**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 01/10/2019

Name of respondent: Naume

H.H I. D: 5150012

Title status: Joint titling

Interview start time: 9:30 am

Interview stop time: 11:22 am

Age: 47

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 11

No. of people living in the household: 8

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Casual laborer

Highest level of education: Primary 4

No. of years living in the village: 24

Roofing material: Iron sheets

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

Interview Duration: 1:52:20

The interview was conducted in the respondent’s house; we sat on wooden old chairs, the walls were broken and the floor was mud made. She was welcoming to us. She insisted that she was the one who had refused the husband to get a title because that was the time he had sold off her land to go and marry a new woman and she had gone to report the case at the sub county office, so she thought the titling people were also coming to take away her land which gave her cold feet about the whole process. She told me that later on she talked to her friend who advised her on the benefits of a title, that now the husband would not sell land like he used to before and encouraged her to accept. She doesn’t look happy and sometimes sounded to be angry in the way she would answer some questions especially where men or her husband was involved and on the questions about support. She shared with me her marriage story and I could tell she has been hurt but has learnt to move on with it though it comes out in her perspectives about certain aspects of life and the way she runs her family. She was talkative, didn’t shy away from any question, she was cooperative. As we went on in the survey, a visitor came and I paused the recording, and after she told me her day of work has been wasted and she would not get her pay for the day since we disrupted it and I offered to pay her the days’ worth as another token of appreciation for her time, she was so happy and engaged more in the conversation; I guess she no longer had to worry about her wage that could be useful to her family. From the look of things like her house, how she struggles to take care of her children. I think they are poor.

She lives with the husband whom she said sometimes makes rounds in between her home and for the other 2 wives that he has, the 3rd wife left before they got married and she left a son whom the respondent took care of as her first born. They have 11 Children though some are already married and they no longer stay at home and there is also one inclusive of the 11 who she found in the home and mothered as her son. She kept on talking about her brother who is in Kampala as her strong pillar of support though he took their share of land as the girls but he bought land on which he allowed her son and his family to farm and live there a thing that means so much to her. The title now means so much to her that finally the husband will never sell her land which should be for her and her children not for him to go and marry a new woman as has been his habit.

**Warm Up**

I: I see you Mama struggling to write

R: Yes, I have eye problems, when I get a pen and paper to write, tears keep coming from my eyes or when I get a razor to cut my nails, tears just flow and I can’t see.

I: Sorry about this, may be you should go to hospital and check for what it is

R: Yes, I should

I: How did yesterday go for you?

R: We didn’t go to the garden, it rained all day

I: Sorry about this, it also rained in Mbarara the whole day too and I think it rained everywhere.

R: Yes, it rained up to 3pm so we stayed home, we couldn’t go to the garden at that time.

I: And today, tell me about your morning

R: The sun is out and I had gone to the garden.

I: What are you planting?

R: I am planting millet. We didn’t have rain and now that it has rained we are trying to plant.

I: So it has rained in this week

R: It has been clouding but no rain until yesterday when it rained.

I: Okay. How is your life Mama?

R: I would be well but may be my eyes that are paining and the sun and hunger that had come in this season which gave us poverty.

I: There is money scarcity everywhere everyone complains of poverty. Sorry about your eyes.

R: And the children?

I: They have gone to school and others stayed behind because of lack of school fees, they are in the garden.

R: Okay Mama. Thanks for giving me your time today from your job to come and meet me. We are here to see how things have been and to get your thoughts. Now I am going to ask you about your household.

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Mama, how old are you?

00:02:06

R: I have 47 years

I: I see the years are going though you don’t look like your age.

R: I think I do, I am growing old even the eyes have started paining me

I: Mama, you studied up to what class?

R: Primary 4

I: Meaning you spent only 4 years in school

R: Yes, I was there for 4 years only

I: What kind of work do you do that gives you money?

R: If I cultivate and I harvest a good produce and I sell it but this season hasn’t been good at all so I have to work elsewhere to get money.

I: What is this other work you do?

R: I dig for other people in their gardens and I am paid 4,000 shillings

I: What time do you start?

R: I start at 7 am and end at 1 pm

I: when do you get time to cultivate your own land?

R: I go to other people’s gardens 2 times and then I come to my own for 2 times. Like today, I was in another person’s garden then tomorrow I will go to mine. This is how we live.

I: Okay, this season you have also planted your own garden

R: Yes, I have planted millet and beans and we are still cultivating more.

I: Mama, are you the only wife in this family?

R: In this home it is me but my husband has 3 other wives. I am the older one.

I: He has another home I see; does he spend his time mostly here or?

R; Yes, most times he is here for now but he also goes to his other homes.

I: How many children do you have with your husband?

R: We have 11 children, some are already old and married. One is the owner of that house where I found you when I was coming from the garden, another one is up there. Those who have gone to school are 5 the rest are out of home in their own homes.

I: Well done on raising them, you still look young, someone wouldn’t give you those children.

00:04:47

R: (Respondent laughs) no am old for sure. The owner of that home, my son is 30 years old, I also gave birth to twins a boy and girl but my son has also given birth before his sitter but they shifted from here since land became scarce they went to Buganda in my brother’s land that we share.

I: You have old grandchildren.

R; My grandchildren are 7 years’ now

I: How many grandchildren do you have?

R: My daughter in law also had twins as their first born, altogether I have 6 grandchildren.

I: This is good, congratulations. How many boys and girls do you have?

R: I gave birth to 11 children, I only have 2 girls in all those children, one girl is 8years and the other who is my last is 5 years. The rest are all boys; they are 9 of them

I: Well done, only to girls in 9 boys. This is a great work. Apart from those who left home, how many do you stay with here every day?

R: I have 6 here plus my husband and I.

I: This means you sleep here 8 people every fay. Thanks for telling me about this Mama. How long have you lived here?

R: 24 years

I: Are these also your marriage years?

R: No, my first born is 30 years old. We used to stay in Rwampara (another sub county in Mbarara district) before coming here. We had lived here like for 4 years because I got married in 1990 and we left in 19994.

I: Mama, where is your birth home?

R: It is Rwampara

I: For you to think of going back to Rwampara to visit, how long does it take you?

R: Those days I would go every after 4 months but now my parents both died so there is no reason to go back. It has taken me about 8 years without going back. Why would I even go back, my brothers also shifted and some are in Bukomasimbi (a district in central Uganda). Nothing would really take me back there, it doesn’t even take my time. My home is now here.

I: Nothing can take you back I see, didn’t your parents leave you with land which you might need to go back and check on?

R: The land which my parents had given us as girls, our brother sold it off and ate the money.

I: They had given to you all as girls?

00:08:35

R: Yes, we were 3 girls. They had given boys their share and they gave us our share as girls and my brother refused to give it to us. We left it for him since we are in our marital homes now.

I: How big was it Mama?

R: It was big land because when he sold he got 18 million shillings from it.

I: This must have been big; how many acres were they?

R: They were 4 acres of land

I: You all left him to take it, no one complained?

R: Yes, but the reason why we left him, in our growing up we didn’t have uncles on our father’s side so we didn’t have relatives from our father’s side so he was the only man we would look up for help if we get stranded. So I thought to myself, whenever I have a problem, he is the one I reach out to in Buganda, now if I take the land away from him and I get a problem tomorrow, where will I go. So we left him but there is my older sister who wanted here share and he gave her money which she used to buy more land at her husband’s place. But me I didn’t mind.

I: She got her money for her share of the 4 acres?

R: Yes, when she wanted her share, she approached my brother, he gave money in which she went and bought more land. I think if I ever want my share, he can give it to me but I didn’t like it from the start because, there is no other person I can reach out to incase of anything. He is the one I reach out to. Like now my son and the wife when the land got scarce they went to my brother’s land. My son farms, educates his children on my brother’s land. Now why would it take my share from him.

I: He is the one that takes care of them?

R: Yes

I: Thank you for explaining to me for this. Mama do you own land personally?

R: No, I don’t. The share that would have been from my parents I let it go and I have never received it.

I: What of the ones you own with your husband, how many are they?

R: We only have this one.

I: How big is it?

R: It is about close to an acre. I have never measured but when I see the land that they normally divide for us when we are digging it is about half an acre or three quarters of an acre.

I: This land that you have said you only have with your husband; do you own it both or?

R: It is ours there is no one else

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I: Okay, Mama tell me about how you acquired this land.

R: We bought it. My husband was given a very small piece of land by his father and we couldn’t build a house and kitchen on it. We decided to sell it and buy new land here, then we kept buying little by little from that neighbor of ours. My husband would go to work and I would also go to work and we buy together. Those days’ land was cheap, we would give him like 20,000 shillings and he gives us a small piece we add onto our land until we made this whole and.

I: Mama, were you both putting together money to buy this land or the biggest input came from your husband?

R: We both used to go and work, he would go to dig in other people’s banana plantations and I would go and fry pancakes in the market. At the end of the day, we would all bring together what we were paid in the day.

I: What year/years were these if you remember them.

R: When we were working?

I: Yes, and buying land form your neighbor.

R: It was in 1995 and 1996

I: I have seen the banana plantation, what else do you do on your land?

R: There is nothing else because it is only a banana plantation maybe sometimes we plant in beans.

I: I am curious to know whether you have given some land shares to your older sons.

R: The one who has a house where I found you, bought that land and put his house there and the other one where you passed when coming has also just bought it at 800,000 shillings he got from where he used to work and he built his house there. We haven’t given them any share yet.

I: I would love to know if you have any form of writing you got when you were buying this land.

R: Yes, we have our agreement we got form him.

I: Did you both out a signature?

R: The first time when he was buying I didn’t put my signature because he left me in Rwampara then he came and bought the land but after, the small piece we bought when I had come, I would sign.

I: Mama, who works on your land?

R: It is only us who dig on it and plant beans and things like that. There is no one else.

**General land**

00:15:28

I: Mama, in general, how do people in this village come to own land. To find that this land belongs to someone, what ways did he get it?

R: To buy, when they have money and find someone selling then they buy. Many people who have land here it is small so you may not have what to give your children unless after you die and they share it amongst them. Those who receive from their parents and they own it are few, many of us bought land in this village.

I: In what ways can someone use land that is not theirs for example like rent it?

R: Yes, you can rent and cultivate.

I: You rent a lot in this village?

R: Here, we rent land and use it for agriculture. You rent almost quarter an acre for 70,000 then you plant your crops.

I: Could someone use land but not pay rent for it?

R: This is not here for sure. Even though someone feels sorry for you and they give you land, whatever you harvest you must give them some which is another form of payment. For example, if someone gives you quarter an acre and you plane beans and at harvest time you give them 50 kilograms of beans is that also paying for the land. There is no free use of land here.

I: What of when someone wants to his land, does he do it or they have to consult with other people?

R: People sell land here and I think they do it as they see. The only thing they do is bring the chairman to write for him an agreement and that is it.

I: Aside from the chairman, does this person need to consult with his family or?

R: I can’t really explain this to you because we haven’t sold, but I think on good terms before you sell you have to tell your family so that they know the reason as to why you are going to sell. Now, that we haven’t sold I don’t really know if those who sell if they first have to consult and agree.

I: Okay, if there is someone who has land in this village but he doesn’t live here, can he stay with the control over his land?

R: It is there land; they be having workers who are taking care of it.

I: You mean when someone leaves their land, they must leave someone on it?

R: Yes

I: Have you heard of anyone who just left the land with no one?

R: No, I haven’t seen this. You can’t leave it like that, you leave someone behind to take care.

00:18:56

I: When someone comes and they want to use this land, what way do you they go through to get it?

R: The person on the land will call the landowner who if they accept then this person can use the land.

I: Mama, when someone tells you that this is family land, what do you understand by it?

R: Me I think it is for everyone in that home which may mean that a man can’t just wake and say that he will use his land the way he wants to but whatever he is going to use the land for or any other person in the family, everyone in the family must know what is happening.

I: This family land, can it be sold?

R: I think it can’t be sold, one person my want to sell but since it is family land, the home must stay there up to the grandchildren. Whoever in that family wants to dig they do so.

I: Thanks for letting me know and explaining to me this about family land. Have you rented land before?

R: Yes, everywhere I plant my crops is rented land.

I: How much land have you rented this season?

R: I have rented half an acre of land.

I: What have you planted on this land Mama?

R: On one part of the land, I have planted millet and the other part I have planted beans.

I: How much did it cost you?

R: They asked me for 50,000 shillings only.

I: For a season?

R: Yes.

I: Mama, is there any form of agreement put into writing that you both have?

R: No, I just went and met the land owner, we agreed and I gave her money and I got the land.

I: Okay, I would now love to know, when you were going to rent land did you first talk to anyone in your household?

R: No, I just left and rented land. My husband should be knowing that where we go to dig and plant crops is rented land. Because he sees he doesn’t have land so wherever I go to cultivate it means I rented it.

I: Did he contribute to the money you used to rent land?

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R: No, this is my hard earned money. I had one young piglet here that I sold.

I: Oh yes, I saw another pig tied there to a tree. Do these pigs bring you money?

R: When they grow you sell them and get money though it is long.

I: Mama, how do you understand the land that you own, let us say this is your land, how would you understand that?

R: I know it is mine so I will live on it and use it for what I want. Just like you have your dress, can anyone undress you.

I: What shows that this land is yours for example?

R: Just like I told you, when we were buying, we have our agreements and now the government has given us a title so now we know that it is our land unless the government wants to come and take it away from us. This free title may mean that it is there’s.

I: For all the times that they have visited you, you have never established trust in what they were doing? Why do you think they might come and take it away?

R: You can’t just trust them because they come like you have come they bring me a letter like this which is in English,

I: Mama, this one has a Runyankore part

R: They ask me to write my name and they ask us questions and we answered them and they said they wanted to give us a title. What if they want to take the land because in Buganda where my brothers are that is how they came to their neighbors and planted stones and remember that land belongs to the King who uses it the way he wants. They later took people’s land and they chased them away so we also don’t know if it will happen to us.

I: Were your brothers also chased away?

R: No, and there are some who refused the stones but for those who accepted the stones to get a title, their land was taken away because it belongs to the king. So we also don’t know if this land is for Museveni or.

I: So apart from agreements and title is there any other way to show proof of ownership of land?

R: There is no other I know

I: Thank you. In your view Mama, what good things are there in having a woman’s names on such documents like the title or agreement?

R: Now like me, my husband has children from 4 women. Now that they brought the title and I am on it with my *Ssalongo* (a title given to a father of twins) and I have one of the children who is not mine but I grew them up. I know that this title where I put my signature, the other women that he has will not come to take this one away from me.

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He used to buy for them their own pieces of land where they are; but in the case where there is no title after the man dies, the woman can come and start quarreling to get land since she has children for the man. I think now that we have a title, there is no way those other women and their children will come here to claim anything. (She answered with authority)

I: The other women, how many children does each have?

R: One of them had 4 children though she lost one of them, the 2nd wife has 2 children. But he bought for them their small pieces of the land where they are. Here is when I know that should my husband go before me no one can come to claim my land since I have evidence of a title to the land I am on with my children or if Museveni doesn’t take it.

I: What disadvantages would be there in having a woman’s name on the agreement or title?

R: I don’t know these ones unless if you know and you tell me.

I: Mama, it is you conversing with me and telling me your thoughts.

R: You can tell me, don’t think that wisdom is for only the old, there is a child who tells you and you also learn.

I: Mama, here we are talking about your thoughts and opinions because we don’t have the right answers to anything. If in your view you see no problem, then that is okay.

R: Me I think there are no problems in having a woman’s name on there.

I: Mama you had told me about the land you inherited but didn’t get, when your father gave it to you did he put it into any writing?

R: He had left it in a written will and he gave it to our older brother who became the heir. He didn’t give us any writing.

I: Oh I see, your bother stayed with the will.

R: He told us that just like our father left him with the will, when he is also about to go he will leave it with someone. So we don’t really know if it is true the will is there or not.

I: Do you hope that you will one day go and ask it from him or you completely forgot that?

R: After a while, I might go and ask it from him because if he dies then I go with nothing. Depending on the way he gave my older sister money, I think he will give me but I haven’t asked him for it yet.

I: On the 4 acres, how much do you think he gave your older sister?

R: He said he sold the whole 4 acres for 18 million shillings, our mother got sick and our brother paid for her medical bills amounting to 3 million shillings this is what he told us and later our mother died but he took care of the funeral. He remained with 15 million shillings of which he gave my sister 7.5 million shillings. I think if I go to ask him, he will give me 7.5 million shillings. Though I haven’t yet wanted to go there.

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I: Thanks for telling me about this. Do you have hope to inherit more land someday?

R: Maybe go to my brother to give me money he got from the land. But also, he may not give me the money because he went and bought land next to him and he told us to go there as girls. When I leave here to go I don’t go to my brother’s home because he built a house on the land he bought form the remaining money he got from the girls land he sold. Actually on that land, that is where my son is with his wife and children.

I: How big is this land he bought?

R: It is big, I don’t know how to measure land of Buganda

I: So this is where your son shifted to from here?

R: Yes, he cultivates on that land, there is also a banana plantation.

I: Now when you go to visit you don’t go to your brother’s hone you go to this land.

R: Yes

I: Do people is this village worry about losing land Mama?

R: Not really

I: Tell me more about why?

R: A person knows that if they bought their land and they have their agreement for it, no one can come to take the land away.

I: Are there any people without titles or agreement but thy own land?

R: How do you get land without any of these maybe for those who got land long ago but they also became clever and found writings for their land.

I: Here in this village, people don’t fear to lose their land or that they might lose land?

R: They don’t

I: If you were able to get more land, what would you do to get it?

R: Unless I get money and I go and buy it and may be continue renting land that I plant on my crops but this land that rent is not mine. I rent and plant for a season and then I leave.

I: Mama, do you take this to be family land for you, your husband and children?

R: It is this one, there is no other.

I: You told me that you have a signature on the title of this land, does this mean that you also have a share?

R: I think so.

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I: You have said that with doubt Mama. (We both laugh)

R: Seeing that the title has my name and for Ssalongo, that shows that it belongs to both of us.

I: Okay, so who makes the decisions on the land like what plant on the land. Who normally makes these decisions?

R: It is the man. If I am to plant beans in the plantation I first ask him and if my husband says no, I don’t do it and if he says yes then I go ahead and plant them there.

I: Thanks so much for telling me about these.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: This part we are going into is about titles. Yours inclusive but also for others, we want your thoughts and everyone has their own opinion which is right by them. Remember there is no right or wrong answer, it is just your thought as an individual. What does having a title mean to you Mama?

R: Personally, I think it is evidence of the land you have that surely it is yours. Now you see this title that we are given we didn’t buy it but if you go and buy it yourself then you are sure of it but now this one we didn’t buy, we are not so sure.

I: Mama, why do you say so?

R: The Kabaka (King od Buganda the central region of Uganda with the Baganda under a kingdom) took land away from people. And for me when they had come to visit the first time I had refused, because i had heard about the kabaka taking people’s land. They kept on coming and explaining to me, I had faith to receive it.

I: Which places are these did you hear about there the kabaka took their land?

R: There in Buganda, Bukomasimbi and Lwamagwa (these are sub counties and districts in the central region of Uganda), he took their land.

I: Mama, to you of what use is the title to you apart from being evidence of ownership? What more use would it be for?

R: I haven’t yet seen other uses of titles.

I: What have you liked about this titling process all through the times you were visited until your got the title?

R: I have loved it because when my husband started over marrying his other women, this banana plantation was bigger in size and we had other side plots which he sold off to marry these women.

I: Mama, how many were these other plots of land?

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R: They were about 4 of them, one was quarter an acre of land, the other was half quarter an acre, the one was slightly more than quarter an acre and the other about the same. He sold all of them and he came and started on this cutting off little pieces.

I: So he sold off land here?

R: Yes, he sold to that man

I: How big was the piece he sold to him?

R: It was big; it was slightly more than quarter an acre.

I: This means to me, that when you were buying it was bigger.

R: The man our neighbor we bought from him here and also we bought up here where he sold to marry another woman. Maybe it is not here at your home, but here in this village men have holes in their heads to marry more women. This woman disturbed him and he ate almost all his things and sold that piece of land but after, I reached out to the government.

I: Which government is this that you went to Mama?

R: I went to the LC2 and they came here in person, scared him and made him write and sign that he will never sell again because the land that has remained will stay for the wife and children, and I also put my signature. And then when the title came in, I loved it so much because even an agreement like that may not stop him from selling because he still has authority on the land either way and before you know it like that rich man over there will have bought you off and there is nothing you can do. But now that we have a title, I have hope that the rich man can’t buy it because it is title.

I: That rich man, you mean he has been buying people’s land around?

R: Yes, he is the one who bought there first, when they would go drinking alcohol with my husband, he would give him like 20,000 shillings and he takes the land.

I: The other plots of land you said that he sold, did you know about them and the money he got?

R: (Changes to an angry face), no, no, no this is when he had started marrying other women, he sold form there and went. I don’t know about how much he got. He never told me anything.

I: Now that you have a title, I see why you are happy.

R: Yes, he can’t sell again even though this land is small it is in a title. This is another good thing I see that has come out of the title. And I have loved this.

I: Mama, what difference are there between these agreements you have telling me about and the title?

R: An agreement can be refused, we used to sit with our fellow village mates and write agreements but this title comes from many hands that are from the government, therefore,

00:39:18

no one can take the land but you find that the person who signed on the agreement died. Does this mean anything after they die. It means nothing, they can’t come to sign again.

I: When someone dies the agreement is not valid anymore?

R: Yes, you may take it somewhere and they ask you to bring the owner of the signature to come and in case of a misunderstanding. Where will you get this person. But the title can sort this.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. In the process of getting the title, I would love to know, were you with your husband all through?

R: At first, there are people that came here to visit us just like you have come, one of them talked to me and the other talked to Ssalongo. They came back again, and this time they sat with us both and explained to us. I had refused but there was a woman who explained more to me and I got some understanding them I accepted.

I: Is it Ssalongo who decided on you being on the title or?

R: They explained to us that we should both be on the title.

I: I understand it now. Mama, do you think women would love to be on titles with their husbands?

R: I thought that if you are a woman and your husband decided to put you on the title you become happy.

I: Why would you be happy?

R: You become happy because if you are not, tomorrow he can chase you and you go with nothing.

I: After all the years you have spent together.

R: Yes, you find me leaving tomorrow after these years you find me going with nothing and I don’t have where to start from.

I: Is there a way you can report him to seek for justice?

R: What if you report him and he brings the title and they check and your name is not anywhere. That means you have come to steal from him.

I: And you Mama, do you like it being on the title?

R: Yes

I: What good things would come out of having both the husband and wife on a title?

R: If there is a way you both want to use that land, there is no way he can use it alone.

I: Tell me more

00:41:46

R: You find that you have big land which you can rent out and he wants to rent to others who want to come and cultivate on it, if you refuse can he rent it out?

I: He can’t rent it out.

R: Yes, before he rents it out he has to first talk to you so that you both agree on it.

I: What other good things are there, tell me about it aside from this one of him not using the land before asking you?

R: Another thing, he can’t give birth to another child out there and bring him to this land. Can he? We have men who are still marrying and giving birth to more children in this village. If these children accumulate and they are many. Can he bring them to squeeze on this small land or he has to take the responsibility to get them their own piece of land? I think the title helps in this way.

I: What reasons do you think would cause men not to include their wife’s name on a title?

R: I think he doesn’t love you.

I: Why would he wake up and stop loving his wife?

R: This is when he has hope to marry other women out there and that he will meet beautiful ones in the future.

I: Do you think there would be some underlying misunderstandings for a man to think of marrying again?

R: Yes, you can be together but when he is planning other things, this is more on his inside which I can’t explain to you. Because you can be having your man, you do everything other women do and you exceed and do according to your ability but you see him leaving you and he goes on to find another woman. You can’t know what has taken him and you may never know. You see that as a married woman, you give birth to children, you go to the garden to dig and you do everything but you see him going on and on to get other women. You can’t know his thoughts.

I: Is there any other reason why a man would not include his wife’s name on a title? Sometimes aren’t there things women do that cause their men not to add them?

R: I don’t know about this.

I: Okay thank you Mama for explaining for explaining to me this. Before you met these people who were giving and talking about title, how is it that people in this village got titles, what ways would they go through in your view?

R: Here, titles were for rich people, I used to see stones marked at Norah and Kyooya’s homes (some of the rich people in their village). People like us are not able to buy titles, only the rich are able to go and buy them.

I: Where do you think they would go to buy them?

00:45:05

R: I don’t know where, I would just see stones but I didn’t know where they would come from or what they mean. I will say it truthfully.

I: Wouldn’t you hear people say what the stones meant?

R: I would hear that Norah’s land was out in a title and they marked stones in her land but personally I didn’t know what their use was.

I: So you say, all the people that had titles in this village, were the rich.

R: Yes, only the rich, because they have the money to get the title. We heard it costs a lot of money.

I: How much is this money you heard or you think it is?

R: I think they are millions and millions of monies and also I would see only the rich buy it. It’s a lot of money and the poor people, no one has it.

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

R: Now for us who were given a title, people in the village are accusing us of giving away our land while we are seeing, even some who had accepted them, when these people came back with stones to mark the land, they refused.

I: These stones that were brought, didn’t any of you leaders come along?

R: They came but after the person would refuse the title. People know and say that these plots of land where they marked stones, the government took them away from the people. Many think that way and many reused.

I: Even when the titling people kept coming to explain and talk to the people, some still think it is the government?

R: Yes, many people even now you can be there and you see someone telling you that what fool were you to allow your land to be taken away from you.

I: What would you reply them?

R: I would tell them that it is okay, if they are to take it then that is it but for me the way they explained to me, we saw that it would be helpful to us.

I: Thanks mama for telling me this, I am glad to know about it and how people think.

R: Yes, even now, if you came to visit someone and told them that it is about a title, they will run away from you.

**Intra household discussion and bargaining**

I: Thanks Mama, now we are going to get into another part, where by after coming to see you and letting you know that you were going to get a title, and after asking you all those questions,

00:48:11

You and your husband, we would like to know what conversation you had with your husband on all of this. After them asking you the questions and you came back together what did you discuss about?

R: When Ssalongo came, he saw that I had a heart of refusing and I had refused. He sat me down and told me that since the world is becoming harder and harder, and these people want to give us the title, let us receive it and put it in the house because if you have a title you know that the land is yours but now many times you see refugees come to Uganda and they come and settle on people’s land. If you have a title for your land, they can’t just take it. When he told me about this I also softened and allowed.

I: So they took your names and this is how you accepted to get the title.

R: Yes, I accepted.

I: Your husband is the one who did a great job of convincing you.

R: Yes, you know how men can lie to us until we accept.

I: This time only he convinced to you to accept something you wanted.

R: Yes, he explained to me what I wanted to know because we already had misunderstandings over this land and I knew he was going to sell it and I suffer with the children again. When we were still on this, the other people came who I thought wanted to also take it while I am watching. All this confused me but there is a man called Laban below us who told me that now I am lucky that they are giving us a title because when there is a title, this cutting off small pieces my husband has been doing, he will not be able to do them anymore.

I: After now receiving the title and you had it in your own hands, I would love to know what you talked about here.

R: We just kept our title

I: Both of you or the man?

R: No, we kept it both of us somewhere.

I: After getting it, how did you feel, were you happy, what did you talk about it?

R: We were happy and we just kept our title.

I: How about your children, sis you tell them about this?

R: The ones who were around, we told them.

I: Meaning there are some who don’t know?

R: Shall we call them from their work to tell them? No, we told those who we have here near us.

I: On this title, it is just you and your husband?

00:51:28

R: Yes

I: How come you didn’t include your children?

R: No, the children were not put.

I: For what reason, tell me about it?

R: I remember they asked us for our heir and we spoke the names but when the title came, his name was not there.

I: Had they told you that they would add your heir or not?

R: Now, we didn’t ask about this for us to understand it better. They would ask us all the names of every child and we would tell them everyone we lived with in the house. They later asked us for an heir, and we knew that should it come his names would be there but we didn’t see the name.

I: Thanks for explaining all this to me Mama. Ever since you got the title, has anything change for you as a woman, like do you have a better say in the things your husband does, has nothing changed in your family?

R: Nothing, we are still the same as we were living before.

I: It is all the same as before

R: Yes

I: Mama, you told me you have lived with your husband for 30 years.

R: Yes, but in marriage we actually have 31 years.

I: Okay, tell me how it has been for you.

R: Marriage, my dear child how shall I tell it to you. I am in it

I: You can tell me, and teach me too.

R: Like I told you, our journey of marriage has been hard with my husband marrying other women but I persevered and stayed in it.

I: What has helped you persevere?

R: It is having faith because we have given birth to our children, he leaves me alone and I take care of my children and whenever he comes back, I receive him back. That is how we have been.

I: Who has mostly taken care of your children, has he been present or you have been alone?

R: He can be there, but when time comes and he is marrying another woman, he goes away. He spends like 2 or 3 years away and we be there like that until he come back when he wants.

00:53:48

I: In your view, what do you think about and say, that because of this I will stay in this marriage?

R: My children because when I was starting the marriage I was young and I gave birth early so I said I will never leave my children alone. Nothing else.

I: Mama, have you ever left like separated from your husband before?

R: I separated with him for one night and I came back.

I: Only one-night Mama.

R: Yes, I went like at this time and the next day around the same time I was back and I have never gone again. The next day he came following me and picked me up and I came back. When I got married I was giving birth every year and I had many young children around and because of giving birth to boys only, I refused to stop or get on birth control because I was looking for girls. So I kept giving birth, I left the children behind and they disturbed him, the next morning by 8am he had already reached me. From that time, I have never gone back. One thing I witness about him even when he drinks alcohol, eats the property and marries women, he has never beaten me. He will do all these things but he has never fought. Now if someone doesn’t beat me, I go look for my own food, cook it. I have never separated from him again.

I: Mama, do you feel your husband motivates and supports you in the things you do as his wife?

R: Not like I would love it. He goes to work and I also go to work my own way and we meet at home.

I: Let us say he has gone to work today, when he comes back, does he tell you how much he made?

R: That is something he has never done

I: Or after work, does he care for you like buy food and pay school fees?

R: Whatever he can he does, whatever he fails to do I do.

I: About the children, paying school fees and other things, does he do it?

R: I do that by myself

I: How do you compare this to the other marriages?

R: In other marriages you see someone caring to educate the children and taking care of his home but for me, I started this marriage journey and it became hard up until now. I say the truth the way it is, I work, I buy the food, I pay school fees for the children where I am able because we failed at educating our children. We don’t have any child that has reached in primary 7.

I: You educate them the way you can as a woman.

00:57:29

R: Yes, I pay for one and when they reach in primary 4 they drop out, then I start with another one like that, only recently when I stopped giving birth, maybe I will work hard and take this one who is in primary 6 up to primary 7. Our way of living is not good at all. The only thing he doesn’t do is fight, so I have my peace to eat and sleep but otherwise life is hard.

(Respondent was sad, she kept looking down while telling about this part. I could see her eyes were close to tears)

I: Thanks Mama for telling me about all this. Now you as a wife do you fell that you support him in whatever he does as a man.

R: No, I don’t.

I: Why don’t you?

R: Why would I support him, that whenever he gets 100,000 shillings he should go to look for other women. I can’t support him in this but there is nothing I can do about him.

I: Is there a way you encourage him otherwise as his wife?

R: When he comes back here, I look after him. I can’t hate him, I can’t chase him away, I can’t raise my voice at him, no.

I: Thank you for telling me about this. Why do you think other men and women fail to support each other in a marriage, what reason would bring about this?

R: I think alcohol causes this and also sometimes I think my man loved women a lot and this might be the reason causing him not to take care of us. This alcohol also disturbs people. This is what I think.

I: Okay Mama, if that is what you say then it is. Who makes most of the decisions in your household?

R: I can’t lie, I make the decisions myself and say that the child should go to school like this or that because I see that my husband doesn’t care.

I: What big decision have you made by yourself recently?

R: Now like which one.

I: Maybe about your children or about any other thing in your household.

R: I make the decisions myself all the time and about anything. Every day is about me knowing that we need to eat and drink and I provide.

I: Okay. Mama, do you think other families are similar to you in making decisions or it is different in a way.

R: I think there is way they are different because many times when the children are on holiday for example, when they are going back to school and this I see from my brother’s families,

1:01:19

I see my brother sits with his wife and they discuss about how the children should go back to school, they do this or the other to make sure this child goes back to school. You see them do this, and this child goes back to school then they take another to school also, and their family is okay. This is not in our family, no, everyone is doing their own thing. I think now that he has many wives and he gets 20,000 shillings he thinks about taking some to this one, and to the other and i think this is why he never settles.

I: Thanks for telling me this Mama, but I am curious to know what this journey of titling and getting a title has meant to you as a woman.

R: Now, I also know that this is my land. He will never stand there and tell me to go away. Before I would be thinking that if he gets another woman there, wont he come and chase me away, I get my things form the house and he puts that woman in here.

I: The conversations you told me you had, in which year did you have them?

R: It must be like in 2017

I: After you getting the title, have you have more talks about it with your husband?

R: Only after getting it, we said this house of ours where we put the title, they might steal it from us. We talked to a friend of ours who advised us to take it and keep it away. We have children here and they drink alcohol, as you have seen, our family is not stable so we agreed together and took our title and kept it. This is what we talked about the title.

I: You trust this person so much?

R: Yes, we trust him much

I: So he is the one that kept it for you?

R: Yes.

**Gender norms**

I: Thanks Mama for that part, in this new part, we have grown up knowing that land is a man’s thing in our country. So we want to understand land in regard to a woman and her place. We want to know your thoughts on this, we don’t have any truth on this. Remember there is no answer that is right or wrong.

R: Yes

I: Are the women in this village who own land on their own?

R: In this village for example one of the women married to my husband, she lost her mother when she was young and the father also died. They were 3 girls and they sold their shares and left but where she was married it failed so she went back and built on the land the father had left behind for the family and she sat, so it became her land and no one complained about her.

I: So was it officially given to her?

1:05:36

R: Yes, she stayed there. And there is a woman who can work and have her money then she buys her own land, get the documents of ownership of that land and she owns it. You find that the woman has her land there.

I: In this village are there women who have their land like this?

R: Yes, they are there. And there is one who may have received a share from her father and she sells it then she comes to buy land this side where she is married.

I: Oh Okay.

R: Even that land we you see up there, the woman went and sold her share at her parents then she bought it with my husband as he bought here. It is her land and her husband has no authority on it.

I: Such land has no husbands anywhere?

R: Yes. But there are some that may have land with their husbands like how I have this one. They can have it but have their own on the side like I told you before.

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

R: Yes.

I: Why would you want them to be allowed?

R: Now, I told you there is someone like me where at our home, my parents died, I have no land to get from there, what if Ssalongo chases me away from here where so I go to? But if I have my land, I also go and live there.

I: Do you think women would prefer to own land with their husband or they prefer to own it by themselves?

R: They would love to have their own though they fail at times to acquire it.

I: Why do you think these women would love to own land by themselves? What reason make them love this?

R: You see us in marriages, sometimes they treat us so badly but you don’t have where to go. You decide to persevere because you don’t have where to start from, you know that even if you decide to go away, you ask yourself where it is you would go. If you have your own land, you can go and build there a house a live on it peacefully.

I: Aside from men mistreating women, which other reason do you think would push a woman to want to have her own land?

R: If you have your own land, you can use it to have another income. You find that if a man has his own land and he is renting it out you also have yours and you rent it out and when you pull together money it helps your children. For example, I have children here, I educate them,

1:08:17

if they want fees, I struggle sometimes with where to get it from. The money I get from digging in other people’s gardens I use it to rent more land to plant crops on. But now, if I have my own land I can use it to pay for these children school fees but I don’t have it now. If I don’t get a person to dig for, the child’s education will fail.

I: Your children go to a nearby government school?

R: Yes, they go just ahead.

I: How much do you pay every month?

R: I pay 85,000

I: For every child or?

R: Every child pays 20,000 shillings per term. I see I am starting to even fail to pay this money because the sun was too much this season and we didn’t get where to cultivate, the hunger came in so I see this year the remaining term they are going to sit.

I: How many children are they that go to school?

R: They are 3 that go to *Itara* (where the school is), the other 2 young one are still in nursery and they pay school fees of 15,000 and I didn’t pay last term.

I: For all of them, you haven’t been able to pay for them?

R: Yes, yesterday, some of them were sent away from school for lack of payment, today I sent them to go to the garden and dig.

I: Mama, you told me everything regards the land is decided on by the man like what to plant and where to plant it.

R: Yes

I: I would love to know more, this conversation about men and women owning land, do you think family land the way you had explained it to me, is there a way it relates to this?

R: Relating with what?

I: Now this family land, is it in the hands of men only or also women can own it?

R: If it is family land, it is supposed to be for all the people in a family but let me say it is a banana plantation, just because we got a title for this land, you can’t wake up and have authority over the bananas in there. No, he will keep on having authority over the bananas for now, but it will stay for the family if he dies. Just because we are on the title both of us, I can’t wake up and stop him from cutting down a banana just because it is both ours.

I: You can’t?

R: Me, I think it is not possible because a man has grown up with authority in a home.

1:11:40

I: In which case would you stop him from doing something?

R: When he wants to sell the land, I can stop him but the in way he uses it, I can’t, a mana will keep on using the land the way he wants, of he stops me form using it then I stop.

I: Is there a way you can solve this or consult any authority?

R: I think if you report him, the leaders can come and solve your issue but then this is the fighting that will be in the home. I can report him and then he says don’t use this land, when he goes away I put sticks in there, then he comes and we start running around. You can have land with a man but their thinking is not the same, there is a man who may have this banana plantation and he decides to leave one aide for the wife to sell the bananas so that she get out vaseline and knickers for herself but there is also one who may not like it. Hearts are not the same, if someone refuses that you don’t cut their banana, then you leave it. If you try to cut it, he can come and beat you and by the time the government come, you will be badly off. All this while you are dying because of a banana, you decide and leave it and he uses how he wants. The big thing I would fight him is if he wants to sell, if he doesn’t then I will stay in my home.

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. In a marriage, I am curious to know if a man wanted to sell land, should he get permission from you as a wife?

R: Yes, he is supposed to.

(The respondent’s husband comes and greets us, then he lives and I tell him to stay nearby as I call Martin because he wasn’t there when we came. I thank him and we continue)

I: Mama, I want to talk to you about widows. When a widow loses her husband, is she allowed to stay on the land?

R: Yes, I see she is right to stay there, if she doesn’t, whom will her children stay with. If the man has died, then the widow has also left the land, now does this mean that if a man dies then the family is finished, no it isn’t. She can stay.

I: How about when the widow passes on too, who owns the land then?

R: It stays for the children who are there?

I: Sometimes Mama, the children may be very young or she hasn’t even given birth to children in that home. How does it go then?

R: If a woman hasn’t given birth that means she has died with all she had. There are many women whose husbands die and they had no children and they leave the home. In good faith me I say that if a man dies and the woman had not given birth and she has no ownership the land will be taken by relatives or any other person.

I: What if the children are young?

R; There is someone who can take care of them for example their uncle but sometimes it gets hard.

1:15:36

I: Have you ever witnessed this, tell me about it?

R: I have seen it, down here there is a man, he died when his children are young. There was his younger brother an uncle to the children who took them to take care of them abut they did not fit well in his family.

I: Had he left the wife or?

R: No, the man died and also woman died later and the children were still young. Their uncle took them and I think they were not treated well as they were supposed to so they came back to their father’s house. There is something I have been telling you about rich people, this rich man deceived the children and tricked them into selling to him the land. The boys sold it to him, but when they had given him half way, their uncle came and reached out to the government and they came and gave the remaining part to the girls.

I: Which government did he approach?

R: He went to LC2 and LC1 and they came with the village people to this land. Even the LC3 came and reached on the land, the part that had remained on the land they gave it to the girls and their aunty was to oversee it on their behalf and she took them away to care for them. They sold it and she got money and went to buy land elsewhere for the girls. The boys are wandering in village now; they don’t have where they are. Now I don’t know who can help them.

I: Thanks for giving me that example to learn from although it is painful and sad.

R: Yes, those boys are in this village.

I: How old are they?

R: They are old youth, and you know boys who have grown up just like that with no one giving the advice or walking with them. Don’t you think it is hard for a young person like that to get money to buy land. They are just there like that, they rent in the centre and live there. I still see them suffering.

I: This is very sad.

R: Yes, I don’t know what will happen to them.

I: Thanks for giving me their example, where you find that their father died and their mother too, the uncle didn’t take good care of them, they were deceived and they lost their land. Thanks for telling me about this. Is there any difference if the land was got before the man and woman were married or if they got it during the marriage or if they have children?

R: When I find him with this land.

I: Let us say that you found him with land already does it make a difference for you to stay if he passes on, or the difference would be in making it together during the marriage or if there are children?

R: For me, I told you the journey has been hard with this man, I think you have even seen him

1:18:40

he is already drunk. I have gone to many offices reporting him and they have explained to me that the land, you find a man having before marriage is hard because you have no signature there so the man can use it the way he wants. Now I found him with something small, we worked and now we have this one. This land we have worked together; I can have a say and have a start. When I was coming to marry him, he had land.

I: So there is land that you found him with.

R: Actually he was still at his father’s home, when I found him. After getting married, the father gave him the land where we lived first though it was his. It was so small it didn’t even have any agreement.

I: Did you sell it or he still has it?

R: It is the one he sold in Rwampara then the money he got, he brought it here and we bought this land where we kept adding money together to buy and add on more land.

I: What if there is a title, does it help the woman stay on the land?

R: I would say that this one which they gave us where we are both and the man is no more, I can stay with my title as a woman.

I: These widows, can they remarry?

R: Yes, but get married how. Let us say now am here and tomorrow my husband dies, can I go and get married there and take the things we made with my husband?

I: Tell me about it

R: Then I pick them from here, and take them there. I can’t.

I: How about bringing your new husband here?

R: It is not right for me to get married elsewhere and even try to take the things of my husband with me neither can I bring a man here. These children, whom I take the things form, where will I put them tomorrow. I think if a woman wants to get married, she can go and start a new home there where she has gone.

I: Let me know this, your husband dies and you are both on the title. Let us assume you find a new man, you love him and you want to go. When you are going, can you sell this land and take your share or you would leave it with the children all of it?

R: You leave it for the children because that is family land. But also if you are a wise woman and you are going to get married again, you shouldn’t go with anything. In my way of thinking, I refused to get mine that my parents gave me then I start taking for the man away. No, that how I think.

I: Why do some widows chose to remarry?

R: Because they are foolish

1:22:04

I: Mama, what does this mean?

R: The only woman I wouldn’t blame is the one who has spent like one year in marriage and hasn’t given birth yet and the man dies. But now you are married with 2 children, are you really right to leave the home and go get married elsewhere. You should look after the children god has given you. People just decide to be heartless and leave.

I: I am curious to know why a man will lose a wide and he remarries but the woman is condemned.

R: That is creation, even the bible says the woman shall leave her people and find the man. A man can’t handle a home after losing a wife. Only one in many can handle and that is if he has older children or he has some people that can help him in that home if he is old. But if he is young and he loses his wife who was also young, it gets hard for him to just stay there alone. But you as a woman, you can decide to go see your men but leave them there and you come back home and be with your children. This is what I think. Now like me who is already old I also go out to remarry, no but the younger widows can remarry if they want to. If nature demands, she can go and sleep with her men but come back home to her children.

I: Has it ever been the case in this village where after losing her husband, the male relatives can and tried to grab land from the widow?

R: Even if you don’t go far. There is man we boarder out land with who was called Nganzi, he died and it is not yet a year but the wife has been imprisoned over and over again. He has things, he left a car for the wife but her in-laws took away the car it is now at the police. They are mistreating her and making her suffer in every way. The husband died in July, but she has been accused of many cases and yet her husband worked for all she has. He came here when he was still young and he had no child, I had just reached here, and he married and they started. He bought land also the land I told you that my husband had, he is the one that bought the plots until he had a big piece of land. God was gracious to him and he became rich, he went to Mbarara with his wife and they left workers here on their property. But when he died like this, the wife has suffered even now she must be in prison.

I: Why are they imprisoning her?

R: They took the car form her that it belonged to their sister. They even want to divide the land now.

I: They want to share them because the man left no writing or?

R: The man left a will, when he was about to die, (we were interrupted by a neighbor who had passed by to ask her about her plantation. After she left), he left a will leaving all his things to the wife in the village while he had other 2 women on the side who he gave other things to take care of the children but the wife at home had all the land in the village. These women now also want the land after getting their share from the will.

I: This is very sad; I am sorry to hear about this. Generally, how are other widows treated in this village?

R: They are treated well because the truth, around this part of the village many are widows but

1:27:27

they are in their homes apart from her whom her in laws are mistreating. And we haven’t known very well because some people say that there is a rumor that the will was changed, therefore we don’t know. But for others, their husbands died but they are in their home and they are taking care of their children.

I: You had told me that in the case of the other woman who is being imprisoned, there were other women. Tell me more.

R: These women came on the burial and were also around the body of the deceased calling him their husband. He has left for them their shares in the will but the women connived with the in-laws and refused the will.

I: This means that the wife had more things than them all?

R: There was land here but he left it for the wife, the other women he gave them buildings, bank checkbooks but for here in the village, he left it to his wife and children. So now the in-laws and these women want this land also.

I: She is really suffering being in and out of prison. In your view, what happens to women when they separate or divorce with their husbands in the case of land?

R: They just go with nothing. But most times in our village, women no longer go away, the man leaves you in the house.

I: Do you remain with the land and house?

R: Yes, there is a man who separated with the wife because he was mistreating her and got another woman in the process after the wife left the home leaving behind the children. After leaving, the man remarried and but the children were mistreated, they didn’t continue studying well, even the new woman left and the children started going their own ways yet had the wife stayed behind, she would have taken care of her children. The children who were in school dropped out. The man built for the new woman another home.

I: Where did the first wife go?

R: She is in Mbarara we hear that she working there. The girls even got pregnant, one was in senior 6 while the other had started her first year at university so she stopped there. I think if the woman persevered and stayed in the home, those children would have studied and finished. What I want to tell you young girl,

I: Yes, Mama

R: As woman if you see the man going away, you should stay and be patient. It is not easy for a man to go away for more than two years without changing his heart to come back. If this woman had stayed in the home, the children would have studied but after she left, every child also found their way and the man hated all this and he started another home away. Their house is now empty being eaten away by growing plants even their banana plantation got spoilt.

I: In this case, you mean many women stay on the land, and in the house. Therefore, it is the men who leave?

1:30:44

R: Yes, the woman stays there, the men are the ones who leave.

I: Is there anything you would love to see change in the way such women who separate with their husband are treated or the current way is okay?

R: I think it is okay how we are now. Why I say this is that when a man leaves you in the home and goes away, you work as woman and provide for the family according to your ability. It is not the same like where he chases you and you go wandering looking for where to stay.

I: How about for the woman who might be chased away from the home after separation?

R: The one they chase away will suffer.

I: Is there anything you would love to see done for such a woman in the way she is treated?

R: The government should try and help her find a way to live. Now if they chase you where will you stay, many suffer after being chased from their homes.

I: Let us imagine both were on the title like you are now, if your husband wakes up to chase you away, is there anything you can get or you just walk away?

R: Like now that I am on the title, if he tries to chase me away I try to look for those who gave us this title and they come and give me my share and I go live on it while he stays on his. Like now if he chases me, he wants me to go where like now.

I: When they chase a woman away, do they normally let her go with her children or they ask her to leave them behind?

R: They ask her to leave them behind

I: When it is whose fault?

R: For me I think they can be having their issues.

I: Meaning when it is a man’s fault he leaves the wife in the house?

R: When the man has a big fault they chase her away and if a man decided to leave you in the house I think he also know that it is his fault and therefore he leaves the woman there and walks away. But now there is woman who does bad things like she goes to lodges getting men and your husband finds you doing such things, if he chases you then he is right.

I: If the cause of the separation is largely for the man, is he allowed to take the things away from you and the children?

R: There is one who can come back later to take away the property but if you report him, then they remove the property from him and they tell him to go and start something new.

I: Have you see this happen?

R: Yes, now for us in this village, there is a woman whom I was digging for today,

1:34:34

the man decided to chase away the woman and she left. She went and life became hard for her and she started suffering yet she had left her children so she decided to come back to her home. She found the man had married, the house they had in the centre, he had sold it and some plot of land. When the woman came back she went to the government and reported him to the LC3 so they came and removed the man and his new wife out from the house. They told the man to take his new wife and rent for her, the older wife and her children came back into the house and they are now there. This is what I was telling you, when she came back and sat down, now the man left the other woman and he has come back to her, even the person whom he had sold the house to, she got it back.

I: This woman is no joke.

R: It is not the woman; it is the government that gave her a hand. The woman who came after her mistreated the children and they started leaving the home so when she heard about it she came back and looked for all her children and they came back to the house.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. What makes men generally not want to add their wives on the title?

R: They want to marry other women and sell the land and eat it the way he wants without the woman saying anything to him. It is not only a title, even an agreement if a man knows that when buying land, you put your signature, you might stop him or disagree tomorrow if he wants to do anything and you might report him. What he does, he ignores you then he goes and buys land and only tells you about but after. You sit and work and eat but if he gets someone else tomorrow then he can send you away from the land and if he wants to sell he will sell you can’t report him.

I: When he has refused to add your name on such titles, what problems would arise?

R: That is when he eats them away. For example, the plots I told you that my husband sold, had I put my signature on there do you think he would have sold them and eaten the money. When he came to this one where my signature was on the agreement and he wanted it also, I reached the leaders who saved me and put it in writing.

I: What good things are there in having women on titles with their husbands?

R: You have a right to report, if he gets the land to waste it away, you refuse and the government also helps you but if you are nowhere he can say that you want to rob him.

I: Okay. On what basis does the government decide that this is the wife in the home. You may find that the wife doesn’t have a ring or anything to identify her as the main wife.

R: When I went to the office I was told that if I am not a wedded wife they had no help for me. But if I was the wedded wife with a ring, then even though am not on a title or agreement then I can argue with the man for land.

I: Why is it the one with the ring?

R: Because, you must have a certificate showing your marriage as a wife. You see marriage certificates also be at the RDC’s office and he signs on them, so as you go to report him and

1:38:37

you have your marriage certificate; they will ask the man to prepare for you because he married you from your home therefore you are his wife. If you don’t have a certificate neither your signature on the agreement you will go. I may not have my signature on his agreement but because I am his legal wife, we will share it. You may be the wife with the ring and you have no signature but because you are wedded they go with that.

I: Then the one that doesn’t have a ring and didn’t sign on any paper of the land but has children, what happens to them?

R: They educated us that this woman is a prostitute who just gave birth to children and therefore there is no where she can be put. She can go like any other woman because there is nothing that shows. I went to *Mifumi* (an organization that helps families located in Mbarara) to report my husband and they first asked me if I have a ring because if I don’t then the man can deny me that he doesn’t know me at all.

I: Mama, when did you wed?

R: We wedded in 1997

I: It is a long time now; you have kept your marriage. If women were able to have land together with their husbands, would this help decrease any conflict at home or it would instead increase it?

R: It is a man who has to allow that the land is for both for you, I think if he allows then there would be no fights.

I: What if there were misunderstandings already existent before you own land together, now that you own land together will these misunderstandings decrease in your marriage?

R: It may not finish them but someone can fear. Let us say the man was planning on chasing the woman away from the land before and now that we own land together, he will fear knowing that if he chases me away he will be imprisoned. This will make him fil to chase me away and we stay together just like that.

I: Therefore, it doesn’t decrease or end the conflict in a marriage?

R: If they have been there before the land may not end it. You have had fights before and he just puts your name on the title because he doesn’t have what to do or an option but if he allows then it is good.

I: How can this conflict or misunderstanding be resolved if owning the land together may not decrease it as such?

R: In good terms, I still say everyone should have their own land. Because if as a woman you have your own piece of land, you will not be quarreling over the man. If I know that I have my land there, I wouldn’t be very tough on the man quarreling with him all the time, I would be on my land and use it to get money and I leave the man.

I: Thanks Mama, for explaining all that to me, you have given me powerful examples to learn from.

1:42:11

**Land disputes**

This is our last part where we are going to talk about land disputes in all places like family, neighbors and all. In your view Mama, what is the most cause of land disputes among people?

R: I think it is the people who remove *emigorora* from the boundaries with other people’s land. And another thing is buying land from a neighbor, where both of you are. Now here where we are, my husband would be drinking alcohol with our neighbor and he gives him land for 20,000 of which he gives him 5000 shillings, the next day our neighbor would come and we give him his balance of 15,000. We would not go to the chairman, he would just show us where we are passing and that was it. Now if such a man wakes up tomorrow and denies us giving him money that we stole his land, a dispute would break pout of that.

I: Since there is nothing you wrote down.

R: You shouldn’t buy any land however small these days without the chairman coming. Before you buy he should be there because if you don’t then those are the conflicts.

I: So you said the biggest cause are removing the *emigorora* separating the land and buying in the absence the chairman’s stamp and a writing to show proof.

R: But if the chairman put a stamp showing that your end here, can you refuse that it is not true tomorrow yet you know that the stamp was put on your agreement for where your boundary stops.

I: Have you heard of any of this where there was no writing and the dispute erupted?

R: There is a man who had land and someone lady wanted to buy it but the land owner didn’t want to sell to her because he was a widow. This widow went through someone else who happened to be her sister to buy. Before they bought, they agreed that they would buy the land together and share in the middle with each one taking a half. Everyone decided to bring 3million shillings because the land was totaled to 6 million shilling but the one to buy they agreed she would buy it in her names. The woman went and discussed with her husband, but the widow had more money than her sister yet the landowner didn’t want to sell his land to this widow. The widow agreed with the sister that they will buy and share, the sister went to her husband and they sold their land so as to make the money to buy this one. After buying, the widow told her sister that she wanted to own the land alone and that she is the one who bought it. The husband of her sister tried to tell her how he had sold his land to buy this one but she refused.

I: And yet they had witnessed on the agreement?

R: She asked them to bring evidence of how the land was theirs, she asked them to bring what would show that they had bought the land.

I: Wait, the sister didn’t get any agreement for buying?

R: She trusted her elder sister the widow, after paying the money the widow turned around and brought surveyors that measured the land and she got a title and they marked stones in the whole land. When the sister tried to report, she was asked for proof and she had nothing.

1:46:38

That was how they took the land away from her.

I: Do they greet each other these days?

R: No, they don’t. The other failed to get another piece of land after selling their land with her husband. Buying land just like that with no sure proof is a bad thing.

I: Yes, I see it is bad. So if there are such disputes on land, how do they get resolved?

R: There can be murder coming out of this. This woman and her husband had to go and start from elsewhere. They would send their workers to come and work on the land, then the widow would send her workers too who would come and beat up the first ones. There is one of the men whom they beat near to death. When the woman and her husband saw that there was death they decided to go and leave having nothing left to them because they sold their land buying this one.

I: When these disputes are in the family, how do they get resolved to an end?

R: Family is not there and intact like it used to be back then. There are no longer clan heads in the family that sit down to end fights in the family. You have to go to the authorities to help you but the family, no. Long ago when there were fights in a family, you would call your parents in law, neighbors and village mates and you sit and talk about the issues. But these days there is no more sitting to talk, it doesn’t mean anything. You can sit and talk and as soon as you are done, everyone is moving on with their own life doing the same things as before.

I: When do you think the community people get involved in such dispute over land?

R: They can go there like for the 2 women who were fighting over land, we went there as village people and talked and advised but it failed. When the widow brought the title, that was the end of the dispute. When this woman was just there, the widow went and brought surveyors who measured and marked stones in the land. Because she had her money.

I: In that dispute, when one side has the title, does it contribute to ending the dispute?

R: Yes, when the widow brought the title, the sister left and had nothing to add on.

I: For such people in a dispute over their land, what do you advise be done for them?

R: People should reach out to those who know the law and if it means buying titles, they should. If someone has land however small they should get proof of ownership for it and then you will not have the fights against the neighbors and other people.

I: There are also be fights in between neighbors

R: Yes, they happen, but if you have no ownership evidence then you can’t fail to be in these wrangles.

I: Okay. Thanks Mama for today, for giving me your time out of your work schedule today. I will offer you personally the wage you were supposed to get for your day because I took most of your time.

1:50:35

R: But also you have taken your time to come here and I thank you very much because your teaching us changes someone after because me I had refused to get the title because I knew we were going to lose the land we had then I would carry my children on the head and leave like that out of my marriage. Now I know that if it is not the government, no one can take this land and if it is the government I give them my children and tell them to take their children and I go. But when they kept on explaining to me, I understood better and I thank you for the title.

I: Okay Mama, lastly, where do you think we are from?

R: I don’t know where you come from whether you are form an organization or form the government I don’t know. But they used to tell us they come from an organization. I can’t differentiate between an organization and the government but I think it is the government that sends the organization to us.

I: Okay, Mama thanks once again, here is your gift to thank you for your time, now I will go see other people up there.

R: Thank you