**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 7/11/2019

Name of respondent: Jovita

H.H I. D: 5610031

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 1:06 pm

Interview stop time: 2:56 pm

Age: 49

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 8

No. of people living in the household: 8

Occupation: Farmer

Highest level of education: Primary 4

No. of years living in the village: 30

Roofing material: Iron sheets

Housing material: mud, poles

Interview Duration: 1:50:13

The interview was carried out in the respondent’s kitchen. It rained for a while but we would stop and wait for it to decrease so that we can hear each other, she also had to serve lunch and eat. She was warm, quiet, welcomed us well and served us lunch too. The husband is the chairman LC1 of their village. Their house is made of mud and poles. Asked about solo titling she said that she doesn’t remember if her name is there but she signed on every paper that they brought with her husband. She also said that it might be his name alone on it again she would day that she signed on the papers too. She told me that she likes the title because she has heard that it keeps the land from being stolen tomorrow and also helps in getting a loan from the bank. Altogether, she said that they have two plots of land; one is 1 and a half acres of land where they live. He inherited 1 acre and they bought the other half acre that they added onto it and it is one piece now; it has a banana and coffee plantation while the second one is1 acre of land and it has coffee only. Asked about her approved shares on the land, she said that she signed on the agreements for the land they bought but she would sign as a witness. They look to be somewhat middle class from their way of living and the things they do.

She lives with her husband, and they have 8 children. Some live with her while 2 of the children are already married. They basically do farming; selling coffee and bananas. They are planning on starting a chicken business with the husband.

**Warm up**

I: How did yesterday end here?

R: It was okay.

I: You have finished weeding.

R: I still have the weeds; yesterday I went there.

I: Today you haven’t gone there.

R: Today my son is going back to school, I wanted him to first finish my house for the chicken so this is why I haven’t gone to the garden.

I: He is going back in the evening. Maybe it is near.

R: He goes to school in Mbarara.

I: Today you stayed home so that you work on the house.

R: Yes, it disturbed today and I also had to prepare lunch.

I: Otherwise how are you all?

R: We have no problem, we are okay.

**Background information, Household structure and Land ownership**

I: Mama, in our first part of our conversation, we shall talk about your family, how you live and your land. How many people are you that live here?

R: All of us as a family and those that have got jobs.

I: Yes, everyone that lives here.

R: Even the ones that have families now.

I: No, the ones that live here even though they work and come back. The married ones already have their homes so they don’t live here anymore.

R: We are 8

I: It is you and your husband and the rest are your children.

R: Yes.

I: How many children do you have?

R: We have 8 children

00:02:55

I: How many boys and girls are they?

R: They are 2 girls and 6 boys.

I: The girls are the older ones or they are the younger ones.

R: They are the older ones and they have their families now.

I: Is there any other person who stays here?

R: No.

I: How many sleep with you here every day?

R: This one has been sleeping at school and there are other two who are working there, but they still live here because they haven’t yet got their homes. They stay there far away; they have spent a year without coming. This one you have found comes back in the holidays. We are always 5 who sleep here every here.

I: How old are you Mama?

R: I have 49 years.

I: I see you are about to jump into 50.

R: yes.

I: You studied up to what class.

R: In primary 4

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

R: I cultivate bananas, coffee, beans and other crops. But where we get more money is from coffee and bananas.

I: I see a cow hide here.

R: We don’t have cows, we failed to get where to graze them from.

I: I have seen many plantations this side and coffee. Are there any other animals that you rare here like chicken?

R: We have 2 goats and we haven’t yet started on the chicken, we are still finishing their house.

I: Have you bought them yet or you haven’t?

R: I was waiting for the house to get done then I buy and out them there.

I: Well done. I hope you enjoy them. How long have you lived here?

00:06:43

R: We reached here in 1989. They are 30 years.

I: Before you came here, where were you coming from?

R: I was born in Bugarama, the parish is Rwesanga and the cell is Bugarama.

I: Do you often go back home?

R: I go to visit and come back.

I: Are there other reasons that take you there apart from visiting?

R: No, I only go there to visit, I can sleep there or I leave that same day.

I: Do you still have your parents there?

R: I have only my mother, my father died recently, it is not yet a year.

I: For you to go back and visit them, after how long is this?

R: I spend time, sometimes a year can go. If I have a reason like if they are sick, I go there. But if I don’t have any pressing issue, a year can go.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Do you have land that you own?

R: No

I: How about form your home, haven’t you received a share.

R: I haven’t yet received land from home because my mother is there.

I: Even the boys at your home haven’t yet been given.

R: When a man marries, they give him land and for the girls you get your land when all the parents die.

I: Is the land that you own with your husband?

R: We work together and buy land.

I: How many plots of land do you have?

R: It is this one and the one up there. They are two.

I: How big is this one in your view Mama?

R: It is like 1 and a half acres and up is like 1 acre.

I: What do you do here apart from the house?

R: It is the banana planation and coffee only.

00:10:27

I: How about the one up there?

R: That one has only coffee

I: How did you acquire this land her?

R: It is his inheritance from his father, so then we bought a half acre that we added on.

I: Altogether is it the 1 and a half acres of land.

R: Yes, we bought and half acre and he received 1 and half acres from the father.

I: How about the upper one?

R: We bought it also.

I: You have told me that you bought some land here and the upper one, do you have approved shares on this land?

R: I don’t remember if I signed as a buyer or witness but I signed.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. On your land, is it you and your husband that work on it or there are other people who work on it?

R: We cultivate and use it alone.

I: Have you given your children shares yet?

R: No, we haven’t.

**General land**

I: We shall talk about our next part which is on land in general, yours and for others included. How do people come to own land in this village?

R: They buy it.

I: Have most people in this village bought land that they own now or there are some that have got it in a different way?

R: There are others that have received shares from their father like us here, he received from the father and we added on the land. They are both there here.

I: Cn someone get land to use even though they don’t own it?

R: They can rent because there are people who have big land and they can rent it. You come and rent land, pay money and after the harvest you leave.

I: Can it happen that someone can rent land but not pay the money?

R: No, this is not here.

00:14:09

I: How about this thing of sharing the produce?

R: It is not here. Someone has to pay money.

I: Supposing someone wanted to sell his land, does he need to consult with anyone in the village?

R: He can sell; he doesn’t have to ask anyone but only agree with his family. The people on the side don’t have a say in this.

I: Let us say that the land is the man’s inheritance and it is his names. When he is going to sell does he need to consult his family first?

R: Yes, the man receives this land because of the wife. I the man stays there without a wife; the father can give him land but take it back later. The land they give you, it is the woman who works and cares for t therefore she has the authority over the land too.

I: Supposing you are living here on this land that he inherited but then he bought some land somewhere else, when he is going to sell it does he need to consult with the wife or family?

R: Yes, he still has to ask her.

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

R: I think it is both your land.

R: For who and who?

R: For me and the man.

I: If it is yours and the man, does everyone have the control over it.

R: Yes, the children can also use it because they are your children.

I: When the land is yours and your husband, this means that tomorrow if you want to graze goats you graze and cultivate as you want and everyone else does what they like?

R: All of you are like one person. You can go to plant something as a woman and the man says that he thinks that that land should be left and if he says no then you leave the planting. Most of the time, land is on the hand of the man. He is the one with the authority over the land, you stay as a woman and the children if they want to do something on the land and I see that it is not good, I can stop them. The way I understand it, the man has authority on the land and the wife but the wife doesn’t have much authority like the man.

I: Mama, have you sold before?

R: Yes.

I: How big was the land you sold?

R: It was big land

00:18:56

I: On which land?

R: It was separate on the side then we sold it.

I: How big was it?

R: Do I remember, many of the times you sell and forget.

I: Even though you don’t remember the exact size, how many acres do you estimate it to have been?

R: They were 3 quarters of an acre of land.

I: I am wondering what made you sell it?

R: We were going to trade in coffee and we decided to sell on the land, he was also going to buy and sell cows.

I: You sold it all?

R: Yes.

I: Do you rent land?

R: Yes, when mine is not enough for me.

I: Have you rented land this season?

R: This season have cultivated on my land only.

I: How much land do you normally rent?

R: I get like a half or quarter acre of land.

I: What crops have you grown this season, I have seen fresh beans here?

R: I have planted beans and millet.

I: Where have you planted the millet?

R: Up there in the coffee.

I: I didn’t know that millet can be out in coffee.

R: I just put little on the sides, I haven’t planted much millet this season.

I: Okay. If you have land that you own, what would having ownership over it mean to you?

R: It can help you tomorrow depending on the way you see your husband. If you understand marriage things, for many the marriage can fail and this land can help you. But me I don’t have this, we work together to buy land and use our land. But I don’t have land personally.

00:22:34

I: You had told me that you sold on the land to trade in cows, what happened after?

R: He bought them and sold them again after getting his profit he used it for other things. This

was long time ago, I don’t even remember it.

I: In your view, what things can show proof of ownership that someone owns land?

R: I know the agreement that you make when buying land.

I: Apart from this is there anything else that can show proof like for your land now?

R: We have a title but before they gave it to us we had our agreements and for the land that his father gave him, the village people knew that he was given this land.

I: In your view, what good things are there in having a woman’s name listed on these land ownership documents.

R: I don’t mind about this, I don’t know.

I: You may not know about it but what do you think could be good in having a woman’s names listed on these land documents?

R: You see I also don’t normally sign on the land but sometimes I sign as a witness and I don’t mind about it.

I: Even though you signed as a witness, what good things are there in having a woman’s name son this agreement too?

R: It should be good, because if the man wants to sell the land he can’t sell it without your permission. Someone had told me about it, I asked him that if he is going to buy land, doesn’t the woman sign on the agreement. He said that she can’t sign there, he said that if he buys the land and she signs as a witness, it is his land and she doesn’t have a share on it because he didn’t say that he bought it with his wife but she signed as someone who was just there. This kind of land if he sells it tomorrow, you as the woman don’t have a say therefore he can sell as he wants because you didn’t sign as one who has bought with him.

I: Is there any other good thing there?

R: It helps you tomorrow, that if he wants to sell in the wrong way it can help you. This is how I see it.

I: Is there any problem that would come out of having a woman’s names on these land documents?

R: It can be a problem too because like I had told you he is going to sell. The woman you have signed, so when he is selling you the woman refuse him to sell and this brings about a fight. This can be a problem for him.

I: You had said that you haven’t yet received land, do you hope to receive it in the future?

00:30:05

R: I don’t know this because like now we are from two women at home, my older two sisters had been born and us too then out father died. My mother was the younger wife, the land that is there is for our two older step sisters and now we don’t know if our mother has any land to give us later.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. As you see in your village, is there a way that people are fearful of losing their land?

R: I haven’t heard about this here.

I: If you are able to get more land, in what way would you acquire it?

R: If I have the money and buy it.

I: Is there any other way that you would go through to get it?

R: There is none.

I: Which one is your family land according to how you explained to me about it?

R: I know that all the land we bought and this one where I am on is all family land for us all.

I: You had said that the man has the authority over the land, supposing he is not around tomorrow what will happen to that land?

R: That is what I had told you that the man and the wife are the ones who have the control, so the man has the upper hand but if he is not around then the wife has the authority over it.

I: You had told me that you have a banana plantation here, have you planted the beans in there?

R: Yes, and also some are in the upper land.

I: In your home, who makes the decisions on your land like what to plant and where to plant it.

R: We both decide because we all cultivate, we agree and out what we have decided on that land.

I: Isn’t there someone with an upper hand who decides more than the other?

R: That will always be the man.

I: Okay, thanks for telling me about that.

**Baseline awareness of title**

Let us get into our next part. It is about titles and we would like to get your thoughts on this. In your view, what does a title mean?

R: I would hear that the title keeps your land so that tomorrow people can’t come and steal it. That if you have that title it means that the land is yours.

00:34:28

I: Of what use is the title?

R: The way I hear about it, that if you want to do something you can go and get a loan from the bank and do what you want. These are the only thing I know about it that someone can’t steal your land and if you want more money you can take the title and give it as leverage and they give you money.

I: In this journey where they have visited you and talked to you about title, what have you liked there?

R: Actually I had refused because I don’t want to lie to you. I asked what I will benefit from this title because I wasn’t understanding it at all but they told me that it is good in the ways I have told you. It helps when you want to get money and use it to do something and it also keeps your land so that no one can come tomorrow and steal it. But I had refused saying that tomorrow what if these people turn around and take your land. I kept on having the doubt and now I still think about how it is going to help us or not.

I: So Mama, they visited you the first times and you didn’t understand, is there a way your husband came to explain to you so that you understand?

R: He talked to me but I also tried to ask and there is a woman who was chosen to get a title and she also told them that she didn’t understand the title like I have told you and she refused it. When I heard her story I also told him that why don’t we leave it and then he made me understand that the title has no issue.

I: On this title, Mama did you sign as well on the title?

R: I put there my signature because I had allowed.

I: When they were bringing the title, did you see your name there too?

R: I think there is only his name there.

I: Okay. Before he put his name alone, did he first talk to you or?

R: I have forgotten now I don’t remember if I am there or if he is the only one there. I didn’t mind reading but I think it is him who is on it alone.

I: I would love to know why you think he decided to out his name alone there.

R: Unless it requires me to check if my name is there too but I don’t remember if he is there alone. Because when they would bring papers here, I would sign like how I have signed on the papers you gave me. On the title how it came, I didn’t mind seeing if my name was on there too.

I: When they brought the stones, were you here?

R: Yes.

I: How about when they came to bring the title, were you here too?

00:40:05

R: They gave it to us in Rubindi, we went there to pick it.

I: Is there any concern that you have found in this journey which you would want us to know?

R: I haven’t found any issue through it but I would love to ask whether we will be disturbed tomorrow because we got a title or there is no issue.

I: We will talk about the question in the end. Do you think there is a difference between a title and the agreement or there is none?

R: I think there is a difference.

I: Which one is it Mama that you have thought about?

R: This one I have failed to find a way to answer it.

I: Mama, there is no right or wrong answer just say it. In the way how you saw the title and the agreement, is there any difference?

R: For the agreement you write that you have bought land from so and so which you can see and know but for the title it is in English and I don’t know how to read them because I didn’t go to school so I can’t even understand what it means. Even the people that brought it to us, you can’t understand why they gave it to you so this is the difference that I see.

I: Mama, I am wondering whether you suspected or knew that your husband was on the title alone.

R: I don’t know if he is there alone, because when they would bring the papers and I would sign there with him so I can’t tell what it is.

I: Okay. It is okay Mama, that is what you remember.

R: But if I go and see on it, can’t you explain to me more.

I: It is okay you can check later. When you find your names and for your husband then you are both there and if you find his names alone then he is the only one on it.

R: Whenever they would the papers we would be both sign so I don’t know if it can happen that he is on there alone. But I think my name is there.

I: When they came to plant stones, is there any paper that you signed on?

R: I don’t remember that particular day but all the time they would bring papers we would sign there with him. I don’t remember.

I: There is no problem, this is your truth and you can also go later and confirm and we shall check our system also.

R: Okay. (she goes to check on the fire and the food)

I: You fire has gone out.

00:48:46

R: I was checking if the water is there and adding more firewood.

I: Okay. Do you think that women love to be on a title with their husbands or not?

R: Why wouldn’t you love it.

I: Why do you think that they love it?

R: The man can use that land the way he wants. I have hope that if you are not on the title, the man will use the land the way he wants and many times men can just wake up and say that they are going to sell the land yet they have no reason as to why they are selling so when you are on the title you have the right to stop him.

I: Do you think that having as title can bring about change in your marriage?

R: You can’t know it might change. Like I had told you that you can take the title and they give you money, now if he takes the title and gets money but fails to pay back the money won’t you lose the land. I see that this is where the problem might come in.

I: How about in other marriages, and maybe they get titles or not. Do you think that the title will make the marriage better or not?

R: It all depends on whether you agree or not. For example, he tells you that he wants to get money but you don’t agree because you are not seeing what he is going to us it for so there it will bring problems in the marriage. Also when he wants to get the money but you know that it is good and it will be used for good then it is a good thing.

I: Here in your family, do you usually use loans?

R: We go and get them.

I: Where do you get them from?

R: We normally go to some bank in Bukiro.

I: When you are going to get a loan, do you sit and agree?

R: Yes, we first discuss.

I: Do you both go to get the money?

R: No, he is the one who usually goes there to get it but we will have agreed together.

I: When he brings it, does he tell you about it

R: Yes.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. What advantages can be there in having both a man and woman listed together on the title?

R: If he wants to get money, you have to both agree.

00:54:23

I: What other advantages are there in this?

R: There is nothing else I have heard about only that it helps you get money from the bank and to keep your land.

I: Do you think that there is a way it helps women in any way when they are on the title with their husband?

R: I think it can’t help you if you are not on the title and your husband passes on.

I: Let us say that the woman was on the title with the man, what advantages are there in this?

R: It can help her when the one passes on. The woman will now have the authority on the land and she can stay there. If he passes on and he was the only one on the title, then they can even take the land from her because she is not anywhere on the title.

I: What reasons do you think make men refuse to put women on the title?

R: I think he just wants to use it the way he wants because it is now his alone. If he wants to take it and put it as leverage in the bank and they ask him where his wife is he will ask them if they have seen the wife’s name on the title therefore he can use it alone.

I: Do you think that there are things women do that may cause men not to add them on the title?

R: Sometimes the reason is not there but he wants to do as he likes.

I: Before you encountered the people that were educating you about titles, were there people that had titles in this village?

R: I heard only one person but I don’t know much. He is not in this cell, I heard that he put his land in a title.

I: Where do you think people go to and what ways do they pass through to get these titles?

R: No, I don’t know where they pass through.

I: Where do you think that they get them from?

R: I hear that they buy it and put in a lot of money to get it but the way in which he goes through to get it I can lie to you that it is through this organization or the other but I hear that it costs a lot of money.

I: Let us say that I am a person living on your village here, are there any ways I have to go through to get a title?

R: I don’t understand this; I don’t know it.

I: In general, what do you think that people in your village think about titles?

R: I think they love them but they can fail to afford it.

00:59:40

I: When these titling people came, did people like the titles or what did they talk about them?

R: Like the people that didn’t get them.

I: In general, even those who got them.

R: I would hear some say that if they had got the chance thy would get the title too.

**Intra Household discussion and Bargaining**

I: Thanks for telling me about that Mama, our next part is about the conversations you had with your husband about the title. When they came to visit you the first time, what did you talk about with your husband after they left?

R: I asked myself that this title is it useful, will they take our land tomorrow and how do they benefit anyway by giving us this free title. How did they think about it because I hear that the title costs a lot of money yet they were going to give it to us for free so why where they giving to us for free. I told you that I had refused.

I: What did your husband tell you about this?

R: He told me that the title is good because people admire them so can you refuse it. But I kept worried asking myself why they would give them to us for free yet they are bought with much money.

I: What did your husband tell you?

R: He told me that there are good things about it.

I: What advantage is he tell you that it had?

R: He said that it keeps your land and no matter what a person does tomorrow, he can’t take your land if it happens like someone just comes and tries to claim that your land is theirs. My heart told me that where do you benefit from giving us something that is bought expensively for free.

I: How about when they visited you for the other times, what did you talk about?

R: I remained with my questions.

I: Did you ask the people who were telling you about the titles?

R: When he explained to me, I didn’t mind asking again.

I: But you were not satisfied with the answers in your heart.

R: Yes. When he explained to me, he also tried to ask other people out there and they told him that it is good so I also went along in this.

I: Okay. How has this experience been for you?

1:04:22

R: It has no problem, if people have been coming and asking me like you have asked me and after they go. I haven’t found any problem in this yet but I just kept on asking myself in my heart about what I have told you.

I: So, did you like the title?

R: When you don’t understand something you just keep asking yourself even though you love it. What do these people benefit from giving us for free something that is bought with much money.

I: So this the thought that remained in you.

R: Yes.

I: Okay. Let us talk about your marriage years, how have these 30 years been for you?

R: It has been there, issues come in marriage but you endure and live like that.

I: Mama, many people are no longer in their homes but you have cooked.

R: Some issues can come and they are hard, marriage is not easy but you just persevere in there.

I: You can persevere but it is hard. Mama, have you ever separated?

R: No, I have never left.

I: Since 1989 when you came here, you have been here all through.

R: Yes.

I: If you don’t mind telling me, I would love to know what reasons have kept you here going every day?

R: Issues can come and you quarrel and it becomes bad.

I: If you don’t mind telling me, what issue is this?

R: They can be many.

I: Just tell me about one, if you don’t mind but if you mind then it is okay not to tell me.

R: Maybe like going to the bank and you witness for someone to get money and then he wants to turn around and deny you then you find yourself paying that money. This is what I don’t like and you find it bringing quarrels here.

I: Let me ask Mama, he went and got money from the bank, did he tell you?

R: There are times when he gets it and we agree on the amount to get but then you later find out that he got more than the amount you agreed on.

1:08:37

I: Let us say that he has brought a form to get money and you agree to get like 300,000 shillings then for him when he reaches there he gets 800,000 shillings?

R: We can pay it but you see it will have interfered with us.

I: How did you go through this?

R: I see it as a problem because it draws us apart and we quarrel.

I: Does he still do this or he stopped?

R: He sometimes gets the real money and other times he gets more and the problems keep coming through this.

I: Supposing he gets more money than the original, what does he tell you the extra will do?

R: Sometimes he will be trading.

I: Does he tell you what he has bought and sold?

R: He can repay the money but I don’t like it for him to get more money than we were supposed to get.

I: Okay. In what ways would you say that your husband supports you?

R: Yes, he does.

I: Tell me about what he does.

R: When he works and gets money then we can buy land like this. He like to buy land just that now we have school going children and they take a lot of money from us so he can fail to buy the land but he has a heart of buying land.

I: What other ways does he support you in the things you do?

R: He pays for the children school fees, he buys salt and soap and for other things he allows to cut bananas and I sell them then I buy the other things in the home. He cares a lot about paying for the children school fees.

I: How do you compare this to other marriages?

R: It is not the same everywhere, there are some who do things that make their wives happy and there are those who don’t.

I: Why do you think that some men don’t support their wives?

R: Sometimes the reason is not there but I think it is just someone’s heart. The reason will not be there but they are there doing other things.

I: Even if they don’t benefit his home?

1:12:01

R: Yes.

I: How about you Mama, in what ways do you motivate and support your husband in the things he does?

R: Even if I do them the man will not appreciate you saying that I have done this for him.

I: In your view, what ways do you show this to him?

R: You can do this and he will not tell you whether he likes it or not.

I: May be he appreciates in his heart. Even though he doesn’t tell you, what do you think you do for him that encourages him?

R: I wash for him and cook for him, what else. Like I told you that we have a banana plantation and coffee; sometimes you find a man cutting the bananas and he sells them and uses the money for what he wants. But in the plantation I also work in it with him, I weed it I look after it and the money that comes out of there, he doesn’t use it alone. It can pay for the child’s school fees and now this is how I also help and put my hand in there and I like it that he hasn’t taken it alone. If it is picking coffee I pick it with him, I can’t leave him to do it alone. We dry it and sell it, the money that comes out we use it to pay school fees for the children.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages.?

R: There are women who don’t do this but many do this for their husbands.

I: For the one who doesn’t do it, what reasons make her refuse to do so?

R: I think it is her nature, the way she is.

I: In your home, who makes the major decisions on the things you take to be important in your marriage?

R: We first talk about it together and we agree on it.

I: What is the recent decision you made?

R: Like which one.

I: On the things that you take to be important here, tell me about the latest decision you have made about them.

R: Like maybe paying for the children school fees.

I: Okay. You had said that you sit and discuss together, tell me about any recent thing you discussed and agreed about together to do.

R: There is nothing we have decided on.

I: Does this mean that you do your things and your husband also does his own things?

1:19:00

R: We have decided about the chicken house I told you about, we agreed to build and finish it.

I: Are the chicken yours or they are for your husband?

R: They are for us both, we agreed to finish it then put in chicken.

I: Okay. Have you paid for the chicken where you are getting them from?

R: We haven’t yet paid for them. I wanted to start with one because we have no money. I bought one that I paid for then after he gets money then he will add in more.

I: Mama, do you think that this is similar in other marriages?

R: There are some who don’t agree about this.

I: Why do you think that they don’t agree?

R: Some people don’t mind about it.

I: What reason do you think makes men and women don’t sit to agree?

R: You can’t know this because you can’t be in someone’s heart therefore you can’t understand these home things.

I: But in general, what do you see out there that cause them not to agree?

R: Most of the time it is things like alcohol when he drinks alcohol all the time he doesn’t get time to sit and talk with his wife about issues at home.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks mama for telling me about that, we shall go to our next part. We have grown up seeing that land is more for the men than the women. There are some things we want to understand on this even though we don’t have the truth. We want to get your thoughts. Are there women who own land in this village?

R: Yes, they are there.

I: In what ways do they acquire it?

R: You can find the she works or she deals in trade so she cultivates, harvests and sells then buys her land.

I: Are there other things that show have got land in other ways maybe like inheritance?

R: I don’t know about inheritance because someone can’t tell you this even though they are there. May be the ones that live with their husbands on the land.

I: For these who have land either through buying or inheritance, do their husbands know about it or these women have it in secret?

1:23:09

R: He will be knowing about it but she will make the agreement in her own names.

I: Are there women who have the land but in secret?

R: No, the man knows about the land but the woman makes the agreement in her names alone. You can hide land from someone.

I: Why can’t she hide it?

R: How will you hide it from him. He has to know about it but the agreement will be for the women.

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

R: It is good for the woman to buy land but this land can brings issues in the marriage, all the time there will no agreement because the man can’t be happy about this. For the woman to buy this land it is because of what she sees her husband doing maybe he doesn’t care to buy land for the family so the woman decides to buy this land so that it helps her tomorrow or it will help her children but this doesn’t make the man happy.

I: So you want it to be allowed but they have it with their husbands or?

R: It would be right for the land to be for both the man and the woman because by the time you as a woman decide to buy your land on the side it means there is no agreement and working together at all and there is no peace in the home.

I: Do you think that women would want it to own land with their husbands or they want to own it alone?

R: She wants to have it with her husband.

I: Are there those that want to own it alone?

R: No, she wouldn’t want to have it alone but because of the reason I have showed you that she sees that her husband gets money and drinks alcohol or he gets other women, she now buys her own land. She also would have loved to have it with her husband.

I: Like we had talked about family land, do you think that most of the time women have shares on this land?

R: For her to get a share on that land.

I: Just like you had told me about it.

R: Yes, she has it because it is for both the man and the woman.

I: In your view, if the man wants to sell this land in a marriage does he need to get permission from his wife or he can sell as he likes?

R: He has to get it and if the woman refuses then he can’t sell it.

1:27:30

I: Supposing it is land he bought by himself and it is in his names, does he still need to get the permission from the wife?

R: That is what I told you that someone told me that if you don’t make the agreement showing that your husband and you bought the land, the woman has nowhere to come in and when he is selling his land the woman has no say about this.

I: I would love to know; if the land is in his names and the agreement shows that it is him who bought the land but this is where you have lived with him and given birth to children. Does he sell as he like or he has to ask you first?

R: He can’t sell it but you have also worked for this land together even though the man goes to Kampala to work but he had left you at home. Although he may work in hard conditions and gets the money then he buys the land, it should be for the both of you because you remained at home doing other work here. But it is just us people who forget to understand this but the land is for both of us.

I: Okay. Are widows allowed to remain on land after their husband’s death?

R: She can stay and she can sell and go away if she wants to go. Long ago they would chase her away but when she would go to report to the authorities and then she stays there.

I: Let us say that the land is in the names of the man, she can still stay there?

R: She can remain there because no one will ask you to bring the agreement, the land has now remained with her.

I: When the widow also passes on, who then owns with the land?

R: It will be for the children. If she has given birth, the land is for her children.

I: What if she hasn’t given birth?

R: She will look for someone to leave it with like her relative or whoever she wants.

I: Supposing she dies abruptly without making any will, who will own the land?

R: They will sit and talk about it and make sure the family goes on and the land will be shared equally among the children or the family.

I: Is there any difference if she found her husband with the land or if they worked together to buy it or if there are children?

R: She can remain on the land because it is now her land. Let me give you an example, I have my in-law who dies but he hadn’t given birth to any child, the land he had was given to him by his father but when he died, she sold the land and went away. You can’t rule the widow, when the man dies she has to remain with the land whether he got it from his father or not.

I: Are widows allowed to remarry?

1:32:02

R: On that land.

I: Can she bring the man there or she has to go to the new man?

R: They can’t allow her; the deceased husband’s family can’t allow her.

I: Are there women who decide to marry regardless if this?

R: Yes, she can get married but if the family is storing they can’t allow her.

I: Have you seen widows that have remarried and brought the man on that land?

R: Yes, they are there.

I: For this widow who chooses to get married again after her husband’s death, what reason cause her to do this?

R: She can be wanting to do so I think.

I: How about for the woman who refuses to get married again, what reasons make her do this?

R: People are not the same. There is one who can persevere and keep herself and there is one who will have a weak heart so she can’t persevere.

I: Are there other reason for which you think women might be forced to get married again?

R: The man may leave her without a house, so she may meet someone who is willing to build for her a house so she gets married because of this.

I: In your view, has it happened in this village whereby after the widow losing her husband the male relatives come and try to grab land from her?

R: No, it hasn’t happened here.

I: Why do you think that it has happened yet?

R: That one passed away, the widow is allowed to stay on her land. There is no where they can even say this at all.

I: Who allowed this to happen?

R: I think in the government and if she goes to report them in the government, the case will find them guilty.

I: In the government where does she start from?

R: It hasn’t even happened anywhere here.

I: Let us say that she has gone to report, where will she start from reporting in the government?

1:34:42

R: She will go to the chairman and he gives her letter then she goes up to other levels.

I: The way widows were treated way before has it changed in the recent times?

R: Yes.

I: In what ways has it changed Mama?

R: In the past when a woman would lose her husband, the in-laws would interfere with her and want to chase her away from the land whether she has children or not but his is not there today. This is the problem they had those days.

I: What has changed today?

R: No one can say that they chase from land like this one. This is the change I see today.

I: Who has brought about this change today whereby they can’t chase her away from the land?

R: I think it is the development happening all around the world.

I: What do you think about all these things that happen to women after losing their husbands?

R: It is pain only; her husband has died.

I: In your village, are widows treated well or not in your view.

R: How will you treat her badly. She is a person like others and she is always in people like others., she is not isolated for people, and where will you start from to isolate her or treat her badly.

I: How about in your village groups?

R: No, she also attends them like other people. She doesn’t have any issue because she didn’t bring it to herself to lose her husband. She has her pain so you on who is on the side don’t have to treat her badly.

I: And the women who separate or divorce with their husbands, what happens to them as regards land?

R: I hear that they share the land and if the man refuses then he can refuse.

I: Do you think that when a woman separates with the man, do they chase away the woman or sometimes the man can go and leave the woman in the house?

R: It is not easy for the man to leave the wife in the house.

I: So, when the woman separates with her husband, do they give her a share on the land or they chase her away?

R: When they agree together they share but if the man refuses then that is it.

1:38:55

I: This means that it is upon the man to agree and share the land?

R: Yes.

I: Whether they worked for the land together or it was the man’s inheritance?

R: Yes, but these days they love sharing the land, the men are allowing to share the land.

I: Have you seen any case of a couple that separates in this village?

R: No.

I: Why do you think that there are no separations here?

R: When they separate, the woman can decide to go but I haven’t yet seen the one where they have shared the land yet but I hear about it in other villages. In this village they don’t separate for good, the woman can go and come back later.

I: When a woman separates with the man, does she have to go with the children or she has to leave them behind?

R: It depends.

I: On what?

R: If the woman sees that she can handle taking care of the children then she will go with them but if she can’t handle them she will leave them behind and they will suffer.

I: Mama, the way these women are treated and all the things that happen to them, do you think it is okay or you would love to see something change about it.

R: They are not okay. When you go to get married, it was created that someone should remain in their family and have peace. You should have remained at your father’s house but it was created that you shall get married and when you do, you would love to remain in your family.

I: What would you love to see change about the way they are treated?

R: She can’t fit at home at her father’s home. It would be good for the man to have a good heart and leave his wife and forgive each other because mistakes happen then she can stay at her husband’s home.

I: So you don’t want them to separate.

R: I wouldn’t want them to separate.

I: Supposing the man doesn’t include the wife on the title, are there any problems that cancome out of this?

R: They can come about but I don’t know how I could know about it.

1:41:54

I: You may not k ow it but what do you think would come out?

R: By the time the man decides to go on the title alone it means that there is something he wants to do in secret which is not good and will bring issues. If he doesn’t put her on the title, he will even keep the title by himself because if they were there together the woman would have been the woman maybe keeping it. So if he has kept it alone, he will go to the bank and get money then he fails to pay it back and now the woman doesn’t know then they want to take the land.

I: Do you think that if a woman is able to own land with her husband then this will decrease conflict in their marriage or it will increase it?

R: Whether you have land together or you are on the land together, this can’t stop conflict from coming from elsewhere. It can’t decrease or increase it. Conflicts can come from other places and land may not finish them.

I: Let us say that the misunderstanding has come, can this having land together decrease it?

R: No, it is like when they say that a ring doesn’t mean marriage. You can hear that someone is wedded with another person and she will endure everything because she got a ring with her husband so nothing will happen to her no matter what.

**Land disputes**

I: Okay Mama, let us talk about our last part of the conversation which is about disputes on land. What do you think is the most common cause of disputes and fights on land?

R: The problems don’t come from land alone sometimes.

I: For the disputes you have seen on land, what has caused them mostly like in this village?

R: I don’t see them.

I: How about how you hear in other villages or over the radio, what brings about these disputes on land?

R: When the man is going to sell the land and the woman says that he can’t sell the land because she doesn’t see what he is going to use the money for after selling. Out of this there comes out a big fight.

I: Have you seen this happen anywhere?

R: No, I haven’t. I just hear them on radio.

I: How about like the issues that come from migorora when one moves into the other person’s land. Haven’t these disputes happen in this village?

R: Like among village people.

I: Yes, Mama.

1:46:45

R: Village people have these fights here but they normally go to the chairman and then they resolve and it ends.

I: Mama, when there are such fights on land, what usually happens in your view?

R: When they don’t hurry to call the leaders, it can be worse.

I: Can such fights be resolved within a family?

R: If it is like a mugorora, they have to sit and fist understand each other then maybe the family can come in.

I: Are there times when you involve the village [people?

R: when someone has this case of land.

I: Yes, like you told me that maybe a man wants to sell and the women doesn’t want or when the neighbor enters the other person’s land.

R: They call the chairman and the people also come. Sometimes the village people can’t resolve these fights and the leaders come in.

I: Let us say that one side of the people in a dispute has a title, is there a way this can help to resolve it?

R: Like how they planted for us stones and our neighbor doesn’t have.

I: Yes.

R: This can help because the stone can show the land of the person.

I: In your view, what would you say be done to help people with these land problems?

R: Now, when someone wants to take some piece of land that moves from here to there, it doesn’t help them but if it is the nature of the person and they feel like their land matters there is nothing you can do about them. One of them has to let go of the land and keep peace.

I: Won’t they kill themselves over this. What would you want be done to resolve this?

R: The leaders are there to reconcile them; they will keep getting help from them.

I: Okay, my last question Mama, where do you think that we come from?

R: I don’t know.

I: You may not know a name but where do we do you think we come from?

R: Maybe from Mbarara form the land organization.

I: Thank you for also talking with me, here is a small gift to appreciate your time.

1:50:13