**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 31/10/2019

Name of respondent: Moses

H.H I. D: 4740051

Title status: Drop out

Interview start time: 03:40 pm

Interview stop time: 05:38 pm

Age: 37

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 4

No. of people living in the household: 6

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Milk trade

Highest level of education: P.7

No. of years living in the village:37

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud and poles

Interview Duration: 1:57:47

The interview was conducted outside the respondent’s house in the farm and went on well without interruptions. They have a mud and poles house with iron sheets. The husband is a milk trader but has other sources of income like tomato growing, beehives for honey and does casual work like burning charcoal and judging from these sources of income, they seem to be between poor and middle income. They have no plot of land which the husband inherited from the father. Part of this land they have emigorora as proof that the land was given to them by the father, but the other part does not have, and they do not have any proof of ownership. They dropped out and did not get a title because when the husband talked to the father about titling the land the father did not seem to like and he was not sure that they were going title only the husband’s land. He thought the son would title all his land and steal it and refused them to title the land

Together they have 4 children but do not seem to be in a happy marriage. They have quarrels and fights because the husband has other women outside of the marriage. They even rent land elsewhere separately and each of them has his or her own garden where they get income from. However, they can help one another to work on the same land rented land but the harvests belong to one person. They do not have cows of their own but the husband milks his mothers cows and also buys milk form other farmers.

**Warm-up**

I: How are you today?

R: I’m ok

I: How has been your day so far

R: The day is good; we had some rain in the morning but now the sun is back

I: How about yesterday?

R: Yesterday was also ok because we also had some rain and sunshine

I: And how does your normal day go?

R: When I wake up, I first milk the cows, get the milk, put it in the can and take it to the dairy and come back home by 8 am and start doing work at home

I: So, how many cows do you have?

R: “Well” the cows that I milk are for my mother and for me I only have goats like 15

I: So, do you give the money from the milk sale to your mother?

R: No, I work as a milk trader, I even buy milk from other people and get a profit as a milk trader. To get it get better I milk my mother’s cows and go to other farmers and buy more milk and take the milk to the diary

I: Where is your nearest dairy here

R: The nearest diary is Mzee Rugunda Francis diary and it is in the trading center that you passed through called Mitintu

I: How many liters of milk do you take per day?

R: I usually take between 25-30 liters of milk depending on the season. there is when cows do have enough milk like in the dry season

I: Is milk trade profitable?

R: Yes, because before the milk prices were cut down, because today the prices are very low in the past few months starting from June to September the litre of milk was at 1000 shilling but

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now it is at 550. So, we also buy at 400 shillings from the farmers and we have a profit of 100 shillings per litre

I: Other than trading in milk, is there anything else that you do to earn income?

R: I plant other crops at home like beans, tomatoes and I also have coffee but it is still young but the money I get for books and schools fees I get it from planting tomatoes and milk also working together to get the school fees for children

I: So, you plant together with your wife?

R: No, women these days have their own development, because if you plant together in the end you might have misunderstandings on the harvests so what you do, you make a budget and if you have money you give her a chance to rent land elsewhere and plant her own things. When she harvests, she says that we are going to eat this and sell the other and do this with the money. if it is educating children, you contribute and get school fees because you would have planted your own crops as man. This is a common method men use in this village, they do not have gardens with their wives, everyone has his garden. You can dig with her in the same garden, maybe helping each other but everyone has his garden

I: why do men prefer their own gardens separate from the wives?

R: Women have their own development that men do not like for example the savings groups that they have these days. You find she has like 5 groups and when you ask her that how is she going to get the money to put in these all groups and still pay for her other needs, she can quarrel and you decide to let her have her groups but you find that we men, these groups do not help us in most cases because when the children are sent away from school for lack of school fees and you ask the woman, she tells you she does not have money yet she sold bean but she is budgeting for her savings group. So that why we decided that instead of fighting with women, let them have their own gardens and we also have our own gardens. So, if I have my garden and a child is sent away from school, I do not have to ask the woman. Then her budget is to develop things at home, and to be truthful, our development at home as men is low, it is women that bring development in the home because of their groups because you find that the buy most of the household items in the home after sharing out in their groups

I: And that is why I wanted to ask you that why men do not like their wives to be in these groups?

R: the women go in their groups and you cannot stop them and even us men go these groups but the way but because of children’s school fees, if you go into this and that, you might fail to educate the children. that is why we go I few group, for example, an now in two groups but I can

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not have more than that like the burial groups but what I refused to join are these where they save and share at the end of the year because I found that they do not help me. For example, if I save 100,000 shillings and have interest of 20000 the whole year, if I buy a goat instead, I can get more profit that putting the money in that group. Sometimes members borrow money in these groups, and they do not pay

I: But if you can borrow in these groups then when you have a school fees problem the group can help you

R: They would not be bad, but that problem people do not pay back the money and you find that you have not gained much interest because of the village problems. You find that you are fighting with people to back the money

I: So, what happens when a person does not pay back the money the groups money

R: These village groups do not have clear laws; a person can default the money and you can not do anything about it

I: Do you give security for getting the loans?

R: But if you are not registered at the subcounty, you cannot take a person’s property if he wants, he can default the money and pay you slow as he wishes

I: Do you need to have guarantors when borrowing money from these groups?

R: The law in these groups say that you need to have a guarantor who is a member in the group but if you take the guarantor for a person who has defaulted your money to the authorities and because the groups is also not registered, he can say that I know your money, let me take you to the person that took your money. when you get the person that took the money, he will also not deny the money but when in are in higher laws like at the subcounty, he can ask him to pay the money that he borrowed without interest for example, if he borrowed 50000 shillings, he will pay 50000 shillings because the group is not “registered” to make profits and the group makes a loss. But these days they have developed a system in the groups, if you borrow money, they ask you how long you are going to be with the money for example , now is November, if you say that you are going to pay back the money in march, they calculate all the profits until march and make an agreement for that amount of money including the interest. So, if you borrow 50000 shillings and the interest is 20000 shillings, they will make for you an agreement that you have borrowed 70000 shillings until March so in court he can pay you 70000 shillings

I: So, does that mean that you make agreements when borrowing money from the groups?

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R: Yes, you make agreements so that when you go to court, they do not ask you who allowed you make profits of borrowing money

I: Do they ask you the purpose of the loan when you are borrowing from the group?

R: They give the money to you as an individual, they do not ask you what you are going to use the money for. That is asked in the banks

I: Have you ever borrowed money from the bank?

R: I have a Sacco where I have an account, but I have never borrowed money there

I: What is the name of the Sacco?

R: It is called Ankole famers Sacco and it is in Rubindi

I: If you wanted to get a loan from a Sacco, what are the requirements for you to access the loan?

R: I tried once to get a loan for my mother and I tried to get it as a school fees loan because I did not want my mother to sell her land since I have a Sacco that I save from and we agreed. So, at the bank they told me that I have to pay 10000 shillings to get a form after you need 2 members from the bank to guarantee you and have accounts in the band and they sign for you on the form. Then you take the form to the chairperson and he also puts for you a stamp. The law is that you must have security and it must be land and not animals. You take back the forms and they come and visit your land and they give you the loan usually at the end of the month

I: I have also heard that you wife must sign for you on the form to get a loan

R: Yes, she must sign for you and if she does not sign, it means that the land you have used as security does not have proof because in case you default the loan and they want to sell that land, would the woman be aware of that loan and the land? Because they cannot give you a loan if the woman does not sign

I: So, do you stay with your mother here?

R: No, she stays up there at the road

I: Ok, I think she is the one that has directed us here

**Background household structure and land ownership**

R: I would now like to ask you about your land and your household.

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I: How old are you?

R: I’m 37 years

I: Which class did you stop at?

R: I stopped in P.7

I: What happened after P.7?

R: My father did not have interest in education because I even went to Nombe secondary school here in our subcounty of Kashare and I was given a place to study and I came and told him, but the old man did not care about it

I: Maybe he did not have the money to further your education

R: Let me tell you my father, because I tell the truth, my father had the money but to educate children was not in his head. I speak the truth because we were born 7 children, 5 girls and 2 boys but there is no one he has helped to study yet he has the money, which means that in his “culture” there is no education even the child that is still in school he cannot give her a book and she is in S.3

I: what about your other brother and sisters?

R: None of them studied, others stopped in P.3 because our father did not care abut educating us. And in between he got another wife and all his brain went to second wife and he did not think about the children of the first wife

I: So, are your sisters and brother married?

R: The oldest is the girl and she is married and am also the oldest son, but my brother is also married the girl that is in school is the one that has not yet gotten a family

I: And your father is he still alive?

R: Yes, he is alive and stays with the second wife

I: So, how long have you been in this house?

R: Here where I live, I have spent like 12 years

I: Where were you staying before you came here?

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R: I was staying at my father’s place and he married me off. When I got my wife, my father had houses there and he gave me a house to stay in with my wife but like families I got disagreements with other families that were neighboring my mother and my mother so I asked my father to give me where to build so he showed me this place and I built here

I: what caused disagreements with your mother?

R: It was my wife who had issues with my mother as you know women and I say them looking at one other as an enemy and I also decided to shift so that I can have peace

I: So, you were already married when you moved here

R: Yes, I was married, and I already had 2 children, my first and the second born who was like 3 months old when we moved here

I: So, all together how many children do you have?

R: I have 4 children

I: Are they in school?

R: Yes, they are all in school now

I: Tell about their education

R: I have one who studies from Mbarara in P.7, the other 3 are here in a private school you have passed by on the way, the girl is P.6, the boy is in P.4 and the last born is in P.2 and she is also a girl, so I have 2 girls and 2 boys

I: How do you find getting their school fees?

R: School fees I difficult you have to struggle here and there because all my children are in private schools and school fees in private schools is high. The child in Mbarara take 240,000 and the one in P.6 takes 70000, the boy is 55000 and the girl is 45000 and in our village school

I: So, you were born in this village?

R: Yes, I was born and raised here and I have never gone to work out side this village, I plant m tomatoes and beans and coffee, I also have my beehives where I honey and when I harvest them I get like 10 litres of honey and have like 200000 from them

I: Do you have market here for honey?

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R: sell to the local people around here a litre at 20000 shillings

I: How many beehives do you have?

R: I have 5 beehives

I: And how often do you harvest the honey?

R: I harvest 3 times a year and it is because we do not give the bees the foods that increase the hone like matooke juice like the people in towns the look for themselves. So, I harvest in December, March and July

I: Is there anything else you do to earn income that you have not told me?

R: Maybe doing casual labour, I can do any type of work if get it if it is work where I use my hand for example here where we are, you can see that I have burnt charcoal from this place therefore I can do things to get money

I: So, you have told me that you father gave you a place to build your house, did you inherit land from your father?

R: Yes, he even gave land to plant crops and get food to feed my family

I: would you say that is your land and you own it entirely?

R: Yes, since he called people and the LC, and they gave me the land and put emigorora then it is my land although it is small and he has big land, that is what he chose to give me

I: what about the five girls, were they also given land?

R: 4 off the girls are in their marriages and the other girl is still in school so he has not yet given them land and since the law was removed that you have to give land to the child, it is up to him to decide whether to give them or not

I: Was it a law that you must give land to your children?

R: In the past, when we were growing up it was a law that when a child grows up you must give him land when he gets married and it was later changed that you are not supposed to give land to your children when you are still alive., when the children grow up they should start working to buy their own land

I: do you think that the law now is better?

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R: In the Museven era, where the parents can choose to give land their children is good because when you give land early to your children for example like my father has a big piece of land and if he gave a bigger piece than this, I might be tempted to sell it and if you still have your parents alive, it does not make them happy and they might not give you more land in the future because he does not see development in you

I: So, now that you still have your father, do you expect to inherit more land?

R: I cannot know that, because it will depend on my father

I: How many plots of land do you have?

R: I do not any plot that I have bought for myself, the only plot that I have is the one that my father gave me

I: Is it one piece of land?

Yes, it one piece of land but I have a part where I have a banana plantation and the part is coffee. He had also given us the land to dig as a family but because we like cattle, we decided to use it for grazing because we get milk for all us as the family so most of the time we dig in other people’s land, we rent.

I: how big is this plot that you got from your father?

R: It is 3 quarters of an acre because at first he gave land that was quarter an acre of banana plantation and some other part that had nothing, that if I want, can expand the banana plantation but up to know have not used that land to the end and it one plot with the coffee because it starts there down in the valley but the land where there is coffee he had not put emigorora for me but he had just given it to me use it as his son. The Land he gave me and put emigorora for me is almost 3 quarters of an acre and this other side that he added men to use is half an acre.

I: So, all together how big is this land?

R: It is 1 acre and a quarter

I: So, do you have workers on your land?

R: No, I do not have workers

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I: You have told me that you rent land elsewhere, tell about the process of renting land in this village?

R: To rent land in this village, land for rent has become scarce these days because most people like to graze cattle in Kashari and the land here in Kashari has become scarce and people are giving birth to many children and when you find that someone has one acre and has like 5 children and you find that it cannot care of all those children and the other land we have in this area is for the rich people and a rich person cannot divide his land and rent to other people. then the land that is left for rent is expensive because a quarter an acre is 70000 shillings and if put in this money and plant, you do not get good yields because in the past years we experienced drought. You find that you have bought seeds, put workers because you are busy with other things, but you only get back the 70000 shillings that you put there.

I: Do you make agreements for renting land?

R: No, most people here do not make agreements the person you can make an agreement with is when you give the money to the landowner in advance before the season so that he does not rent land to someone else when the season begins

I: how do you that someone has land for rent?

R; they owner of the land puts announcements himself and tell people that he has land for rent and the amount of money he is renting his land

**General land**

I: I would now like to change the topic and ask you about land in general. Looking at this village, in general how do people come to own land?

R: Most people in this village use their hands if they are lucky and have the good harvests in the season, they buy land or if you father gave you land. If you your father gave you land, you can use that land to get starting capital and buy more land

I: Can a person gain access to the land and use it without paying rent?

R: Yes, it is possible that you can trust someone and give him land for example our MP here Hon Ndyaguma has land here, who is a neighbor to my land and he gave it to people to cultivate for free because the downer part of the land he has planted grass for his cattle and gave the upper and to people to cultivate for free

I: So, is the MP from this village?

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R: No, he is born in Rubindi but has land in this village

I: Have you ever sold land?

R: No

I: And how do define you land that you own?

R: It is where you have built home and have things that are permanent for example a banana plantation or coffee, but you did you get this land? You might have bought it and you have an agreement or you father gave it you and put for you emigorora

I: Are there people who have land and do not have any proof of ownership?

R: Yes, it is possible, you find that someone has land and it was given to him by his father and he does not have any document because the father might have given him the land early and has not written a will to show that the land is yours. So, to have proof for such land is get a land title for it if you are wise and know that it is your land

I: So, do have any proof of ownership for you land?

R: The land where my father put emigorora and gave me, and the people that were there when he was giving me this land can prove that I won this land. Even my father wrote a document but did not give this document, he kept it secretly. Which means that however much he gave the land I do not have that document to show that the land was given to me

I: What is the difference between a land title, an agreement and a will?

R: The bigger difference is when you have a title, that is when you can know that the land is really your and if it land that your father gave you, you can also have something that shows that it is your land

I: I get it that they are show proof of ownership, but what is the difference between them?

R: The bigger difference id with the title but people do not have enough money to have titles. but we know that when you have a title and you want to sell the land and since most people do not know the conditions for buying land that has a title, people do not want to buy land that has a title because to buy this land you need some that knows about titles and go lands and get the land you want to buy from the title then if the land is like 3 million and you have to add other money to get the land and change the title, it disturbs people but if it land with agreement, you can sell anytime. That’s one reason why most people choose not to title their land in case they want to sell it in the future

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I: If you have a title in this village how difficult is it to sell it?

R: It every difficult especially if you want to sell part of your land but if you want to sell the whole it can be easier but you have to sell to the rich people who understand titles but the local people do know the laws of buying land with a title so they need to be educated about it

I: But is that good or bad if you cannot easily sell land with the title?

R: I my thinking it is good because good because it can limit people from selling land anyhow but other wise land with a title can be sold if people are taught what to do

I: Now that you have land from your father can you sell it without consulting him?

R: Yes, I can consult him. I got this land from him, even if he put for me emigorora to show that they land is mine, if he wanted he can say that he did not give the land because I do not have any proof for it, and that is why is kept the other document he wrote. So, you have to sell that land on his terms and most of them want to buy that land for themselves, if you get an problem and want to sell the land, most parents prefer that you sell the land back to them. That is a common method they use and that is why you must consult them

I: what you reached a point of wanting to sell this land?

R: No, I have thought about selling the land

I: You have told be about agreements, can you tell me how you make agreements in this village?

R: if someone wants to buy your land, he first asks you if you and your wife have agreed together? If you don’t agree together, he can not buy that land because he would have bought air, you cannot buy land if the woman does not sign

I: Is it a law?

R: Yes, it is a law

I: Is it a government law or it is a village law?

R: It is a government law; it is not a village because you cannot sell land with out your wife

I: For example, now that you have land that you got from your father, do you need to consult your wife?

R: According to the government laws that I know, even if you bought the land before you

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married and you marry a woman and you spend 10 years with a woman, you cannot sell that land without your wife’s signature if you she gets to know. Maybe if you buy land and make sure that she does not get to know but if she knows that the land is yours you cannot sell it with you wife’s signature

I: If you must have your wife to sell land, do you need to have your wife to buy land?

R: The “method” of buying land depends on how you have made the money with your wife. You find that some men agree with their wives to buy their things and when they are going to buy land, you find that they go with their wives because if you do not tell her, it means that you have started handing things from her and she will also start hiding things from you. So, it depends on how you agree with you wife, that is why some when they want to buy land, they tell their wives and they go together with the wife and they sign together as buyers

I: Is it common in this village for men to buy land and sign together on the agreements with their wives?

R: There are few men when they want to buy land that they can go with their wives and they sign together on their wives. Most men buy land and sign alone on the agreement

I: In you view, what are the good thing about including your wife in the title or agreement

R: The good thing that is when you include your wife, she works with passion since she knows that you work together with her to develop and you are not hiding things from her and you do not have secretes in your heart which makes her feel encouraged and works wholeheartedly. But when you keep buying land here and there, she wonders why you do not take her to sign on the agreements which might lead to men selling land by force because the woman is not on that title. for some of the research I have done men sometimes to not keep the agreements after buying land at home and when he wants to sell the land and the woman refuses and they go to court because our courts begin at the lower level, and in these courts when they ask if the woman has prove that the land is for the husband, me I agree with the land seller and he say he has never sold land to me. At that point the woman has not where else to report that the man wants to dell the land. That is how men waste land by selling it and eating the money

I: Why do you think men would want to sell the land and eat the money?

R: It is because men get into more problems when they try to hide things from their wives for example get loans without telling the wife and sometimes using other women to get the loans other than my wife. And when you are there, they come looking for you that you have a loan, yet your wife does not even know about it

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I: Has it happened in this village for a man to use another woman not his wife to get a loan?

R: Yes, it happens because these days they just put the national ID number and you find that the man get a an ID form another woman and he photocopies and when later he does not pay, they come looking of him where the woman does not know what happened and they end up selling the land the land to pay the loan. Another reason is that men want to marry more than one woman and you find that they want to sell the land and buy for the other wife elsewhere

I: what are the bad things about including a woman on the title or agreement?

R: The bad is when you get a problem and want to sell the land and the woman refuses to sell the land because she also might know that you got the like a loan but maybe you did not use it for development in the home, so if you want to sell the land to pay the loan, she refuses

I: What if you used the money for development in the home but fail to pay it back?

R: There you have to go to the government and it helps to resolve that issue because you did this and that and now you have a loan that can take you prison, and the government and decide to give the man where to sell because he has give a reason for selling the land although the woman does nit agree

I: If a person says that this is family land, what does it mean to you?

R: Family land in the banyankole culture is land where people work from where is it the grandfather or the grand child, they can all use the land and if you are making a will, this and cannot be share out and if someone fails in their marriage can come and stay on that land if he/she is your relative. The is the family land I know; he can share out the all land but family land stays here

I: Do you think most people have family land in this village the way you have defined it?

R: No, most people do not have family land because they have small land, he cannot give land and remain with family land for example if a person has 1 acre, and has two wives, he cannot give the land to the children and then remain with family land

I: Let’s say that you have land where the man, wife and children have authority over this land, would that also be family land?

R: It depends, I might have land that I have been staying on for example, where you have passed at my mother’s place, but you find that I have some other land which I use like a farm. The land that I use like a farm is the land that I know that if I was to share out the land to give to my

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children, it is the land that I can give out and that is why some parents leave some piece of the land as family land and gives it to the heir to look after it, but it cannot be sold

I: So, to get you better, family land is land that cannot be sold?

R: Yes, it remains, and everyone can use that land

I: Who has authority over family land?

R: If it is the man and he dies, he leaves the land with the wife and if the wife also dies, it remains for the family. They can look for the older child and give the land to that child to have responsibility over this land so that no child can steal it and sell it that is why when girls fail in their marriages they need a place to stay so they can stay on that family land

I: You have told me about girls failing in their marriages, what commonly causes girls to fail in their marriage?

R: Most of the problems are caused by, you see, most me lack understanding, and you find that they do not know where the world will be tomorrow

I: what do you mean by lack of understanding? Tell me more

R: Lack of understanding is when you marry a woman and start doing developmental things the you start looking at her as someone who is not a human being, yet you have children together. You look at her as nothing and mostly this is caused by adultery where the man and woman have affairs out side the marriage and you cannot agree or it is in the man’s nature to have more than one woman which may lead to woman separating with the man

I: You talk mostly of men, are they common cause of separations in marriages?

R: Yes, in most cases it is men, we are very bad people because in most cases we do not have a heart of being patient with the women that we have, if a man starts to have issues with the woman they immediately send them home without solving the problem that you have caused as the man

I: What are some of the thing that men do that cause separation?

R: It is the one I have told you about, having multiple women and you start looking at the woman at home as useless and she also sees you as an animal, she begins to fear you because you are nt showing her a good heart

I: and what can women do that can cause separation with the husband?

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R: The thing is you can marry a woman and you find she believes in cultural things that she came with for example witchcraft or she does like the family, and she decide to leave that family instead of killing someone in that family

I: So, what happens to a woman in terms of land when she separates with the husband?

R: When you separate with your wife, you the man can stay on that land and even marry another woman but if you have children with the wife, she can but she will keep her ears this side since there is “social media” of phones because she has her children on the land and if the man tries to sell that land it can be difficult of him because the wife can come back if she gets to know and stop the sale of that land. She can call the chairman and him that you want to sell the land where will her children go? The chairman will ask the man and might not stamp for him to sell the land however the woman left the land but if she has her children on that land, but if you find it difficult you can share the land and sell your share of that land

I: Can a woman separate and stay on the land?

R: The woman cannot separate and stay on the land, she goes back to her home

I: If the woman is arguing for land, does she do it for herself or the children?

R: She does it for the children for her she does not mind but the children she has, that is what is important because when it comes to sharing the land, she can ask to share depending on the children because she knows that if you share the land according to the children, she will have more land for example, if they give to all the children the man will remain with his piece but the other pieces for the children will all be for the wife

I: Tell me more about sharing according to the children and how the woman gets more land

R: For example, if you have 6 children, they will divide the land in 6 pieces for the 6 children and the man will also have a piece but in Banyankole, they do not divide land forb the woman, so, she takes the land that is given to her children and in the end she will have land for 6 children and you have land for you as the man

I: Can a woman separate and go with children?

R: It can happened but it depends on how the man sees you in the standards of taking care for the children but if the woman was to separate she should leave the children because here they have where to stay but if you know that she can take care of the children and for you cannot, then you let her take the children.

01:09:42

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: In this next topic, I would like to know what you think about titling. There is no right or wrong answer, I just want to know what you think about land titles. what does it mean to have a land title?

R: It means that you have proof of ownership of your land especially in the government

I: What are the benefits of having a title

R: The purpose of a title is to make sure that no one steals your land, the issues of us here in the village of removing the emigorora are not there. Even when you remove the stones if I bring surveyors they will know where the boundary of my land is. the other purpose it have is that when I need a loan, I do not have to go to the chairman to look for signatures here and there, I just go to the bank and they give me money and there no bank you cannot get money if you have a title

I: Tell me how it went with the people that came to offer you a land title?

R: They came here and taught us and we agreed and they visited the land I was using and they said that they will leave out the land that my father had not put emigorora since my father had not give it to me officially but they did not show me that they wanted to give me a land title but later the came back and they showed me and they wanted to give me the title and if they had told me earlier, I would have agreed with my father on how to put this land in the title and or he refuses. In the end they showed me that they wanted to give a free title but when I talked about it with my father, he did not like it. Me getting a title on this land, what if I steal the whole land or what will show that I have only got the title for the plot that I own. So, I also told the titling people about my reasons for not titling the land because the parent might think that I have under looked him, he showed me that I can steal his land and I decided to tell them. When they came the 3rd time, I told them I will not title the land because I did not agree with my parents

I: So, did you discuss the reasons for not getting a title with your wife?

R: The woman as a person we did not discuss much but I found that the woman, you know women have hard hearts but I did not tell her that we accept the title or not but I told her that for this reasons, I did not agree with my father to title the land. Maybe if there is way you can a title with your father not knowing about it, then I can agree with my wife and we get it

I: When they first can and offered you the title, is that when you told them that you will not get the title?

01:15:18

R: No, but the they told me about the title and said they will be back that’s when I talked to my father. They later came back and that is when I told them that they can leave the title so that it does not cause problems with me and my father

I: Other not agreeing with you father is there any other reason why you did not get the title?

R: No, there was no other reason

I: So, how do you feel about the people that received the titles?

R: There are two people who got the titles in this village, but it seems they have not yet received them when I talk to them

I: Do you think that getting this title would have changed your life?

R: It would have helped in the future if I had problems of school fees for my children so that it helps to and I get a loan that does not bother me because if you are to get a loan in the Sacco, the interest is high because you find that for 10000 they give you they put 300 shillings interest but if you have a title and you go to centenary bank, 10000 shilling you put in interest of 50 shillings which gets your child to study

I: Do you have an account in centenary bank?

R: No

I: So, how do you feel about not getting this title?

R: I did not feel very that bad, but I know I missed an opportunity, but I cannot blame myself because it was not my fault

I: In general, how do you think people in this village think about titles?

R: About getting titles, I think most people like them, but they do not enough money to get them because we hear that getting a land title requires a lot of money which they cannot afford

I: How much money do you think the title cost?

R: I do not know how much money the government decided to put on the title, but I think that you can get it at 5 million which people do not have

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

01:19:02

I: Thank for your explanations so far but I would like to now ask you about your marriage. How long have been living with your wife?

R: Here we have been together for the years that I have told you but in marriage, we have been together for 15 years

I: Tell me about your 15 years of marriage

R: Like in marriages you get problems and we have some quarrels, but we be patient in them and even fights as you know village marriages, but I see that we have been together

I: So, what is the common cause of these conflicts in your marriage?

R: The biggest challenges in my family I see in my marriage is poverty because women love me with money and lack of trust in the marriage for example if your wife thinks that you have another wife elsewhere. If she sees that you had some money yesterday and the child has been sent away from school and she think you gave the money to another woman, you find it causes quarrelling in the marriage

I: So, do have another woman outside your marriage?

R: “Of course” as men we have other women on the side just for an affair

I: But not that she is your second wife?

R: Yes, but not that we are married

I: Does you wife know that you have other women?

R: Some she knows and others we them secretly and those that she knows we quarrel about them

I: Do you have children outside of your marriage?

R: No, I do not have

I: Are you officially married to your wife?

R: Yes

I: But is there good things about your marriage?

R: The good thing is that when you marry your wife and she gives you children then it is a good thing because when you marry a wife and she does not have children she cannot even bring

01:23:40

development because she will not work since she does not have child but if you have children, she must work with you to develop for example if you do not have a house like this one, you build it together and put there

I: Now that you have other women, how would you feel if she also has another man on the side?

R: The woman has no authority to have another man and if she has, I cannot get to know and if know, I hear it from other people but now seeing it

I: So, do men have the authority to have other women?

R: Yes, because even if the woman hears that you have another wife she does not have the right to stop you from going back there because you have legs, you can take yourself and bring back your self but for them the important thing is to be patient and get what want in the marriage like taking care of her children, educating them, getting them food, a lot of women find peace in that that if she hears that you have another wife, she will keep quite but if you do not provide the things I have told you, you must fight with her from Monday to Sunday which may led to separation

I: Would fail to her these things if you did not have other women?

R: If you do not have other women you cannot fail to do these things unless you are giving them to the other women that your wife

I: So, for that matter does she have the right to fight?

R: She is right to fight in this case

I: That aside, do you feel supported by your wife?

R: Yes

I: How does she support you?

R: In working to together in our gardens, she can harvest and get money and also buy food at home for us to eat during the time when there is food scarcity or let put money together and buy this or she can clothes for children to ware

I: What about you, how do support and encourage your wife?

R: To support her is to make money and you find that am also taking care of her children, me and her

01:27:13

I: I thought the children are both yours? How this make her feel supported?

R: When the children are in school, and I get the what to eat, she knows that the man is looking development since he is educating children and it encourages her

I: Do you think this is what happens in other families that when a man is educating children and proving for them food, women feel supported?

R: Yes, I think if you are looking for food for the family especially for the children, the women feel supported by their husbands, if you care about her children in drought you look for food and you educate the children that is all the support village women want. If you do that the woman can not separate even if you do not care about her personally

I: Is there times when your wife has separated with you?

R: She sometimes wants to leave but her home is far, but she has never packed her things that she is going to her home but the leaves and goes to the neighbors and she come back

I: Where is she from?

R: She is from Ruhinda, Mitooma district

I: So, how did you get her from Mitooma

R: She was working from here she has her relatives here who shifted to this place and she came and stayed with them for like a year and in that time that’s when I met her and married her during that time from her home there in Kashare but she later introduced me to her home in Ruhinda

I: why do you think in other marriage couples might not feel supported by their partners

R: Its when you neglect your family and you do not care about it for example if you get money you put it in other women and it gets finished from there, when the children are sent away from books you do not want to give it to them you send there to their mother, and you find the woman can not take care of that family alone. The woman loses love for you and she does not have hope that the man can help her

I: How makes major decisions for your family?

R: It is the man; it is the man that can decide that let’s do this and if the man decides the woman cannot decide that let do it otherwise

01:33:49

I: But in making such a decision do you consult your wife?

R: You first ask her if there is anything that you want to do because you cannot do things without telling her, if she takes to court, she can win if you do things without telling her

I: Let’s say that you consulted her, and she has given her opinion what happens?

R: If I find it can work then we can take it and if it cannot work, I go with mine because is me that decides

I: what was the last major decision you have made for you family

R: At the end of the second term before the start of the second term the was an issue we had with my wife, my children was studying from here and one of the teacher came and told that he wanted me to change the school for my child because of the reasons that he explained to me and I understood them. He told me to buy a case and a mattress and the child goes to Mbarara and studies from there and maybe in the future the child can be important. When he told me, I first tried to hide from my wife but before I told her she heard from other people that I wanted to change the child and him in another school. So, she came angrily and asked me why and we start having disagreements over the child but I told her that the child is mine and I wanted, I can get him out of school and you can afford to pay for him school fees so let take the child when I want to take him and I will not ask you for school fees. She said she will stop the child from going to that school and I told her if she does not allow the child to go she will have to pay for his school fees and she later changed her mind and told me that the child can go to that school but if had insisted that I do not take the child I would not have taken the child there.

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

R: No, families are different because everyone has their own thing so their think may not be the same as mine

I: what reasons did the teacher give you to the change the school of your child?

R: He gave a report that my child has knowledge and he could better in a better school and he told me that he studied from the same school and finished and went up to collage and he told me that the head teacher loves money and all the teachers are running away from him including him and the children will not be able to pass well exams. He suggested that I take the child to the school where he is teaching now

I: And why didn’t your wife want to take the child to another school?

01:38:34

R: She also had her reasons that her child will go to town and suffer rom there

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. I’m wondering do you think if you got the title, would it have changed anything about your marriage and your relationship with her?

R: It would not have changed the marriage, but it would have given our land security and if we need money it would have helped us

**Gender norms around land**

I: In this topic there are things that we would like to understand about women because we know that most land is own by men in Uganda. We do not have an opinion on them, we just want to know what you think about them. Do women own land in this village?

R: Yes, they can buy land for example thy can sell their season harvests and buy land and you find that she makes her own agreement without the man’s signature

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

R: Yes, there are women who inherit land for example my mother up there, she sold the land she inherited from her father and bought land here. they sell that land when they are no one left at their home to protect that land for example, if all her parents are dead, the land keeps with her brothers and you find that she is not gaining from it. So, she sells it and buy near her home

I: When women sell their inherited land, do they add it to the husband’s land, or they keep it separate from the husband’s land?

R: It depends on they agree with each other. If you find that the husband, he has is trustworthy he can bring the money of land and give it to the husband, and they can combine and buy a bigger plot but that is if they agree together. But if the woman does not trust the man, she develops the heart that want if the marriage fails or what the man marries other women on the land

I: Can a man’s name be included on this land that woman has bought after selling her inheritance?

R: He can sign on the agreement as a witness but not the buyer

I: In you view do you think women should be allowed to have their own land?

R: Yes, because if they buy their own land it helps them on the issue of marriage conflicts. If she has her own land and the marriage fails, she can sell that land again and move away and buy elsewhere and stay there

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

R: They would want to have land with their husbands, but the men sometimes become a problem and they later become hyenas and conflicts begin the marriage and it puts the woman in problems because she would have sold her land that she got from her parents and you separate and she wants to go to her home, you find that she has nowhere to go because she had brought her land this side

I: We have talked about land, mem, women, land use, land ownership and family land. So, how do you think these aspects can work around family land?

R: They can work well because if it is family land it has proof that it’s land for the woman too and it can help her when the man wants to sell the land and eat it so when she goes into the government she can tell them that the man wants to sell the family land they can stop the man from doing so. Which means that the woman also has authority over land when it is family land

I: I would like to ask you about widows. Do widows stay on the land after their husbands die?

R: Yes, they can stay on the land if they worked together to their things, but the most important thing is when you have children together, she can stay on that land but maybe if they do not have children, she can stay on the land if it is written in the will of the husband that she must stay on the land. If the man does not include her in the will, she can stay on the land by the government laws

I: Are they laws that allow a widow to stay on the land?

R: Yes, there are laws that allow a widow to stay on the land if she does not have children

I: When did these laws begin?

R: I do not know when they started but I know that they are there that say that a widow can stay on the land if they do not have children

I: Are there certain conditions to these laws for example the number of years the woman has spent on the land?

R: I do not how the law states exactly, but I know it is there

I: Do widows sometimes remarry?

01:48:03

R: I do not now the law on that but think if she wants to get a man, she should not leave the land and go elsewhere and leave the children and the land. She should get a man and bring him on the land and she gets married there but after agreeing with children because thy can say that they do want another man on their father’s land and if the children know that their mother cannot waste their father’s land then they can let her live the way she wants on the land. If the woman if paying their school fees, and does not want to sell their husbands land, thy can let her have the man on the land.

I: Has it happened in this village for the woman to remarry on the husband’s land?

R: Yes, it has happened because the land was hers and the husband and no body disturb her like the relative because it is her land now and the laws says that the land is hers when the husband dies nobody should disturb her

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

R: No, all the people here understand the laws for example if the have children with the widow, they know that the law says that new child do not have authority on the land but if the woman has her land she can give a share to the new child

I: Has the treatment of widows changed in recent times?

R: Yes, it has changed now because women now have more freedom than in the past because in the past the when the husband died they could mistreat the widow that she cannot get remarried on the land of their brother and they chase here away but now the government has made things easy, they now have their freedom and have their rights to stay on the land the husband left for her and do whatever she wants

I: what is your opinion on what should happen to women once their husbands die?

R: What should happen is for the widow to stay on the husband’s land and raise their children and if she can educate them, to keep educating them depending on the thing that the man left for her to take care of the children

I: Do you think that if women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, it would increase or reduce conflicts in the marriage

R: It can reduce conflicts in the marriage

I: How does it reduce conflicts in the marriage?

01:52:40

R: It means by the rime you agree with one other jointly own land, even when doing things on that you will have to agree. Not that you go behind her back and sell the land when she does not know

**Land disputes**

I: I would like to change and ask you about land dispute. What is the common cause of land disputes?

R: In the family the most cause of land disputes is the parents who give us land and they want to control us on the land they have given us that is why you find children wanting to kill their parents because they have refused to give them freedom the their land. The other cause of conflicts is when you want to sell land and the wife refuses leading to conflict on land

I: what cause disputes on land with the neighbors?

R: It when you find that you have a neighbor and he wants to steal you land for example, they can remove emigorora and try to change the boundaries of the land then you end up in courts and start disputes like that

I: So, what happens when there are land disputes?

R: Before you to the government, if you have a dispute with your neighbor, you can call a few people in the community and try to resolve it but if you fail to resolve it, you can continue to the LC and other courts

I: If someone person in a dispute has a land title. does it influence how the dispute is resolved

R: Yes, it can resolve disputes because when I have a title, I can be confident of my boundaries and no one can steal my land

I: But what do think should be done for people who do not have security on their land?

R: It is to get land title but not everyone can afford it because most people know that to get a title you have to go to Kampala, and it take a long time to get it. Some people say it can even take like 10 years to get a title

I: Other the disagreements you had with your father, have you had any other disagreements on land?

R: No, because I have never wanted to borrow money and use this land as security, I have not a

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problem to sell the land that I have to ask my father and we have a problem, so I have lived the way I wanted on the land

I: So, who do you think wanted to give a title?

R: I do not know that but think it is people from an organization that wanted to give a title

I: Any questions?

R: No

I: thank you for time today

01:57:46