**INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT**

Interviewer Name: Fiona Atukunda

Interview date: 6/11/2019

Name of respondent: Susan

H.H I. D: 5700251

Title status: Solo title

Interview start time: 10:37 am

Interview stop time: 4:02 pm

Age: 24

Marital status: Married

No. of children: 1

No. of people living in the household: 4

Occupation: Tailor

Highest level of education: Primary 7

No. of years living in the village: 3

Roofing material:

Housing material:

Interview Duration: 1:29:29

The interview happened in Ntungamo in a restaurant, the respondent no longer stays in Mbarara after they separated with her husband. The respondent separated with the husband and went back to her home in Mirama hills in Ruhaama. The husband was worked on by Martin so he gave us the contact and we called her then she agreed to meet with me in Ntungamo. We had no interruptions, she was engaged, conversational and relaxed. She told me that they separated in 2017 and the major cause was her mother in-law who never liked her so she left the home and went with her son whom the husband picked later from her because every time she would ask for help to take care of the son, he would tell her that she knows where to find him. She said she is considering getting back with him because she doesn’t want to have children of different men even though it hurts her that he got another wife. Asked about titling, she said that she heard her in-laws and the husband talking saying that they can’t put a woman on the title, her husband also said that he can’t put a woman on his title too. She heard this so she knew from the start that she would not be added.

Together with her husband they have 1 child but the husband got another wife and they have one child together. She said that he has been telling her to come back and they be two wives in the home, she is still considering this. At her parents’ home, she started a tailoring business which supports her, she learnt tailoring after her primary 7. Her parents have not yet given her land because they are still alive. She said that when she was still there living with her husband, they had one piece of land that was 5 acres, a house, a banana plantation and a farm. They would sell bananas and sell milk but the money was always kept by the man. From her talk, the man sounds to be middle class to rich.

**Warm up**

I: Good morning, how are you at home?

R: We are well.

I: Who do you stay with at home?

R: With my parents.

I: Both of them.

R: Yes.

I: How is the child?

R: He is fine, he has him.

I: When did he get him?

R: In August.

I: He had said that you had the child.

R: No, he took him away.

I: He is a boy.

R: Yes.

I: Mama, I would love to know. Our team found you there during the titling process and when we came back we didn’t find you.

R: Things didn’t work out so I left.

I: Did you try to be patient and stay?

R: You can be patient but still it fails, but now never know I will call you and tell you that I am back there.

I: Okay.

R: Now that am not yet married.

I: So what was the biggest reason that made you go back home?

R: My mother in law didn’t like me. But I was also still a child because now when I look at the issues that made me leave, right now I wouldn’t have left but back then I saw them as big issues and right now I see them as very small issues. I have nothing to do about this.

I: Do you have the thought to go back there?

00:02:03

R: I will go back.

I: Has he come back home to try and get you back?

R: If I like it, he can come.

I: What do you mean?

R: If I like it, yes he can come because he calls me. He got angry when I left and he married there and then.

I: Do you think that he got her after you left or?

R: I don’t know but I left in July and he brought the woman in January of the next year.

I: Was it July of last year?

R: I have made 2 to 3 years so far, I left in 2017. They have given birth with the other woman and the child makes 1 year in December.

I: Okay. At home what are you doing and how is everything going on?

R: I went back to my job.

I: What job is this?

R: I am a tailor.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. How are you doing personally?

R: Just that sometimes I miss my child but otherwise I am well.

I: What if you wanted to g and get the child, would he allow you?

R: He can allow but from the time he took the child, when I call I have never talked to the child. He keeps on telling me that he is not home or the child has slept.

I: How old is the child?

R: He has made 5 years.

I: He is growing now.

R: When I call him and ask him to talk to the child, he tells me to go there and find him.

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

I: Okay. Our first part of the conversation today is about how you were living then and now land and all. How many people are you that live at home with your parents?

R: We are 7 of us.

00:04:52

I: How many children are you?

R: We are 5.

I: How about when you were still staying with Jonan (husband), how many were you?

R: We were 2 of us and the child so we were 3.

I: You talked about your mother in-law, where was she staying?

R: She was living alone.

I: Did you have a worker at home there?

R: Yes.

I: Was she living with you too?

R: Yes, she was a girl helping me at home.

I: Who had brought her?

R: He is the one who brought her.

I: Before you left, how long had you spent there?

R: I had spent there 2 to 3 years, I got married before 2015.

I: You had said that home is in Mirama.

R: In Ntungamo.

I: When you were there, would you go back home?

R: Yes, every July.

I: For what reasons would you go back home?

R: I would go just to check on them.

I: When you were still with Jonan, did you own land together/

R: He had a banana plantation and a farm.

I: Were they separate or they were together?

R: The house was here then you go past the road and the plantation and farm continue there.

I: The road was the one separating them.

R: Yes

00:07:18

I: How big was the banana plantation and farm in your view?

R: It is was like 5 acres.

I: How about at home where the house was, how big was it?

R: It was like a quarter acre of land.

I: So all this land was in his name.

R: Yes, it was in his name. but the people who visited us would bring papers and I would write on them too.

I: How about you, is there land that you own maybe like an inheritance?

R: Not yet

I: Why is this?

R: We are still young.

I: How old are you at home?

R: I am the first born.

I: How old are you Mama?

R: I made 24 years

I: You are still young. You are almost our last born at home.

R: Okay (She laughs)

I: What work brings you money?

R: I tailor clothes.

I: If a week goes well for you, like how much do you make?

R: You can find that I have 30,000.

I: And now we are going into Christmas.

R: Now the money will come in.

I: What class did you stop in at school?

R: In primary 7.

I: How about the tailoring, when did you learn it?

00:09:47

R: When I finished primary 7, I went to learn tailoring. When I was going to get married, I had already learnt it.

I: Where did you learn it from?

R: There at home in Mirama.

I: Mama, where did you meet Jonan?

R: There at our home side.

I: I am wondering what he was doing that side of your home because he is in Mbarara and you there in Mirama. So how did you get to find each other?

R: You know these things of girls, there is one who was married that side of theirs and she knew us. She was married to his friend and then he asked her if she can get her a woman to marry and then she told him about me. He came home and paid dowry.

I: How many cows did they ask of him as dowry?

R: 6 cows.

I: He brought all of them?

R: Yes.

I: Mama, did you have a thought of wedding?

R: I had said that if I give birth then we will wed but I didn’t want to wed before giving birth to a child.

I: Why is this?

R: Because I had no child yet but when I gave birth, I felt that I wanted it.

I: Now you are going to go back and wed.

R: Will the woman allow him, I don’t know.

I: Supposing he tells you that he will have 2 wives, can you allow to go back?

R: Even now that is what he is telling me, but it is still hard for me.

I: What advice have your parents given you?

R: I haven’t yet told them.

I: So Mama, who gives you advice?

R: No one, when I came back and started tailoring I moved on from marriage things.

00:12:08

You can’t find me telling anyone about this.

I: Okay. You can think about it and see if you want to go back or not. You have told me that they haven’t yet given you inheritance at home, do you only tailor or you do other things?

R: I haven’t cultivated yet.

I: Your parents are the ones that cultivate alone?

R: Yes.

I: On your land when you were still with Jonan, who else was working on it?

R: We would not cultivate still, we only had the plantation and we were grazing the cattle.

I: Like how many cows did you have?

R: When I went there they were 11 and their calves.

I: So you were getting money from there too.

R: From where, they would take away the money from the milk. He would take the money.

I: Okay, how about from the banana plantation when you would sell bananas, who would take and keep the money?

R: It was him, I had no control over it.

**General land**

I: In this part, we will talk about land in general. We will talk about there where you were married. How were people owning land in that village?

R: Now like Jonan, he had been given that land by his father. Many of them I think had inherited land.

I: Is there any other land he had?

R: No, he had only this one.

I: As you were in this village you saw that many people had receive land from their parents?

R: Yes, and I know the homes that were around us. But I don’t know for many.

I: Didn’t you have friends there?

R: They would not allow me to get friends.

I: I am wondering why.

R: I would stay in the home, they said that I might get rumors or take rumors there.

00:15:36

I: Okay. So you stayed alone.

R: Yes.

I: In your view, what are the different ways to show ownership of land?

R: The agreements they write and the title.

I: There at your home in Mirama, do people have titles there?

R: I don’t know them, many of them I think have agreements.

I: Is there a way someone can use land that they do not own?

R: You can ask and you find it but for renting.

I: How about can someone use the land and not pay rent?

R: I don’t know them this side but I used to see people give others land there at Jonan’s home, whereby someone plants their crops and when they harvest they give you a share.

I: Okay, paying rent through the harvests. They were still practicing this?

R: Yes.

I: If someone wants to sell land they own, can they sell it?

R: Like we had not yet got the title, I think he had the authority to sell the land.

I: Do you think he had to first consult someone in the village?

R: He can ask his friend or his parents and the spouse at home.

I: Supposing the land is in his names alone, does he still need to consult his wife or he can sell as he wants?

R: He has to still ask his wife.

I: Why do you think that he still needs to consult the wife?

R: He has to give his wife respect and ask. He may never know if the reason or issue he is selling the land for, the wife can solve it.

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

R: I understand it that someone can divide the land and say that this one is for the family and then the other is for himself to sell as and when he wants to. The family land, he may not touch it, even though they gave it to him as an inheritance he can decide and say that it will be for the family and the ones he buys on the side he can sell even minus asking the wife.

I: Who has the control over this family land?

00:20:06

R: Still it is the man even though the wife and children are included.

I: Supposing he is not there tomorrow; will he leave it divided?

R: I don’t know how he can do it.

I: As you have explained to me what family land is, where is your family land right now.

R: I am on my father’s land now.

I: You said that they haven’t yet given you a share home, do you hope to inherit land?

R: Yes, I do.

I: How about for the boys at home, have they been given their share?

R: They are all still young.

I: Oh, you are the first born. You said that you are how many children?

R: We are 5.

I: How many boys and girls?

R: 3 girls and 2 boys. The last born is till breastfeeding.

I: Have you ever rented land?

R: No, I don’t cultivate.

I: At home, you don’t dig at all?

R: My mother cultivates but I don’t

I: At home, how do you live all together?

R: They cultivate but me I don’t.

I: You only work in tailoring. Don’t you sometimes go and weed for them.

R: When they tell me to go and weed I will go and pay for them workers to do it.

I: When you were still with Jonan, had you sold land there?

R: He has never sold land.

I: Let us say that you have land that you own, what would ownership over this land mean to you?

00:22:36

R: That would be my land and I control it.

I: Tell me more on how you control it.

R: Let us say that it is a banana planation, you find that I am the one with the authority to decide that I put there. I am the one who chooses to cut like 3 or 6 bananas and leave some there or even I decide to finish them all.

I: At home you don’t dig, you have talked about bananas, why didn’t you go into plantation.

R: I don’t have my land yet and I don’t have my plantation yet.

I: How about at your father’s plantation, can’t you cut some from there?

R: No, it is his.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. Is there anything else that would show ownership on land apart from the agreement and title?

R: Nothing else.

I: Mama, do you hope to inherit land in the future?

R: From our home.

I: I don’t know, from anywhere.

R: I don’t know yet.

I: You may not know but what do you think?

R: It may happen because the way I see my father he says that the children who didn’t study and finish senior 4, he will give them land. And I see that it is only me who didn’t finish school.

I: Your follower is in what class?

R: She is senior 4, then the next is in senior 2.

I: And the 4th?

R: That one first sat so he is in primary.

I: I would love to know this, when a child finishes senior 4, why don’t they give them land?

R: I don’t also know.

I: So land is given to children who didn’t finish school.

R: Yes, and you see the children who are in the lower classes I see that they are going to study and finish.

00:25:02

I: So what is the main reason that made you drop out of school?

R: He had not yet understood the goodness of education those days.

I: Okay. People in the village you were married in, were they fearful of losing their land?

R: They were fearing to lose it.

I: In your view, why were they fearing?

R: Now like that rich man, you can find that they have put a title in your land long time and you don’t know about it.

I: You had a rich man there?

R: Yes, he was there. He was a relative to Jonan, so people were afraid of him.

I: Had it happened that someone’s land was take like this?

R: It had never happened.

I: Who were the most fearful of losing their land?

R: His whole family.

I: And yet they had a relation with him, I thought they would now be happy that they have a relative who has gone into the government.

R: No, they feared.

I: What were they doing to avoid their land from being taken?

R: You would find that because they were not at good terms of agreement, they tried to get close to him so that he doesn’t take their land later.

I: Before, they weren’t agreeing together as a family.

R: No, they were not.

I: If you are able to get more land now, how would you get it?

R: When I work and buy my own land.

I: You told me that now you are home at your father’s home, do you have shares there?

R: No. I just live there.

I: He is your father, he can’t wake up and tell you to leave.

R: It can happen, if you have bad manners he can chase you away.

00:27:39

I: On your land at home, what do you do there mostly?

R: They cultivate on it coffee, we graze there and also have a plantation. They put beans in the plantation.

I: How many cows do you have at home?

R: They are still few.

I: Even if it is one, it is a cow Mama.

R: We have 4 cows and 2 calves.

I: Who makes the decisions on your land at home, to plant this and put it here?

R: It is my father.

I: How about when you were at your marital home, who would decide maybe to plant beans in the planation or do this on the land.

R: It was my husband.

**Baseline awareness of titles.**

I: Mama, thanks for telling me about that, let us get into our next part which is about titles. We want to get your thoughts on them. There is no right or wrong answer. Personally, what does a title mean to you?

R: A title means that if you have it in your life no one can come and steal your land from you.

I: Why wouldn’t they stela the land?

R: Because it is in a title.

I: In what other way do you understand aprt from it keep your land from being stolen?

R: Also if the title is in that land, you can’t just sell the land like that.

I: Why wouldn’t you sell the land?

R: Because now there is a title and if you signed on it with another person you can sell the land alone.

I: What uses does the title have?

R: It protects your land in the days when you have died.

I: Throughout the journey of titling, what did you like about it?

R: We like the title, when they came and said that they were going to give us a title, we were very happy?

00:32:00

I: What made you like it so much?

R: Like I had told you about that rich man, it would keep the land from him.

I: Is there any problem you found that you would like to tell us about.

R: The problem is I don’t know whether my son was included because the man can decide to forget him or refuse to give it to him.

I: Do you think the title has a difference from the other land ownership proof like an agreement?

R: You see when you have the agreement, you can sell as you like and if you like you can change the names on it but for the title; it is hard to change it.

I: Why do you say that it is hard to change?

R: I don’t know very well here, I heard people saying that it is hard to change it maybe remove name or add other names.

I: You has said that they came and visited you and you would sign on the papers. I would love to know whether you signed on the title too?

R: When they gave him the title, I had already gone. When they took the pictures, he took them with our son.

I: But you were not in the pictures?

R: Yes.

I: In your view, why do you think that he refused to add out on the title?

R: I don’t know.

I: You may not know the real reason but what do you think it could be?

R: I think that when he took the picture of the child then I am included. When they came to record us for the first time, I asked them that what if he gives birth outside and I am still here, does the child have the authority over the land. They said that he can put my child on the title and tomorrow there will be no issue because he is on the title.

I: In general, do you think that women prefer it being on title with their husbands?

R: They be loving it.

I: Why do they love it?

R: If I had also gone on the title, I wouldn’t have an issue right now. If the title comes in his names and my child is not there, then it is not good.

I: Why do you think that some women love it to be on titles with their husbands?

00:34:42

R: When she is on the title with the man, even if the man marries another woman he will go and work for another land where to put this woman not on the other woman’s land.

I: He can’t share for the other woman on this land.

R: Yes.

I: Let us say that the other woman has children, can they come and share on this land?

R: This land is for the man, wife and their children.

I: Supposing you went on the title with the man and later on he gets another woman and they have children. Do those children have the right to come and share on this land you are on?

R: He has to look for them their land.

I: Do you think that there are women who don’t want to be on titles with their husbands?

R: They are not there.

I: Mama, can the title change anything in marriage for the man and woman?

R: If the woman is there on the title, it can change the marriage?

I: How?

R: Let me say that a man has a banana plantation, like how I was with Jonan and then he later wants to get another woman, it can stop him because he will think about buying land for the to put the other woman and yet he doesn’t have the money.

I: Now, supposing you were put on the title, would you have remained there?

R: It would have made me stay because I know that I also own the land and am there. I could have used it the way I want but when am not there, he could decide to get another woman and add her on the title and then he divides the land between you and her. When you know that you have ownership over the land, you can also sit and endure.

I: If a man and a woman are both on the title, does this make better their marriage connection and the way they work together?

R: Yes, it gets better.

I: Does land mean commitment in marriage?

R: Yes.

I: Meaning that if a woman doesn’t have authority over the land then they can’t stay together.

R: They can stay together but they are not stable and only God can keep them.

I: What good things will be there in having both a man and a woman listed on the land title?

00:37:59

R: They can plan for it together because the woman is on it too. You find that if the man wants to sell, he will first ask the woman if it is right for him to do it and if she refuses then he can’t sell it. But if the woman is not on the title, the man can sell it because he is on the title alone.

I: Is there any other good things aside from the man not selling where the woman isn’t?

R: That is what I know.

I: How about what good things would be there in having a woman’s name listed on other land documents like the agreement?

R: If they go to buy land and the woman signs on the agreement it means that it has that the man has bought the lands with his wife so and so. This gives the woman authority on the land and when he wants to do anything he will first go and ask the woman.

I: Why do you think some men refuse to add their wives’ names on the land title.?

R: Like how he didn’t put me there, he knew that he had his land and he would marry again but if he had put me on the title, he wouldn’t because he would know that I can’t allow.

I: Apart from this, is there another reason why men do this?

R: When he wants to sell, you find that he got a loan from there where you don’t know so he ate the money from there and now you find that he wants to sell the land and repay but because he added you on the title, he fears to sell the land. If he doesn’t put you there, he can come and sell his land.

I: In your view, are there some reason why men refuse to put their wives on titles because of the women themselves?

R: Depending on how they have lived together, he sees that if he gives birth to a child out, he can’t bring that child and this woman takes care of them because she has bad manners so he refuses to add her on the title.

I: Okay. That side where you were married, were there people who had their own land titles before meeting these titling people?

R: I don’t know them.

I: How about the rich man, hadn’t he got the title yet?

R: I don’t know.

I: Where do you think they pass to get titles?

R: I haven’t yet understood this.

I: In your view, where do you think they get them from?

R: I think that where you want to go is where you go.

00:42:08

I: What do you mean by this?

R: Like now the way I am, I come to Ntungamo in town and I look for where they give titles.

I: Let us say that you had your money today and you wanted to get a title, where would you pass through?

R: I think that they start from the chairman’s and continue.

I: In general, what do people think about title in your view.

R: It helps people to keep their land. People love them.

I: Then what stops them from getting them?

R: Money.

I: Why do you say money?

R: The money can be much.

I: Like how much?

R: Sometimes you find them asking for 3 million shilling to get it.

**Intra household Discussion and Bargaining**

I: Thanks you Mama for explaining to me about all that. Let us get into our next part about the conversation you had with your husband about the title. They came the first time and visited you both, tell me about what you talked after they left.

R: We were talking and saying that if they out the land in the title, it means that his land will now be in line protected even if he is not there it will stay there.

I: During the visits, would they talk to you alone and him alone?

R: There is a point they talked to me alone and they also talked to him alone.

I: After this visit, what conversation did you have.

R: I asked him what they were asking him about and he told me that they were asking him if they could give him the title with his son or him alone. He asked me mine and I told him that they asked me if they can give him a title without adding me but they add my son and I said yes.

I: I am wondering what made you allow that they put your con and not you.

R: They first asked the man but I had also seen it before that the man wouldn’t allow me to be there.

I: How did you come to know this? Tell me more.

00:44:58

R: We would be there and his in-laws come to visit and they say that they can’t put their wife on a title and he also said that he can’t put his wife on the title.

I: What do you think led him to talk like that?

R: His in-laws were the ones who started this conversation and then he also said that it is right because you can’t know who your marriage will end up and his land may go to waste.

I: Did he know that you heard this?

R: No.

I: In a way, did he call you and talk to you about not adding you on the title and how he would out your son but not you.

R: He told me that he has put his child because he is the one he has so if he outs the child that it means he has out me there. Even the people that visited us told me that if my son is on the title then he is the heir.

I: Okay. After they came to plant the stones, were you still there?

R: I had left. I stopped where they took their pictures.

I: All through, did you try to talk to him about adding you on the title or?

R: I kept quiet.

I: Thanks for telling me about that. You told me you had spent with Jonan about 3 years. How did this go for you?

R: Apart from the issues with my mother in-law, there was no problem.

I: Tell me about what your mother in law doing.

R: She would come and abuse me and you find that my husband wouldn’t allow what I am telling him.

I: What would he tell you?

R: You would find that he wants me to cultivate in this way yet my mother in law would want me to dig in a different way. We would not agree and she would attack me at my home wanting to beat me and at times she would even beat me.

I: Wouldn’t you tell your husband about this?

R: I told him once and I saw that it became once so I stopped.

I: How did it become worse?

R: He wanted to now beat the mother for beating me.

00:48:07

I: Let me ask, between him and the mother, there was no agreement?

R: They were not agreeing or working with each other.

I: Do you think that she just didn’t like you?

R: That is how she is. My husband was the last born so she has this thing where she doesn’t want you to go near her. All my in-laws who came and failed in their marriages, after they would go then she would love then. When they would go far then he loves them. Like now if I go to her and I accept and ask her for forgiveness for this and this, even though I don’t live with her, she will be happy and you find us together again.

I: I haven’t understood this though. Otherwise how was it with Jonan?

R: There was no issue.

I: In your view, in what ways would you feel that you are supported by Jonan?

R: Like in the plantation, he would tell me to weed and in the season for planting he would tell me to plant there beans.

I: Are there other ways in which he was supporting you?

R: He would take care of me. You would find that he wanted to know how we have eaten, what I have put on.

I: He would give you money to go and buy clothes.

R: No, he would go and buy them for me.

I: I am wondering how he knew your size.

R: They would fit me when he would bring them even the shoes.

I: How would you compare this to other marriages?

R: That is what I told you, God had given him to me but things failed. They are very few men who take care of their wives like how he would take care of me. Even though here are some that care, they don’t care for their wives as such in the way I see them.

I: For what reasons do you think that men don’t support the women in your view.

R: I don’t know for sure but it is just not wanting to do it and even take care of his home. He has the money but instead of buying for his wife clothes, he goes and buys for some girl out there.

I: In what ways were you encouraging him?

R: When I wanted to do something I would ask him first or at times I would advise him that I think we should do this.

00:52:10

I: What things were these?

R: I think you have never come there.

I: My male colleague is the one who went there.

R: The house was not yet finished, so when he would sell a cow I would tell him that after selling the cow then he can use some of the money to buy some material for the house or use the money for that and you find that we agree without quarreling. When I would ask him for something and it doesn’t come, I would not quarrel I would know that he has failed to get it.

I: How do you compare this to other marriages?

R: There are those women who do the same and there are others who don’t.

I: In your view, why do you think a woman would not encourage her husband.

R: It depends on how she grew up and what she would see happening at her home and how the mother would treat her father.

I: Meaning that most of the time the way the girls see their mothers treat their fathers is the same way they will treat their husbands?

R: Yes.

I: In your marriage, who would make the major decision on the issues that you considered to be important.

R: It was the man but when he would fail they would go to the chairman to decide for them.

I: Let us say that you would sell a cow and you have to decide what to use the money for, who would make such decision on these big things.

R: It was the man.

I: Are there times he would first talk to you or he would go with his opinion?

R: No, if I told him that this is not possible he would leave it but most time he would decide.

I: What was the last major decision he did that you remember?

R: The one I remember is when he sold a cow and he wanted to buy some 2 goats, I told him that I think he should buy another cow and replace the other one which was in the kraal and then he puts a side like 100,000 and builds a goat house and I saw him do this.

I: Is there anything that he decided alone?

R: He would give milk to someone who would take it to the dairy and keep the money.

I: He is the one who would take the milk to this person?

00:56:06

R: Yes.

I: Mama, do you think that this is similar in other marriages the way they make their decisions.

R: There are some who agree and there are others who don’t first agree. You can find that only the man decides and this means they don’t agree together.

I: Thanks for telling me about this. We are going to go to our next part.

**Gender norms around land**

We have seen that land has been always more of a man’s thing than for the woman, there are some things we want to know about this. We don’t have truth about it but we would love to hear your thoughts. Were there women who owned land in that village where you were married?

R: I don’t know because I would not move around.

I: Tell me according to what you would hear. Were there women whom you heard that owned their land?

R: Yes.

I: How would they acquire it?

R: They work and buy and they get an agreement and others got land from their mothers.

I: Did Jonan have sisters?

R: Yes.

I: Weren’t they given land?

R: They gave them.

I: Do you think that there are women who own the land with their husband?

R: Yes.

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

R: Yes, when you have given birth and you have your land it has no issue.

I: Why do you think that it should be allowed for women to own this land?

R: It needs that if she is to buy land, she tells her husband and they discuss then they both get it.

I: You don’t think that women should own land individually?

R: It is not good to have land when you are with your husband and you go on it alone. This,

00:59:13

means that you don’t have bring together your things and don’t agree.

I: You don’t think it should be?

R: It is just that you have seen worse situations then you buy the land alone but it is nort right.

I: Why do you say that women should be allowed to own their land?

R: Saying that they shouldn’t get land alone, you can get land alone and you leave the man, like how I have my son I leave and then it doesn’t go well for the child also because he can’t access my land since I had it alone.

I: So you say that for a woman to own land, the man must know about it and sign there too.

R: Yes.

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

R: They want to own it with their husband?

I: For what reason do they want this?

R: When you are with the man, the land is for both of you therefore no one has the right to sell it and then you find that it becomes for the family.

I: Are there women who want to own land alone?

R: Yes.

I: Why do think they want to own it alone?

R: So that if it happens like how men change their minds, she can go on her land because it can help her with her child. In case the father doesn’t give the child a share then she can give her child this land.

I: Okay. Is it usual that a woman can come to get married while thinking that the man will change his mind?

R: They are many now, you go there knowing that it will happen.

I: I know that we have already talked about family land the way you told me about it. To find that a man owns land and the woman also owns land. Are the two things related to family land?

R: No, they are not related. Everyone has their land then there is no family land.

I: Do you think that women have shares on family land?

R: They don’t have it.

I: Like now, your mother has no share on that family land?

1:02:47

I: Tell me about this. Why don’t they have the share?

R: She would be having it but men give land to children.

I: So where does the woman go?

R: Her children will be the ones to take care of her.

I: Let us say that his man dies, who will own the land?

R: It will be for the woman. But if he has already given the land to the children, if my father dies then the children should take care of their mother.

I: This means that the land can only be for the woman if the man didn’t divide the land for the children.

R: Yes.

I: Doesn’t he leave something for his wife?

R: That is how it should have been but many men don’t do this.

I: Why do you think that it is common for the man not to leave for the wife a share?

R: I think it is like that because even my mother in-law was left with no land.

I: So whose land is she on?

R: Those of Jonan gave her where to stay.

I: In a marriage if a man wants to sell this family land does he need to get permission from the wife first?

R: Yes, because she is his wife.

I: Is there any difference for example you were on Jonan’s land because it was his inheritance, if he wanted to sell he would still have to ask you first.

R: He still has to ask me.

I: Do widows stay on the land after losing their husband?

R: Yes. If she is on the land before she will stay, there.

I: Let us say that the land was the man’s inheritance and now he has died, will she remain there?

R: She stays there because she is his wife and he has died and she has buried him. She decides for herself.

I: Is there away the family of the man can interfere with her?

1:05:29

R: That is not right.

I: Why?

R: Why would they chase her yet she was married to him and now she has even buried him.

I: If she hasn’t given birth, can she stay?

R: When they have made a will.

I: Whether it is there or not, can she stay even if she doesn’t have children?

R: She can decide for herself to remain or go because the husband will have left a will.

I: These days you see your husband can be here in town and die like of an accident without making a will. Will they leave the woman to stay there still?

R: He has died but she is on the land they were married on so she can stay.

I: If the widow dies, who then owns the land?

R: If she has not given birth I think it goes back to her in-laws and if she has children it theirs now.

I: What if the children are young.

R: Their uncles can choose one to take care of them.

I: I would love to know whether some of these widows remarry?

R: Whoever wants can get married in that home in the family and if not she can go and get married elsewhere.

I: Can she bring the man here or she has to go elsewhere.

R: No, she has to go and find the man there.

I: Why can’t she bring him here?

R: The land is for the family of the man.

I: But the husband left her with the land, doesn’t it become hers now.

R: They will tell her to and get married there and if that man wants to add her more land she can get it there but not bring the man here on their land.

I: You haven’t seen anywhere the widow bringing the new man on the land?

R: That is when they will mistreat her and chase her away but there are some women who will go ahead and bring them.

1:08:07

I: Okay. What makes these widows decide to remarry?

R: That is how God made it that you should have a man.

I: How about the ones who don’t get married gain?

R: Those ones came to get married whether there is good or bad, she will stay. Also counting for a woman homes where she has got married to after her husband’s death is not good.

I: Have you seen it before in your village where by the male relatives try to grab land from the widow after her husband’s death.

R: I haven’t seen it anywhere. They don’t have bad manners.

I: You mean that the one they grab land from has bad manners?

R: Yes, if you find that if you carry yourself well, why would the take the land from you.

I: According to what you have seen, has the treatment of widows changed recently?

R: I haven’t heard about widows in the past or now.

I: There are no widows at your home?

R: Even if I see them I don’t know how they are treated because they are very few.

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

R: When you lose your husband, you start thinking too much because one of you was bringing the salt and the other was bringing a match box but now they are both for the woman so she has more burden.

I: Let us talk about the women who separate or divorce with their husbands. What happens to the woman as regards land after this?

R: After separating with the husband, they don’t give her.

I: Why Mama?

R: She has gone.

I: What if the fault is for the man, still the woman doesn’t get a share?

R: For example, me, when he dies like now, they can’t give it to me.

I: When a woman separates with the man, she doesn’t get on the land?

R: Yes, because he has not given her any share.

I: What if they worked to acquire the land together?

1:12:29

R: Now, the woman will come and say that she wants her land.

I: Will she come on good terms or she will first go and report?

R: There are some who can report and there are those who can get it on peace.

I: When the woman separates with the man, do they leave her to go with the children or they take them away from her?

R: On good terms she would stay with her children.

I: When you separated with your husband, did he leave you to go with the child?

R: When he started growing, he asked for the child.

I: He told you take the child to him?

R: Yes.

I: Did you allow to take him on your own or he forced you in a way?

R: He forced me because, when I would tell him to give me this he would tell me to take the child if I can’t handle him. I saw that he didn’t want to give me anything so when I saw that he had made 5 years I took him there.

I: So a woman can go with the child.

R: She can go with him but she may fail to take care of him because you are not able. But it is also good to have the child know the father and mother and not only you raising them.

I: Is it usual that even if the fault is for the man the woman will be chased?

R: If the fault is for the man they don’t say that it is his fault still the woman has to go. Many people see that men don’t do fault it is the women who do so.

I: After this woman has separated with the husband, can she report to the authorities to see that she gets the land.

R: That is how I hear that she can go and report the man if she gave birth to children with him and he gets the land.

I: Like now, can you go and report him?

R: No, I can’t handle those wrangles.

I: The way these women are treated, is it okay or you would love to see a change?

R: It wouldn’t be good to separate but the men should support their children even though the child is with the mother. They should also sit and reconcile like how I left with the child, we agree and he brings 50,000 and I add then we look after the child. And if they had children together, they should give her on the land to take care of her children.

1:16:10

I: Okay. What reason in your view would make a man add his wife on the title?

R: He sees how they work together and agree on issue so he knows that if he adds her on the title then the land will be theirs. So like we said he can see that maybe he can die and then the wife struggles to find the papers so he puts her there to avoid fights over the land.

I: How about why do men refuse to add their wife’s name on the title?

R: He wants to sell land because the women rarely allow to sell land. You see most women they don’t like to sell land so that the children can get something tomorrow and yet the man wants to cut off and sell every time he gets a problem.

I: Supposing the man refuse to add the wife on the title, will problems come out of this?

R: You will find them fighting and the woman telling him that he doesn’t trust her and why didn’t he add her.

I: Are there any other problems?

R: No, I don’t know these ones.

I: How about when the man adds the wife on the title, are there any problems that would come out of this?

R: No.

I: Have you seen any example of people that have separated there. Tell me about it.

R: When you separate you no longer want to see each other and for example the children also you don’t want to share them.

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

R: Yes. Now when the man allows you own land with him maybe on the title too it means that we have agreement in the things you do and you also trust him more.

I: Will this decrease conflict that would come?

R: Yes, instead they will agree more on what to do.

I: Can it increase the conflict when a woman is able to own land together with the husband?

R: No because if you know that you have your land with your children, you can decide to endure through the good and the bad. But if you don’t agree, the man will get another woman and put her in this land and then you fight.

I: Owning land together with a man can decrease conflict.

R: Yes.

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I: This means that you have agreement.

R: If he has allowed that you have it together, it means that you are one.

**Land disputes**

I: Let us get into our last part which is about disputes on land. In your view, what is the most common cause of disputes on land?

R: Like now if I be there knowing that the land has my son in it and then later I find out that he is not there, we have to quarrel.

I: In general, the disputes you have heard about, what causes them?

R: It is *emigorora.*

I: Tell me more.

R: When you are neighboring and one uproots it wanting to enter the other person’s land and then you find the fight coming up.

I: Tell me about what dispute you have heard or seen about this.

R: You find someone uprooting and another person’s *mugorora* and he keeps extending it in another person’s and when this person came to see it he called the chairman.

I: Is there a way this can be resolved within the family.

R: The person who find that their land was entered into can’t allow to sit down with the family because he has been disrespected too much.

I: Are their times when these *migorora* disputes can be resolved within the family?

R: If it is in the family then they can sit and resolve it.

I: When do they involve the village people?

R: If the family fails to agree with each other then they can go and call the village people.

I: Which village people can they call?

R: They can call the chairman and his vice and the neighbors near that land.

I: Most times when there are disputes on the land. What usually happens?

R: It is fighting to the point of wanting to kill each other, others do witch craft and then they can call the family but if it fails then they call the chairman.

I: In this dispute of *migorora*, if one side has a title, can this help in resolving it?

R: The title shows where one passes and there is no way you can uproot it to take the land there.

1:26:47

I: What does it show?

R: It shows the real proof. I heard that you go to the chairman, you go to the sub county and at the district to get it and it passes through many hands to get it. Even if you wanted to steal it, you will fear to take it.

I: In general, what would you advise to be done to help these people with land problems.

R: If they can, they should look for money and get titles.

I: You also know the village life at times, they are not able to afford these titles so how can they be helped even in this village life?

R: It is to make agreements and keep them very well then after you pray.

I: Is there any other way in which they can be helped?

R: No, I don’t know any.

I: Mama, thanks for talking with me and giving me your time coming from the village to meet with me here. My last question, where do you think we come from?

R: I think you come from Mbarara.

I: Where in Mbarara?

R: In Kijungu where they work on land.

I: I would love to give you a chance to ask any question about what we have discussed about today.

R: The one I have is to know that if my child is not on the tile with him then it means that I work for my son and me and he also does his things?

I: I don’t know. The man is the one who knows, he has a plan to prepare for his child because I believe no parent would totally abandon his child willingly. When you get time, I think you should talk to him and find out. Is there any other question you have?

R: No.

I: Okay Mama, thank you very much. Here is your gift for giving me your time.

1:29:29