Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 18/10/2019

Respondents Name: Yonah

Household ID: 5070061

Age: 36

Title status: Solo title (but the respondent says it’s joint)

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Saloon business

Highest level of education: P.7

Marital status: Married

Number of years lived in the village: 36

Number of children: 7

Number of people living in the HH: 9

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: sand and bricks and partly mud and poles

Interview start time: 11:32 am

Interview end time: 12:58 pm

Duration: 01:25:37

The interview took place outside the respondent’s home. He was in the garden at time we reached home but was called upon by the wife and he came immediately. He has 2 plots of land where one is where he stays. He has a banana plantation in this plot and it only the part of the banana plantation that was titled. But the whole plot including the house is about 1 acre and a half. The other plot is about five acres where he rents 1 person for cattle grazing and others for cultivation. Their house is partly sand and bricks, and mud and poles with a cemented floor, iron sheet, and solar. The husband told me that they have a joint title for their land but regrets the reason why he decided to joint title because the woman has refused him to take a loan using the title from a SACCO. However, they had used it and got the loan which they paid back but the second time, the wife refused.

According to the structure of their home and the land they have, they are middle income. They have 7 children together but according to my observation they have disagreements in their marriage. The husband also operates a saloon business in the trading center. On our way to respondent while asking for directions to his home, they told us that he has two homes but when I asked him about it, he did not tell the truth. And discussing with Fiona after the interview, I found out that he wasn’t being truthful in the interview.

**Warm up**

I: Thanks for giving me your time today, how are you today?

R: We are fine, we have no issues.

I: You were coming from the garden?

R: Yes, it is a rainy season so we are working hard. I thought you were not coming so I was going to get the phone and call you because I had the number of the other man who came here.

I: How is the rain?

R: It is raining very much.

I: That is good for your crops?

R: Yes

I: How did yesterday go for you?

R: It was good and there was no issue, you go and weed and after you sleep and otherwise we are good.

I: Tell me about your normal day.

R: We go to the garden where I am coming from and then I go to my saloon and work then I come back home later.

I: Where is your saloon?

R: It is there in the trading center.

I: Okay. It is busy with customers.

R: Yes, but most of the time I am in the market cutting people’s hair there. I was supposed to go to *Rubindi* but I said I will not disturb you because I wanted to go to *Kyenshama* but when the man told me that you were coming so we looked for another day and he said Tuesday so I decided to leave *Rubindi* market and attend to you.

I: Thanks for putting aside your work to talk to us.

**Background, Household structure and Land ownership**

I: How old are you?

R: I am in 36, 37 years.

I: How many years have you spent in this village?

R: I was born here and therefore all my years have been lived here.

00:02:46

I: Tell me about your village, how have you found it for all these years you have lived here.

R: This village has no issue, we see no one bringing quarrels and fights therefore we have no issue.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. I want to talk to you about your family. How many people live in this home?

R: I live here with my wife and 7 children only.

I: Tell me about your 7 children, how many are girls and how many are boys.

R: They are 6 girls and 1 boy that is why we kept giving birth looking for the boy. You know women, she kept looking for a boy even when I told her to stop but she kept wanting the boy.

I: What reason makes the woman love getting a boy so much, I thought it is the man who wants a boy?

R: She wants the boy and I think she knows that if she has her two boys one of them can build here and the other can build there.

I: So she is worried that the girls will leave her.

R: I think it is that and when the girls grow they leave so she remains with the boys only.

I: Are all the children in school.

R: Only 5 go to school, the rest are the young ones that you have seen.

I: Tell me how you have found school fees.

R: It is still okay because I have none in secondary school as of now. They are in government schools.

I: How long have you lived in this house?

R: I came here in 2000.

I: Had you married?

R: Yes, that is when I built here and that is the same month I married.

I: Where were you living before?

R: Down there, at my parent’s home but they all died

I: Sorry about your loss, when did they die?

R: My father died in 1992 and my mother died in 1999 there.

I: I see they died long time. How did you survive without parents?

00:06:39

R: It became hard and I had to use my head. It became very hard for me and I married when I was still young but I decided to work and here I am.

I: What class did you stop in?

R: I had reached in primary 7 and I dropped out.

I: Tell me why you dropped out of school and when you dropped out what did you do?

R: That is the reason I told you, my parents died and we had my step mother and we didn’t have good relations so I saw that the things we had were little and I wouldn’t handle secondary school fees so I stopped there.

I: How many plots of land do you have?

R: I have here and down there. They titled the banana plantation this side as I showed them, and they planted the stones on the plantation.

I: So for me to understand well, you have 3 plots?

R: It is the plantation coming here and then the downer land.

I: Is the plantation land part of this home?

R: The planation is there and the home is here also.

I: So is this home part of the title?

R: No, the planation goes like that passing at that jack fruit and going down. The woman who came said that the machine caught the banana plantation so that is where they titled. They decided to put the title there.

I: How big is this land?

R: It is like 1 and a half acres when you add the banana plantation.

I: How about the other land down there.

R: It is about 5 acres

I: How did you acquire this land?

R: It is my inheritance apart from half acre that I bought.

I: Tell me how it happened to give you this land.

R: We were many children in the family, so after him passing on we found that he had made a will and said that he had given the boys each of them here.

I: This is what I want you to tell me about, how many boys were you?

00:10:23

R: We were 5 boys and us the old ones who are not for my step mother they gave us this land but divided it between us and each got his share. Also, the other woman, her land I that side.

I: Did you have girls?

R: The girls also have theirs; it is below the other one down there.

I: How many girls were they?

R: They were 4

I: Are they all married?

R: Yes.

I: Did they share their land or it is still together?

R: You know the things of the girls, when they get married I think men deceive them so some have cut their pieces and sold them only one girl still has her share there. The rest all sold theirs.

I: On this land here, I see that you have a banana plantation and your home, what do you do on the other land?

R: One part I rented it out and the other side I rented it to a cattle farmer who grazes from there. I used to have cow and I sold them. When I grew up I sold them.

I: How many cows were they?

R: They were 3

I: What caused you to sell them?

R: You see we were boys so when our father died he had a building and the boys decided that we sell it but I saw it as a very unwise thing to do so I sold the cows and bought their shares of the building and they left. I am just in the process of raring cows again.

I: This means you have a building?

R: Yes, it is in *Rubindi*.

I: What is in your building now?

R: There is someone who has a shop that sells shoes I rent to him.

I: How much does he pay you per month?

R: 150,000 shillings

I: Okay. You told me that you rent out your land down there to farmers to graze. Tell me about how it is.

00:13:24

R: There is no issue, that person only grazes from there.

I: How much do they pay you?

R: He gives me little money because the other side they cultivate on it so I left only a little grass on one side. So he gives me money to buy food only. He gives me 100,000 shillings per month.

I: Did you make any form of agreement?

R: No, this land has no other hand in it, so it is knowing that he paid for these months and when they are done, he adds you the money. When he tries to do something else, you just tell him to leave.

I: Do you have any workers on this land?

R: No, I work on it alone.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. What gives you more money?

R: It is the grazing where they pay me 100,000 shillings and the banana planation where we get from food.

I: When the banana plantation is ready, like how many bunches do you cut from there?

R: When the family grew big we stopped selling so we only get food.

**General land**

I: Thanks for telling me about that, I would like to change and ask you about land in general. How do people in this village acquire land?

R: There are two ways; there is one who received an inheritance and the others but land. These are the two ways.

I: Is it there that you find that a friend gave you free land.

R: No, this is not her it was for long ago. These days someone can want to even intrude in your boundary and take your land.

I: What do you think brought about this change?

R: The land became smaller and the of people has increased. Someone cannot give you land when they don’t have food to eat and they are looking for where to cultivate too.

I: In what ways do people access land that they don’t own. For example, you told me that your rent land to others. Is there any other way?

R: I think it is finding someone with land and you rent it but there is no one giving you free land.

00:17:22

I: How do you rent land in this village?

R: Here a quarter acre is for about 50,000 and you dig and keep digging and this how you can get land.

I: Do you make agreements when renting?

R: Now like these grazing people they can tell you that they will use your land for a year so you can make an agreement saying that they will be paying you every after 6 months. But now for cultivation it is just knowing that they have paid you for the season and when it is done they get out or add you more money for the next one.

I: Is there like when someone may give you land, and you use it, but you do not pay?

R: Unless you find them unable to use the land and they are not cultivating it so they give it to you and you cultivate on it.

I: Is this common?

R: No, it is not common. Here I have seen two or three people who have given people land to cultivate for free. But people can’t because they are also looking at renting out the land and get some money too.

I: If someone wants to sell land, does he need to consult other people in the village.

I: You call the chairman and call your neighbors that are near you then you sell and they make for you an agreement then he goes to the sub county and gets a receipt. When you buy someone’s land, the village people are there, the chairman is also present then you go to the sub county and say that you bought someone’s land but that is if you have bought big land, if you can’t buy small land like quarter acre, you may not go to *Kashare* at the sub county. They will then make for you a receipt and you know with it, its proof that you bought so and so’s land.

I: What does the receipt show?

R: It shows with proof at the sub county that you have bought the land even after getting the agreement and chairman’s stamp.

I: How about to consult your wife, should some consult their wife if they want to sell land?

R: If you are in a family, you can’t sell land without your wife being present.

I: why can’t sell the land, what if you bought alone without your wife?

R: It depends on the reason you are selling. Now in our village we have drunkards, he can tell the wife that he is going to sell off some land and she will ask him for the reason why he is selling. If the reason is not good enough then she will refuse you to sell. You have to talk to your wife and explain to the reason as to why you want to sell so that when you are going to sell you are one thing.

00:21:55

I: If the woman doesn’t allow then you can’t sell.

R: No, you can’t sell the land if the woman refuses

I: Is it like a law or?

R: For us here, it is like a law, the government came and out powered us men and gave freedom to the women. You can be having your goat or cow and when you are going to sell it, she will ask you why you are selling it. If someone comes and they are giving you money but if she says that your will not sell this cow, the person will leave the cow and go away.

I: Do you think this is a good thing or?

R: One side it is good and on the other side it is not good because we can have many problems like you have a debt or loan and you decide to sell something or you have a child in school and you say we sell something and the woman will refuse. This becomes bad for you and there is also when you are selling land to just go and eat the money or drink alcohol or go and get other women and when she refuses, it helps you tomorrow. She would have helped save the land not to go.

I: If you are going to get a loan, don’t you need to first ask your wife?

R: That is what I had told you about that you have to first down and discuss and agree what you are going to do when you get the money to do this thing. If she refuses, then it is a problem for you because they ask for leverage and they want the woman’s signature.

I: If you want to get a loan, where and you go?

R: Us we are still in our small saccos here like Muhame SACCO.

I: Do you have an account there?

R: Yes.

I: Have you used your title to go and get a loan?

R: I went there and got some money, but I paid it quickly and picked my title.

I: How much did you get?

R: I had got 500,000 shillings.

I: What were you going to use it for?

R: We used it for home things and building part of the house.

I: To get this loan, did you first consult with your wife?

R: Yes, we talked about it. That’s what I told you that there can come a problem when she refuses even though you are on the title together, but if you discuss about it, she agrees. But if you get another side problem, you can’t get the loan without your wife.

00:26:05

You must agree together.

I: Yes, if it is a side problem not a family problem, would she disagree?

R: Yes, she can disagree and now that they have rights, she can simply disagree for not for reason

I: What if your wife gets also gets a side problem, can you allow her to go and get it a loan?

R: I can only allow her to get it if she is working somewhere. If she doesn’t work anywhere, I can’t allow her to get it because I know that that money will be spoilt, or she will use it for something else and then they come here and start chasing us from the land.

I: What if she is going to put the money in something that will gain money and shew pays it back?

R: If it is profiting then I allow and if it is not then I don’t allow.

I: So, you have paid back this loan and finished it?

R: We finished it long ago

I: If someone has land in this village but they don’t stay here, how can he maintain control over it?

R: Like you see these days the titles have just come. You find someone has their land and they get someone out there to keep taking care of the and it will stay there because no one will touch it. He has his title or agreement showing that it is his land.

I: Does this need any form of agreement? If you leave your land with someone?

R: No, like now that am here if I get a job and I want to leave I will get someone and ask them to keep watch over my banana plantation and house, it doesn’t need any agreement.

I: Do you have these people here who have land but they don’t live here?

R: Yes, there are 2 of them. There is one called Mucunguzi, he died recently but he had spent about 10 years away and there was a worker living on his land. The worker would graze, and look after the planation. The other one is Umar, he also brought workers and went to Kampala.

I: If someone want to use such land like rent it, in what ways can they access it?

R: You can rent it but after seeing the land owner and talking to him. If he wants to rent to you he may decide that you make an agreement and if he trusts you then he will let you use the land whether to graze or to cultivate.

00:30:33

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

R: It is land for the family, if something is going to be done on the land you have to sit all and agree.

I: Tell me who are the people you say are in the family.

R: Man, wife, children.

I: There are some people that say the family is you and your siblings that you have shared.

R: That can happen as a family when your father is alive that is when you find them saying that the land is for the family and it includes your father, brothers and sister and mother all mixed together. And now when you are independent it is for your family because you can’t sell when your children and wife don’t know about it.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Have you sold land before?

R: No.

I: How about buying, you said that you bought two of them, were you adding onto these ones?

R: Yes

I: Tell me about how this process went.

R: Someone would be selling then I call my neighbors and the chairman then I pay and he gives me my agreement.

I: I would love to know if your wife’s name was included on the agreements when you bought this land.

R: No, she came and signed as a witness as the person who was there.

I: But what do think there are the good things about including a woman’s name on this land agreement?

R: Yes, she can help stop you if you want to sell. Like I had said you the man may want to sell but he says that since you have the land together, you wait. It might save your land

I: Is there any other bad things about including a woman’s name on an agreement?

R: If she put her signature on the agreement saying that her and the husband have bought this, it can bring for you problems tomorrow. If you have a problem and you want to sell, she can refuse if she wants to. Or if you want to get a loan, she can also refuse

I: But I think even without her name on the agreement, to get a loan you must have your wife?

R: Yes, and that process is too long, and she can refuse too but now that I have a title, I would want to use it because it easier

I: So, have you taken a loan before without using the title?

R: No, had not taken the loan because the process is long

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

00:34:23

R: This is if you agree and work together. If you have your wife and there is no issue, then you can out her there.

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

R: you find conflict in the home, the woman saying that the land is hers too. So, if you only out your name on the title, it is good because if you get a problem you can go to the bank where you have an account and ask for the money that you want.

I: Now like you have this land and it is yours, what does ownership over the land mean to you?

R: It shows my land, if I have my agreement it shows that I bought land from that person. That land is therefore mine. And now that I even have a land title, its better. But now you see the government overpowered us by saying that even though you bought it alone, if you have wife it means that it is for the both of you.

I: Is it a law now?

R: Yes, it is, and they tell us that while you were working there, she was home cooking food and you were eating.

I: What do you think about this, is it right or not?

R: I don’t know but us as men you can have something on the side and it becomes hard for you, then this becomes an issue because the woman also has authority over land.

I: But if something becomes hard for you, if you explain it to your wife can’t she understand? So, where does the problem come from?

R: The problems are many. You may have an issue and you find that what you are doing is not what your wife is agreeing to.

I: What issues are these?

R: Now like children’s school fees, you can go and get a loan and pay for children to go back school and get another problem. I haven’t seen this in my home am talking about the neighbors I see. You find that they have children in secondary school or university and he fails to get the money and says that he is going to sell the land and the woman refuses him to sell and the problems start from there.

I: But when he is getting a loan, does he tell the wife about the reason as to why he is getting that loan?

R: You may tell her, and she refuses, they can’t give you a loan without her signing. If you get the loan sometimes and the time for paying it back reaches, you tell her you want to sell a piece of the land and she refuses because she knows you are cutting her land, so she doesn’t accepted.

I: You have told me that it now better that you even have a land title, what differences are there in having a title and an agreement for land?

00:38:40

R: The title is the best. If you have an agreement and you add on a title, this is the greatest proof that shows that the land is yours.

I: Why is the title the best?

R: For it, they plant for you stones and you know that it is your land truly.

I: You told me that you got land from your parents, do you think of inheriting more land?

R: If I get money, I will buy more but inheriting land now is not passible

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

R: No, I haven’t heard about this unless if a rich man comes to scare you, but we haven’t seen this here in this village.

I: Because in some villages you find that if someone has no title they worry about someone coming to take their land.

R: Maybe people fear in *Rubindi*, someone comes with a title you don’t know where they got it from and a fake agreement, how they got all this you don’t know. You just see someone building boys quarters and when you go to report him to the court, he gets out his title but you don’t know who signed for him and the signatures on the agreement you don’t know them but yet he has the chairman’s letter too. So at the end they chase you. It hasn’t yet reached here in the village; we see that in *Rubindi*.

I: So, what do you think people are doing to not lose their land like those ones in *Rubindi* that you have talked about.

R: I think people first study you and know that you are well off and then they steal it. You can’t protect yourself from this because someone can take the land.

I: What would you say be done to help such people so that they don’t lose their land?

R: if they have money, they would out a title and get stones planted in their land and they know that it is their land. If they go to court, when you a title it helps you. But the title is expensive, and people cannot afford it

I: How much money do you think that a title would cost?

R: There are some people who came and gave us title, I was talking to them and they said that, if you want it and you haven’t used them, it will cost about 2.5 million shillings. If you have like an acre, it is easy to receive the title.

I: If you want to get more land, what ways can you go about it?

R: Now I know that getting more land it is buying it. There are no parents to give me more land and I know when you are buying you go through the chairman LC1 and the neighbors too then they make for you an agreement. You see getting this title you go through many ways and you don’t have money to you stand on the power of an agreement as you are still there.

00:42:10

I: You have told me about family land, can you say that you have family land?

R: I haven’t had it yet because we are all one still family. But if you get another woman then you will divide the land in between the two families and you also stay with yours. But now it is for all the family.

I: Are planning to have another wife?

R: No, not now

I: So, who makes the decision on your land?

R: It is me who decides but I go through my wife because she has no right to sell without me and I can’t also sell without her.

I: How about what you will plant and where you will plant it, who makes these decisions?

R: This is for both of us, we plant together and harvest together and when we sell we decide what we will use the money for.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks for telling me about that, I would love to ask your knowledge on land titles and remember there is nothing right or wrong. What does having a title mean to you?

R: It is knowing that something is yours and even if someone comes to steal your land they can’t.

I: What is the purpose of a title or what good things are there in having a title?

R: The importance of a title is one, if you want to go and get a loan they don’t have to first come and tour your land, you take the title and they give you the money. The second one is that it is kept well and no one can steal it whether you are around or not around. These are the good things in it.

I: You have told me that you used your title to get a loan, tell me how this went, to get a loan using your title.

R: I went there and they gave a form and I explained to them, I filled it and I got members who witnessed for me so I went with the title and my wife and she signed. They called us after to go and pick the money but you have to go with your wife.

I: What names do you have on the title?

R: Mine and for the wife, we are there both of us,

I: But from the information that I have, am seeing that there is only your name?

R: No, both mine and hers are there. We are there two of us.

I: What reasons made you include your wife on the title?

00:47:43

R: I wanted her to be there because I saw no problem with it because were okay and had no issues. But I have found the problem in it when I want to get money to sort a problem there and then they asked me to bring my wife because we are on the title together. The woman told me that she didn’t understand what I was going to do. If something happens to this motorcycle, she tells you that she will not sign for you and this means that you have failed to do what you wanted to do.

I: You have a motorcycle?

R: Yes.

I: What do you use it for? as boda boda or for your own transport?

R: I use it as mine to transport me.

I: What has changed ever since you got the title?

R: what has changed is that I got a title and I know that it is mine. What else has changed is that when you agree with your wife it is much easier to get a loan from the bank that you want if you have an account there. It becomes easy.

I: Were there things that you thought would change after you getting a title but they haven’t yet changed now that you have it?

R: The big thing that has changed is going to use the title to get a loan.

I: What else did you think was going to change?

R: We haven’t found anything from the time people scared us before we got it. People would say that they will take our land and there are some who refused. Someone would go to visit them at home and they chase them away saying that they don’t want the title. But we haven’t seen anything change. You gave us our title, and we have no issue that we have seen.

I: Let us that you had a chance to go back behind, would you still include your wife’s name on title from the way you have seen things happen after?

R: No, now that I have seen it I wouldn’t put her there. There is a loan I wanted to get and I went to the bank and signed the form. When they come to visit you, they cut money off you to cater for their coming to tour your land. When I came to pick the title and go with her, she refused, she said that we had discussed about this money and what it will do but I have not accepted it. The loan didn’t go through, because when they read on the title they saw the woman’s name and said that the titl3 belongs to the both of us therefore we have to go there together and sign. This brought problems.

I: What were you going to use this money for?

R: We wanted to get cows and graze or buy goats and put them here so that when we fail to get a child’s school fees, we sell the goats. You see us we use the battery for solar lighting and I knew that if I get like 500,000 I can balance and get another solar panel and buy goats and I repay the loan and if a child falls sick you sell the goat.

00:52:01

I: Why do you think that she refused this time yet in the first time she had allowed?

R: It don’t understand why. You see women want you to first explain to them deeply so that they understand.

I: Okay. So you didn’t help her understand?

R: I spent the whole night talking to her and we agreed because my brother’s wife came and threw for me three of my brother’s young children. He disappeared and the wife also left the children here so I told her that we can buy the goats and the children rare them. I told her that I will get money and buy the battery and then buy the goats for one of the children to take care of them since I don’t stay at home during the day, our children go to school and she is not home also for the whole day. I don’t know what she thought about this, she refused and said no.

I: So, are your brother’s children older?

R: They came here and we found a way to have them go back to their home.

I: Where is the mother?

R: The father and mother are there but the father left his home and went to Kisoro and their mother is in Kamwengye. They had spent 5 years living separately and the wife failed to take care of the children, so she brought them here.

I: I’m wondering why your brother’s wife chose to bring the children here, yet your brother is in Kisoro? Maybe your wife thought the same

R: I don’t know but we had no relationship and she did not know where their father was in Kisoro

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

R: When they were planting stones, there are people who saw this and wanted to join the process, but they were told that the chance is over. If they want, they can go and pay money they get their titles but the government wouldn’t give them for free like us. They failed to do this. But I think most people would want to have titles.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thanks for telling me about this, now I want to ask you about what you talked with your wife on the title and your marriage. How long have you lived with your wife?

R: We are in the 19th year because I married her in 2001

I: Are you wedded?

R: No, we went there and paid dowry so we haven’t been wedded.

I: Do you have a plan to wed?

R: Yes, after getting money

00:55:27

I: Tell me about your marriage for these 19 years, what good or bad things have you faced?

R: There can be good things and the bad also happens you find that there is unfaithfulness and you have agreement. Things can come about, and it changes, sometimes you are okay other times you are quarreling.

I: Do you have only one wife? Are you faithful to her?

R: Yes

I: Do you feel encouraged by your wife?

R: Yes.

I: Give me an example that shows that she encourages and supports you.

R: When you are there discussing together and eating together.

I: Do you feel that you support and encourage her too?

R: Yes

I: How do you support her?

R: You find that you have your wife and you are together.

I: Does this encourage her?

R: I think because if you are going to do something and you talk about it and agree to do it or if she tells you something and you agree to do it that is how you encourage her.

I: Why do you think some married people say that their spouses don’t support or encourage them?

R: That is what I told you about when you find that there is unfaithfulness in the marriage and the man goes to marry another woman, or the woman has other men and she sleep wherever she wants. This destroys the family and cause disagreements between them.

R: When we are coming here, we asked for directions and they asked us which exact home we wanted. So according to them you have two homes

I: Maybe they meant my saloon in the trading center

I: So, who makes the major decisions in your home?

R: Its us as a family?

I: Yes, like on the major decisions of the home.

R: It is me

00:59:59

I: Tell me about the latest major decision you have made?

R: Maybe about the children that are in school, you find that we sit and talk about it that we should do this or the other or put money at school at the beginning or mid-way the term.

I: Do you think that this is the same in other homes, or it is different?

R: In many homes I see some are okay but in others there is unfaithfulness and therefore the man decides what he wants and the woman too decides what she wants. Families are not the same.

I: I am curious to know about what you discussed with your wife on this title for example putting her name on the titles, did you talk about it?

R: We didn’t talk about it. The people who came after planting the stones, they asked me if they should put both names and I said yes. Just like something you haven’t seen any issue with, they out both our names.

I: Did they talk to you in private or they asked you both when your wife was there?

R: She was there because they were going to put stones and both of us were in the banana plantation.

I: What do you think this means on your marriage having your wife’s name on the title?

R: It is love and loving each other.

I: But I guess you have loving each other even before the title, so, do you think having the wife on a title can change on your marriage?

R: It doesn’t change anything apart from what I had told you that if you get your problem and you tell her about it and you want to get money then she refuses.

I: Why do you think that it changes nothing on your marriage?

R: That is done when she refuses and so you start planning where else to get money from,

and see what else to do.

I: I mean having her name on the title, doesn’t it change anything in your marriage?

R: One side it brings bad things and the other side it is good.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Now I want to ask you about norms on land. We know that land is mostly for men in Uganda but there are some aspects we want to understand regards women, we don’t have any truth in any way about them, but we want to know what you think about it. There is no right or wrong answer. Are there women that own land in this village?

1:04:25

R: Yes, you find that a woman worked her money and bought land, or her land was given to her by her father or mother. You find that they own their land.

I: Are there women whom you find that he bought land with her husband?

R: this is also there, you find that they put together money and buy land. If a woman has a business, she brings her money and the man also brings his money and adds it to hers and they buy land.

I: Is it common that women have their land they own in this village?

R: No, it is not common. They are like 1 or 2 who have worked and they have their quarter or half acre of land there. But this is rare.

I: In your view, do you think that women should be allowed to own land?

R: If she has worked and bought her land, she owns it and you can’t do much about her land because it is hers.

I: Do you think that woman want to own land with their husbands or they want to own land alone on the side?

R: Many, if it is her money she wants to have her land and if you have cows and you sell to buy land then she wants to sign there too because it is for the both of you and the cows that you sold. She wants to sign so that if the man tries to go and sell behind her back tomorrow, he can’t sell it without her.

I: For what reason so women want to buy and own their land alone in your view?

R: It is because of the family circumstance that become hard for example if I decide to get another woman and we start fighting and she will tell you to share so that she stays with hers and her children and you stay with yours. This is why you find them wanting their own land. But if there is no conflict in a family, I don’t think that the woman will want to have her land and you also have yours.

I: If she has land from her parents, do you think many women want to sell that land and come to buy land near their husbands?

R: Unless if they have reached old age and she knows that she can’t be chased from the marriage or if they have old children in secondary, so he decided to sell it and educate the children. It is not easy for the woman to sell her land.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Do you think widows are allowed to remain on the family land after her husband has died?

R: Yes, she stays with her children. This is allowed.

I: What if she doesn’t have children and the man dies?

R: Still she remains there because when they loved each other, and they get married the land is

1:08:05

for the man and now that he is not around, it is hers but may be if her family refuses and chases her away. But in marriage, when the man dies, the woman remains on the land.

I: What causes families to chase the woman away after he husband’s death?

R: It is bad behaviors, now if I die the woman keeps spending the day there and doesn’t stay with the children but now mine who has given birth to these young children, they don’t chase her away but you can’t be without children and behave badly, they will chase you away.

I: What if you find that the man and woman were wedded even though they haven’t given birth to children is he chased away?

R: This one is not chased. She is his wife with the ring meaning all things are hers.

I: Do widows sometimes remarry?

R: Many of them remarry on the land of their husband, she brings the man to marry her from there but she can be having very young children or she gave birth to only one or two children, this one can remarry. But the one who has old children can stay and sleep with men but she doesn’t get married.

I: Has it happened in your village whereby the widow remarried and remained on the land?

R: Yes, they are many. The man dies and she brings men to marry her and the family has no way to enter this. Even in the bible, it says that only death shall separate them and now the man has died the woman can do what she wants. Many who have like 1 or 2 or 3 children find it hard to remain there so she leaves the children behind with the mans relatives or goes with them to get married again. This has happened to 4 or 5 people here.

I: Has it happened that the male relatives try to grab land from the widow?

R: Yes, it happens. Let us say that the family is still together, the man has died and the woman is misusing the land or selling it, if they want they can take it away from her so that their brother’s children don’t suffer tomorrow.

I: So they take it away from the women but the children stay there?

R: Yes, they stay. It happened here that the man died, and the woman brought another man, they would sell cows to eat the money and bought a motorcycle and then they partied. The family stood up and told her that they no longer want her to sell land, cows or anything and they told her that she has nothing there. They stopped her from selling and they chased her, she had given birth to two children and now she has gone. She started a bar there.

I: If a woman remarries on her husband’s land and she gives birth to other children, do they also share on this land?

R: No, they don’t share on the land. If there are family members, they will tell her to take the children since she has allowed to give birth with that man.

I: Has the treatment of widows changed in now if you compare it with the past?

1:12:12

R: No, things have changed. Those days when the man would die, the woman would remain with everything and her children but these days they are putting conditions on them. The relatives are overseeing things until the last born has made 18 years or according to the way the man had said in his will.

I: It means these days if a man dies and leave the things for the woman, they maybe mismanaged?

R: Yes.

I: What has brought about this?

R: Women today are not trustworthy, when you die, all they think about is eating and she engages in things that are unproductive. This is why when a man dies, they put an overseer who keeps watching over that family to tell them if anything is wrong.

I: So, what is your opinion on what happens to women after losing their husband?

R: It is putting someone that over sees and who keeps looking after that family so that when the woman wants to spoil the things then he can see and stop her from mismanaging the property.

I: In general, the way people treat widows now, is it okay or?

R: I see it is good because they would mismanage their husband’s property but they put on them conditions and the children grow well.

I: Ok, what happens to the land when a woman separates with the husband?

R: If they have given birth and she goes away that means that she can no longer look here at her husband, they are done. But if they have a misunderstanding with the man and he marries a second wife, they have to share the man takes his part and stays with his new wife and the woman stays with her children on her part. That is how it is.

I: what causes most couples to separate?

R: Issues are many in marriage, unfaithfulness for both the man and woman or the man fails to take care of the family and the woman gets bad behaviors. They will separate.

I: Why is it that when the woman decides to leave, why doesn’t she share on the land?

R: It happened here that the woman separated and left and bought her own land in the neighborhood. After about 3 or 4 years, she came back asking for the land. She took the children and her things, when they brought authorities from Mifumi they explained to her that the woman should fight for land while in her house but the moment she gets out, she shouldn’t ask about whatever happens. They told that she should have stayed if she wanted land, she left

I: What does Mifumi do?

R: They help in resolving conflicts in marriages families.

1:16:18

I: Where are its nearby offices?

R: they are in Mbarara.

I: Does it normally handle family cases in your village?

R: Many go there, I heard these days that they changed it but it is the one that has been working here.

I: If the fault of separation is for the man, do they take away things from the woman and children.

R: He is not allowed to take them. As a man he should realize that he made a mistake and ask for forgiveness from his wife and they get back together again.

I: I would love to know your thoughts on this. If a woman is able to own land with her husband, will it decrease or increase conflict in their marriage?

R: If they have one land.

I: Yes, own land together.

R: No, it can’t bring conflict only that when you want to get a loan like I told you and the woman doesn’t allow. But otherwise, there is no conflict that can arise from this.

I: Does it decrease conflict?

R: If the marriage is collapsing, it will collapse, having the title is not important.

**Land disputes**

I: Thanks for explaining all that to me. I would love to ask you about disputes on land. What is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: When you want to sell and the woman doesn’t know about it, it can bring a fight. You want to sell but the woman has not allowed and yet the land is for the family like I have been saying.

I: Can you give me an example of a recent dispute that has happened in your village?

R: There is a man who fell sick and he tried asking his sons for money and they refused so he decided to sell the land and the children told him that he can sell. At the hospital they asked him for about 3 million, this thing brought chaos in the family, his family said that he wanted to eat his land. They said that he has no energy so he should die and leave, he brought the authorities and they gave him a go ahead to sell the land without the family. Now this is the cause.

I: If these disputes happen, how can they be resolved within a family?

R: It is hard because if something happens like this then you call your elders who can come and reconcile you and if it fails then you go to the LC chairman or the sub county to the CDO and sometimes it fails still.

1:20:15

I: If someone has a title, do you think it can help to resolve a land dispute for example if they are two people but one of them has a title. Can this help to resolve the dispute?

R: If they are to fight the one without the title has to leave.

I: What if the one fighting both have a title?

R: That means that is for the both of them and they will share the land. But I don’t know how the law works because like now I was given my inheritance but I titles it and added the woman’s name, I don’t know how the government would go about this.

I: Have you ever been involved in any land disputes?

R: I got them long time ago with my step mother after the death of my parents but after we got our own land, that stopped there.

I: How did it go, tell me about what caused it and how it went.

R: My father had many wives and every wife had children, so when he died, he left a will but because our mothers were not alive, this woman said that she is the only woman therefore all the things were hers therefore she has the right to divide for us. If any child becomes stubborn she said that she will chase her away. You would get a hoe to dig and she would tell you not to dig there, you go to the banana planation she says that it is not yours so the dispute started from here until we went to the court and they ordered her to divide for us and the LC 1, 2 and 3 were all there after we made an agreement and took it back to court showing that we had agreed with each other and every child got their share.

I: How long did this case take?

R: It was a long time like 4 to 5 years.

I: Did the LC fail to reconcile the case?

R: When our father died like this, he had a will that he had given a friend of the wife so they sat together and changed the will. He wrote his will when as a whole family we were there and some village people were there so they signed and he kept it. So, at the time for reading the will, we found that what was in the other will was not what was here in this one. The other will had the stamp of the LC chairman while this will didn’t have his stamp. So we started fighting from there, the LC 1 chairman came and failed, the woman went to FIDA behind our backs to get the letters of administration which showed her as the only wife and also us we started to build then she would tell us that we will not, you go to dig she chases you away. It brought about us going to fight the case, the LC1 failed and they sent us to LC2 who also failed and they sent us to LC3 and that is how the dispute started and we went to the court. She had letters of administration so the LCs couldn’t handle this case.

I: So who do you think we are that have visited you to talk about land?

R: They had aid that you are from the world bank.

01:24:40

I: That is all I wanted to talk to you about and thanks for giving me your time. If you have any question, you can ask me.

R: I have one question only. You gave me the title and there are two names and we have a misunderstanding, what can I do if I want to go to the bank to get money yet the woman refused or when she decides to separate and go. What can I do because there are two names?

I: There only thing do is be truthful to your wife so that she can accept to sign for you on the forms and you get a loan.

R: Okay

01:25:37