that family. And if the man also inherited land from his parents, it should also be land for the family and if they bought land together it also becomes land for the family. Because I don’t the reason why a man can buy land or inherit land and it becomes for the whole family yet if the woman buys or inherits land it becomes only for the woman, it is wrong.

I: We have talked about some aspect on land, women, men, land use and land ownership, how would these aspects work if a man and woman had family land?

R: They work well and the family remains together without separating and if future if the parents are not alive, the children will know that this land was for their family and that family will always work together in the future because you have given them something that can keep them together

I: Do think if a woman inherited land from here parents, she would want to sell it and buy other land and add it to her husband’s land?

R: Few you want to add it to their husbands land but most of them would not think that if they add it to their husbands land, the husband will take it away from the but I think if the woman sees what the man is, is what she does but if she sees that the man might steal the land then she does not add it to his land, but if they working together them the woman would bring that land and it becomes for the family.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. Are widows allowed to stay on the land once their husbands die?

R: Yes, women are allowed, I have not seen any widow who has not stayed on their land in this village

I: Let’s say that the man bought this land before he married the wife, does still stay on that land if the husband dies?

R: Yes, she stays on the land because the land id theirs after marriage but woman in this village stay on their husband’s land

I: There is when you find that she has no children and the husband dies

R: That one takes herself away she can not stay on the land because women who do have children and their husbands die, they must remarry. That one chase herself from the land

I: Other than not having children what other reasons would a widow remarry?

01:44:55

R: The situation can also lead a widow to remarry, for example, if they did not have enough land and she struggles to take care of the family. If she gets a man and he tell her lies, she can accept and remarry. Others are still young, and they can get other men and some women can live without men so they must remarry.

I: If a widow remarries can she stay on the land?

R: In most cases they do not stay on the land but still it depends on the husband’s if they do not have bad manner the woman can stay and remarry on the land and have more children because these days it is hard to find that the relatives are entering in the matters of the widow. It’s well known that if the woman loses a husband, she stays on the land and raises her children

I: Has it happened that in this village that relatives try to grab the widows land?

R: No, that have not happened in this village

I: But has the treatment of widows today changed if you compare it with the past?

R: Yes, it has changed

I: How has it changed

R: In the past men never used to give women respect and you find that women can not have friends, can not leave home and cannot own anything and the same would happen to widows and you find that they are chased out of their land but when the Museven regime came into power women were given their rights and now a woman can do whatever she wants and if a man wants to disturb a widow or any other woman and she take to the LC or police, they first put the man in prison for same time and you first learn a lesson. So, widows and women have their rights today and they are ok. So, the best thing today is not to tamper with the widow’s land or property

I: So, what opinion do you have on what happens to women who lose their husbands?

R: I think they should be left to enjoy their rights because women are also human beings and the things they do are human and the families they have with their husbands is a union by God and if the man dies the woman should stay on their land and raise her children except if herself she become a problem and wants to leave. But today most families where men have died, women have raised their children and done a better job than even when the woman dies and leaves the family with a man. So, women are important in families

I: You have told that widows now are ok, what do you think has caused this change?

00:48:46

R: I think it is because of governance that has given everyone their right to do whatever they want and teaching people how they should be living in their communities. That’s what I think has caused this change and the government laws that have been put in place.

I: If women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, do you think this can increase or reduce conflicts in a marriage?

R: For example, if they have a joint title and use it together, this can reduce conflict in the marriage but if one them wants to use it alone then there can be conflicts. So, they need to agree together and use their land together.

I: I did not get it clearly can you tell me more?

R: A title can only help to reduce conflicts where the couples themselves agree and work together but they do not agree conflicts can remain even if they have joint ownership of the land.

It is the person’s heart that can lead to reduced conflicts in a marriage

**Land disputes**

I: Ok, now let me ask you about disputes on land. What is the common cause of disputes on land?

R: The first cause conflict on land is the harvests, if the money from the sale of crops is misused by either the man or the woman, it causes disputes for example, if they sent away the children from school because of school fees and you say that you do not have money yet the woman knows the money is there from the sale of crops

I: And what cause land disputes outside of the home?

R: Let’s say that you are neighbors to the land, disputes may a rise from the boundaries of your land where one wants to encroach on another person’s land and if your are not neighbors disputes my arise when someone has like cows are goats that destroy other people’s crops or even the children can land disputes if they destroy other peoples crops for example if they steal other people crops like sugarcane

I: What example can you give of the last time there was land dispute in the village?

R: The common dispute here has been people’s animals like cows destroying other people’s crops and they got the LCs and even courts

I: Such a case can go to court?

01:52:45

R: Yes, if you destroy may crops and we go the LC and you deny we can move up the level to courts

I: So, what happens when their land disputes

R: He first go to the chairman and if it cannot be resolved we continue to the subcounty and go to court

I: How can conflicts be resolve from within the family?

R: The first thing is accepting the wrong and forgive one another and have trust in one another

I: And at what level do the community get involved?

R: That means it has become “worse” it means you spend most of the time in disagreements and is frequent like 3 times consecutively and both of you are being big headed and end up in fights

which requires you to go to the chairman

I: So, if a person in dispute has a land title, can it help resolve a land conflict?

R: Yes, if a you neighbor know you have a land title, he cannot tamper you your boundaries and if he does the title can clearly show the boundaries of that land which can help to solve the problem.

I what do you think should be done to help people who have problems with land security?

R: I think they should be helped to get land title so that everyone can have proof of ownership

I: Have you ever had any disagreements on land?

R: No, I have never

I: why not, with all the plots you have?

R: I think the people that sold me their land agreed with their wives before selling me the land

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

R: the person who gave the title, I’m not sure about him and I have waiting for you to ask you and I get to know (respondent laughs) because I have asking myself who that person could be to choose out of the people in the village and give me a land title. I even asked Rukundo when he came, and he told that it the world bank and I kept quite because I knew that you were coming so

01:55:30

I want you to tell me today

I: Yes, Rukundo did not tell you a lie, it is the word bank that gave you the land title

R: Ok, I would like to know about how the “selection” was, that what I have always wanted to know

I We came to the chairperson of the village and he gave us all the names of the people who own land in this village and are staying together with their wives and we put them in the computer and it randomly selected five names

Yes, that what Rukundo also told me but I wondered why in the village it picked only people from one location me, the Mzee across, the behind here and others on this line. Why not jump and pick a person behind the side of the village

I: it is possible to pick you like that but also it could have pick someone behind there and by the time we came that person was not around, or he refuse or the man does not stay in the household and we have to replace them with other people.

R: Ok then

I: Thank for you time today

01:56:15