**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 18/10/2019

Name of respondent: Richardis

H.H I. D: 4730311

Title status: Joint title

Interview start time: 8:45 am

Interview stop time: 10:54 pm

Age: 54

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 7

No. of people living in the household:

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Used to sell kwete (a type of local alcohol)

Highest level of education: Senior 4

No. of years living in the village: 25

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: mud, poles, cement and old paint, rammed earth floor

Interview Duration: 2:09:15

The interview happened in the respondent’s house in their living room. Their house is made of mud, poles, old paint and a rammed earth floor with iron sheets for the roofing. We had no interruptions. They look to be poor according to the conversation we had about their household struggles, the general look of the home. She lives with her husband, mother in-law and children. About titling, she said they joint titled and it was a good thing for them especially considering the boundary wars she was having with the wife of her brother in law. The wife to the brother in law had been digging and entering into her land and no matter the family talks and warnings she would still do it again, after receiving the title, she has never done it again. She was open, conversational and welcoming. She looks to be hopeful as she is trying with her husband to work hard and provide for their children education wise a thing they didn’t have in their growing up.

She told me that the land they are on was given to the husband as a share from his father, she estimated it to be about 3 acres of land although she didn’t know the exact measure. She rents land to grow crops for them to have increased harvests from the season to sell and get money to take care of their children. She has been doing an alcohol brewing business, but the market has gone down and she no longer goes to sell in the market because she makes losses and returns with the alcohol. They survive on what they plant per season which they sell at once in order to pay for their children’s school fees. Earlier on this year her husband fell sick with paralyzed legs and one arm which led to her being a bread winner for the family, she told me she does most of the digging alone and she can’t employ works because the money is not there. During our conversation, she would mention some words in English when replying me because she has gone to school and attained a higher level of education I think and this has pushed her to treasure education wanting her children to exceed her education so that they can get a better life.

**Warm up**

I: Mama, today are you here alone?

R: You have come and she has just gone now. We stay with our mother in law. She has gone to the garden to weed.

I: She still has that energy to go to the garden?

R: Yes, she even weaves mats. Her eyes are still very sharp and good. But me I can’t weave anything, my eyes can’t see anything.

I: The last time we came and you were not around, we found her weaving a beautiful mat.

R: She is now weaving a small one and another big one, if I show them to you, you will fear.

(Respondent goes to bring the mats to show me)

I: How old is she?

R: She is already in her 80’s, you found her weaving this one but there is also another one that she is weaving now.

I: She weaves so beautifully.

R: Now, I can’t weave this. My eyes can’t see.

I: But I see that you are still able to write.

R: I write of course like someone who wrote sometime in their life, in a meeting I can write the discussions. But for these ones (consent form) I can’t see them well.

I: Have you been to hospital for medications and checkup?

R: I hope to go there but the problem is money, it can be hard to get. The children are many and yet the income is very minimal. Whatever we get we give to the children and we stay there like that.

I: Don’t you have hospitals that do free eye check up here and education?

R: No, we have to go to Mbarara. You count the transport costs and it also fails you.

I: Oh sorry, this is quite hard. But how about in the holidays, are you able to save up something and maybe consider going to the hospital.

R: (Respondent laughs), in the holidays they come to pick more money so if you have not prepared it before hand, then it becomes hard for you.

I: Thanks for helping understand that. How did yesterday go here?

R: It went well

00:02:47

I: Tell me about how your normal day goes.

R: In the morning, I wake up the children and prepare them for school because they go to school very far. I wake them up at 5:30 am and by 6:00 am they are leaving for school and that means I have also started my day.

I: Where do they go to school?

R: They go to Igorora along Ibanda road and hey go by foot.

I: Okay, this is far. How long does it take them to reach at school?

R: Because they are children, they go while running. They got used so they tell me that by 7 am they have reached.

I: Okay.

R: Because I tried asking them if they don’t get them for late coming but they said no, they have never been late. I also be up, and because I cultivate very far and my journey takes me almost an hour. I have to be in the garden by 7:00 am, if I am late then by 7:30 am and this means that doing home chores, I normally don’t unless I am cultivating this side.

I: This is quite early for you.

R: Yes, and because I work in the garden alone, I have to go and dig a significant piece. And now that it is weeding time, I leave the garden at 5pm.

I: Do you go with food?

R: Yes, I have to leave leftovers in the night that I will take for the next day.

I: So the old woman stays here alone for the day.

R: Yes, but also with my husband. My husband fell sick from May. He used to work in Igorora at a school, but he is a non-staff.

I: He was doing casual work.

R: Yes, he was a gateman and he would welcome those who come in. when he fell sick, his hands and legs and so he has been staying here at home with his mother.

I: Did you know about what he was sick of?

R: We went to the hospital because his legs were the first to pain, he would not move so he went to seek medical help and it failed and therefore we had to go to private hospital there in Ibanda at Dr. Kasande’s and they put him through a scan. You know those things of doctors, they told him that there is water in his knees. They gave him injections and they stopped swelling but they were paining him still. After, this sometime later his arm also got swollen and paralyzed, the right one and yet it was the one he would use in writing. He went to the hospital for checkups, the gave him medicine but it didn’t work.

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He also went to Kagongo in another hospital but the arm failed so we resorted to prayers. I was the one who was into prayer, he used not to go because he used to work the other side. We went and they prayed for him, the arm stopped swelling and the paralyzing also went away. So now he is fine and he has gone to the garden behind there.

I: This is good to hear.

R: He has gone to dig.

I: Let us hope that he will stay healthy. How has your day started today?

R: It started well and we are fine.

I: Even the old woman has gone to the garden. This place where she has gone to weed, is it hers.

R: It is mine, she can no longer dig. When she feels some energy, she goes to the garden but she can’t cook.

**Background, house hold structure and land ownership.**

I: In this part, we are going to talk about your household, who lives here and land. You had told me that you live here with your husband, mother in law and children. How many children are they?

R: We have 4 children now going to school, 2 are in boarding school while the other 2 go and come back. We also have our grand child who also goes to nursery school. The father gave birth to him and brought him here, he is also there doing his work, he is a builder.

I: And the others, how many are they?

R: There is that one who is a builder, we another boy who is a teacher, and the other girl who is married. Altogether we have 7 children. The one who is a teacher, teaches in a refugee camp there in Kamwenge.

I: Okay. Your children are all old. How is old is your last born?

R: She is 12 years old.

I: Mama, how long have you spent here?

R: We came here in 1994, before that I was married across there in Kageera, this is where we came from shifting to here. They are now 25 years I have spent here.

I: In Kageera, how long had you spent there?

R: I got married in 1989, those are 5 years.

I: In Kageera is where your husband was born?

R: Yes, this land is also theirs but we were living on his father’s land there in Kageera.

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Some of our children were born from there, that is where they grew up from.

I: There where in Kageera, was it his share form his father or?

R: Because that is where his father was. When he grew up he built a house on his father’s land and he was told that if he gets married to start his own family then he would go to his share which is this one. When we got married, they gave us this piece of land.

I: His house was for his youth days on his father’s land so when you got married you shifted.

R: Yes.

I: Where were you living before you came here Mama?

R: In Buhweju, that is my birth place.

I: Do you normally go back to Buhweju to visit?

R: Sometimes I go but when I have a lot of work here, I don’t go there.

I: When were you last there?

R: Do I remember how long it was, but I think it is 2 years since.

I: Who is there at your home?

R: I have my brothers living there, I go to check on them and both my parents.

I: They take care of your parents.

R: My father had two wives, my step mother is the younger one, my other is the 1st wife. My mother is taken care of by his sons and their wives, she can no longer do anything much for herself, she is about the age of this old woman here.

I: How old are you?

R: I made 54 years in June.

I: What class did you study up to?

R: I did my senior 4

I: You did great, for that time.

R: I really worked hard and tried to do it in 1988.

I: That was my birth year, you were in senior 4 while I was being born.

R: Okay.

I: Mama, from what activities do you get money?

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R: I used to brew *kwete* (a type of local alcohol) and I would sell it in the market every Wednesday at Igorora but now the money is scarce everywhere, even in the market it is not there. When I take it, I make losses so I see it as wasting my time. Nearly for the whole of this year, I haven’t done anything yet. My income is very low; my situation is not good.

I: How about your gardens?

R: You take long to harvest and sell to get money. The alcohol was a quicker cash generating activity every week but now I have to wait for a season. The season comes once and gets done then after you need to plan for the next one.

I: When did you stop going to the market?

R: Like in February.

I: During the harvest of a season, what do you sell?

R: I usually plant beans and sell them. Sometimes the season is good and sometimes it is not. Like for the last season, in June I harvested and sold them all at once.

I: How many sacks had you harvested?

R: About 1 and a half sacks of 100 kilograms.

I: How much were you getting form each sack?

R: We are cheated as farmers because we can’t get to the bigger buyers on the base, the middle men come and find us here and if you have a problem burdening you but the neck, they will tell you a very low price. If you try waiting for the other buyers and you ask them for the price, they will tell you the same price, they all talk to each other and use the same price. They give you what they give you and that is it. My beans were not the same type; for one type they gave me about 50,000 shillings for 20 kilograms.

I: So you sold all the beans and paid for school fees.

R: Yes, all of the money went to school fees because the children reported for 2nd term with no money. When we sold them, we gave them all the money and I stayed with nothing. The only thing you do is keep some beans for seeds for the next season.

I: How much did you keep as seeds Mama?

R: I thought I had calculated well but the ones I kept were not even enough for my gardens this season. I kept 20 kilograms but I had to add more.

I: For you to go back at home, what will take you there?

R: Sometimes I get the desire to go and see them and other times I go when there are problem like burial normally takes me there.

I: When you go there, do you stay for the night?

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R: Like for two nights then I come back.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Do you have land that you own personally, it may not be here but it is yours somewhere?

R: No, I don’t. My father at home is still alive. For them they have this thing that children are given land after the father passes on, before that no one can be given their share.

I: Both the boys and girls or?

R: All children. Most of the girls are put together and given 1 piece of land together. Now since he is alive, we haven’t been given anything, maybe we will receive it after his death, but we don’t know about it.

I: Yes, you can’t be sure. How about the boys, were they not given?

R: Our father didn’t give them.

I: Have they built on his land there?

R: Only one of them is still there, the others have gone to their own land they bought for themselves. Our father has his land but he hasn’t given any child. They have all worked for their own things.

I: He told them that he will give them after his death?

R: No, he has never talked about it.

I: So are there any that you own with your husband?

R: Yes, it is this one.

I: How many are they?

R: Only this one and it is one piece all together.

I: How big is it?

R: You think I really know how it is in size?

I: You can estimate from what you see because between me and you, you are closer to the truth than me.

R: They are about 3 acres of land but am not sure. It might be more but am not sure.

I: How about where you told me you have gardens?

R: I rent there.

I: How big is it?

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R: It is about an acre and something a little more.

I: How long have you rented it for?

R: For this season.

I: You told me that this was given to you and your husband by his father, what form of share was it?

R: He gave it to him in his will.

I: Do you think all the boys received the same share in your view?

R: I think so maybe. He showed us this place long time when he was still alive, he told u where our boundaries are and the others. We were the first ones to come here and build. After this, his other brother over there came and his father also showed him where he was passing in terms of boundaries. The other land remained there, we thought it was for this brother too but after his death; in the will we found there was another brother whom he had left it for. In the will, he talked about land markers that he had put on all the shares that we didn’t know about. He would say that for so and so, measure up 16 sticks (they estimate the size of this stick to a yard or a little more) for this and indeed when they measured according to his directions it was the same for each of us he had given to land earlier on. For where every measurement stopped, he put the land marker he talked about in his will.

I: How long is this stick in measurement?

R: They know it better, I saw people breaking sticks and measuring the land. I estimate them to be a yard maybe more.

I: Mama, after receiving this land with your husband, do you have any approved shares maybe in signature to show that you own it too?

R: Where my signature came was when your organization came and took us through processes of getting a title. We signed together with him and we got a title.

I: Okay. But before this were you on any writing to show ownership?

R: It was in 2015 when Mzeei (the father in law) died and when they read the will we got to know that this is surely our place. When he was alive, we were not sure at all because I used to see such people after a while they come and cut off your land and give it to another person. If you would try to ask them how they were doing this, they would tell you that the land belonged to them and they would re-think their shares given to their children. It thought this would be our story too but my father in law didn’t change his mind. In the will he said that the land he had given to Barigye (respondent’s husband) is his and don’t touch his land when you are sharing.

I: So you are on this title jointly with your husband?

R: Yes.

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I: Who else works on your land apart from you?

R: No one else. We use it by ourselves

**General land**

I: in this part we will talk about land generally in this village; yours inclusive but also for other people. In this village, how do people own land that they have?

R: They get shares like my husband did from the parents, other buy land.

I: Do you have many people that have bought land in your village?

R: I see them, whoever has land to sell will tell other that he is selling their land so if they find someone who wants it. If you are somewhere talking with other people you also tell them that the other person is selling their land so that if they also hear of anyone who wants land they tell them to got here and they meet.

I: Can someone access land and use it but they don’t own it?

R: You have to pay and rent.

I: Here, you no longer give land for free to help people?

R: Unless I like you and you are my friend and you some and tell me that you don’t have anywhere to dig, you ask me for a small piece where to plant beans and I give you for a season and after that you leave. You go and grow whatever you want on this land and after you get out of their land and go.

I: Is there any condition that would cause someone to give you their land?

R: When they know that you don’t have where to put your gardens.

I: If someone wants to sell their land, do they need to consult with any one first?

R: It depends, most of the times the land people have is theirs so when they want to sell then they even have a big problem as to why that want to sell.

I: Supposing your husband wanted to sell land, does he need to consult with anyone or he can go and sell?

R: It also depends on what kind of family it is and how they do their things. But for us, if we wanted to sell, we ask each other and agree before selling.

I: Okay. Have you ever sold off your land from the time you came here?

R: We have never sold land.

I: How about giving it as leverage for loans?

R: No we haven’t.

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I: So you have never got a loan too?

R: The loans that we get are really small loans from our savings groups.

I: You have gone to this group to get a loan; they don’t ask you for any leverage?

R: We have witnesses within the group. Most of the time the loans I get are not much money, I get about 200, 000 to 300, 000 shillings only and when they ask me for leverage I always tell them that I don’t have land that I own alone so what can I do.

I: Then, how do you go about it?

R: I tell them that my leverage is the share of the witness that has stood in for me and signed for me to get the money.

I: Does this mean that if the money is more, then the more leverage they ask?

R: Yes, if it is like 1 million shillings or above 500,000 shillings then they ask for big leverage like land where you will take an agreement or something else big. But for the small money, we don’t need to take that there.

I: So for someone to sell land, the person must first agree with his family.

R: Yes.

I: Is it a must though that he must first consult his family?

R: Every family has their rules they go by, it depends on the type of family and how they do their things. There are those that first agree together while there are others who say they can’t ask a woman first because it is their own land and they can sell as they like.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. Mama, what do you understand family land to mean?

R: I think that it is land for the man and woman and their children. But most of the time her, it is the man and woman considered on family land, the children are not considered on this land most of the time. When the man and woman decide, they can use their land the way they want and the children have no much say in this.

I: This family land being for the man and woman, does each of them own a share?

R: No, it is their land together. If they say that they want to sell and they have a reason, then they sell together. It is not only for one of them.

I: If the man and woman or not there tomorrow, will it stay as family land in the way you have told me or?

R: Now, many times when a man dies and for the ones I have seen here; he leaves a will. I see that men are the ones that write wills and he divides for the children but also leaves a portion for his wife.

I: In your view about this family land, can everyone do whatever activity they want on it?

00:37:00

R: For example, what activity?

I: Like grazing or putting gardens.

R: It depends on the size of the land also, if the land is as small as quarter or half acre can you put a cow, cultivate and yet you have also built your home there. It is not possible.

I: You have told me that most times it is the man who writes a will. Have you seen any family land that was not divided and it remained there?

R: Yes.

I: How does such a person do it?

R: For this land, you find that the man has other things like cattle, and I normally see them happen in farms. He sometimes left the children young and when he dies, such land can’t be misused because the children are young and they don’t have families yet so the wife takes up the responsibility to keep these things and she takes care of them, the children and the cattle. I see that some of them are still there.

I: Okay. You said that you rent land, about how big do you rent?

R: I normally rent quarter an acre to 1 and quarter acres most of the time.

I: As you rent this land, is there any form of agreement involved?

R: No, for us who dig we normally start from a season. I may plant millet now and you find that I don’t have the money to go back and rent. The land owner will give the land to others because there are always many people waiting to rent land or he might ask me if I want to go back so that I look for the money and take it earlier. We only pay and they show you your land where you will cultivate.

I: There is now writing involved at all.

R: There is no written document.

I: Let us say you have land that you own as a woman, what would this mean to you owning it?

R: I can cultivate freely as I want and I can no longer go to rent land.

I: So what does this ownership mean to you?

R: It means that it is mine and tomorrow I have authority to use it the way I want.

I: Are there any other ways that show land ownership apart from the will and title that you told me about?

R: For these people who buy land, the person who sold to you gives you an agreement which you take to the chairman who puts for you a stamp. This means that the land is yours and for accountability purposes, the family members of the one selling to you also sign for you,

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to mean that tomorrow, they can never turn on you saying that the person who sold to you gave you land that was not his. When they sign for you, it means that tomorrow this is the evidence of the land they have sold to you.

I: In your view, are there advantages of having a woman listed on these land documents like the title, agreement and will?

R: There is good in this because tomorrow, if I may call them the rich people and those that have been educated usually try to steal people’s land especially when their sibling dies, they try to take the widows land saying that she doesn’t have a share on it. If you have your signature, it can be your witness.

I: What other advantages are there in having a woman listed on these documents?

R: If you go to get a loan, the signature witnesses for you. Duplicates have started coming in because people are trying to be clever. Like how I can stand on that car you came and I take pictures on it, you find someone standing on your land whether a farm or a banana plantation and they take a picture with the loan people; from there they take the picture to get a loan. After, I have seen many people here who loan people have come to take their land because their neighbors and random strangers came and took pictures on their land or plantations and they claim that they own it as a way to go and get the loan.

I: I come and take a picture on your land and I take it to get a loan, don’t the loan people try to find out if it is really my land?

R: As they are taking pictures of you, they are with you there. Actually they take the pictures of you.

I: That person does this after knowing that the land owners are not at home or?

R: Yes. Now if you go down there on the roadside where you passed, you stand there and you have the loan people who take your picture from there and the eucalyptus trees across, that is it and you have told them that it is your land. Tomorrow when you fail to pay the loan, they will come and we start fighting while I am chasing them away to leave my land alone. Sometimes you find that you just took a picture without knowing that may be my land is titled so I go with the title after and show it to them that it is my land so they should look for whoever gave it to them as leverage and he pays them their money because I have a title to show proof of my land. They have done this so much.

I: How have people been able to get through such cases?

R: Most of the time it is the village people that come and witness for you. They gather themselves and go with you and they tell them that the land is yours and whoever came to take pictures on it wanted to steal it.

I: This is bad.

R: People are not easy.

I: Do you think there are any disadvantages in having a woman listed on these land documents?

00:46:18

R: Problems may not fail to be there.

I: Like which ones Mama.

R: Sometimes, men want to sell the land the woman doesn’t want so you start pulling each other and this causes quarrels in the home. You don’t want him to sell but he wants to sell and the buyer will decide not to buy this land because of this disagreement and the quarrels go on like that.

I: Thanks for explaining to me about these. I would love to know Mama; do you hope to inherit land in the days to come?

R: I can’t lie to you, I don’t know. I may or I may not because I am not in people thoughts to decide on this. It may happen or it may not.

I: Why do think that it may or may not happen?

R: It is because you can’t see what someone is thinking or what is in their heart. They can chose to give it you or they can choose to not give it to you.

I: Okay. Are people in this village fearful of losing their land?

R: Yes, because people have changed, you see they are taking pictures on other people’s land to go and get loans and also this title program that came made some people fear.

I: Who are the most fearful of losing their land?

R: There are many people now for us when this program of titling started, we had fear and other people here. About in 2015, there used to come an aero plane that would be there at the field always. Many people started saying that they were searching for something and if they find it then our land will be taken away. At that time, they had just discovered oil in Hoima in Bunyoro (in the western part of Uganda), so people said it is the same aero plane that goes there and we were fearful. As we were still there, this program of titles came in and some people even refused because they feared. People think that it is the government that has passed through this program and they may want to take our land later.

I: So for these that are fearful, what are they doing to prevent this?

R: They have their land and they still have it. For the loans people, they keep going back and forth like that and arguing out the cases as some of the village people go and be witnesses for the land owners whose land is being taken.

I: About the titling process, are your leaders aware of it?

R: Yes, they know it.

I: Okay, if you are able to access more land, how would you go about it Mama?

R: If I have money I will buy it. For renting I just rent and plant crops and I leave after a season, if I don’t get more money I go to another place when I get the money.

00:52:41

I: Do you have family land according to how you explained it to me?

R: Here with my husband.

I: So what do you do on your land here?

R: We grow food crops on it and we have our home here.

I: What crops do you normally grow?

R: Beans, cassava, sweet potatoes, millet and we have a banana plantation though it is not big.

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

R: Both of us decide together.

I: Isn’t there anyone who has the upper hand in making these decision?

R: In nature, they say a man is the head of the family but I see that in everything that we do, we do it together. Most of the time he doesn’t go to the garden, things to do with cultivation are my programs as a wife.

I: Okay, you agree together but on the land most of the decisions on planting are yours.

R: Yes, but I let him know about it.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: In our next part, we want to talk about titles, as it has been for you and we want to get your thoughts on these. There is no right or wrong answer, your thought is your truth as a person and everyone is entitled to theirs. What does a title mean to you as a person?

R: The way I understand a title is that it is a mark to protect your land tomorrow should someone want to steal your land. It is evidence that the land is yours, whether you go to the lawyer or wherever you go the title remains as your evidence.

I: Of what purpose does the title have in your view?

R: We haven’t yet used it so I haven’t seen it yet.

I: Even though you haven’t seen it yet, what uses does it have that you see out there?

R: The thing I know is that it keeps you from selling land, let us say that you want to sell off a small piece, it requires money to go and undo it and sell and therefore it saves you from selling the land and the problem that you had, you find that you use another way and you get money to solve it but not through selling your land.

I: Are there any other uses that you know that it has?

R: Other people say that they use it as leverage to get loans, but I haven’t used it and I don’t know which way you take to go and get this loan or how the title is used to get this money.

00:57:21

I: This tiling process, what have you liked about it?

R: I haven’t yet used it for anything so that I see the outcome and I get so happy.

I: Apart from the title itself, this process of getting the title, have you liked anything about it?

R: Now we still have fear, because the people that work in it are educated and we don’t know what they do there, they told us about the good things about titles but tomorrow it may not be.

I: Have you heard about any examples where the titles brought issues?

R: I heard the other day about a story in Wakiso (found in the central region of Kampala) where Kirabo came and took 400 people’s land. He brought title it was taking all these people’s land and when they went to the court to report him, he won them because he had a title. The magistrate gave the authority to Kirabo to go and use his land.

I: In this titling process, is there any concern you have that you would like us to know?

R: I haven’t seen any jut this fear that we get at times.

I: In your view, is there any difference between a title and other documents that show proof of ownership?

R: As if they are the same. The agreement gives you authority that the land is yours, the will is evidence that the land belongs to you, the title also means that it is your land and no one has authority over it. I see that they all do the same thing.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. You told me that you are on the title, is there a way you talked to your husband before being on the title?

R: Those who always came to visit us would find the both of us here. We were two of us in the whole journey.

I: Do you think of any specific reason that your husband put you there?

R: He did it out of his will. But also from the start of the whole process, it was directing us to be here the both of us.

I: Do you think women love it to be on titles with their husbands?

R: For me I love it because it protects the both of us. He can’t turn around to misuse the land in private and I can’t also do the same to him.

I: Is there any other reason you think women would love it?

R: I think women love it because it is their land with their family. The title keeps them and their land from people who would come to steal if form them.

I: Do you think that there are women who don’t love it?

R: I think that they are there.

1:03:12

I: Just like you talked about the ones that love it, why do you think others don’t like it?

R: There is one who may say that the land has nothing to do for them depending on their way of living whereby you see that she is married but she is not really there. She is ready to leave at some time should anything spark off in their marriage.

I: What reasons make be her live this way?

R: Our hearts are not the same, you will find a man who will be a burden to a woman, he lies to her all the time or he beats her and this makes her be unstable all the time. But also there is a woman who will come and be cleverer than the man, she wants to eat everything the man has; such a woman will not want the title because the title will restrict her desires of selling off land.

I: What benefits will be there in having both a man and woman included on the title?

R: You may not really know what is ahead but I think it really means that it is their land and no one will ever take it away from them. For the land that the man has by himself it may not be possible because some men say that a woman has no hand on their land but for the land they bought together it can be kept.

I: What reasons cause some women not to be listed on titles?

R: It is depending on how they live in their home but sometimes the man doesn’t trust the wife and the wife with time leaves the home.

I: What are these things that women do that cause men not to trust them?

R: Sometimes the women have done nothing but it is the heart of that man. But these days some women are not truthful, they work but you never see where their money goes. You plant crops together but you never see the harvest, she does business but you never see the money. Even the man may be working but you never see what comes out. You find them hiding from each other like that. The woman has her things that side and the man doesn’t know about it and by the time he gets to know he doesn’t put the wife on the title.

I: Is there any other reason why a woman would not be listed on a title.

R: Some other women are unfaithful and when the man knows about it, he gets a bad heart.

I: Is there any reason a man would not put the wife on the title but is totally dependent on him.

R: Men want to do things on their own and they don’t want women to be involved and disturb them. He wants to make decisions by himself alone. They normally call themselves makers of home rules.

I: Before you encountered the people that were educating you and giving you title, how were the people in this village getting titles?

R: I just saw some with them but I don’t know what ways they went through to get them.

1:09:51

I: In what ways did you hear them say that they go through?

R: They go to the sub county but I don’t know how they get there.

There is one I had seen, and saw the stones in their land. After, I heard that they were going to un do their title, the team from sub county spent the day there to undo it. They had many forms.

I: This means that he wanted change the title?

R: Yes, because the person who had titled the land was their father and I think they wanted to undo it so that they share and after sometime they shared.

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

R: Some think that they will steal our land because those who gave us the titles know our information and they will come to Barigye and to another person’s land which was titled and they say that it is their land. But there are some that like them and they said that this chance passed by them.

**Intra household discussion bargaining**

I: We will talk about the conversations you had with your husband about the title according to what you remember. They came to visit you the first time, what did you talk about with your husband?

R: We thought and said that they might announce to the people who they gave titles that they opened a bank for them where we can take our titles and get loans from.

I: Did they tell you that they will give you loans?

R: For us, this is what we thought, we built ‘a circus in the air’ (said by the respondent) that maybe they would do this for us.

I: So after they left the next time, how did your conversation go?

R: As we were there asking ourselves about the whole thing people came and asked us about what we had been told and they told us that were killing ourselves while we were seeing. We talked about refusing it also but as were there they came back. They would ask us about how we grew our crops and how we harvested.

I: So after them coming back to talk to you, what happened next?

R: They actually took some time without coming, they came back and measured the land.

I: After measurements, what did you talk about with your husband?

R: We asked each other if measurement is the title. We also asked them and they told us that the title was there coming and later they brought stones and put them in the land.

I: After putting the stones, what did you talk about with your husband?

1:15:01

R: We just kept waiting, since they had told us that the title was coming. We were there, and they called us and they brought the title.

I: They brought the title and you saw it, what conversation did you have with your husband?

R: We wondered and said where shall we put this title now that the land is in the title. How will this title help us? I told him that they said that we can take it to get a loan. He asked somewhere else and they told him the same. He asked in the Sacco where we save money and they told him that still they will need to come and tour his land even though he has the title. He told me that it is still the same like before what we were doing. So we just kept it.

I: He was told in the Sacco that they still need to visit.

R: They said that they still need to come and take pictures, and move around and we fill their forms like before and we say that there was no difference than before, it was all the same process.

I: How has this experience been for you?

R: It hasn’t done much for me but I know that my neighbors will not dig in their garden and go past the stone like they were doing before. They used to cut down my *migorora* (the trees use to mark the land boundaries locally).

I: So this was your problem before?

R: Yes, but now ever since we got the title, they can’t go beyond the line. I told them that even though they dig and go beyond and enter my land, let them remember that this title is in the computer.

I: Before, when they would dig and enter your land, how would you settle this?

R: We used to quarrel and bring the people who divided the land.

I: Is it has helped you in this way?

R: Yes, no one can now cut through to get to my side now.

I: Remind me, you told me that you have been married for how many years?

R: They are now 30 years.

I: Tell me about how these 30 years have been for you?

R: There were years that were not easy, sometimes you will go with 100 speed and some time the speed will be less. Very much in the journey of educating the children, it got hard and yet we had a low income, you end up selling even what you would have kept to eat so that they don’t send the child home. I have been here and it is about patience.

I: Tell me more about patience.

1:19:09

R: Many run away from these situations when there is no money, when this and that are not there. If you want something, you have to accept all situation for example when you don’t have money and yet the children want to go to school. This is when people have fights and the weak hearted one will go away. You see that something is there but you stay and be patient because you know that he doesn’t have it and therefore both of you have to find ways of looking for it.

I: In your view, in what ways do you feel that your husband supports you?

R: Very much so

I: In what ways, tell me about them.

R: He is always excited about these development projects that come.

I: Are these development projects for women only?

R: Some are for women alone and others there are men also.

I: What are these projects about most of the time?

R: They are about many things like finances, health and sometimes they are trainings. Even if he has not gone, if I go it is enough.

I: What other things does he do that show you his support?

R: You live together, and many of the times he hasn’t been around and it is me who is around. He asks me what we have studied and what I learned from these trainings and I tell him. My job is to dig, if he is around he also helps me in the gardens apart from weeding millet because he doesn’t know about. But in the beans he goes there, he will take the goats and ties them in the field even when I am not around.

I: Mama, you have goats too, do you get money from this too.

R: This side we have a problem of thieves; they will take them away. There is a time we had made 6 goats, they came and stole all of them at once, we woke up in the morning and found they were all missing. So we got tired of this and left it. When we were there we got another goat from an organization called Karitas it is still here, it is religious and it is from the catholic church. They came asking us questions about how we live, our income and they gave us a goat, it had given birth to 2 kids and together they were 3. It was in day time, they came and untied them from the field and they took them away. We don’t like these things of keeping animals, so we had 4 remaining goats but we sold them when he was going to hospital.

I: As you have told me about how your husband supports you, how do you compare this to other marriages?

R: There are some that are the same and others are not okay. It depends on how people understand and do their thing.

I: In what ways do you motivate and encourage your husband?

1:25:14

R: When I grow crops in a season and when we sell the harvest I pay children school fees. There are some women who after the harvest, sell and work on their hair and on themselves and they tell the man to take care of the children because they are his responsibility. For me, my life I make sure that I take care of my children so that tomorrow they don’t suffer and that is my husband’s goal and prayer.

I: Are there any other things you do for him to support him too apart from school fees?

R: They are many things now when he is not around, he finds that I have also added some things like house items.

I: How do you compare this to other marriages?

R: Some women do these things, while other fail. Some refuse do them intentionally.

I: What do you mean that they refuse intentionally?

R: Someone can work but for all the money they get they spend it on themselves even though it would help develop their family.

I: You had said that regards the land, you decide together but mostly the planting crops and where to plant them is more of your business. How about the major decisions in your house, who does them?

R: We ask each other. How will this go and how ill that go, he will ask me what I think about something and we discuss it until we get the right one to go with.

I: Which is the last recent decision you made that you remember?

R: We were talking about it in the morning, they sent one of the children back from school yesterday for school fees. I asked him what he had decided and he told me that he would go for the school meeting. As were there looking for the child, he had gone to school. Now that he hasn’t come back again I think they didn’t send him back. We have been thinking that he should go there and tell them to be patient with him until we take a loan for the beans that are in the garden and then we pay the school fees.

I: Okay. Do you think that the way you discuss your decisions together, is it the same in other marriages?

R: There are some that do this and others don’t and you see them fighting and quarreling.

I: For these who don’t agree together, what brings about this?

R: I don’t really understand these people. They hide away when you want to know what is wrong with them.

**Gender norms around land**

I: In our next part Mama, we are going to talk about land women since most of the time land is known to be for men.

1:30:38

There is no right or wrong answer, it is about your thoughts as a person. In your village, are their women who own land?

R: Yes; they are there.

I: How did they acquire it?

R: Some were given land by their father or mother and it is in their name.

Others work and buy it.

I: As they own it, do their husbands know about it?

R: For some, their husbands know it while others don’t, they have it in secret.

I: For the one who owns it in secret from her husband, what cause this?

R: When I am conversing with some, they tell you that they have their land. She can tell you that she bought a banana plantation or a coffee garden or just a piece of land, and it is somewhere or at their home. I reply them that your husband doesn’t know about this. She tells you that you laugh with men but the next day they change their minds over you and when they change their minds, She will be gone. She says that she knows that her marriage is on her feet, the day they fight, she will be gone because this man is not the last born of men. You see working like this in doubt, even when she is married she is not there.

I: And this is how it starts. But are there some that own it with their husbands?

R: Yes, some own it with their husband. She works and brings the money, the husband also brings his and they put it together and buy the land and it is for them both. There is a woman who also works and gets her own money and she buys the land but she puts it her name. You find that the husband knows that it is land for the woman.

I: Do you think women should be allowed to own land in this village?

R: Because of the Uganda of today, it is allowed and there is no issue. If someone has their own thing, it helps them. More in educating such children if you have failed. You see we take loans in many ways; there is one you get out jointly so you repay it the both of you and other times the man gets his alone and the woman too. If I get mine alone and I fail in some way to repay it, the man may refuse us to sell the land that is for both of us. If I have my own, I can use it to repay the loan and I know that he won’t refuse because I have authority over it.

I: In the way you see it, do you think that women want to own land with their husbands or they want to own it alone?

R: In these times, it has changed like now you find that the woman owns land alone and the husband also owns land alone. These days’ women are into getting loans most of the time, and every one became private from the other and self-seeking. When she works and gets profit, she wants to hide it somewhere and the man also knows that they might take him to prison tomorrow so he also works and hides. So whatever they decide to put on the table to help their family it is so small to help their home.

1:36:25

Many women want to own their own land, but I see it is not right and it shouldn’t be like that. I prefer them to put all they have on the table because it is for their family.

I: I know we had talked about it before, finding that men own land and women own land too. Is there a way family land is related to this?

R: Sometimes, among the two of them, one of them will be more powerful than the other. You find that a woman has more power even though she is at her husband’s home, or if they got the land as a share from his parents, the woman rules over the land and she loves selling land, so they keep selling it off in small pieces and at the end the land gets finished. At times you find that the man has more power but the woman refuses him to sell and the land stays there and they keep it.

I: In your view, who has more authority on this family land?

R: Men have more power over this land.

I: As you explained to me how you understand family land, do you think that women have shares on this land?

R: Some women have shares and other times they don’t. But most of the times the woman has a share when they are living the land.

I: This means the woman also has a share most of the time.

R: Yes

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

R: They should first know what they are going to do. Some people sell to buy food or just eat the money, sometimes the man just sells and uses the money for him and other times they took a loan togther but they didn’t use it for anything beneficial like educating their child. Sometimes some men get loans but they never tell their wives why they got this money and what they used it for, at times the woman allows the man and he brings the loan form and they fill it, after filling it the man gets the money but doesn’t tell the wife he lies to her that he didn’t get the money. He eats the money and when it is done, the repay time comes and the money is not there. Of course the woman signed, and now she can’t refuse so the land they gave in as leverage they have to sell it but they are already fighting, the land is sold but it has gone for nothing because the money didn’t do anything for them. So it doesn’t matter what land it is or how they got it, they need to agree on what they will do with the money they get form selling the land.

I: Are widows allowed to stay on the land after losing their husbands?

R: Yes, it is very right for the widow to remain on the land after her husband’s death because she has orphans there. And these children, a person who is not their mother, I don’t have hope that they can raise them 100%.

I: For her to remain on this land is it dependent on whether she has children or not?

1:41:25

R: If she has children, if she doesn’t have children she will stay there and do what. Sometimes you got married in there quickly but if it is your land and you worked for it the both of you, she should stay there even though she has no children because it is their land. If the father of the husband gave it to them, she should go and do something else.

I: So she goes with nothing?

R: We hear that she can’t leave with nothing. For the time she has spent with the man, shouldn’t she go with something.

I: Suppose the land was in a title like this one, and it was in the man’s name alone, will the widow stay there?

R: If they have children she will stay there but that is what we said that the good thing of having a woman and the husband on the title is here. The man’s family can scheme and send her away but if she had her signature on the title with the husband, they can’t chase her away.

I: You say that this is the other advantage of having both the man and woman on a title.

R: Yes, it is.

I: When this widow dies, who owns the land?

R: If they have children; it is owned by the children.

I: What if the children are young and they don’t understand these things of land, what happens?

R: They have a care taker. I have hope that when the parents are dying, they leave behind a will with someone they chose to take care of their children and the land. When they grow up, they give them their land.

I: Mama, you see how things are today, I am here and tomorrow you will hear that Fiona is gone and I didn’t leave a will behind. What happens in this situation?

R: The family will sit down and decide on how to take care of the children and go about it.

I: Let us say that they allowed the widow to remain on the land but she didn’t give birth to any child and she passes away, who owns the land now?

R: It goes back to the man’s family but if she has a chance and they allow her before to sell her land and she goes away, when she goes to buy land elsewhere she buys it in her name and she gives it to her people.

I: The same way things just happen, you find that the widow has died or she is still alive, but the man gave birth to other children out there. Will these children come and get a share of the land or?

R: The things I have seen the man had his wife and he kept giving birth outside, he would marry out there and give birth to more children, but he would give them his name. You find that there is a Fiona Kabwisho and the other is Nanyonjo Kabwisho, like that many were there.

1:46:26

After his death, some children didn’t know that their father had died and after waiting for the time for him to come and see them but he didn’t, when they grew up they asked and they were told that he had died and they got the address. Up to this time, he died in 1994 in January, children are still coming here, and the woman welcomes them.

I: After his death, had he left shares for all his children?

R: No, they all come and they are welcomed there.

I: Did he have a big piece of land?

R: It is not big, they come and settle there. I think he would give birth to children from rich women because they are educated. They come see their step mother, they buy more land and add what he left and the family has stayed as one. Another man also died with his wife, but he had land. The children that we knew belonged to them both were two and one of them when she reached in senior 2, the mother also died, the father had left them when they were very young. The relatives tried to steal their land the boy got married early so that they could get someone to live with them. Their mother’s sister remained with them until the boy married. Even up to now, he produced many children, his children also went to school and they have acquired their own things but they are still coming. The man died in 1989 there, but they also come and settle there, when they come they also buy land around there and add on to what the father had left for the other two children. All of them are there as one family, this is why I say that it depends on what kind of widow she is and how the family is. If the land was small, the child will come and go where, they won’t have land to share so they rather stay there and work for their own things.

I: Okay. If the woman found the man with his own land, after he is gone is the widow allowed to stay there?

R: If you have been there and you have children.

I: Do these widows remarry?

R: On the land of the husband?

I: What do you think?

R: What I know is that she can keep on sleeping with these men but she can’t bring them in the house to stay as a family head.

I: If she is to get married again she has to go and find the new man?

R: If she has decided to remarry, she will leave the home and never come back.

I: Can she go with the children or?

R: She will leave them on their father’s land. Many get married in a way that they will keep going to the lodges to find these men or the man can come over and sleep there for a night but he can’t live in the home as a family head.

1:50:40

I: Why do you think these widows remarry?

R: They are still young those that remarry. Many lose their husband when they are still young like 30 years, so life becomes hard for her because her body is still wanting.

I: You mean to say that the old ones don’t get married again.

R: Now like me, can I get married gain, I can’t go there.

I: You are too old for your body to keep wanting?

R: I am old; I can’t get married again.

I: Has it ever been the case in this village that after a widow losing her husband the male relatives come and try to grab her land from her?

R: I haven’t seen this here. You find that the man is with his woman in their land and when the man is about to die he leaves a will behind, leaving the land in the authority of the wife especially when he children are not yet old.

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

R: The world has now understood that when a man dies, he has his wife and the remaining property is hers so no one can try to interfere with her. If someone tries to interfere with her, the widow has the right to report that person to the authorities.

I: How was it in the past, how were they treated?

R: They used to chase them away from the land saying that she should go and get married again and they remain with the children and take care of them. I think they used to steal the land or if they don’t send her away, one of her in-laws comes out and remarries her forcefully so she doesn’t be a widow like you know her. She would be a widow with a husband who is the brother in law and he would marry her in her house, if he had his own wife then he will add this one and have two.

I: Why would they do this to her?

R: They would not want their wife to leave them and they would make it hard for her to leave even if she wanted to leave.

I: These days, they have more talking ground?

R: You can’t forcefully remarry her, she can’t allow and she can report you to the authorities.

I: Okay. What is your opinion about those things that happen to women after losing their husbands?

R: To lose a husband is not an easy thing, most of them suffer because their husband is no more.

I: In what ways do they suffer?

1:55:00

R: You have sorrow; if you were two and now you have remained only one it is sad. She may be able to do many things because I have seen widows do amazing things single handedly. They have educated their children; they have kept their land but the main problem is that she doesn’t have a permanent husband. Some men will come and try to sleep with her because they know that she has no husband, when she refuses they abuse her and yet if she had her own husband, all this wouldn’t have happened to her.

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

R: The widows we have in this village are treated like other women even though they don’t have a husband. If it is in our savings groups and they require two people as a family; man and woman, when she comes we welcome her. We don’t try to marginalize her because she doesn’t have the husband to be second person. The way she comes we receive her.

I: What happens to these women who separate and divorce form their husbands on the issue of land?

R: When they are going to separate most of the time, they don’t separate there and then and you see that one of them has gone for good. If they have given birth to children together, they will keep going to court and some even go to prison but by the time they come back, they share the land and each of them takes their share. Sometimes if the woman has over powered the man they let here sty with the children on her piece and the man gets out of the house and he goes to do other things.

I: Most of the times these women that separate with their husbands, so you think that they are allowed to remain on the land?

R: I see they remain there.

I: Tell me about one that you have seen.

R: That is, it, they reported each other; the woman first although I didn’t understand what the issue was. You see the man leaving the home and the woman stayed, sometimes he sells his share and buys land on the side where he starts a new family on.

I: Who normally divides the land to give them their shares?

R: At the sub county. I think there is an office that caters for families and land.

I: Let us say that the main reason for their separation is dependent on the man, is it ever the case that they try to chase away the woman and take her children from her?

R: It is not normally like that, the woman gets tired on her own and to keep peace she decides to leave but she will have asked for her share on whatever they have worked together to acquire. Sometimes others will just leave, she might go with her children and say that she can’t leave them behind whether they are 1 or 2 but others will leave them behind whether they are still young or not.

I: The way these women are treated generally, is it acceptable or you would love to see something change about it?

1:59:25

R: After they have separated, that chapter is closed and everyone goes back to do something new. They don’t go back to fight again; the woman may stay there in her peace while the man also starts a new life out there.

I: You mean to say that in your view, women are treated well after they separate with their husbands?

R: Yes, there are no bad things that happen to them.

I: In your village they are treated well.

R: Yes, they are.

I: Mama, we would love to know why you think a man would choose not to include his wife on the title?

R: The man wants to do things by himself and doesn’t want the woman to disturb for example if he wants to sell land tomorrow.

I: Do you think that if women were listed on the title with their husband, would there be any problems from it?

R: I don’t think it is there because I see from us, our family.

I: If women were able to own land together with their husbands, do you think it will decrease any misunderstandings in their marriage.

R: It can reduce them because no one will wake up and say that they want to sell if they have not agreed on it together.

I: Do you think it will increase these misunderstandings?

R: Yes, because one of them will maintain that they will sell the land whether it is in the title and the other one will say that he can’t sell since it is titled. And for them to undo the title to sell, they have to go there together and sign on it. The man can’t sell in private and if the woman doesn’t allow to undo the title, the man can’t do it on his own. So these are the fights that don’t end.

I: Supposing this misunderstanding come up, is there a way it can be resolved?

R: For it to be resolved, they have to sit on the table and agree with each other.

I: Is there a way they can involve other people in this?

R: Maybe if they call the people who work on land issues.

**Land disputes**

I: Thanks Mam for telling me about all that. Our last part is about disputes on land in general. What do you think is the most common cause of disputes on land?

2:03:42

R: They are there even now we have them. It is trying to steal someone’s land through shifting *omugorora* for where the other person had put theirs you find that this person has extended it taking some of the land. You try to talk to the person and they tell you that you are lying because that is where their boundary was. When they are digging, they pull your land and when you try to talk they say that you had taken their land first. You find yourselves quarreling like this.

I: Tell me about the latest example.

R: For my dispute; when they had finished reading my late father in-law’s will, the will was directing certain people to be the ones that decided that land. They came the next day and they measured the land using the sticks as the book was telling them to, and they planted the *migorora.* Remember that you can’t plant them like you do when creating bathroom, one was her and the other was there. She would dig and pass hers and try to make a stomach shaped turn into mine then makes curves back to her side. When you talk to her, she lights fire and when the people who divided the land come to help resolve the issue, she wats that they out the boundaries where she had made curves into my land. But now when the titling people came, they stood straight in the boundaries and measured straight through, even if she tries to make curves now, the stone will still be there to mark where the land passes.

I: Was this your relative or she was just a neighbor?

R: She is my brother in-law’s wife; my brother in law doesn’t do cultivation it is the wife who heads this program.

I: When you had this dispute, did you try to first resolve as a family?

R: We used to tell her and she refuses so we decide to call the people that divided the land and they tell her to stop the lies. They would add more *migorora* in the middle of the land. We would settle and then she repeats the same thing.

I: Would it help in any way?

R: The only thing that has ended that dispute are the stones they put to mark the land.

I: Supposing you have such disputes; is there a way you involve the village people to help in resolving them when you fail as the family?

R: These ended, because she doesn’t want even a small road to pass in her land. If she is digging, she will try to take up every part and cover it with soil, and now the road enters my side but I don’t mind.

I: Let us assume that this dispute was out there, when do you involve the village people to come and help in resolving the issue?

R: They call us and we go and help other people and the dispute ends there.

I: If one side of the people in this dispute has a title, is there a way the dispute will be resolved because of this?

2:08:07

R: Now that we got a title, we no longer have the fight over land. She kept quiet after finding out that we had titles the land.

I: In your view, what would you advise to be done for people with land security problems.

R: when I see, people still need to be educated about land and all this. And if people are able to, everyone would have their title and they close off their land. I think this can put an end to these issues on land because if I have a title and you also have yours, you will not jump,

from yours and you to touch mine. Your boundary should stop you from going past it.

I: Who will organize these trainings you talked about to educate people about land?

R: I think that at the sub county there is a committee for land and they have been through school. They should get an order form the district and they bring for us trainings about land and we know how to go about such issues also.

I: Okay Mama, thanks for welcoming me and talking to me. Like I had told you, we visited your husband and talked to him but you were not around. We are happy to have talked to you. Here is you gift to appreciate you for your time.

R: Thank you

2:09:15