Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Transcriber Name: Martin Nankunda

Interview date: 01/10/2019

Respondents Name: Fabian

Household ID: 5150021

Age: 49

Title status: Joint title

Occupation: Farmer

Second source of income: Casual laborer

Highest level of education: P.6

Marital status: Married (polygamous)

Number of years lived in the village: 19

Number of children: 10

Number of people living in the HH: 14

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: mud and poles

Interview start time: 10:45 pm

Interview end time: 12:35 pm

Duration: 01:42:36

The respondent was not around at the time we reached home. He later came and the interview was conducted outside and near his house. He has two plots of land, one where he stays and has banana plantation. It’s almost an acre and it’s the one that was titled. He also has another plot of land that he bought for his second wife’s brother. It is in that same village and it’s half an acre. He also has a banana plantation on the second plot. He is poor and it seems the older wife takes all the responsibilities at home. He is an alcoholic according to the small chat I had with the wife before he came, and he had alcohol on his breath as I conducted the interview. He was taking long too long respond as he would first think about his responses.

He is married and has two wives. The older wife they have 8 children together and he has 3 children with the second wife. He was cooperative and appreciative of the title. They have a joint title and the reason he decided to joint title is because he trusts the wife and they have been together for too long. He feels that the wife should be the owner of the land because if he had not married her, his father would have given him his share of the land. So, he believes that the wife contributed to his acquiring this land. He is a leader in the village, and he is on the local council committee and he is charge of information.

**Warm-up**

I: So, am glad to meet you today but I did not find you home I don’t know where you had gone?

R: You see I had gone to look for money.

I: What do you do to get the money?

R: I am self-employed, I work in my gardens and I also do casual labor, I go to different people and get work and I do it.

I: How was your day like yesterday?

R: Yesterday was a normal day like as always, I went to work because I don’t stay home all the time.

I: I would love to know how your typical day is like.

R: Besides us getting an issue in our village, like a burial

I: I mean a day that doesn’t have such issues?

R: So, my normal day is to work I don’t stay home.

I: Please explain to me what type of work you do?

R: Like I told you I go to people’s homes and look for work. Or I work in my gardens. You see land is scarce in the village, you go to someone and rent land. You see we are in the planting season, so during the day, if don’t go to look for casual labour, I be in my garden.

I: So, you rent, oh how do you get land for rent?

R: Yes, I don’t only cultivate in my land because it is small so, you find someone who’s renting their land. They usually subdivide their land into *ndunde* (quarter an acre) I don’t know whether you understand Runyankore very well, so you rent like quarter an acre like at 40,000 shillings or 50,000 shillings depending.

I: So,is it 40,000 shillings per season?

R:Yes, it’s per season that is three months.

E: So, do you get money out of renting land? I mean is it profitable?

R: Things have changed we got a long of dry spell but previously you would rent and get money out of it. But now you invest you time, money, seedlings but at the end of it you harvest small or not harvesting at all.

I: Oh, I see, so how old are you?

R: I am 49 years.

00:03:56

I: How long have you been in this village?

R: I came in this village; you see some of us don’t understand math well, but I came in this village in 1994.

I: In 1994, where were you from?

R: I was from *Rwampara* (Subcounty in Mbarara district) If you are talking about the village, because *Rwampara* was a county, sub-county is *Rugando*, the parish is *Mirama* and the village is *Rubanga*.

I: Would mind tell me the reasons as to why you left *Rwampara* to come this side?

R: The main reason is I had my relatives this side and I wanted to be near them, and the other reason, is this side in farming is good. As I had told you, the place was not squeezed like *Rwampara* because here you can find a plot like this a you are seeing, rent it and you cultivate but in *Rwampara* it was never there.

I: Ok, what is your highest level of education?

R: P.6

I: So, yesterday you got a lot of rain that why most of you had gone to the gardens?

R: Yeah that’s the reason we had to go earlier. We normally also go early but we had taken so long without rains.

**Background, family structure and land ownership**

I: Thank you for explaining that to me. I would now like you to tell me about your household. For example, who do you stay with?

R: I stay with my children and my wife they are the ones I stay with in the house?

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

R: I have 10 children.

I: Are they all for this wife

R: No

I: Ok, how many wives do you have?

R: I have 2 wives

I: Do they all your wives stay in this village?

R: Yes

E: So, how many children does the older wife have?

00:09:45

R: She has 8 children.

I: And the second wife, how many children does she have?

R: She has three children

I: I see you have a big family do you have any school going children?

R: Yes

I: How many are the children that are in school? And where do they attend school from?

R: The children that go to school, do you to want separate schools or to know where they go for school?

I: Yes, if it’s ok with you.

R: I have 3 children who study from *Itara* in neighboring village, then we have 2 children they study from St Johns at church but I told you they are mixed I have a niece who also stays with us she also goes to St Johns and the other 2 children from study from *kigando*.

I: The third child of the second wife hasn’t yet started school?

R: The young one also is studying from the same school.

I: It must be difficult to find school fees because I see you have many children in school?

R: I try and get school fees for them but it’s not easy. We don’t sleep or sit down to make sure the children study. At least if all of them can reach P.7. So, both us parents work hard to make sure that we try so that they can continue studying. Their mother too looks for money as well as me. So, she also contributes to their school fees

I: So, how many years have you lived in the other household?

R: I married my older wife in 1990 and I told we have been in this village since 1994 so you can count

I: What about the second wife, how long you been with her?

R: we have been together for 14years now

I: Ok, how many plots of land do you have?

R: I have 2 plots of land.

E: Do you mind explaining for me about those plots?

R: One of the plots, since you told me you work with the people who gave us titles, is the one that was titled. Although it has taken some time since when you last came and did this study with us. So, I don’t know but some of us accepted the offer and there are those who refused the offer. I had also told the people that came before you about the 2 plots, but they chose to title only one.

00:14:41

I: Do you mind explaining to me how you acquire these plots and how you use the plots?

R: Like I told you that I come from Rwampara the plot that belongs to the first wife I bought it as I was from Rwampara, it’s almost an acre. Then the second plot of my your younger wife, I found her at her maternal home and after giving birth to those our children, like I told you, when they were sharing their father’s land, I bought the second plot from my second wife’s elder brother, it’s about half an acre and like how people work together I added the plot I bought from her brother, to her share and we are staying there together.

I: So, would you say that the plot you bought and added to your other second wife’s plot, is all yours for example do you own all of it? (someone interrupts the interview)

R: We have demarcations in between the plot but we use it together. She has my children, but I don’t have authority over her side of the of the plot and she also doesn’t have authority over mine, so, I don’t call the whole of it mine.

E: Ok, what does land ownership mean to you?

R: You mean with my second wife?

I: To you personally, what does land ownership mean?

R: In buying this plot we have agreements with the person I bought land from but like I said we bought it in both our names together with my wife. So, that’s the proof of ownership I had before you gave me a title.

I: Can you tell me more about ownership and a having bought the land together?

R: Like I have told you, I had a small plot of land in *Rwampala* that I inherited from my father. Because it was small, my relatives who were already here got me a bigger plot this side. So, I sold the other plot I had inherited from my father and bought this plot here with my wife. And ownership means you have authority on the land. The agreements me and my wife signed were proof of ownership.

I: Do you have people who work on your land like casual workers

R: That are not my family members? No, only my family members work on the land.

I: Thank you for explaining all this to me. I would now like to ask about land in general. How do people in this village come to own land in general?

R: From the time I have been in this village, people get to own land by buying the land. In the past, we used to hear that people used to just get as much land as the could freely but today you must buy. I don’t know you meant to own your personal land or rent land?

I: I meant to own land personally.

00:20:02

R: Ok, so the only is to ask people in the village and they tell you who is selling land and you buy. You make an agreement put land your names and the chairperson verify with a signature and a stamp and the locals also put signatures and you know this land now belongs to me from today

I: What about inheriting land from parents? Are there people in this village who have inherited land from their parents?

R: What I have found out in our village here, because am on the LC committee, when a father wants to share out his land to his children, he calls us the committee and distributes the land to the children. After sharing, in case one of the children wants to sell the land and go, they can do so like how I sold Rwampara and come this side. Even those who want to sell land and misuse the money, they can do so and that’s how I found people get land in this village

E: So, you said you hold any position on leadership committee of this village?

R: Yes, on the local council committee, I’m in charge of information.

I: Do you get payed for this position

R: No, local councils do have money to pay

I: Ok, you have talked about renting land in this village, but are there other ways people can gain access to land to use but it doesn’t belong them in this village?

R: Yes, someone may just like you, and give you land for free. And as parish we have our small pieces of land which are swampy and are given to the youth to make bricks. We also have people that are well off as I may call it, and they call you and say come do your project here and get money instead of going to steal it’s also there. Individuals also can call you and say you come and use my piece of land especially for brick laying or get quarter an acre and plant tomatoes and you survive so that’s the way people can get land they don’t own in this village

I: So, you have told me about the land for the parish that is given to the youth for brick laying near the lake does it belong to the parish or it’s personal land

R: Yes, it belongs to the parish in other words it’s government land.

I: So, in case you want to use this land for brick laying who do you consult?

R: We go to the chairman LC2 and approves you and from there you go to LC1 show him the approval and you begin work

E: Do you pay?

R: If you use the land for a long period of time, they get some money from you as you know who our government works. But most of the time they say instead of our children keeping unemployed, they would lather work from there. Good enough there is water nearby and you can plant tomatoes and survive. But most people work and leave without paying.

00:25:40

I: How about those who rent in land, how do they get land for rent in this village?

R: The most people in this village have small pieces of land for example, mine that was titled but the people in this village who have a lot of land. They rent out that land to people to use. If one side of the land is overused, and has lost fertility, then after some time they change to another side. That how big their land can be.

I: So, in renting this land, do you make an agreement with owner of the land?

R: No, we don’t make an agreement. If the landowner has for example 10 acres, he divides it in portions of quarter an acre and people can choose how many quarters they want depending on how much money one has. For example, now that I have my title I can go to the bank and the give like 2 million shillings, so, it up to me to decide how many quarters of land I can rent. Then after paying the money, they register me and I start working, but we don’t make any agreements.

I: Ok, if a person wanted to sell his own land, does he need to consult other people in the village?

R: Consulting, I can’t lie to you but if a person wants to sell his land, he comes and talks to his family. After taking to his family, he can talk to his friends and tell them of his plan to sell part of his land or sell the whole it and go elsewhere. So, the friends can also advice accordingly. First, they will inquire if the family is aware of the sale and ask for the reasons. If the family has not agreed yet, then your friends can help you talk to your family. Friends can also act as spies in case the man want to sell the land without the approval of the wife. You can send them to your wife, and they get to know her stand on the sale. So, consultation is necessary.

I: What are some of the reasons for consulting other people in the village?

R: For example, the same reason why you are here. We had to consult other people in the village before accepting this title. Most people were saying that our land would be stolen but we were confident because with our consultations, we came to know that the process was going through the subcounty and we knew the people at the subcounty. We proceeded and found out that even at the district, the program was well known. So, some of us accepted and it was through consultations.

I: So, if person owns some land but doesn’t stay in the village how does he maintain control of his land?

R: He might not be staying the village, but the land is there. In that case he can leave the land without a caretaker. For example, this area where we are, the owner of this land has been staying in Mbarara and Kampala, but he has casual workers and I am one of them so in case there is problem he gets to know. He is even my neighbor as you can see, he even signed for me when they were putting stones for me to get a title.

I: So, if someone says this land is family land what does it mean to you?

R: It’s like now that I have got my title. If I make a will and give it to my friend that no one should touch my land other than my children, then that’s how it will be.

00:29:20

So, family land means it is land for me all the family members and nobody can share on it if they are not part of that family

I: So, since you have said that family land is land for the whole family does it mean that, it yours, your wife’s and children, all have authority over this land, or it’s land for the family but only you has authority over this land?

R: A little while ago before your education and modernization, there was a saying that ‘eka’etinwa’ (meaning fear for man/household head) and land used to be for the man. But now since there’s gender equality, we are all equal. But me personally I don’t see why, if my father gave me land, that helped a get a wife have children and buy more land, why should I feel that it’s mine alone? So, that why I think we should “share” the land together. But it’s should not be forced on me because even in the past if your father refused to give you land, you wouldn’t get land. So, now if I choose that it’s our land, it means am doing it for the better of wellbeing. Because the things of only men owning land are becoming outdated but however much they are diminishing we ask ourselves that, where is our tradition? Because traditionally, if a man had his land, it would be his land. The children when they come of age, they should also go and work and buy their own land. But someone can say that I was also give land by my father, but you can force me to also give you land. It’s should be my land as a man and if I die, I leave it with my wife and if she also dies, that’s when the children can have it.

I: Thank you for explaining that to me. You had told me you bought land, and you got an agreement and you also rent land. Is there anything else you would want to tell me about selling and renting in land that you didn’t tell me in this village?

R: Yes, about renting land for farming we safe challenges for example, we are in a planting season but you need 50,000 to rent quarter an acre yet the children have been sent away from school due to lack of school fees, I think you saw the home because they have been sent away today. So, you become confused. Even when you rent and prepare the garden, getting seedlings becomes a problem meaning the money you paid for rent is going to be wasted

I: So, does your wife also rent her own land, or you rent land together?

R: Yes, she rents her own land and does her own things.

I: So, how is the process of rent in land in this village? Tell me about it.

R: Like I had told you, there are those people with land that rent out, so, we go and get *ndunde* (quarter an acre). Mine wife can get like 3 and I also get like 4 and we decide what to plant and sometimes we work together.

I: Ok, how do you define you own land?

R: Before your program, if you bought a plot of land from someone and he gives you an agreement, even if you don’t go to the chairman, but with 3 signatures of the locals you would know that that land belongs to you.

00:34:02

But as time went and with development, we decided that if you buy land the chairperson should to put a stamp for you and even a few the committee member sign on the agreement. And if you want you can also go to the subcounty and they give a receipt for the purchase of your land.

I: But I hear in some places if you want to buy land, the names of the seller’s wife and the names of the buyer’s wife should be included on the sale agreements. Is this the same in this village?

R: That’s true. If your wife isn’t there, even if it’s me selling my land, someone can’t give me money without my wife’s signature. But since things have changed, because now I understand the process of selling land very well. We also buy for example a building in other people’s names so that the wife doesn’t get to know. Or buy land in your child’s name and it happens, it’s not that I hear about them, but I might have also done it. But like I have told you, I have been on the local council committee for a long time, I know it hard to buy or sell land in this village without your wife’s signature.

I: How did it change that if a wife has not consented and signs for you, you can sell your land?

R: That’s a big issue, we have found it in our leadership today, but like I have told you in the past, our parents would buy land and they just put boundaries and go and tell the wife that I bought land and it stops there. These transactions would even happen in bars for example, one would sell or buy land or a bicycle after a few drinks with friends and later tell the wife. But in this era, wives want to understand, if you have bought something, how did you buy it and where did you get the money? With this generation that’s the way things are and we just accepted because it’s also a good thing to tell your wife.

I: So, in your opinion what do you think are the advantages of including a wife’s name on such transaction documents for example, written agreements?

R: It’s is very important with this reason, in the past, men would think they are the only people responsible and women would get scared. We would also try to scare them for example, if a woman found like 6 men standing by the roadside, she would never pass because of that fear for men. But now women have become empowered and they are important as well even better than some men. Now you find a man can’t do something, but a woman can. You understand? We come to believe it slowly. But there are those men that still don’t like it, but some of us we like it. Because you can be moving, and you get an accident and die, and someone takes land because you bought it and did not tell your wife about it. Yet this land would have helped your family after a man’s death which it’s not a good but if a woman is aware of this land, it will help the family stay with the land

I: Ok, are any disadvantages of including a woman’s name on the transaction document for example, a written agreement?

R: I wouldn’t say but one the challenge we have in marriages is lack of trust for one another. This leads to destruction of many things in a family.

00:39:38

Because I think you have of conflicts in families, these conflicts are mainly caused by lack of trust in families between man and woman. But otherwise, if people trusted each other, there wouldn’t be any problem in including a wife’s name on agreements. I don’t see anything wrong with it.

I: So, in your opinion do you think including a wife’s name on these transaction documents would reduce conflicts in a family?

R: To me, I think it can reduce conflicts in marriages, but other men, when you discuss with them, they will say you stupid

I: Tell me more. How does including your wife’s name on these agreements reduce conflicts in marriages?

R: If you include her name for example, like I did, on my title, the woman knows that this is now our property and she becomes more safe in the marriage which is a good thing for the family. In case the man dies she can be sure the land will be hers and even the children will not disturb her when the man dies. Therefore, conflicts will reduce in the family.

I: You told me you inherited land from your father, so, was it family land?

R: Yes, it’s the land that I sold and bought this one, but I kept on buying more plots and adding

I: Do you think you will inherit any other land from anywhere?

R: Yes, according to how we shared out land amongst ourselves as a family, oh ok, let me tell you since we are just discussing, I’m leader of our family, I mean am the heir and we all got our share of the land from our father but if am still alive I think I will inherit land from my brothers or they will inherit some of land me. Because as their leader, if one of my brothers asked me to care of his family when he dies, I will in that way inherit his land.

I: Ok, do people in this village fear losing their land?

R: You see, the world has changed like I told you in the past a person would call a friend give them land and stay together but these days someone can come remove *omugorora* (pland used to mark land) intentionally and tamper with the boundaries of your land and claim it’s his land. Then you go to court whether you have money, or you don’t have money, and the other person can even end up taking that a portion of your land. So, people are worried about losing their land

I: What kind of people are more worried to lose their land?

R: Us the local people who don’t have much money because a person can come with their money and try to steal your land. If you to stand against him , they take the case to court and in court, they keep telling come back on this day or other and they keep on rotating you around and in the end because you don’t have enough money, you here that land as taken.

I: So, do most people in this village fear long their land to only the rich people?

00:44:30

R: Yes, mostly people are afraid of the rich in this village and even the new people who come to the village for example, when your people came to give us titles, people were telling us that our land would be stolen. That how can we allow you to steal our land in broad day light. That someone can’t come from nowhere and give a title and you accept it. But some of us like I told, we found out that the titles were going through the right process.

I: So, you told me that now you feel you land is family land because you got a land tittle for it, so, who makes decisions on that land for example, what to plant and when to plant them?

R: It’s me who decides

I: Can you explain more about it?

R: My wife can say we plant beans in the banana plantation, and I tell her no because the beans might affect the banana plantation and we don’t get good matooke. So, when I say that she will not disagree.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thank you for explaining that to me. I would like to change the topic and I ask about the land tittles and titling. What does it mean to have a land tittle?

R: A land can help in different ways, I hear from other people that if you have a land title, you can go to the bank and get money to pay school fees or if you any other problem.

I: You have explained to me the importance of a title. But to you, what does it mean to have a land title?

R: It means, for example like you have given this letter, it means that when I have a title, I have full ownership of land and no one else can claim ownership of the same land but it seems it has there will time to “renew” this title but before that time, I can fully say that this land belongs to me

I: You have talked about renewing a title, could there be different types of land tittles? For example, do you think there are land tittles that don’t need to be renew?

R: I don’t know them

I: Ok, can you tell me who are the people on your title? What names are on the land tittle?

R: I have my name, my wife’s name but there is one of my children who they asked me about incase in the future if me and my wife are longer this life, whom would I want to take ownership the land. I had mentioned to them the name but am not sure if the name of that child is in your computers.

I: I’m curious to know the reasons as to why you chose to include your wife’s name on the title?

R: I had trust in them that even if I am no more, they will protect my land

00:49:59

I: Tell me more how did you come to trust them that much to the level of getting them on the land title?

R: Like I have told you a while ago that I have stayed with my wife for close to 30years, I have stayed with her poverty and wealth in peace and not I know when I am not there she will carry my vision and also my son is also in 26 years have seen that if I am no more he can also be of help

E: Ok, why do you think other people would not want include their wives’ names on the title?

R: People have different thinking, you see, with these world things, some people think they will live forever for example, if they have a car like this one, they think they will drive forever and they don’t think about the future and what will happen when they are dead. They say that tomorrow will cater for itself. But there people even when they are alive, they know the will soon die and think of what will happen to their land and children.

I: Ok you told me earlier that people were telling you how your land might get stolen. I’m curious to know why you accepted this title.

R: As we are here our brains are different. They say never light your lamp and cover it with a basket. There is when someone comes to steal and poisons you first and after they steal whatever he wants but also there is when someone comes to help you. I hope you had about the believers in some religion that were told to sell off all the property and give the money to church, that the world was coming to an end. And in the end, they were burnt alive in the church on year’s eve. So, for me I believed and trusted everything is well and from my heart. If it is to save me, it will and if it is to destroy it will

I: Just wondering, weren’t you afraid your land would be stolen and thought about not continuing with the process from all the words people were saying?

R: From the beginning I wasn’t worried, because I first talked to some people and had to discuss with my wife. I told her that if we were to gain from this program, we will gain and if we are to lose, then we lose. For example, I am a catholic and there is when the Pentecostal came, built a church up there called “Bathyal church” and they wanted to help some people in this village, and I refused. When I refused some children were helped to go university, so, if I hadn’t refused, even my own child would be at university so since then I said no an opportunity that comes, I take.

I: Ok, I see, but can you give me like an example of something that made feel less afraid of the program?

R: Always from the beginning when people came, they educated us slowly and we understood it was a good thing to have a title and like I told earlier the process went through our subcounty with our leaders that we knew. And by the time they gave us free land title it found us fully convinced. And we have been seeing government programs that have always come and people benefit from them.

00:54:38

I: Ok, what has been your experience with the title? What in your life has changed because of it?

R: I am not someone who distributes information anyhow, although I am in charge of information in this village, but if the information is about myself, I spread it anyhow. But ever since I got the title, I have kept it, and I showed it to 2 of my friends especially those who were saying that they our land will be stolen. And there is also another friend of mine that I showed the title, because someone of us are not educated and some people were saying that they will give us duplicates and keep the originals. Now the trust and love that for this title, is that what people were saying that our land would be stolen, wasn’t true because when I asked my friend, he said that the title is an original one. So, nothing much has changed other than the trust I have in this program. What I haven’t asked to understand is that, I don’t know what type of title I have, whether it’s renewable or not, like you asked me earlier. So, can you tell me what type of title it is?

I: I also don’t know because I haven’t seen your title but, on that letter, that I gave you there is a number you can call and find out. And moving on, historically, before you met the titling people, who in your village were able to get titles?

R: Yes, there some people who had their own titles.

I: What kind of people were they? And how did they get them?

R: They are the people with money but there also those who have money but don’t have titles.

I: Can you tell me how they got them?

R: No, I don’t know

I: If someone wanted a land little, what process would he go through to get it?

R: I don’t know about the process of getting a title.

I: In general, what do you think other people in this village think about tittles?

R: I don’t know their thinking about the titles. But most people talk about these titles we got from you people. They wonder why someone would like you that much to waist their fuel and money to come and give you a title for free. Some said we were also given money. So, I had to ask other people who were selected to get titles because we are many who got titles. There are those that got them even before us. So, other people said that they were given 2 million shillings and they were wondering how can someone sell land that is worth 20 million, at only 2 million shillings but I told them that the land is mine and I can sell for any amount I want.

**Intra-household discussions and bargaining**

I: Thank you for explaining all this. Now I would like talk about your marriage and the conversations you could have had with your wife about titling. So, you have told me that you have been with your older wife for close to 30 years now. Are you officially married?

R: Yes, we wedded in church

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I: Would you say that your wife supports you and encourages you in everything you do?

R: Yes, she supports very much

I: Tell me more about it. What example would you give me that shows she supports you?

R: In our relationship we have no problems. Whether in need or in plenty we have no issues. If she has something, we share it together. She welcoming to all our visitors that come and visit us at home. She loves our children as it supposed to be, she’s ok with relatives and that’s the reason why I feel supported by my wife. For example, if I need to borrow money from someone but don’t feel comfortable with it, she can help and borrow the money.

I: How about you, do you provide your wife with support?

R: Yes, I do support her too like I told you, we support each other

I: How? Can you give me an example of how you support and encourage your wife?

R: Like I told I have some work I do, if my children are sent away from school because of school fees, I make sure that I support her, and we take back the children back to school. If a relative is around or a visitor, I make sure that I provide my wife with food to prepare for the visitor. If we lose a relative, I support her, and we go for the burial and so many other this.

I: You had told me how you had discussed about this tittle with you wife. Can you tell me about it? How did it start?

R: This program come, and your colleagues visited us many times although I don’t still remember them. It was my wife who convinced me more about accepting this title. As I had told you, when Pentecostal come and helped people me, I had refused so my wife asked me whether I am going to be saying no to every opportunity that comes so we agreed and had to take up

I: So, how often did you continue to discuss it?

R: Well, when the first people came, they were talking to use separately. And they told us that our discussions were “secrets” so I can lie that me discussed further. For example, what we have discussed here, I will not tell her about it, and she will also not tell me about it.

I: Thank you for explaining this to me. Now I’m wondering; what do think that this land title means to your marriage?

R: From what I told before; I don’t have any problem with my wife about this title. Me and my wife, we both have authority to this title together in any way. Whether we put it in the bank and get a loan, whether we sell the land and go and buy somewhere else, we must agree together with

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my wife.

I: Ok, but do you think this title has changed anything in your marriage? For example, has it changed the way decision are made in your family?

R: Thought the whole process of getting a title, we discussed and made our own rules that nothing should change if we get this title. We agreed that everything will keep the way is. Unless something beyond our control changes because there’s nothing am hiding away from her and I also don’t expect her to hide anything from me.

I: Thank you for explaining to me about that. I’m wondering; what do you think it would mean to your marriage if you had not included her name of the title?

R: It’s true it’s my land, but I married her from there, and before I married, my father hadn’t given me that land. It’s until I married that he gave the land to me. It would have made a lot of difference if I didn’t include her name on the title. Because she would think that maybe be, I want to include my other wife, yet I got this land because I married her. So, not including her would have made her insecure on her land, I call it her land because my father gave it me because I married her.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thank you for explaining all this to me, but I would not like to ask you about norms on land. We understand that most land in Uganda is owned by me. But there are some aspects to this system that we would like to understand especially concerning women. We do not have an opinion on them, but we would like to know what you think on this matter. Do women in this village own land? How did they acquire this land?

R: Through inheritance, some women get land from their parents. But there are other women who make money and buy their own land. This becomes her land and is not part of the husband’s land. She can decide to give to her children, “it’s ok”. But it’s not common.

I: Ok, are there women who own land jointly with their husbands in this village?

R: Like I told you I am on the local council committee, but it’s not yet common for women to own land. But the few who have their own land, they don’t fight over it with their husbands because most of them keep their land secretly.

I: By women owning land jointly with their husbands I mean for example, women who work together with their husbands and buy land or have a joint title like yours. Do you have such women in this village? how common is it?

R: We have them, but like I told you it’s not common.

I: Ok, could you willing to give like an example of women who jointly own land with their husbands?

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R: Yes, they are there, and they are controlling their land peacefully with no problems. Of course, sometimes arise, but if they are no problems then women be ok on their land.

I: Tell me more, what problems would arise if a woman jointly own land with their husbands?

R: Yes, problems arise because men always want to take full authority over the land, yet they bought the land with their wives. You find that a man wants to sell this land and a woman disagrees which leads to conflicts.

I: I’m wondering, are such cases common in this village?

R: They are not common because there few people who jointly own land.

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

R: Like I have told you, in the past women never used to own land but now we have come to realize that women are our guardians for example, they are like our constitution that we follow and therefore, they should be allowed to own land.

I: I’m wondering, why do you think women are guardians and they should be allowed to own land?

R: You see, we have to go with the current generation. You see, I talk about the things in the past where women never used to own land. I didn’t find it there that women can own land but for example my son doesn’t know that this was the case. So, we must go with the current trend because women can buy their own land give it to her son or a woman can inherit her land can marry a man on that land and have children.

I: So, do you think women would want to own land with their husbands or they prefer to own their land separate from their husbands

R: That’s a woman’s thinking, and I can’t think for them but for me I think that women prefer, that if they have something like land, it helps the family. I can’t decide for anyone but as of me and my wife and many wives out there they would want to own land with their husbands so it can help them and their children.

I: We have been talking about some aspects around women and land, land ownership and family land, are wives included in this land?

R: The woman comes, produces children in that family, has a husband, they should be included in the family land because in the first place it’s two people to make a family and that’s a husband and wife

I: In marriage do you think a husband should consult the wife if he wants to sell family land?

R: Yes, it is right. Like I have told you if a man wants to sell family land now, they must first consult their wives because you can’t sell this land without your wife signing for you. But like I told, you can buy you own land on the side without you wife’s knowledge. Then in this case you

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can sell this land without her consent.

I: Just wondering, why would men choose to buy land and not tell their wives about it?

R: By the time someone chooses to buy land and not tell the wife about it, it means that there was a reason as to why for example, lack of trust and conflicts in the family

I: Thanks for explaining this to me. Are windows allowed to stay on the family land after their husbands die?

R: Yes, it is right

E: tell me more. Why do think it right?

R: The reason as to why I say it is right is, to have a family you begin alone and then become two and keep on adding other members. This means that you wife knows better how you acquired your property and has contributed to acquiring it. For example, I have told about my wife, when we got married, it when my father gave me my share of land and the rest of the land and other things, we have worked for them together. So, when I die, she should be the right person to remain on the land and use it. If she wants, she can share with the children, but she must stay on the land.

I: So, what would happen to the land in case a woman also dies, and the husband is also dead?

R: If they have children, the children take authority for this land but if they don’t have children the land stays with the person, they agreed upon to stay with the land. They can choose to give the land to someone, or the relatives of the man take control of the land if they didn’t have children.

I: Ok, does it matter if the land was acquired before marriage? For example, if a bought land before marriage, can the wife stay on this land when a man dies?

R: Its right for the woman to stay with the land and at least share on that land. I may be the one who bought the land but the time you spend married together and using this land, it means she has also had her contribution therefore, she should stay on this land when the man dies.

I: Ok, do widows sometimes remarry? what are the reasons for remarrying?

R: It’s very easy. Before we go far, you see, death these days comes early for men. A man dies when they have just gotten married. The widow is still young, and maybe she has been left with enough property, then I don’t why she shouldn’t remarry.

I: If a woman remarries, can she stay on the land with the new husband or she should go elsewhere?

R: In good faith if she remarries after the death of her husband, she should go to her new husband’s home. Even if she had children, she should not bring another man on the land. She should leave the land of children of the deceased

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I: Has it happened before in this village, for a window to remarry?

R: They are there but they are not many

I: So, what happens when they remarry, do they leave the deceased land and go to the new husband’s home or they stay on the land?

R: They always stay but you find the children begin fighting with that man about their father’s land, but they are not many like I have told you.

I: Ok, is it ever a case in this village that the male relatives try to grab the land for the widow?

R: It’s there but they are very few cases like one or two. For example, even here where we are on this land it has already started. It’s now two months since the man died but the case is already in court.

I: Can you tell me about this case?

R: The man has his land as you can see, he also has other properties in Mbarara, he also had a very big car but as we speak, the relatives have already taken the car. They have taken the car from the widow and we had a meeting the other to resolve these issues, but they are still very complicated.

I: Were they officially married with the husband?

R: Yes, they were officially married, and it wasn’t like our normal church weddings. And they had this wedding because the man realized he could die, and he had 2 wives. Even the second wife does not know that husband wedded the first wife. And the husband had a lot of property that’s what is causing the problem

I: So, he wedded because he was weak?

R: Yes, you see, we always consider the wedded wife to take authority of the husband’s property so that what the man was rushing to do, and he did it in secret.

I: So, the car was taken away from wedded wife or the other wife?

R: No, the car was taken away from the wedded wife.

I: Just to be clear, who took away the car form the wedded wife? Is it the second wife or the relatives?

R: It’s the relatives to the man but they have support from the second wife because they say the man was favoring the wedded wife, but we are still handling the case.

I: So, is this case being handle at local level?

R: For now, it is still at local level but if doesn’t get resolved, then they will proceed to court

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I: But do you think the local council has a chance to resolve this conflict since you also sit on the committee?

R: For example, in this case, the family is divided that the father in-laws are on the side on the wedded wife and the late husband agreed more with that side. The other in-laws are on the side of the second wife and they are the majority. They are like 6 or 7 seven of them. It has changed but the husband left most of his agreement to the relatives on this mother’s side not the father’s side. So, that how complicated it is but have decided to let them take the car and we are also trying to see how to share the rest of the man’s property between them in accordance to the man’s will. If they agree with the man’s will, then the case will be resolved here at local level and if the disagree, they will have to proceed to court.

I: Do you think the treatment of widows has changed in recent history?

R: Yes, it has changed and widows these days have more freedom to stay on their husband land. But even the widows have also changed. Well, it doesn’t take too long these after the man’s death for a widow to remarry. People are still in grief and you find the widow is already married to another man.

I: What do you think has changed and made widows to have more freedom on the land?

R: I think it’s because of modernization and your people that have gone to school. You come up new things every day. Widows these days know that when a man dies, they take control of land. It there now and everyone knows it. You can’t take away her land because even in the local councils we know the land belongs to the widow. This is why I think widows who remarry do not take long to remarry. But like I told they are not many.

I: Ok, but in your opinion, what do you think should happen to the widows after their husbands die?

R: There should be peace. I had told you that there are women who chooses to stay alone and others who would choose to remarry immediately even when they are old. But all in all, whether she remarries and stay on the same land or she goes elsewhere, there should be peace and other people should let her make her own choice

I: Ok, what do you think should happen to women who separate or divorce with their husbands in terms of their land?

R: You see, there are two things, there are people who separate for like 2 years and get back together, but they are those who separate forever. Now if we have separated forever, what should a woman be doing on my land? But if you have some misunderstandings and separate for some time them the woman can stay on the land. Because if she goes away for like a month and I’m not sure where is, I can’t back with her. So, it better she stays on the land until we agree to get back together or separate forever.

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I: For example, in you case, what should happen to the land if you separate forever with your wife?

R: In my opinion, if we separate forever even though we have children, my wife should be excluded from the title because she can get married elsewhere and the husband there includes here in the title, so, she doesn’t have to share on my land because it’s for our children

I: Now that your wife’s name in included on the tittle, don’t you think she has a right to share on the at land if you separate? What if she goes with children?

R: She is on the title because we are one person now and we all contribute to the family, but if she decides to go and do other things, it means we are no longer one person and there’s not reason to share the land. Even if she takes the children, children will always come back to their land anytime they want to.

I: Why should she share on land? She owns this land together with you.

R: We were given this tittle when we were working to together if she chooses to go and start working differently then she has no right to share on the land.

I: Would it make a difference if the cause of the separation was a man’s fault?

R: I most case it’s we the men cause separations in families but no matter the reason if a man wants his wife back but the wife refuses, then she can’t share on the land.

I: What do you think causes divorce and separation in couples especially when the cause is the man?

R: Like I told you that I married I have a wife it happened after I had had my wife you can see the many years we have together but it happens, men sometimes our behaviour as men aren’t right. You find a man who has neglected his family, the woman becomes patient and, in most cases, women are patient. When it becomes too much, she goes but of late women have also changed. You find a woman like my wife getting involved with a very young man and having an affair out of the marriage. This is common with us men but women these days has also become a problem. So, you people who are doing research, take not of this. You reach home from work and you find nobody home.

I: Ok, I’m just wondering if you have ever separated with your wife?

R: I would not call it a separation we had a small misunderstanding and she went to her home for a few hours, but we settled it and she came back

I: In your opinion why do think men choose not include their wives on the title?

R: I will use an example of my wife; I include my wife on the title and we also have a joint bank account because I trust my wife. I can speak for other people, but I think if a man thinks that they may separate with the wife, because of the way things are in that family, for example, with a joint account, you cannot with money without your wife and the same applies to the joint title so

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to avoid problems, men choose not to include their women on the title.

I: Talking about problems in a marriage, if women were able to jointly own land with their husbands, would this increase or decrease conflicts in the marriage?

R: To me I think it reduces conflict. if the woman know that the land belongs to both them, even if the man leaves the home and goes stupid this as women call it. As the long as the woman is on her land, conflict reduce because she sure a man will not come and chase her out the land easily.

**Land disputes**

I: Thank you for explaining all this to me. I would like to ask you about land disputes. What is the common cause land conflicts?

R: The man wants to sell the land; the wife doesn’t know why he’s selling the land, but the man shows her he wants to sell the land. And like I had told you, when we saw it a problem, we agreed that a buyer should buy land without the wife’s signature. You cannot sell land without telling your wife a reason why. Are you selling land to buy alcohol like the one I been taking down there, or you are selling land to take children back to school or maybe you want to buy other bigger plot of land. The man doesn’t give his wife these reasons, he just wants to sell because the land is his, he inherited it. So, that when conflicts begin.

I: How about the land conflicts that are not within the family? What causes them?

R: Like your neighbor has a banana plantation and another with a cattle farm you find the cattle spoiling the banana plantation and bring conflicts Tampering with the land demarcations, you neighbor removes *emigorora* from your land and encroach into your land. This is very common in villages. And creating routes or foot path in one’s land without their permission.

I: Ok, in general what do thinks should be done to help people with problem of land security?

R: Everyone should have proof of ownership of their land that why when I got this opportunity, I had to use it and have ownership of my land.

I: So, have you ever had any land disagreements?

R: I have never got any

I: How have you managed not to have any disagreements on land?

R: I live in harmony with all my neighbors

I: Tell me more how do ensure harmony with your neighbors?

R: I haven’t tempered with any person’s land demarcations; I don’t have cattle that can spoil their crops and my children don’t destroy people’s properties. So, that’s how I don’t get in dispute on land.

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I: As you had said that people were saying that we were are going to steal your land, in your opinion whom do you think we are?

R: Up to now I don’t know you I actually want to get the details if there phone contacts you can give me, I will also written the number plate of your car because I don’t understand you who you are, that have been visiting us for a while.

I: So, if someone asked you that who gave you a land title what would you tell that person?

R: I don’t know though I trust you and I know the title you gave me is original. So, I don’t have any worries.

I: Thank you for your time and if you have any question, please ask

R: First I want to thank you for the title, to know that I have full ownership of my land, which is good. But I heard that a title has an expiry day and I had told you that I don’t it. This mean that I own this land for some time and when it expires, I don’t know what happens. So, who are you, it’s good to know who you are? Because now you are my friends and I would like to know you.

I: Me, like I told you, I work with a research organization called Ignosi research and we work together with the ministry of lands and the World Bank. is the funder that randomized people and choose to give them titles through Ministry of lands. So, it the world bank that gave the title.

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