**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 01/10/2019

Name of respondent: Evas

H.H I. D: 5110361

Title status: Drop out

Interview start time: 1:40 pm

Interview stop time: 3:15 pm

Age: 29

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 3

No. of people living in the household: 5

Occupation: Casual laborer

Highest level of education: Primary 6

No. of years living in the village: 7

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: Mud, poles, and a rammed earth floor

Interview Duration: 1:34:02

The interview happened outside the respondent’s mother in-law’s house. She had just given birth over the weekend and her mother in law let her nurse and heal from her house which is much better than the one for her and the husband. She was resting with the baby when we came but she allowed to come outside and sit there as we talked. Her husband was given a share after his father’s death and he sold it away to go and pay dowry for the wife, he started renting in the trading centre and the mother decided to buy the land from the person whom the son had sold to and she asked her son to come and build something small next to her kitchen because life wasn’t easy for him now that he had a family. This is the reason why they didn’t title because the land they are on is for the mother in-law, they don’t have any land of their own. Their house is a one room next to the mother in-law’s kitchen and they also have a small kitchen next to them. It was not nice with one only mattress in there, I guess the children sleep on the rugged mat on the floor. They look to be poor from the way they are living and how they are surviving as per the stories told in throughout the interview.

Through the survey, she would go and check on her baby which was no distraction because we continued the interview. She was laid back and somewhat not open, she would sometimes say she doesn’t know what happens elsewhere on questions that required contrast and comparisons. She didn’t look happy which I think is largely brought about by the state of their marriage, they don’t have land and the husband drinks alcohol sometimes using the money that would have helped do something at home a thing that made her separate earlier this year but she came back just because she realized she was pregnant with their 3rd baby so she decided to come and persevere for the sake of her children. She doesn’t sound much hopeful; but she said they agree with her husband on some decisions and he tries to look for money to pay school fees. I think she would love to see him do better. We met the mother in law at the trading centre where she operates a tea and snacks shop because that is where they directed us to find the respondent’s husband. His mother told us about how she couldn’t allow her son to title the land in that if she is gone tomorrow, the others especially her girls leave with nothing. She said that he may not have a bad heart right now, but people change after and it is her land to decide, she is just helping him to live there with his family because he ate all his share and as a mother she felt sorry for him.

**Warm up**

I: Mama, when did you give birth

R: My husband has forgotten; I gave birth on Friday at about 7pm

I: You have a hospital where you went to nearby?

R: I got the labor pains from here and gave birth from here.

I: Who helped you give birth?

R: My mother in-law

I: We passed by her in the centre. She is a midwife?

R: No, all you need is a razor blade and you cut the umbilical cord for the child to come.

I: You had your kit here of what you needed to use?

R: All we needed was a razor blade and the rest of the things can come later.

I: You also gave birth to the rest from here at home?

R: One of them, the boy I gave birth to him here and the girls form the hospital.

I: This one doesn’t resemble the other one, the boy is so brown like his grandmother

R: The girl looks like her father’s brother

I: But she has nice hair

R: She resemble her uncle so much

I: Congratulations on the baby, it is not easy

R: Yes, thanks

I: Giving birth is a matter of life and death, when you come out well, it is a good thing.

R: Yes, it is

I: Mama, how was yesterday?

R: I am okay

I: Have you been able to pass by hospital for anything or you are okay.

R: I have been okay just that I had some abdomen pains

I: What do you think brought the pains?

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R: They say it happens immediately after birth, the pains were really much.

I: Sorry about this, did you get any medication or are you taking anything?

R: They say that the medicine can’t be got, I was told that it is not there.

I: Has this ever happened to you before or this is the first time?

R: Yes, on my daughter. They came but by the time the umbilical cord is breaking off then the pains also go away.

I: Okay. Let us hope it goes.

R: It is now decreasing, on Sunday I was badly off like as if I was going to just give birth, it felt like having labor pains again.

I: The baby is okay

R: She is fine, she eats and sleeps.

I: She is a peaceful one.

R: When she gets hungry that is when she wakes up, after breast feeding her and she gets satisfied, she goes back to sleep.

I: This is good. And the other children, how are they?

R: They are okay, they have no issue

I: Your husband is also okay?

R: Yes

I: This is good to know. Have you been digging before? I see everywhere people are cultivating, it is the season.

R: Yes, I have been digging by myself, I would try and gather energy to go.

I: In the 9th month?

R: Yes, I even planted beans down there. Some have not come out well because of the sun.

I: Well done on this. Has your husband been digging too or you have workers?

R: We cultivate on our own

I: Thanks for taking care of them Mama. Did today morning start well?

R: It started well, the sun has come out, yesterday it was cloudy and we waited for rain but it didn’t fall. We wanted it.

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I: You mean it was cloudy all day?

R; Yes, we were badly off but today the sun is out and we are good.

I: I see you have washed clothes

R: Do you know washing and the sun doesn’t come out and you just don’t know what to do.

I: Yes, you just don’t know what to do. Mama, I am glad to know how you are and your family. In our first part, we are going to talk about your family and land. As we start this, there is no answer that is right or wrong it is about telling us your thoughts as a person and everyone is entitled to theirs. Don’t fear to answer, whatever you tell us we shall keep it confidential in secret and no one else can access it.

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: How many people live here in this household?

R: Without the one for *Mukadde* (respectful way to call an older woman like your mother in-law or grandmother especially on the in-law’s side. She used this to refer to her mother in law)

I: Yours, without Mukadde’s

R: We are now 5, my husband, 3 children and me

I: Is this where you stay?

R: No, this is Mukadde’s house, we stay in there (points me to the room next to the kitchen). I am now staying in here with my mother in law because I gave birth.

I: If you stay with her then we can add her.

R: We stay alone and do our own things as a family.

I: Are there times when you people come to her house or do things together?

R: No, just now that I have given birth, but I do my own things. We have our own kitchen and she has hers.

I: Where is her kitchen?

R: Her kitchen is this one and ours is just below our house there.

I: So you don’t share.

R: No, my husband is cooking in her kitchen because I have given birth. I even plant my own gardens, and she also does here.

I: Who does Mukadde stay with in here?

R: She stays with 2 grandchildren a boy and a girl. One is for her deceased son the other is for

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her daughter. She gave birth to the child here but after she got another marriage and she left the child behind.

I: Those are all. They stay 3 of them alone.

R: Yes

I: Thanks for telling me about how you live. There is no other person who stays here apart form you 5 and Mukadde with her grandchildren?

R: No one else. Her children are in their homes unless they just come by to visit.

I: How many years have you spent here?

R: 7 years

I: Before you came here, where were you living, your home and birth place?

R: It is Kabale (one of the districts in western Uganda)

I: Kabale where about?

R: After Bukinda

I: I know Bukinda, the road to Siniya

R: I pass there and continue to Maziba

I: Maziba where pineapples are

R: You have known the place?

I: Also me, my home is in Kabale but in Kirigime in town. My grandfather is the one who caught land there where the barracks was. That is where we are, our land boarders with the barracks.

R: Okay, me I don’t reach Maziba, I stop around there in Kizinga

I: I know that place, I passed by Rushoroza (I passed by in high school) when in school, I studied from there for 3 years and we used to have picnics and tours to Bunyonyi (the place with one of the deepest lakes in Uganda) and this is how I got to know the village because we would also just come and visit during the holidays and go. When I went to study in Kabale that is how I got to know it well.

R: Yes, that is my birth place.

I: I am glad to know about this. For you to decide to go visit back home, after how long is this?

R: Because of the conditions, even a year can pass

I: What conditions are these?

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R: Scarcity of money

I: For you to go home, how much do you need?

R: Like 30,000 shillings and more. This is to and from.

I: When you go home, what would have caused you to go?

R: To go and visit them.

I: To visit only?

R: Yes

I: One year can end without you going, can 3 years also end?

R: No they can’t reach

I: In time, how many hours does it take you to reach?

R: If I leave at 10am by 1pm I will have reached there.

I: You go to Mbarara then you go to Kabale and your board to your home.

R: when I reach our stage I take a bodaboda (motorcycle).

I: Okay, I was about to tell you that the bodaboda can take you

R: Yes, and if the car doesn’t stop by mid-day I be at home already.

I: Is there land that you own personally?

R: No, the one my husband had, he took it to our home

I: Tell me more, it was for both of you or?

R: It was his share, and he sold it and brought it home

I: How big was it?

R: It was close to an acre. But these people bought it again from the person my husband had sold to.

I: He received a share from the father, was this share put into writing, I would love to know.

R: His father died after giving them their shares, my husband sold his.

I: Did he sell all of it?

R: Yes, he sold all of it. After when his family saw that he didn’t have anything they decided to buy it again form the person my husband had sold to. They have just given it to us to help

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us cultivate food and they told us to plant a banana plantation.

I: When sold, he was bringing the money to your home as your dowry?

R: Yes

I: What had they asked him to bring?

R: He only gave 500,000 shillings

I: How much had they asked him for?

R: They had helped him and told him to bring 2 million shillings after seeing that he didn’t have much and I also told them that he wasn’t doing well.

I: I see you love your man. You were telling me he had sold to someone and later they bought it back from that person and took it back.

R: Yes

I: Who bought it?

R: My mother in law, she said that since she is still alive she can buy it back so that not a person outside the family can own it and she told us to be using it to cultivate on that part that is close to a quarter of an acre. She told us to put a banana plantation.

I: When he sold the first time, where was he staying?

R: We were there in the trading centre

I: Had he built?

R: No, he had not yet built

I: Thanks for telling me about this. This land that you have is for the man but in the mother’s names.

R: Yes, but she told us to use it and we never know what could happen tomorrow, maybe she could give us.

I: Were the other children given the same share as this one? His brothers and sisters.

R: They were two boys

I: And how many girls?

R: 5 girls, his older brother was also given his share and my husband was also given his.

I: The girls, were they also given?

R: Their mother is still alive, they haven’t yet given them

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I: Does your mother in law have any more plots of land?

R: It is this one, very small with that banana plantation only.

I: All the daughters are married?

R: Yes, they have their own homes and things

I: Here is for Mukadde, she just gave you to live here but it is not in any writing?

R: It is not in any writing that it is ours.

I: I am glad to know about this. When your man had sold, how much do you think was he given?

R: I just heard about it because my father came and picked me up from here and took me back home so he sold after I was gone to my home. I think he had sold before the down part then he sold this small part up here. May be they gave him 1 million shillings.

I: All this land is still for Mukadde?

R: Yes

I: Is there anyone else who works on your land apart from you and Mukadde?

R: No, it is only us.

**General land**

I: In general, how do people in this village come to own land? For someone to own land, in what ways do they go through to get it?

R: It is through buying for yourself. Here where we are is not ours, if it were we would build for ourselves but now we can’t. If he had money, he would buy land and build there and he also knows it is his. Here, if he did a mistake they can wake up and tell him to leave.

I: Are there other people who own land from other ways apart from buying?

R: If they give you a share like they had given my husband. But most times you have to work with your hands because people don’t just give you land.

I: I would love to know what ways someone would go through to use land that is not theirs.

R: Maybe if someone feels sorry for you and tells you to cultivate on their land and when the season is done you share the harvest.

I: What do you mean?

R: When you harvest you give them a share off whatever you have harvested?

I: Are there people that pay money?

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R: There are those that pay money for example 70,000 or 50,000 for a season

I: Let us assume someone wants to rent land, can they do it and not pay?

R: You have to share the harvest unless they are your relative and have grace towards you. Some tell you to work in their banana plantation and as you weed and tend it, they tell you to plant your beans for you.

I: How about when someone wants to sell their land, can they do so?

R: You can sell it

I: Is there any one you have to consult first?

R: The important thing is to have your family and witnesses to sign.

I: Who puts signatures for you?

R: People at home, chairman and some village mates so that they know that you have sold so that tomorrow no one turns around to deny you.

I: If someone has land here but they don’t stay on it, they live fa away, do they still have control over it?

R: When he doesn’t stay there

I: Yes

R: It remains his because he has the agreement

I: No one can leave land without an agreement?

R: No, you have to be with an agreement

I: Does this mean that no one can leave land like that?

R: Someone can decide to leave it just there or get someone to take care of it so that it stays well.

I: What if someone comes and they want to use it, what can they do?

R: You talk to the land owner.

I: Now that the owner doesn’t stay there, how can I reach them?

R: There is always someone who knows him, if you have land then there is someone who knows about it, like family or a care taker.

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

R: Family land I think is for all, all of you in a family be using it.

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I: And who is the owner of this land?

R: There is an owner of this land who has the overall authority on it and if they decide to sell it they can. The rest of the family people can use it for cultivation and get out food.

I: You said that the land owner is the one that has the right to sell it, how about when he dies, who stays with it?

R: You share it

I: You mean you can share family land?

R: You share it all of you in the family

I: What if he said that it should never be shared?

R: Let us say that it is a parent and he goes, everyone in the family has to get a share.

I: Thanks for letting me know about this. Mama, have you rented land or your husband?

R: We rented land and after harvesting whether you got 50 kilograms you give some to the land owner.

I: How big was the land?

R: They were about 2 acres

I: What had you planted in?

R: In the first season we planted ground nuts and we planted beans for the next 2 seasons

I: What did you give him for each of the seasons?

R: In the first season, we dug the land for the first time because they had never cultivated it and it was a farm and in this first season he didn’t ask us for anything off our harvest, he said he would come and plant bananas and we helped him plant them. We cultivated the land and we put the banana plantation. The other two seasons are when they asked us to share with them our harvest.

I: How much did you share?

R: The beans we had planted are the ones we shared

I: How much did you get from your harvest?

R: We got about 75 kilograms, we gave the land owner 25 kilograms. He didn’t ask for a same share seeing how we harvested and because we had cultivated the land for him. His people changed themselves after because the land owner had wanted us to keep taking care of his banana plantation but after seeing that the land was now good, they changed their minds.

I: Were they your friends?

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R: No, they were Bahima (a group of pastoralists in western Uganda) and they have farm land. After us cultivating the virgin land and they saw that it was now very good and the beans we harvested they starting to change their mind about us cultivating the land.

I: Are you still cultivating there?

R: No, after we left there are other people that came in to use the land. When we saw that they wanted us to give them more from the harvest and the family was now quarreling over us using the land because they saw we were getting food from what was farm land and it was now looking good.

I: You no longer rent land now?

R: Yes.

I: You had told me that when your husband was selling you were not here?

R: I wasn’t here, I just heard.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. I would love to know if there was any form of agreement when you were renting? Was there anything to show that you were given here to dig or you will give us this harvest?

R: They had books where they would write and sign. When you harvest the beans, they would write how much kilograms you have given them in exchange for using their land.

I: Okay, this is how you were doing it. Thanks for telling me about that, I didn’t know there is a way of agreement of the book.

R: Yes, they would write

I: According to the acres you cultivated. They later said that the one with 2 acres will give 50 kilograms of beans then the one with an acre will give them 25 kilograms of beans no matter the harvest. Of course they know that from the 2 acres you can’t get out only 50 kilograms, you can get out more than that.

I: From the 2 acres, how many kilograms of beans can you get out?

R: When it is a good harvest, you can get like 2000 kilograms

I: For you to have land that you own Mama, what does it mean to you?

R: This is land that is yours, may be you bought it or received it as a share and you have your agreements that are roof that this is my land.

I: Can you own it and it is yours but you don’t have an agreement?

R: What then shows that it is yours of you don’t have an agreement?

I: There has to be a document?

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R: Even if someone gives it to you in a will like when a parent says they will leave for you land, they have to write and everyone has to know it because it might bring fights.

I: Thanks Mama, so you said to own land you must have bought it and you have an agreement and if it is a share from a will there must a be a document too.

R: Yes

I: Apart from an agreement and a will, is there any other document that can show ownership of land?

R: I have seen the planting of stones to mark people’s land but I don’t understand them.

I: Okay. Are there any good things that can come out of having a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: When they are buying?

I: Yes, and selling or the documents that show ownership of land, are there good things when you find that a woman’s names included?

R: You have worked together and you buy land. When you buy land, you must put your signature there so that tomorrow the man doesn’t sell. If he wants to sell without you, he can’t.

I: Apart from not selling, what other good thing is there having a woman’s names included on land documents in your view?

R: You find you have children and they have nothing, when the woman’s name is not there he may decide to sell it as he wants because he knows it is his just like you sell a goat. He can’t just sell it when a woman’s name is there.

I: What problems do you think would arise from having a woman’s names included on these documents?

R: I don’t know of any bad thing that would come out of it, I know it is good having both names because it is for you both so there are no quarrels or fights on the land.

I: Have you inherited land?

R: I haven’t even bought it

I: How about from your home?

R: No I haven’t

I: Your father and mother are still alive?

R: Yes

I: How about the boys at your home, were they given their shares?

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R: They haven’t given them any writing for land but they are all married. Whenever a boy wanted to build, he would show them where to build and also tell them to be using a certain piece of land for farming. There is no one he has given an agreement to show that this land belongs to them. These boys can’t also sell, only our father can sell or allow them to sell.

I: Now that you have said that, how old are you Mama?

R: I am in my 29th year

I: You said that you have been married for how long?

R: For 7 years

I: Are you the oldest child at your home?

R: I am the last born

I: You have older children at your home I see. What activity gives you money?

R: I have to first look for a place to work

I: Tell me about this work, what do you mean?

R: Someone can call me to dig for them or else if whatever I have planted grows well, I sell some of that produce.

I: When a person calls you, you dig in shifts?

R: Yes, I go and dig since I don’t have any main source of income yet.

I: How do they pay you when you dig these shifts?

R: They give you 4000, and when it is mid-day you go home.

I: For this 4000, how big will you have dug?

R: They give you any piece of land

I: Now, what if they give you a big piece of land to dig?

R: There is nothing you can do because you have to work and get money

I: Oh, I see. Mama, are you the only woman in this home, wife to your husband?

R: The only one he has?

I: Yes

R: I am the only one

I: He doesn’t have any other children out there?

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R: No

I: Okay mama, thanks for letting me know about this. You told me that you haven’t been given shares at your home and the boys haven’t also been given shares that are theirs completely?

R: Yes, they just showed them where to build and farm for each of them

I: I am curious to know whether you think these will be their real share of the land.

R: If he has built there, do you think my father will chase him away, he can’t. His main intention was not to have anyone just wake up and misuse the land and sell it to shift and wherever they go and when life becomes hard for them then they come back asking for another share. Now they don’t have this freedom to do this, all they can do is sell their own personal land and not this one, and if they want to go then they can leave this land here and go.

I: Personally, do you hope to inherit land?

R: I don’t know

I: At home, wont they give you? Don’t they give girls?

R: I haven’t seen it yet but I think it is dependent on the parent and their willingness to give the girls but it is not a must. It also depends on how much land he has. I just think that I may receive it or not.

I: There is no girl that has been given a share at your home?

R: No one has been given

I: All your sisters are married?

R: Yes, we are 2 girls and 3 boys.

I: The boys are the older ones?

R: Two boys are the older ones then the girl, and another boy whom I follow

I: Thank you. In this village, do people fear that they will lose their land?

R: No, I don’t know about this one

I: In your view, because between me and you, you have stayed here longer and you may have heard conversations or people talking. Do they fear or they are comfortable?

R: I think they are comfortable

I: Why do think so?

R: Because they have the proof and they know that it is theirs.

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

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R: Like I had told you, I would buy it

I: Is there any other way apart from this?

R: Unless you go and get a loan but I can’t go there because I don’t have land.

I: To get a loan you must be having land.

R: Yes, because it will act as your leverage.

I: I would love to know if you would rent because you had told me that you normally rent.

R: If you get it, you can rent. But now here, the land is scarce, people use their land as farm land and you find that for the person who has land it is theirs for cultivation.

I: Mama, do you have family land?

R: I don’t think that we do maybe here where they have given us.

I: Do you hope that it will be given to you and your husband?

R: I don’t really know about that.

I: The girls in this home, can thy come and do whatever they like on this land?

R: Yes, they can because this is Mukadde’s land

I: So you are cultivating on it. You said you have banana plantations and what?

R: We have banana plantations and beans and some cassava. When the bananas grow, it is me who cuts them.

I: This is good to find that you work well with your mother in-law. Other people out there don’t work well together; they don’t see eye to eye. Thanks Mama for telling me about all this.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I:In this part we have come into, we want to understand your thoughts on land titles. (Respondent goes to take her dozing daughter to sleep). Mama, what does a land title mean to you?

R: These things of titles I have found them this side, I don’t know them

I: Tell me what have you seen or heard about them?

R: It helps to show that this is your land and no one can come to try to take it away

I: When the titling people came did they find you here? The ones who were teaching people about titles, when they visited your husband did they find you here?

R: They didn’t find me, they would come and find my husband.

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I: They always talked to your husband, they had never talked to you?

R: Yes

I: Do you think that there is a difference between titles and other land documents like the agreement?

R: I think the title is for the land as well

I: Where do you think a title comes from?

R: From the government

I: In your view, what advantages does the title have?

R: I see that when you have a title, no one can come to have a wrangle with you over land just like the land with an agreement.

I: So, you never met nor talked to anyone about titling and titles?

R: There is none I met, the ones who I met were asking us questions about land, how we cultivate, how much we harvest. Questions about these are what we answered.

I: About tiles, I am curious to know if you have you ever heard any conversations with your husband about titles.

R: When you don’t have land, you can’t mind about titles. You can only have these conversations if you have land.

I: Okay

R: When you have your own property and you are somehow better then you can talk.

I: Do you think women love it to be on titles with their husbands, in your own view?

R: I don’t know about this since we have never talked about it then I see.

I: How about from what you see or hear from other women in your village, do they love it?

R: I don’t know how to answer certain things

I: How about you, would you love to be on a title?

R: If it is a good thing then it is okay.

I: How do you know whether it is good or not?

R: Now that I haven’t seen anyone get it in the village and I see it, I don’t know.

I: What do you say are the advantages of having both a man and wife on a title?

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R: I think it is made like an agreement that it helps when a man wants to sell land when you are not there or when he wants to misuse the land. This makes him know that wherever he will be, if he ever wants to sell such land, he has to be with the wife there because she is on the title.

I: Mama, you studied up to what class?

R: Primary 6

I: Where was this?

R: In Kabale, I came here when getting married.

I: Where did you meet with your husband?

R: He was visiting there in Kabale and he found me there.

I: Ohh, you met in Kabale. So why do you think some men refuse to put their wives on titles?

R: It is because he wants to misuse the land but then he doesn’t have that chance. Or you may find a man planning to marry another woman and no one has the right to the land apart from him.

I: This would cause a man to wake up and decide not to put a woman on the title?

R: Yes

I: Generally, are there people in this village that you know that have titles?

R: No, me I don’t know them

I: You haven’t even heard that maybe they go here or there to get a title?

R: No

I: How about the tones, have you seen them being planted anywhere?

R: Yes, at *Mzeei’s* (term for old men) home up there, I saw them planting for him.

I: This home up here?

R: Yes

I: Were you able to hear about why they were planting them?

R: I didn’t care about those stones because they were going to put this man in it but no.

I: What happened when they tried to put him in?

R: This land is for my mother in law so he couldn’t try to go into these things. When they were planting these stones, I was passing by, is aw people planting stones as they were going down.

00:46:42

I: For this land, why didn’t they put Mukadde (her mother in law) after knowing that for your husband, the land wasn’t his?

R: She also said that these may be plans to steal land, so she didn’t.

I: Was she also given a chance to be a part of it and she refused?

R: They were talking about it. After them putting my husband and he told her about it, she said no that these things may be for stealing, she didn’t want to know.

**Intra-household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thanks mama for letting me know about all this. We are going to another part, still there is no right or wrong answer. We want to continue talking about your household, marriage and other things. Like you had told me that you didn’t get a title, we shall leave that conversation there. In your personal view Mama, how has your marriage been? You said you have been together with your husband for 7 years.

R: Yes.

I: How have the 7 years been like for you? Tell me about it.

R: It is for trying like that

I: Like how Mama?

R: It has been for taking slowly, we wouldn’t be having an issue but issues in marriage can’t fail to be there.

I: Like which ones?

R: You misunderstand each other and you leave.

I: Have you left here and gone before?

R: Yes

I: If you don’t mind telling me, what had happened mama?

R: We are mostly disturbed by alcohol. He drinks alcohol, you find that whatever money he gets even when we are badly off he takes it to drink alcohol. Issues like these. But otherwise I don’t know any bad habits about him.

I: Had you told him to stop and he didn’t? what mainly led you to go back home?

R: If you see that there is no agreement, we go into endless quarrel, you also decide to leave such a place.

I: When you went home, how long did you spend there?

R: 3 months.

00:49:42

I: Did he come to pick you?

R: I had left these children here and he called me when one of them was badly off, he kept calling me then I came back. I actually I had this pregnancy of this child I just gave birth to. The pregnancy was still young.

I: You had decided to leave and go back home then they called you back. What did he exactly tell you?

R: Yes. This son of mine was sick. I saw that I was pregnant and staying home wasn’t going to help now that I was even pregnant with another child so I decided to come back.

I: This happened when, last year?

R: No this year

I: Like in which months?

R: In January that’s when I had gone

I: So you came back around March.

R: Yes

I: Mama, how would you compare what you have just told me to other marriages?

R: You only be knowing what is in your marriage, you can’t know what is in other people’s marriage.

I: According to what you see, what do you think about what is out there?

R: I think for others it is much better

I: Why do you think it is better for others?

R: You see someone on the way and they look better, then you think it is good for them since you are not in their home to see what happens.

I: In what ways does it show that they are better? Is it the way they talk or dress or something else?

R: The way someone can be talking, even the way they are in their life as you see it, you tell yourself that maybe this person is not like me. You see that you are badly off at yours.

I: Mama, you as a wife do you feel that you support your husband, encourage him in the things he does?

R: Me I support him apart from the drinking problem.

I: In what ways do you do this?

00:52:15

R: When we are working like when we were planting the banana plantation. He also tries to look for money to educate our son.

I: The girl has not yet started school?

R: Yes, she hasn’t

I: How come the boy is home today?

R: He has already come back; he is in baby class.

I: How about your husband, what would he say you support him, in what ways?

R: I also go and dig in other people’s gardens and I get money. If something is lacking, I also buy it and put it there. In this way he also sees that we help each other.

I: When you go and work your shifts, do you come back and give him the money for the day or?

R: Like now, the situation has been bad and we have to buy maize flour for food, when he doesn’t have the money, I go and buy it.

I: So you keep the money yourself?

R: Yes, it is me who has worked for it therefore it is mine to keep. If I want something for myself then I can get it.

I: Thanks for telling me that. Who makes the decisions over your household?

R: We agree together but also him when he gets a job he gets the money and decides how to use it. (Respondent’s baby cries and we suggest to go inside and have the interview in her bedroom because she said the baby can’t be brought out before the umbilical cord falls off).

I: Mama, we were still talking, all the decisions are made by the man?

R: The man is the one who works more to get the money, to take care of us and buy food for home. Now that I am here without work, he is the one doing it all and this is the home.

I: Okay, I would love to know is he the one that mostly makes the decisions or whatever you agree on is what you do?

R: We agree together but sometimes he does what he sees best.

I: What is the latest big decision you have made for your home? (The respondent’s daughter tries to sleep next to us because of flu and I try to let her sleep away from the baby)

R: It is just because of the situation we are in now, after digging for someone, he said that he wants to buy iron sheets to build a kitchen for us. So we sat and agreed, we took the beans and sold them to get the money that he used on that kitchen next to where we sleep.

I: All of you agreed I see.

00:56:36

R: But if we don’t agree, then we quarrel.

I: When you had not agreed on what?

R: Him just getting the beans out of the house to and sell them that is when we fight.

I: Has it happened before, where he took them and sold them without you knowing?

R: Yes, and we fight.

I: Then how do you get back together?

R: As a woman, you stop and let go after.

I: Thanks for letting me know about this. Do you think it is similar; the decision making in other people’s marriages and yours?

R: I think they also sit and agree with each other.

I: When you were going to build that kitchen, that was after your harvest of beans?

R: Yes

I: About how many kilograms had you sold?

R: Like 50 kilograms

I: And you bought iron sheets

R: Yes, he bought 3 iron sheets

I: Mama, you had told me that you don’t know anything about titles, is there anything lese you would like to tell me?

R: No, I don’t.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Okay, this next part in our conversation, most times land is associated with men more than women. We would like to hear your thoughts about this, we don’t have any right answer to this but rather we are understanding people’s thoughts on this. Mama, are there women who own land in this village?

R: Yes, they are there

I: How do they acquire it?

R: She rents land and plants her crops, after harvesting good produce she then buys the land. If she finds someone selling quarter an acre, she goes and buys.

I: Are there those that own land abut they haven’t bought it?

00:59:20

R: Yes, the ones that get there shares from their parents.

I: I would love to know, does this land belong to them alone or they have it with their husbands?

R: It is hers for example that one that is given to her by her parents or the one that she has worked to buy on her own. There are also those that have it with their men, and this one that they have worked for with the man belongs to both of them as they agree.

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

R: Yes, if you have worked to get it for yourself it is allowed.

I: Why would you want it to be allowed for women to own land just like the men?

R: If I have worked and sold my things, I can buy my own land.

I: What of the women who might own land but not through buying?

R: And if you have worked together for example you have planted tomatoes with your husband and you have been carrying water, spraying them together, if you harvest and sell them and buy land, this land belongs to both of you because as a woman you also sweated for it. But if you did this all alone then it is yours personally.

I: In your way of seeing, do you think that women would love it to have land with their husbands or to have it alone?

R: They love to have it both of them

I: Why do you think so?

R: Men think you will not respect them when you have your own land and they don’t have. Like now, I get land and yet my husband doesn’t have, it is not possible unless you agree on it. But if he is not working then I prefer to have my own land and work for myself, if he is working then we can get it the both of us.

I: Tell me why you would love to get it on your own when he is not working?

R: I can’t be the one to sweat alone and later when you have fights and you want to sell the land he starts saying no because he is on it too. No, it has to be mine.

I: After you separate, does he send you away from it even though there is an agreement which you signed on?

R: If it is mine I take it and use it the way I would want to; he can’t rule me on it. But if it is for both of us, then we all leave it and just look at it.

I: At the end of it all, whose will it be?

R: For the children, if you have children you just let it stay for them because he can’t also sell it if you don’t allow and when you have the children.

1:03:34

I: Now mama, let say you are going to cultivate, is it your husband who decides what you will plant?

R: We agree and I say that I am going to plant beans and he allows or if I want to put groundnuts. He normally tells me that this depends on me as a woman. He can’t just come running after it when I have harvested, unless if he gave me money to buy the seeds.

I: What if you had land and you wanted to sell it, is he the one who would decide how you would sell?

R: Unless we agree together for land but he can’t sell alone. Let us say that I looked for my own seeds for planting my crops and I cultivated the land on my own, he can’t come to sell anything, I sell it on my own.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. You had told me about family land, do you think a woman has a share on this land?

R: Like now we are here, if they decide to give they will give to the man, they don’t know me.

I: On whatever they may give your husband, wouldn’t you have a share as his wife?

R: I don’t know if they can ask me to also put a signature on the agreement to receive it or they would just give him as a son.

I: In a marriage, if the man wants to sell land, does he first need to ask his wife?

R: Yes

I: Tell me why?

R: He has to first tell you and you know what you want to do both of you.

I: What if it is his?

R: Still he should ask you but now that is his he might go on and use it the way he wants if you found it with him.

I: This is when you find him with it, how about when you have worked for it together?

R: If we have worked and bought land, there he can’t sell it but now the other one he sold which was his hare from the father, unless he asks me to contribute, if he is going to sell it I can’t even say anything.

I: Whether it is an agreement or not it is his.

R: Yes

I: Let us assume you are on such an agreement, still he can sell it?

R: Here you have to agree together.

1:07:15

I: In your view, when women lose their husbands, are they allowed to stay on the land?

R: Yes, and if she has children then the land is for the children.

I: What if she doesn’t have a child?

R: She is still allowed even though she doesn’t have children because it was for her husband.

I: Do you think there would be any difference because the husband put her names on any land document like an agreement?

R: She can stay if she was included in the agreement.

I: And if she wasn’t?

R: Where will she stay and if she also doesn’t have a child?

I: Then if she has children?

R: Even if they didn’t put her in the agreement and she has her own children, she can keep using the land and stay there. It will be for her children.

I: When this widow also passes on, the land then belongs to who?

R: Now it will be for her in-laws if she doesn’t have children.

I: What if she has children?

R: The in-laws will be the ones to divide for the children

I: You have told me that when you find a man with land in marriage, you don’t have a say on it but foe the one you worked for together?

R: You don’t have authority over it can be for the children or for him to use as he likes but the one we have worked for together is or the children.

I: What if this woman found the land there, but she died without giving birth to any child?

R: After she dies, the land will be for the family where she got married, they can share it among themselves.

I: Do these widows remarry?

R: There are some that get married again if they are still young.

I: Still young, what do you compare this young to?

R: When she is young she can get married unless if she is old then she can’t.

I: How old?

1:11:35

R: When she becomes an old woman.

I: Now that she is allowed to remarry, can she stay on that land and bring her new husband or she is required to go elsewhere?

R: If it is her own land, she can bring the man and they get married on that land but if it is for her late husband, the in laws can chase her away saying that she can’t remarry on the husband’s land.

I: Have you seen them in this village?

R: There are some I would see, they would chase them, because the in-laws would tell them that they can’t remarry on the land. They would tell the widow to go and he takes her if she wants to get married again and she would leave their land.

I: Why do you think some widows decide to get married again, what reasons make them do so?

R: I don’t really know this one.

I: After a woman loses her husband, what do you think mostly pushes them to get a new husband again?

R: I think they be young and they desire to get a new family.

I: Nothing else would cause to do this like a situation or something?

R: Unless she has her own things, some think that they will be better when they go to another family and there is also one who will stay because they have their things.

I: In this village, has it ever happened that after a man is dead, the male relatives come and try to grab land from the widow?

R: I haven’t seen it yet (respondent tries to shift daughter to another mattress and she starts crying but later keeps quiet)

I: You were still telling me; you haven’t heard it anywhere that in laws come to grab land from the widow?

R: No

I: Why haven’t you seen it?

R: Because the land is hers, she is the one who has control and responsibility over it because she worked for it with her husband. Now there is no way they can come to disturb her.

I: In your view, in the past recent years, has the way widows are treated changed in any way?

R: I don’t know about these things of widows.

I: Mama, haven’t you seen women that have lost their husbands?

1:15:30

R: You be seeing them but you don’t know how they are treated.

I: In the way you watch from a distance, is there a way their treatment has changed from the past one that you have ever seen?

R: They treat them as usual

I: How does this usual look like, tell me more about it for me to get a clear picture?

R: They stay like any other woman married to a man. I think it is still the same because I don’t know about things of the past in all truth.

I: Okay, what do you think happens to women after them losing their husbands?

R: Maybe about the change in life.

I: How does this change be?

R: The way a man can be looking after you is not the same like when you are the one doing everything for yourself.

I: The man helps you in things like what?

R: You can have children and you fail to pay their school fees but when the man is around he pays for them and if you have any kind of income, you also contribute.

I: So, the way widows are treated in this village is okay?

R: Me I see it is okay

I: Mama, let us now talk about women who have separated or divorced with their husbands. What do you think happens to them in regard to land, can she stay or she leaves?

R: When they separate the woman can go and get married elsewhere and leaves the land for the man and if she has children she can decide to leave them behind but even if she decides to take them, tomorrow, these children will come by themselves.

I: What if the main reason that has separated them is on the man, does the woman still go away and they take the things and children form her?

R: They can’t take the children away from her. This comes from the woman to decide whether to take the children or leave them behind.

I: She can go with them.

R: Yes, she can also see if where she is going she can handle them, then she takes them.

I: Can she stay on the land, or it is a must for the woman to go away once she separates with her husband?

R: She has to go away

1:18:32

I: Have you heard of any woman that has separated from her husband and gone away in this village?

R: They are there.

I: Tell me about one example please.

R: She left the husband and the children.

I: Whose fault was it?

R: Sometimes, men are the ones with the fault.

I: Like which one, in your view?

R: Some separate because of this alcohol or being beaten.

I: There are men who beat their wives in this village?

R: Yes, he beat her and she left because of the canes.

I: So there is a woman who left because she was being beaten?

R: Yes, she is across that side. The man would beat her every day and they separated for good.

I: Would he under the influence of alcohol?

R: Yes, and every time he was drunk, she would be beaten.

I: would you love to see anything change in the way such women are treated when they separate from their husbands?

R: Yes, about the beating.

I: What would you love to happen?

R: For this beating not to be there but peace to be there.

I: How about for a woman like this one who left, how would you have like for her to be treated?

R: They should let her stay on the land if she has no fault.

I: What do you think makes a man and woman separate?

R: Being beaten is the main reason. This is what I know

I: On titles, what do you think makes a man decide to include his wife’s name on it?

R: That is trust for him to put her there and they work together knowing that the land is for both of them and the children.

1:21:05

I: How about for the man who says they will not include their wife; what reason would make decide not to include his wife?

R: He wants to use it the way he wants, if he wants to marry again he marries.

I: Okay, is there any other good thing there in including a woman’s name on the land title?

R: There are some things I don’t know.

I: Let us say that you have land like this and you both are on the land title; what good things would it have for you as a woman?

R: It helps the children. If I have these children, I know that tomorrow even though I am not around, my children will be having something and he can’t misuse the land.

I: If the women were able to own land with their husbands as in you find both of them owning the land. Or like if this is your land with your husband, you find that you are both on the title or agreement, will it help your marriage in anyway?

R: When you have a title?

I: Yes, and you are there both of you, is there a way this can reduce conflicts in your home?

R: When the chairman has also signed on it

I: Yes, and it is for both of you.

R: Yes

I: Do you mean that most problems in the family are caused by land?

R: They are caused by land and you fight for it.

I: Let us say you have this land and it is yours tomorrow, will your misunderstandings come to an end as a family after owning this land together?

R: There are other misunderstandings that may come but it is much better because you have hope that you have something even though small.

I: So you would think only about land?

R: Yes, you know that you have land. This is what someone can be standing on.

I: Give me an example, how would it bring about conflict or misunderstandings in the family if a woman owns land with her husband?

R: No

I: Why?

1:24:21

R: If the land is yours, where would these misunderstandings come from? No one can come to take your land yet the land is yours and you worked to get it by yourselves.

I: Who is this that come to the land?

R: It can’t be theirs yet we have worked for it together.

I: Who are these that can’t come to claim it?

R: Whether they are from my side they can’t come, whether they are from his side they can’t come because the land is ours.

I: Okay. So would this decrease any conflict. Let us say you had some disagreements and now you have land the both of you, will it end these?

R: There are somethings you will not agree on and it doesn’t mean that land ill bring about peace. You may not agree on somethings and you leave the land and go away.

I: Misunderstandings like which ones?

R: Can misunderstandings fail to be there in a marriage. The land can’t alone end them and you get peace.

I: Give me an example Mama, you have been telling me about misunderstandings. Like which ones? (Respondent laughs)

R: You find a man doing things in hiding from you, and he doesn’t tell you. And when you know this you also start wondering why he has been hiding it away from you.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me, let us get into our last part.

**Land disputes**

We are going to talk about land disputes, we want to get your thoughts on these as you see them or as you have heard about them. Remember that whatever you tell us is your truth as a person. What is the most cause of disputes on land?

R: Between a man and woman or a family?

I: All in general, you can decide on what to talk about as you see.

R: what normally causes them is finding that you have given someone and the other person complains that you haven’t given them.

I: Is this in a family?

R: Yes

I: In this case, is it the father or mother or who has given?

R: Like your father, you find someone saying why did the father give him less than the other

1:27:44

person, why didn’t he give them equal shares. You find that he has given one an acre and to the other, he has given half an acre. So the one with the half starts asking why they gave him half an acre and they start fighting each other.

I: What example of this have you seen and you tell me story about it.

R: Yes, I see them complaining that why didn’t he give them equal shares than giving one a big share and the other getting a smaller share. They decide to fight which can even lead to one saying that they will murder their father. Now, this is what they fight about.

I: So how was this resolved in the family?

R: They were given equal shares and they all got the same piece of land. They talked about it in the family and they accepted that whether there is one he doesn’t like and likes the other, he had have to give them equal shares as a father.

I: In such a case, when do you involve the community people in this?

R: You first agree as a family, then the village people can come in who know you and the land.

I: Mama, let us say one of the sides in a dispute has a land title for example if this man after giving his children, one went and got title, does the title end the dispute?

R: All the people fighting care about is getting an equal share whether there is a title or not.

I: For example, I am here and you are there, I keep digging entering your land uprooting your *omugorora*, and we go to report anywhere or in the law, if you or I have a title, does this help resolve our misunderstanding?

R: Yes, if you have a title it can show how the land was demarcated before and therefore ends the misunderstanding.

I: Okay. Mama, have you been in a dispute before?

R: I just see others only.

I: You haven’t been in any before.

R: Yes

I: In general, people with land security issues, how can they be helped to avoid such problems?

R: If they have a title, and they plant stones showing that this person will stop here. It will help them.

I: Okay Mama, thanks for receiving me here and talking to me because might still be in pain and you want to sleep and rest. Thank you. Mama, where do we think we are from?

R: That was what I was going to ask you about because I have forgotten, the head can also get disturbed.

1:33:04

I: Okay, in your view, where do you think are we coming from?

R: I know they are organizations for land in Mbarara.

I: Okay Mama thank you very much. I would love to know if you have any questions about what we have talked about today?

R: After now asking about all this, is there a way you will come and help us with land or you just want to know if we have land?

I: We wanted to know how things have been for you and what the reasons were for not getting a title and about the other things as we have been conversing. We cannot say we will give you any land, no, just to see how things have been for you is all we wanted to know.

R: So that you keep knowing.

I: Yes. Here is your gift

R: Are you going to come back later?

I: I think they will let you know if they want to come back just like the man came and told you that we were coming today. For, now if don’t know anything about this.

R: Okay, thank you.

I: Thank you too.

1:34:02