Interviewer Name: Martin Nankunda

Transcriber Name: Martin Nankunda

Respondents Name: Jonan

Household ID: 5700251

Age: 35

Title status: Solo title

Occupation: Farmer

Highest level of education: primary seven

Marital status: Married

Number of years lived in the village: 39

Number of children: 4

Number of people living in the HH: 4

Roof material: Iron sheets

House material: Sand and bricks

Interview Date: 23/09/19

Interview start time: 12: 20 pm

Interview end time: 1:52 pm

Duration: 1:32:57

The interview was conducted inside the respondent’s house. It’s a well fenced, plastered and permanent house with iron sheets, there are different fruit trees in the compound. He was not at home by the time I reached because he had gone to check on his sick mother. I called him and he didn’t take long to come since he stays next to his mother’s home. He was happy and welcomed me with a smile. He is close to middle income judging from some of the household items, for example in his house there is; a television, music speakers, a star times dish (a television service provider in the category of dstv) and the way he was dressed. He is a cousin brother to the area M.P called Nathan Itungo, which he was very proud of saying that leadership runs in the family and his cousin brother inspires him a lot.

We were interrupted by the chairperson of the village who wanted to talk to the respondent. I had to pause the interview then continued after he had left. The respondent told me that he separated from his first wife whom they had one child. As I asked him the reason as to why, he said that; she was not cooperative and supportive in working like joining her husband to farm. She would just sit at home, a thing that didn’t change even after her giving birth, she would wait on the husband to provide everything and this didn’t make him happy at all. He now has a new wife and one child with her although she stays in *Buhweju* (District in western Uganda neighboring Mbarara) but usually comes home on the weekends. He has 2 acres and a half of land which is mainly a banana plantation though with some other crops in there, that was titled which he inherited from his father. At the time of titling the other piece of land which is 5 acres that the father had left for him but was still part of the bigger land to be shared amongst them was not included in the title. They later shared and he received his portion of 5 acres. The land that is not titled is about 5 acres. On overall, the respondent was engaged, conversant and enjoyed the interview.

**Warm – Up**

I: Let me start by thanking you for the warm welcome, how are you today?

R: I’m well maybe you?

I: I’m ok and pleased to meet you today. So, I didn’t find you home, where had you gone?

R: I had gone to check on my sick mother; she has been sick for a long time like a year and a half.

I: Oh, sorry to hear that your mother has been sick for this long time, it must be hard for your family with the medical bills.

R: It has been very hard with the lack of enough money these days, it’s very hard.

I: What could she be suffering from?

R: What happened was that her cows were stolen, and she hired police sniffer dogs that led the police to the house of the thief. He was arrested and imprisoned for eight months. We think the thief bewitched our mother for that because we have tried hospitals both in Mbarara and Kampala but the disease she’s suffering from, couldn’t be found. So, now we have resorted to prayers. We bring people and they pray for her.

I: sorry to hear about this again, hoping that things get better for her in due time. Is there any specific part of her body that is in pain?

R: The whole body is in pain; she doesn’t allow anyone to touch her.

I: Oh, this is ad and painful to hear about. Let’s hope she gets better soon. Well, how was your day yesterday?

R: Yesterday was ok, I woke up and irrigated my tomatoes and later in the evening I sprayed them.

I: How about your normal day how does it go?

R: I wake up and go milk the cows, come back and do home chores and in the afternoon, I go to my tomato garden.

I: I can see you are a neighbor to the area member of parliament

R: Yes, his father is a brother to my father so, we are cousins.

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I: I’m curious to know if you also have leadership or political ambitions since they say leadership runs in families.

R: Yes, leadership runs in families, they also say it comes from God and if you put in effort you can lead people which is a good thing. Who wouldn’t want good things?

So, if someone asked you if you wanted a good thing would you say no?

I: I see, I also come from a very political family, my father was the LC 5 councilor for Bushenyi (district in western Uganda) but me I don’t have any political ambitions because I’m less talkative I don’t think I can handle. So, how is life generally? Your wife and kids?

R: Life is ok I can say because I wake up every day and do my work. My wife is also fine at work.

I: What work is she involved in in?

R: She types exams for students in Buhweju district.

I: For a certain school or at the district?

R: It’s a small business, she has her computer to type the exams and schools buy from her.

I: Ok, how about the children?

R: We have one child together but he’s very young, almost one year. But I have another child with my former wife whose name is on the title. He’s now 4 years. He was staying with the mother but now he stays with me. Her mother brought him back last week and now he is at my mother’s house but lives here with me.

**Background, household structure and land ownership**

I: Let us talk about your household, remind me of the people that live here with you??

R: During the holidays when children are not at school, we are 3 members and now we have added my other child that was brought back last week. We will be 4 members now. When it is school time, I live here alone but now that they have brought my other son, we will be 2 of us because my wife is at work through the week and only comes here on weekends and holiday time.

I: You have told me that your older son is at your mother’s house, am curious to know if he goes to school?

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R: He was studying while at her mother’s home but like I told you he was brought here last week so am planning to take him to *Mabira* (neighboring village) primary school next week.

I: I see, how old are you?

R: I’m 35 years

I: As I was waiting for you, I noticed you have some fruit trees; avocado, mangoes and tree tomatoes in your compound, and I was tempted to have some without your permission.

R: It’s very ok. They say the way to know you have visited a good home is when you find something to eat in our culture. I grow a lot of fruits as you have seen. I have been harvesting passion fruits but now they are finished.

I: Okay, do you earn from these fruits for example the passion fruits, how is there market?

R: It’s very good, buyers call me themselves when they know its harvest time and we sell 7 passion fruits at 1,000 and a basin at 40,000.

I: This is very good to know. Tell me how long you have lived in this house?

R: I have been staying in this house for seven years now.

I: So, before you moved in here where were you staying?

R: I was staying up there with my mother. Before our father passed on, he had built for us a house for boys only. That’s where I was staying before I moved in here.

I: I’m curious to know the reason you decided to move out of the boy’s house and live here.

R: You see when you are staying with other people and decide to marry, you can’t stay in the same house with other people especially when they are not married. So, I had to leave and build my house to start a family.

I: I see, so, you married when you were still staying in the boy’s house?

R: Yes, and that’s why I moved down here.

I: Tell me about education, what is the highest level of education you have attained?

R: I completed primary seven. After primary I went to Mbarara and started working at a bakery with my older brother and from there I went to Kampala and worked from there.

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I: Can you tell me the type of work you were doing in Kampala?

R: I was working with the Chinese who were constructing roads around Kampala.

I: For how long did you work there?

R: I worked there for 3 years and moved back here.

I: Ok, can I know how many pieces of land you have?

R: I have one piece that my father gave me although when the titling people came, the across part of the land had not yet been shared amongst us. Our land starts from up there at my mother’s home, slopes down here up to the road and across the road. So, it’s the part across the road we had not yet shared and is not titled. But I have plans of getting a title for it in case i get money since we have shared it now.

I: Tell about the activities you carry out on this land?

R: I plant different crops for example passion fruits, tomatoes, beans, cabbages, banana plantation etc.

I: I’m curious to know how big it is, considering the different types of crops you grow on it.

R: It’s not very big but I partitioned it into different portions that I use for different activities for example, I have half an acre of passion frits, quarter an acre of tomatoes, another quarter an acre for cabbages and the remaining part is a banana plantation which I also intercrop with other different crops.

I: Would you tell me how big this land is altogether.

R: If I can approximate, it’s about 2 and a half acres. But that’s only the titled land. If you add the across land that we shared later, is approximately 7 acres.

I: Seven acres is big land considering that you don’t have many people that you stay with so, I’m curious to know if you have people who work on this land.

R: Yes, I have people who work on this land but the they are all causal workers. I use them when I need them but most of the time, I work by myself.

I: So, other than farming is there any other job you do?

R: No, only farming.

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**General land**

I: I thank you for explaining all this to me. I am now getting a clear picture. Now I would like to enter another part of our conversation where we will talk about land in general. Tell me, how do people come to own land in this village?

R: If you are a young man, you can work and buy land. That’s one way. The other way is most people inherit land from their parents

I: Is there any other way?

R: If your father does not give you land and if cannot buy land then it’s impossible to get land in this village.

I: Some people can have access on land they do not own. How do people gain access to land they don’t own in this village?

R: Some can give you land, after harvesting, you can share the produce for example, if the harvest is; let’s say 10 sacks of beans, you can give the landowner 2 sacks. The other way is through renting. There are people who rent in this village either for cultivation or cattle grazing.

I: I am interested in knowing the difference between renting for cultivation and renting land for farming.

R: For cultivation, if the land is still virgin, it’s 100,000 shilling per quarter an acre par season. If the land has been used before it’s 60,000 shilling for quarter an acre because it would have lost fertility. For grazing, usually its 1 million per year.

I: If I wanted to rent land in your village, how do I get it?

R: To rent land here, you can consult anyone in the village, and they direct you to people who have land for rent because they are known in this village.

I: Ok, does the landowner also need to consult other people before renting out land?

R: If land is for the family, yes, he needs to consult other people like the family members but if land is for an individual alone it’s not necessary. You can maybe go to the chairperson and sign an agreement.

I: You have talked of land for the family, call you tell me more about it. How is it different from individual land?

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R: Take an example of our land across the road. Before we shared it out, it was land for the family. If someone wanted to rent it, I had to first consult my brother and agree to rent it. Individual land is when you have like a title. Then you don’t need to consult because it’s your land.

I: Well, we will talk more about family land later. If someone wanted to sell their own land, do they need to consult other people?

R: Yes, before selling you need consult other people in the village and know the value of the land otherwise you might be cheated. It also helps to market the land. Buyers too must consult other people in the village. You need to be sure of the owner of the land. Let me give you an example, there is a man in this village who separated with the wife and decided to share the land. With the help of the local council the land was shared. Three months later, the woman decided to sell her share of the land. Remember the man had inherited this land from the father. The father was still alive, and he intervened because he didn’t want anyone to sell the land yet, he had not given them any form of document of transfer so to him, no one had a right to sell his land. He said he had only given land to his son to grow food for his family and live there. In this case if a buyer does not consult such a father before he buys this land, then it brings problems.

I: I am curious to know what happened to the land? Did it have a title?

R: No, the land did have a title, but the son did not have an agreement to show ownership of the land. So, it was never sold because the father to man still had all rights as the sole owner of the land. He had not written anything like an agreement with any one for the land.

I: I see, you said the man separated with the wife, and I’m curious to know where the woman was staying after the separation.

R: They were staying together on the same land and in the same household.

The woman was cooking her own food and the man too. This didn’t go well for the man, he decided to seek help from the chairperson who advised them to share the land.

I: Just inquiring, do you think the woman have stayed on the land after separating with the husband, if she had not tried to sell the land?

R: Yes, she would have stayed on the land.

I: How long had she stayed on the land after sharing the land?

R: She had stayed on the land for 3 months when she decided to sell her share.

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I: You said the chairperson was involved in this case, was there like a signed agreement between the man and woman?

R: I don’t know well but I guess it was a mutual agreement.

I: Are there people in this village who own land but don’t stay in the village? How do they keep control their land?

R: Yes, they have care takers of the land. The most important thing is to have proof of ownership of the land.

I: In the same way are there people without proof of ownership and don’t stay in the village, how do they control their land? For example, if you inherited land from your father but he didn’t give you any document.

R: At least people in this village know each other. If you have inherited from your father and he doesn’t give you any documents, you still need to have a caretaker for your land. People with such cases have been advised by our member of parliament to try and get titles for their land.

I: Let’s say someone wanted to use this land, how do they go about it?

R: You can talk to the owner of the land and agree with him/her.

I: How about you, have you ever rented or sold land?

R: I have ever rented land, but I have never sold land. But now I have enough land and don’t need to rent. Renting land is not profitable.

I: Tell me more. How is it not profitable?

R: For example, last season I rented 3 quarters of an acre of land for 300,000 shillings and I planted g-nuts and millet. The cost of buying seeds for planting, paying workers from the time of preparing the land, planting and harvest was 450,000 shillings. After harvesting, I only got produce of about 500,000 shillings. But this was due to lack of enough rain fall.

I: Do you think you would have gotten more if it wasn’t because of the drought?

R: Still the cost of renting elsewhere and the people you hire to work for you is high.

You can’t make profits. But if you are working on your own land, the cost reduces because you may not need to hire people. You can work by yourself and a get some profit.

I: You told me people make agreements before renting land, did you sign an agreement

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with the owner of the land too?

R: No, I did not sign an agreement because the owner was my friend and we trusted each other.

I: You mean, people can just take a word from another as commitment to use their land?

R: Yes, we know each other in the village, and no one can turn around and deny having used the land and refuses to pay the landowner.

I: Ok, you have told me you have a title, who are the people on this title?

R: Well, when the titling people came, there was a lady called Christina, she told me I can include two names of any people in my family that I choose to be on the title. She told me I can either choose to put my wife or children, but the choice was mine. So, I told her to put my son who u told you is 4 years as of now because we weren’t at good terms with my wife at the time. There is no way I could joint title with her. I don’t know if my son qualifies to be on the title because when I asked the titling person, she said they would bring another copy for my son.

I: Tell me more, how do you mean you weren’t at good terms with your wife?

R: We had disagreements with my wife because she did not want to support me in farming. I could leave her home and go for work and at that time I was working from Mbarara. Later when I could come back, I would find nothing done at home. I asked her why she couldn’t work for example try and plant beans and other crops on our land, she instead told me that she preferred me to start for her a business or buy for her a sewing machine since she wasn’t interested in going to the garden to dig at all. Even when I worked from home, I would be in the garden and she would be at home sleeping. So, I tried to consult other people like the chairman who happened to visit us that day and he advised me that some women after giving birth change. Because after giving birth, she might become more responsible and supportive seeing that she has children. But that did not happen, she became worse. She couldn’t help me in any farming activity but expected me to provide everything she needed at home. I asked myself, what if I include my wife on the title and we later separate? And because of this I decided not to include her on the title but instead put my son.

I: But I understand as men we should work to provide for our families regardless of anything?

R: That’s true but we also need support. You can’t wake up and go to the garden alone when your wife is at home sleeping. You need a wife that encourages and contributes to the family.

I: Was she present when Christina came? What was her reaction learning that you decided not include her on the title?

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R: She was present and asked Christina why she was not included on the title, yet she is a mature person and a minor was included. Christina told her the she can only include a person chosen by me.

I: You have told me that you inherited this land from your father, tell me more about?

R: When our father died in 2003, he left us with this land as a family. It is divided by the road, this side and across the road. Our mother was left in charge of the land. Then, my brother got married and our mother decided to give him his share of the land. I suggested to our mother that we all share the land at the same time. She consulted the chairperson (the gentleman that was here to talk to me) and he also advised her to share the land to boys the same time. But our father before he died, he made a will that we should share only the land from up at my mother’s place to the main road. And the land across the road, we can all use it as a family. So, a family was meeting called with the chairperson and a few people to share the land. There was part of the land that had a good matooke plantation and all of us wanted that part. So, the chairperson suggested that random papers with numbers indicating different sides of the land be made and we pick. Three papers were made since we were three boys. Number 1 was near the MP, 2 near the road and 3 near our mother. Whichever number we picked was the land we got. That’s how I got this plot.

I: Could you please tell me how big each land which was put in the ballot papers.

R: Each paper had a represented a size of 2 and a half acres of land

I: That was interesting. So, you have told me you only shared 3 boys, how about the girls? didn’t your father have daughters?

R: Yes, we have 4 sisters and they were also given their own land that was separate from the one we shared. They also shared amongst themselves.

I: This is good to know given the fact that girls are not normally considered for land. Tell me how big the land for your sisters was?

R: The girls were each given an acre of land out of the 4 that was left for them.

I: Are your sisters on this land? Do they still own this land?

R: Yes, two of them still own the land while the other two have sold their share of the land?

I: The two that still have their land, how big is the share that each one has?

R: Each has 1 acre of land for them selves

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I: How big was their share of land that each sold?

R: They each sold 1 acre of land

I: The two that are still owning their share of land, are they married?

R: They are married but the land is still there and is controlled by our mother. But now that she’s sick am the one using and controlling the land because they don’t stay on the land.

I: what do you use this land for, I thought you have enough already?

R: I use it for farming crops like cabbages, in order to not leave it redundant.

I: What if they brought their husbands to stay on the land, would it be ok?

R: It’s their land they have agreements for it, and they can do anything with it. Even if they wanted to sell, they can sell. They don’t need to consult anybody in the family.

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

R: Yes, those who don’t have land titles. even the area MP has been having a campaign informing people about getting land titles. For example, that land you see up there is owned by a rich man, but he didn’t buy it. He grabbed it. You can wake up one day and find that your rich neighbor has a title of your land and he grabs it like maybe using soldiers.

I: I am curious to know how do they grab another person’s land?

R: For example, part of that rich man’s land was my uncle’s land and he grabbed it from him. He falsely accused him of stealing his car engine. To recover his engine, the rich man hired a lorry and asked my uncle to load all this property on the lorry and leave the land or else lose his life. Being a rich man, you can’t argue with him anywhere not even in court, they threaten you to fear. He gave orders and my uncle had nothing to do, he left the land. He was intimidated with prison and death, so he decided to leave the land and find peace somewhere else. The other people on that land were Rwandese refugees who were squatters on that land. The rich man got the title of the land and chased them way.

I: Tell me more, did your uncle have a land title for his land? If yes, would it have influenced the outcome? Where did he go after?

R: He did not have the land title and that’s why the rich man easily took advantage of him. if he had a title his land wouldn’t have been stolen because he would have proof of ownership of the land. My uncle went back on his father’s land in this village.

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I: Are such cases of land grabbing common in this area?

R: These days they are not common

I: What could have changed?

R: We now have an MP from our village and people with land problems can easily report to him so, land grabbers fear.

I: What do you think people like your uncle should do so that they don’t lose their land?

R: The solution is to get titles for their land. Because if you have a land title even the rich can’t fear stealing it.

I: Thank you, I would like you to reflect on what you had told me about family land and tell me more. What does it mean?

R: Family land is land for the whole family. For example, before we shared the land across the road, that was family land. All of us could use it but we did not own it. But not that we shared it amongst the 3 of us, it’s no longer family land its individual land. I own my share and my brothers own their share. None of them can use my share of the land without my permission.

**Baseline awareness of titles**

I: Thanks for explaining all the above to me but now I would like to ask about your knowledge of titling and land titles. what does it mean to have a land title? And what the purpose?

R: A land title means ownership of the land. If you have a land title it means nobody else has authority over that land. And Christina explained to me that if you have two names included on the title, it means you jointly own that land. In my case, I added my 4-year-old son, she explained to me that if my son turns 18, I cannot sell this land without his approval. Because we will be joint owners of this land. The purpose of a title is that, when one of you dies, the other one can take control of the land. Christina also said that in case we need a loan from the bank, with a land title, it’s much easier. You don’t need to look for guarantees, taking photos of you and your house (in case you want use your house as security in a bank) is all not necessary. You only present your title and get a loan. It also protects your land from being stolen like I had told you.

I: I know you were offered a land title and you accepted; I am curious to know the reasons why you accepted the title?

R: In the beginning I did not know that it was about the title because different people came asked

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different questions. But they offered us a free land title. I said to myself, my land boarders with a rich man’s land and now I have been given an opportunity to have a free title, and I know getting a title requires more than two million shillings and it is proof that I own this land so, I decided to accept the title. You see, that rich man has been wanting me to sell my land to him but I refused a thing that scared me that he might put stones in my land one day and take it away without my knowing.

I: Is there any other reason?

R: No, I don’t have any other reason

I: Now*, Ssebo* (respectful way to address a man) you have told me that you included your 4-year-old son on your title? Tell me more. Why?

R: I wanted to make sure that when I die the ownership of my land is transferred to my son. And for the reasons I gave earlier I could never have included my wife.

I: Just for better understanding, what happens to the other son with your new wife?

R: The lady who offered a title, Christina, told me if I wanted to include another son, I can go to Mbarara at the office of lands and they add him.

I: Ok, tell me about your experience with the title?

R: Am very happy. Like I told you I boarder land with a rich person, and he has always wanted to buy this plot, but I have turned down his offers. I was afraid that he would wake up and find marked stones in my land without my knowledge. But now that I have a title, I feel more secure. He had started planting trees at the boundaries of his land next to mine so that my matooke shouldn’t grow well, I get frustrated and sell to him but I instead I removed the matooke and planted mango trees. Because roots of those trees grow longer and deeper in the soil, so, other crops like bananas beans etc. can’t grow well next to the trees.

I: What has not yet changed that you expected to change after getting the title?

R: The chairperson advised that since I have a title, I can use it to get a loan and start a business but haven’t got it. I will first come up with a business idea before I apply for the loan.

I: Some men choose to include their wife’s names on the title why must they do so?

R: I think it depends on how long they have lived together and understand one another.

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But you just can’t trust a woman and put her on your title. May be if you have like 5 or more children and you are certain of the marriage.

I: Who were the people with land titles in this village before you met the titling people?

R: Only that rich man my neighbor is the only one I know. His land was titled even before we were born. Even the MP hasn’t titled his land because they say you need other people especially those you boarder land with to sign for you before getting a title and we have never signed for him.

I: You told me about the MP’s campaign on titling, what do you think most people in this village think about this campaign?

R: Actually, there was another government program to help the elderly people get titles and almost all people welcomed it. They were paying same money though. My mother had also filled the forms and paid around 160,000 but we don’t know what happened next. We are still waiting maybe that program will resume. Because it has been three years now since that program collapsed. But generally, all people want to get titles in this village. The only problem is that most people know you need more than 2 million shilling to get a title.

I: Can you tell me more on how much money people think is required to get a title?

R: Take an example if you have 2 acres, most people think that to fill the forms, go to the district, bring surveyors, the whole process might cost about 2 million for each acre.

I: Thank you again for all the explanations, I now get the picture but now let’s talk about the discussions you may have had with your wife before titling. Tell me about these discussions if any.

R: When the titling people came, I was still with my older wife. We sat together with my wife and that lady Christina as I had explained to you. So, after Christina had left, my wife was very angry that she had not been included on the title. We didn’t discuss anything; she called her father and told him she was suffering a lot in her marriage and wanted to go back home. I woke up that morning to find her father standing on that mango tree. He said he had only come to pick her daughter and didn’t want to enter the house. I called the chairman we signed an agreement that the father had to take her daughter and everything that happens to her, he will be responsible. She picked all the belongings and left. They didn’t ask for anything at all. So, we didn’t have any conversation with my former wife about the title.

I: Do you think it would have changed anything in your marriage if you had included her name on the title?

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R: She wouldn’t have gotten so angry but since the marriage wasn’t going on well, if I had added her name on the title, she would have caused me more problems in the future. For example, in case of separation, I would have been forced to share my land with her.

I: Ok, tell me about your new marriage?

R: My new marriage, we have been together for 1 year and a half. She usually comes back at the weekend or in school holidays because she works from another district like I told. When she’s around she monitors her gardens, gives instructions to the workers and pays them before she goes back.

I: Would you say your new wife is supportive and encourages you? How? What does she know about the title?

R: She is very supportive in the sense that she has accepted my son from my old wife to stay here with us. We do most of the things together. For example, if I need to pay workers in the garden but don’t have money, I call her, and she sends the money or when she’s around she pays the workers. When she’s around she makes sure we have meals ready on time. We go to the garden and work together. About the title, I told her that even the son we have together can also be added on. And she’s very ok with it.

I: Some men don’t feel supported by their wives, why must they feel like this?

R: For example, my former wife who didn’t support me in farming because she wanted a business. Other women, you leave her home and when you return home there is nothing prepared at home to eat. Others wait for the man to provide everything at home even when they have money that could have paid for the needs at home.

I: What would it mean to the marriage if you added your new wife instead of your son?

R: If that was to happen, it would take some to first understand my wife very well because now we have only been together for one year and a half. Secondly, we don’t stay together often that you can understand a person well, it is even rare to have an argument when you are not staying together. I know she would be very happy if I added her on the title, but I told her the land is mine and my children. and that my children are her children.

I: Now that your new wife is not on the title, I would love to know if you would consult her if you wanted to sell your land?

R: I must consult her even if she is not the title because she my wife now. I must explain to her the reasons reason why I want to sell the land. If she agrees, all is well and if she disagrees, she can advise me accordingly and we get a different solution together instead of selling the land.

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This makes her feel important in the family and that she also has a say on the decisions made in the household. Consulting your wife also helps to reduce conflicts that would arise in case she found out later that a decision was made without her knowledge.

**Gender norms around land**

I: Thanks for your thoughts above. Although we understand that most of the land is owned by men in Uganda. There are some aspects to this system that we we’d like to understand better, especially concerning women. We do not have an opinion one way or the other but would like to know what you think on this subject. Remember there’s no right or wrong answers to these questions. Do women in this village own land? How do they get it.

I: Yes, women own land but most of them inherit from their fathers. For example, there is a woman that stays behind here, she was married but the marriage failed. She had inherited land from her father, when the marriage failed, she came back and she now stays on her land.

I: Even women inherit land? What happened to the land she was staying on with the husband before separation?

R: Yes, they are all children. they might not get as big land as boys get, but they also inherit land. The only reason why they get small land is that the boys must also give a share of the land to their children too. About the land she was staying on with the husband, I am not sure what happened to it, but I think the former husband kept it. They had one child who was a girl, this girl now is responsible for the land her mother inherited because her mother remarried and stays with the new husband.

I: Other than inheriting land from their fathers what other ways can women own land in this village?

R: They can buy land for themselves. They can also own the husband’s land after he passes away.

I: Do most women prefer to jointly own land with their husband or they want to have the own land separate from their husbands?

R: Most women prefer their own land separate from their husbands incase the marriage doesn’t work out; they can go back to their own land.

I: Tell me more. Why is this so?

R: Most women, when they separate with their husbands they don’t stay on their husband’s land. Even when they share the land after separation, they prefer to go back to their own land and sell their husbands share given to them. But this is rare, most women when they separate with their husbands don’t share on their husband’s land. That is why they must have their own land.

I: I am curious to know why most women don’t share on their husband’s land after separation?

R: I think in most separations, the women are usually mistreated to the point where they can’t

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take it anymore. So, in such cases, women prefer to leave their husbands and start a new life on their own.

I: Ok, you have explained to me that family land is land that can be used by the whole family before it is shared out and nobody has ownership of that land, you all use it as a family. If a person wants to sell family land, do they need to consult their wife?

I: If it’s family land, no individual person has right to sell that land because no individual person owns family land. Unless if you sit down the whole family and you give the reasons to sell the land and they accept. For example, if you are like 6 boys and 3 girls on the family land, an individual cannot sell this land. You can sell land if you own it individually.

I: Ok, are widows supposed to remain on the land when their husband’s die?

R: Yes, that’s how it is, widows remain on the land. In most cases the man leaves land for the girl’s inheritance to their mother and she stays on this land that in case their mother dies, that’s when the girls should share out the land. That’s how most of us know it. For the boys, they are given their land when they are getting married. But a man does not say I have given this land to the boys, this one to the girls and the other to the mother, no, the girls land is always in the hands of the mother until she dies that’s when they share out the land.

I: I see, so do widows remarry? If they do, can they stay on the on their husband’s land?

R: It depends on how old the widow is. If she’s young she can remarry and instead of leaving the land that the husband left her, she can have her new husband on her late husband’s land. It’s fine but if she is old, she can stay on the land unmarried.

I: You have said that she can remarry and stay on the land with the new husband, what happens to the land if the widow also dies?

R: Like I have told you, most land for the widows belongs to the girls. The new husband can use the land, but he has no rights on this land because he doesn’t own it. It belongs to the girls.

I: Has it happened in this village that male relative tries to grab widow’s land?

R: No, it hasn’t happened. But it happened in *Bubare* (neighboring village) a woman lost her husband, he was a boda boda cyclist. After the death, the in-laws told the widow that the man had other children outside of the marriage. The husband to the widow had 3 plots and two of the plots were given to the children they claimed the husband had outside the marriage and she remained with one plot.

I: So, in your opinion, what should happen to widows when the husband dies?

R: In my opinion the relatives to the husband should know that the land belongs to the widow and the children and if the widow also dies, the land belongs to the children. And widow also should know that the land belongs to the children, so, she doesn’t have to sell the land in case the husband dies.

I: Ok, what about other people in general, how is the treatment of widows by other people?

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R: It is ok, widows like I have told you stay on the land girls inherit and that’s very fine with me

I: Take an example of the wife you separated with; do you think she deserved a share of your land?

R: If we had worked together to acquire this land, then she deserves a share but if it’s the land I inherited from my father, she has no right on it and must not get a share.

I: You had told me about the disadvantage of including your wife on the title, are there any advantages in including a woman’s name on the title?

R: If you trust your wife to take care of your children and your property, in case you die, it is better to include her name on the title. Because if only you have children on the title and you die when they are still young and someone else finds the your title, they can take your land away from the your wife and children but if the woman’s name was included on the title then nobody can take away the land.

I: Reflecting on the advantages of including your wife on a title, do you think a including a wife on a title can increase or decrease conflicts in your marriage?

R: I am in a new marriage now and we don’t have many conflicts. Including my wife on the title now may encourage her to work hard for our family well knowing that she is also responsible for the land. So, I can’t say it may decrease or increase conflicts in my marriages. But you never know people change, I might think we are ok since the marriage is still young and don’t stay together often, but after including her on the title, she changes since she is now sure that in case of divorce or separation we have to share the land.

I: Tell me more. Why do you think she would change after including her name on the title?

R: It depends on the heart of the woman. Some women can’t forgive when a man makes a small mistake at home for example misusing money in alcohol and not being responsible. So, if such a unforgiving woman’s name is on the title, she can use that to force a separation so that she can share on the land. Some women go into marriages targeting men’s property and when get an opportunity to be on the title use it and force their husband to divorce and share property. But this is not common in villages like this one, but it happens.

**Land disputes**

I: We are into the last parts of this interview, thank you for explaining all this to me. Now I would like to ask you about land disputes. what causes most land disputes?

R: Selling land. Let’s say you tell your wife that you needed to sell land and she disagrees maybe because the man has been misusing money or there is no good reason to sell the land. This is common among alcoholic men. Some of the men sell land to drink alcohol and neglect their families. This causes disputes in the family all time because alcoholic men are usually abusive and end up beating their wives hence unending conflicts. Women always try to stop their husbands from selling land a thing that leads to land disputes.

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I: Tell me more, how do such land disputes get resolved?

R: The best way to resolve such a dispute is to listen to your wife. If you give your wife a reason to sell land and she disagrees, it is best not go ahead and try to force her to sell the land because women most of the time are always right on issues of selling land. They would rather be patient in all situations rather than selling land. Women monitor and keep track of their husbands. So, if she noticed that you sold like goats but did not put the money into good use. She will not allow you to sell land next time and she would be right. But if the matter can’t be resolved by the two of you, you must seek advice from other people like the chairperson and they can also investigate the matter, know your reasons and the wife’s reasons and advise both of you accordingly. This also helps a lot in resolving land disputes.

I: Ok, I understand you have a title in your names and you son’s names, if you wanted to sell your land and your new wife disagrees, how would you resolve it?

R: With a title like mine, my wife doesn’t have authority on the land. The titling lady, Christina told me that my son can’t have a say on the land until he is 18 years. So, if I wanted to sell my land, I can sell it without their approval because the land is mine and I have proof of ownership. But to avoid conflicts and making mistakes, I must consult my wife, if she disagrees, we find another way.

I: So, have you had any land disputes?

R: No, I haven’t had any disputes.

I: How have you made sure you have no land disputes?

R: First, my wife is cooperative, and she wouldn’t stop me if I want to plant crops wherever I wanted to plant them and in case it happens we can easily come to an agreement. The other people I boarder land with are my brother, my mother and the MP who is our cousin and we have not had any dispute over land. The other person I boarder land with is the other rich man I told you about. Although we have had some disagreement for example when I turned down his sale proposals, but the situation hasn’t escalated to a dispute. Because when he planted eucalyptus trees next to our banana plantation, we replaced the plantation with mango trees and everything is now ok.

**Messenger identity.**

I: As we conclude our interview, I want to thank for all your responses, but whom do you think we are?

R: At first, we did know what was going to happen but late they offered us titles which we receive a few months late. After telling us that we were going to receive free titles, they came with subcounty local leader and official from ‘land’ office in *Kamukuzi* (a suburb in Mbarara town) and monitored our land. And they told us the people from *Kamukuzi* office will bring us the title so, we don’t who you are, but we think the government is behind everything.

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I: Well, thanks again Ssebo. Good day.