

**Bride-Price, Poverty and Domestic Violence in
Uganda**

Final Report

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An International Collaboration between

MIFUMI Uganda

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Bristol, UK**

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Bride Price, Poverty and Domestic Violence in Uganda

A. Introduction

This report outlines the findings of a new research study, the first of its kind in Uganda, designed as a response both to the growing interest in the traditional practice of bride-price and to moves towards its reform in Uganda and in other countries in Africa.

This study is the first major piece of research in Uganda to investigate bride-price. Although much anecdotal evidence exists about the impacts of the customary/traditional practice of bride-price, or bride-wealth, as practised in Ugandan communities, there have been very few studies to date that provide robust evidence to inform the public and government, policy-makers, duty bearers and other professionals working on the issue, both in Uganda and in the Pan-African context.

In conducting this study, an innovative collaborative partnership was established between MIFUMI, an NGO and women's rights agency based in Uganda working on domestic violence and poverty alleviation, and two major research groups in the UK, the Violence Against Women Research Group, University of Bristol, and the Centre for the Study of Safety and Well-being, University of Warwick. This international partnership was developed as an example of trans-national collaborative research between an African and a European country, led by the African partner, which aimed consciously to avoid dominance from the West and to bring resources into Uganda.

The study was conducted between January 2008 and June 2009, with generous sponsorship from the British Academy.

A.1. Background and what the existing literature tells us

Bride-price or bride wealth, used to validate customary marriages, is a common practice in many African countries. Typically, bride-price consists of a contract where material items (often cattle or other animals) or money are paid by the groom to the bride's family in exchange for the bride, her labour and her capacity to produce children (Oguli Oumo, 2004). Increasingly, in urban areas, the practice is changing, so that money and goods (rather than animals) are more commonly given in the form of non-refundable gifts. However, in rural communities (though varying by ethnic/tribal group, tradition and culture), more traditional bride-price practices remain extremely common and tend to be accepted as the cultural norm. In a study carried out by the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers, 95% of the respondents stated that bride-price is needed to validate a marriage (FIDA-U, 1996).

In the past, the tradition of bride-price is believed to have operated beneficially to give formal recognition to marriages and protection to wives against abuse, to stabilise the partnership and to join the two families together. Today, however, the practice appears to have become commercialised and to have lost much of its traditional value in many instances. Bride-price can

appear to be the 'buying' of a wife as a commodity, which can result in abuse towards a woman if she does not fulfil her 'value' or if she attempts to leave and the bride-price cannot be repaid (Matembe, 2004; Ndira, 2004). It has also been argued that women seeking to divorce can only do so if the bride-price is repaid to the husband. In such situations, there is much anecdotal evidence that women leaving their marital homes are likely to be turned away from their natal homes if their families are unable to repay the bride-price. Domestic violence and the violation of women's human rights have also been identified by some commentators as associated with bride-price, and calls have been made for its reform (Matembe, 2004; Sekagya, 2004; Oguli Oumo, 2004).

The practice of bride-price has different names in different countries and regions of Africa. In South Africa, for example, it is often known as *Lobola* and recent writing has linked it to issues of inequality between men and women and especially to control over reproductive rights (WLSA, 2002).

However, it is important to note that exchange of money and goods to solemnise marriage is by no means unique to Africa, but occurs widely across the world in different forms. In Western and other countries, for example, the bride-groom may give a costly diamond ring. Many Arab and Islamic states consider bride-wealth as a fundamental requirement of marriage, in terms of '*Mahr*'. The practice has similarities with that of dowry, common in the Indian sub-continent, where goods and monies are given to the husband's family by the bride's family (and thus usually pass in the opposite direction to bride-price) (Borah 2008; Dalmia and Lawrence 2005). However, whereas dowry has resulted in extensive campaigning, academic work, policy development and legislation, bride price in Africa and its impact on women, children, family life and community development is a much neglected area which has attracted relatively little political and policy focus.

In recent years, the issues involved in the practice of bride-price have begun to be brought to the fore and awareness has been increasing in Uganda. For example, the 2005 *Uganda Poverty Eradication Action Plan* highlighted bride-price as the most significant factor holding back women's empowerment (2005:19). In the last few years, there have been demonstrations against bride-price in rural Uganda. Bride-price reform or abolition has begun to be an issue for legislative change in some countries (Macdonald-Levy and MacMillan 2005), but there is little existing systematic evidence on which to base these reforms.

In Uganda, MIFUMI has taken a leading role in piloting work on bride-price. This included a baseline survey (Osuna, 2003) and a local referendum in Tororo District in 2001 to ascertain the views of the rural population regarding this traditional practice (MIFUMI 2001). Rural people voted by more than 60% for the reform of bride price to make it a non-refundable gift. In February 2004, MIFUMI organised the first *International Conference on Bride-price*, attended by representatives of many African countries, including human rights activists, academics, policy makers, national and pan-African politicians, and women's organisations. The conference discussed societal effects including limited opportunities for girl-children, homelessness/destitution for ex-wives and children, family violence, forced and early/child marriages, and increased HIV infection. The practice has also been tied in complex ways to issues of poverty (FIDA-U, 1996; Tamale 1993 and 2004), and the connections between bride-price, poverty and domestic violence have been described both at the conference and in a small number of other publications (International Conference on Bride Price 2004; Baryomunsi, 2004, Matembe 2004; Tamale, 2004).

The conference resulted in the *International Kampala Declaration on Bride-Price* to be presented to the United Nations and other international bodies. Both the conference and the baseline survey report strongly recommended urgent research investigation to address the gap in knowledge and evidence. The conference also recommended urgent development work and social action on the issue. Since there has been no comprehensive research study or systematic data-collection on the issue to date, this research has begun the process of filling the gap.

MIFUMI has also been working on local rural laws on bride price in Tororo. Recently, a pioneering new Bridal Gifts Ordinance, superseding the 1964 Bukedi bye-law (which stipulated the amount of bride-price to be given in terms of the number of cows or other animals as a way of limiting or regulating it), was passed in Tororo. This Ordinance, the first regulatory framework in Uganda, made bride-price non-refundable. Further, a Constitutional Petition on bride-price is currently being introduced, seeking to make amendments to the Constitution of Uganda on the grounds of the possible harmful impacts on bride-price. The Constitution allows cultural practices as long as a) they are proved to exist and b) they are not harmful.

B. Aims and methods

The research was conducted to investigate the following aims and objectives and used methods governed by a participatory action research approach and ethics.

B.1. The aims of the study

The aims and objectives of the research were:

- To investigate, through an action research approach, the impacts of bride-price on the capabilities of women, children and families in terms of development, quality of life, health, decision-making and community participation.
- To explore possible inter-relations between bride-price and poverty.
- To investigate possible inter-relations between bride-price and domestic violence.
- To develop policy recommendations for Uganda, and to contribute to national, pan-African and global debates on bride price, including with the Ugandan government and through international protocols and the Kampala International Declaration on Bride-price.
- To develop a local action-oriented dissemination plan, including a collaboratively developed community awareness-raising programme to reach several thousand people.
- To contribute to the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) framework, especially MDG3 on gender and empowerment.

B.2. The research approach used

The research was subjected to ethical approval and scrutiny and review throughout the study by the relevant Ethics Committees in the Universities of both Bristol and Warwick.

The research adopted a participatory action research methodology (see Maguire 1987; McTaggart, 1997) which we understood as research which feeds into, and leads to, social change in a dynamic process consisting of focussed cycles of planning, action and reflection. The project was built on the belief that research in rural African contexts cannot be imposed but should be developed in collaboration with local people (Rahman 1984).

It aimed to be a pioneering project, combining a robust qualitative investigation, based on action research, with local development and capacity building. The international nature of the collaboration aimed to facilitate this research process, providing research expertise, which was further developed in a collaborative process, and to lead to possible later dissemination at both the grass-roots local level and at the national, international and wider Pan-African levels.

The research included consultations and interviews with a wide range of professionals and experts in local areas of Uganda, as well as nationally and internationally, and with individuals with experience of bride-price. It was organised into three stages.

In *Stage one*, a literature review, initial interviews with key experts in Uganda and in the African diaspora, and discussions with MIFUMI were followed by an international visit to Uganda. During this visit, 13 local community-based researchers were recruited from villages in a range of geographical areas in Eastern Uganda and engaged in a collaborative, participative training process with the UK researchers. As part of this intense two week participatory training, all the research tools were developed collaboratively by the whole group, together with research

protocols, consent forms and ethical procedures. The use of these was practised by all the team members, to enable consistency of approach and cultural relevance and appropriateness. Simultaneously, a large number of consultations and interviews were conducted by the UK researchers and by some senior MIFUMI staff, with local duty bearers and office holders, religious and tribal leaders, academics, and women affected by issues of bride-price and domestic violence in both Tororo and Kampala.

In *Stage two*, data was collected by the trained local researchers working in pairs to assist each other and with ongoing support provided by MIFUMI research supervisors and the UK researchers. Interviews on the impacts of bride-price were conducted in four Districts with women, men, young people and duty bearers from a wide variety of tribes and clans, and from different professions, although the majority of participants were from rural areas and engaged in agriculture (see Appendix 2). Participants gave their consent in writing, by thumb-print or verbally with written confirmation by the researcher. They were provided with support by the researchers and were offered a small reimbursement for their participation. The interviews were conducted in safe environments, as agreed with the interviewees, and both their safety and the safety of the interviewers were given prime consideration throughout, overriding all other issues. Safety procedures were agreed collectively by the team.

The sample was built through village visits, contact with local organisations and leaders, and snowballing contacts. The criterion for the inclusion of interviewees was experience of bride-price issues. They were not known to have experienced domestic violence and this was not a criterion for the interview sample. A short questionnaire was also completed with all respondents to collect socio-demographic data. The majority of these interviews were tape recorded with the participant's agreement, as well as notes taken by the researchers, and were later translated into English from the wide variety of languages used. All interviews were then transcribed.

Additional sets of individual and group interviews were conducted at the village level by the UK researchers with a) widows and b) participants known to have experienced domestic violence, to assess the impact of bride-price related issues.

In *Stage three*, following an initial analysis of the qualitative data, a thematic analysis was further developed (across all the data-sets) during the second international visit with the whole research team. Strategies for action were then collaboratively developed with MIFUMI and various key local participants. As part of this process, two formal Round-table events were held in Tororo and Kampala with key local and national stakeholders to discuss the research and to develop ideas for future action. A process of critical reflection was also undertaken with the local researchers and MIFUMI to consider the challenges and achievements of the research. Information gathered as part of this participative process, along with all data gathered, fed into the final report.

This participatory process of analysis and the development of strategies for action led, not only to the two Round-table events and various feedback meetings, but also to a community sensitisation and training programme with women's forum members, support workers and MIFUMI staff at the local level. This programme of action is discussed more fully in Section D (see p. 32).

Thus, the methods used throughout the study were as participatory as possible in terms of:

- The composition of the collaboration.
- The training, employment and support of the local community based researchers.
- Critical reflection on the process.
- The development of the analysis of the findings and of action outcomes
- The development of a model of community sensitisation trainings to disseminate awareness of the research findings and of the Bridal Gifts Ordinance.

Overall, the research developed skills and capacity in rural Uganda at the local level, and recommendations for strategies for action at both the national and the local level.

B.3. Summary of the methods used

A total of 257 interviews were conducted in four data-sets: i) members of the public with experience of bride-price; ii) members of the public with experience of domestic violence; iii) widows; and iv) key professionals, experts and duty-bearers (and short interviews with a small sample of women marrying under the Buganda system). These data-sets were supplemented by a review of literature, further national and international expert interviews, follow up discussions with support staff, and two Round-table events with key national and local stakeholders and professionals.

In summary, the following methods were used and data collected.

- Participatory research training of 13 local community-based researchers. 180 interviews conducted by the local researchers in four Districts with individuals who had experience of bride-price to assess the impacts, and whether domestic violence and poverty were factors, including three short case studies (58 men and 122 women).
- 37 individual and group interviews (including 3 interviews with support workers) with individuals who had experience of domestic violence to assess if bride price was a factor. 10 interviews with widows to assess impacts of bride-price and three with Baganda women.
- 27 interviews with national and local experts on the issue and with key stakeholders and duty bearers in Tororo and Kampala. These included key cultural leaders, high-ranking national and local Church leaders at Arch-Bishop and Bishop level, the Human Rights Commission of Uganda, political leaders at LC5 and LC3 level, academics and theorists, NGOS and policy and legal experts. The UK researchers were most grateful to these key experts for participating in the study.
- Further consultations with other key national and international experts
- Discussions with MIFUMI staff.
- Policy and literature review.
- Thematic analysis across all the data-sets, further developed collaboratively by the whole team.

B.4. Researching a traditional cultural practice

It was recognised at the outset by the whole research team that the issue of bride-price is not straightforward and that it is considered by many to be an important traditional cultural practice of considerable value, with a long history in various parts of Africa. However, since modernisation and globalisation have brought economic, social and cultural changes, both negative and positive, the need to reassess the practice in terms of these changes in the 'modern' age has been widely suggested to be necessary (as discussed above). Thus, whilst acknowledging the historical significance and benefits of bride-price to family and community integrity, the conduct of this enquiry in contemporary times was considered to be important, timely and highly relevant.

The researchers remained very aware throughout, however, of the historical significance of bride-price and of the importance of preserving African cultural traditions in the present period. It was especially recognised that 'cultural' practices everywhere are not singularly beneficial or harmful and that it is the transformative nature of 'culture' which results in its longevity. In terms of the

practice of bride-price, the research aimed to explore this contradiction by looking at its negative as well as its beneficial aspects, to enable both positive and negative impacts to be addressed. In the words of a senior church leader:

Cultural practices usually have a good root – people generally do seek good. But then it can get distorted -- as in this case by male dominance and particular views of women’s sexuality. So you need to think it through - what is its value - its roots? How can you get rid of the parts that discriminate against women and hurt them?

The exchange of goods, as noted earlier, is part of many marriage rites across the world and is not limited to African societies. Rather, the giving of dowry and of gifts as part of marriage rites features in many countries and religions in different ways and to varying extents. In considering bride-price in Uganda, it is important, therefore, to avoid the possible stigmatisation of African communities and traditions, and to locate it in this wider context. However, in many other societies, reform of traditional practices has occurred in more recent years (e.g. India, Greece, UK, see for e.g. Macdonald-Levy and MacMillan 2005; Sitaraman 1999), and this research is part of that trajectory.

B.5. The location of the research

The research was located in the East of Uganda and was conducted in various sub-counties in the four Districts of Tororo, Mbale, Palisa and Budaka. Although the limited research funding restricted the study to these Districts, they were also selected for the following reasons.

Bride-price takes specific forms in Eastern Uganda that need particular examination and investigation. In addition, there was existing support infrastructure in Tororo District at LC5 level and through MIFUMI Project that helped to facilitate the conduct of the research which otherwise might have been very difficult. However, in order to avoid possible bias, the research areas were carefully selected to also include districts in which MIFUMI had little or no presence and influence. Further, two thirds of the community based researchers trained and employed on the research project had no connections with MIFUMI.

Bride-price customs operate differently in other parts of Uganda, with an obvious example being Buganda where bride-price is a non-refundable gift, although it can reach high levels of expenditure. However, the findings and recommendations made by this research are likely to have relevance and purchase across Uganda.

B.6. Who the community-based researchers interviewed

The community-based researchers interviewed a wide range of women and men, including some young people, as summarised in the table below. Full details are given in Appendix 2. These interviews numbered 180 in total. They included 68% women (n=122) and 32% men (n=58) from a wide variety of tribes and clans, although the Jopadhola were the most numerous. Ninety five per cent had children. Marriages varied from customary (79%, n=142) to religious (9% n=17) and civil (3% n=6), as well as a small number of cohabiting or eloped, and 14% where the information was not offered. Eleven per cent (n=19) were widows and their testimonies supplemented the dedicated widow data-set of interviews. The majority were aged 30-50 years (64% n=114), with a sizeable minority (18% n=32) over 50.

Both the interviewees and their partners had wide-ranging occupations although the majority were employed in agriculture. Of the interviewees, a total of 48% (n=88) classified themselves as peasants or farmers. For their partners, the figure was 33% (n=60). Twenty partners (11.5%)

had died. Twelve per cent of the interviewees (n=23) said they were housewives. A proportion of the interviewees did not have jobs (8.5% n=15). Otherwise, the occupations of both the respondents and their partners included teachers and a retired head-teacher, business men and women, a policeman, religious leader, hotelier, accountant, pharmacist and so on as well as vegetable sellers, builders, drivers, carpenters, boda boda drivers, security guards and many others. The annual income of the interviewees varied widely from none at all (8% n=14) to 20 million shillings, with 14% being at 20 million shillings and 16% (n=28) at less than 150,000 shillings.

Approximate percentages			
Details of People interviewed by Community-based Researchers (N=180)			Occupation (Self-Defined)
			Many identified
District			No Job 8.5% n = 15
Tororo	54%	n = 98	Peasant 44% n = 81
Mbale	24.5%	n = 44	Housewife 12% n = 23
Pallisa	18%	n = 32	Farmer 4% n = 7
Budaka	1%	n = 2	Teacher 7% n = 12
Manafwa	0.5%	n = 1	Business woman
Not known	1%	n = 2	/man 5% n = 10
			Boda boda driver 8% n = 5
Male/female			Retired Broadcaster 0.5% n = 1
Female	68%	n = 122	Drivers 1.7% n = 3
Male	32%	n = 58	
			Partners occupation (self-defined)
Married			Many identified
Married	64%	n = 116	Partners who have
Single	12%	n = 21	died 11.5% n = 20
Widow	11%	n = 19	Peasant 33% n = 60
Divorced	12%	n = 21	Teacher 3% n = 6
Unknown	2.7%	n = 5	Business man 8% n = 14
			Doctor 0.5% n = 1
Marriage			Tax Collector 0.5% n = 1
Customary	79%	n = 142	Carpenter 1.7% n = 3
Religious	6%	n = 11	Builder 1.7% n = 3
Civil (customary)	3%	n = 6	Dry Cleaner 1.7% n = 2
Religious (customary)	3%	n = 6	Book Keeper 1.7% n = 3
Cohabiting	0.5%	n = 6	Plus wide variety of others, including
Eloped	0.5%	n = 1	Boda boda driver 0.5% n = 1
Unknown	14%	n = 11	Butcher 0.5% n = 1
			Retired
Age			Policeman 0.5% n = 1
19-29	16%	n = 28	Tailor 0.5% n = 1
30-39	38%	n = 68	Accountant/
40-49	26%	n = 46	Hotelier 0.5% n = 1
50 plus	18%	n = 32	Nurse 0.5% n = 1
Unknown	3%	n = 6	Soldier 1.7% n = 2
			Plus many others
Tribes			
Various			Wide variety of property
Japadhola	31%	n = 56	From nothing to land or various animals
Bagisu	12%	n = 22	
Bagwere	12%	n = 23	Income in shillings
Banyole	3%	n = 5	Varied very widely
Karamojong	4%	n = 6	None 8% n = 14
Plus 30 others small percentages of each			Majority up to 150,000 16% n = 28
			1 million 5% n = 9
Children			2 million 14% n = 26
1	8%	n = 14	20 million 0.5% n = 1
2	12%	n = 21	Not known 24% n = 43
3	14%	n = 23	
4	19%	n = 34	
5	12%	n = 19	
6	14%	n = 25	
7	4%	n = 13	
8	4%	n = 7	
9	1.7%	n = 3	
10	4%	n = 5	
11	1%	n = 2	
12	1.7%	n = 3	
13	0.5%	n = 1	
Yes but n/a	1.7%	n = 3	
No children	4%	n = 5	
Unknown	1%	n = 2	

C. Findings of the Study

The research found a range of impacts of bride-price. These broadly confirmed the findings of the small studies conducted previously (see e.g. Osuna, 2003), discussions at the *International Conference on Bride Price*, and anecdotal evidence and previous case studies. A large amount of data was gathered across the various data-sets. However, the most notable issue emerging was the outstanding similarities in the findings across the data-sets and consistency in terms of both the positive and negative impacts of the practice of bride-price which were identified.

Simultaneously, and as would be expected, some of the points emerging were contradictory between interviewees. There were also sometimes contradictions within an interview with one individual, demonstrating the complexity of the issue and the fact that the research team has been unable to identify simplistic solutions.

The following key points were drawn out from the interviewee data and triangulated across all the data-sets in a thematic analysis of all the interviews with professionals and duty bearers, and with women, men and family members.

C.1. Historical and theoretical context

The research informants identified the following issues in terms of the historical context of bride-price. Importantly:

All analyses of bride-price or bride-wealth must look at the practice in its historical perspective.

(Theorist interviewee)

This interviewee further advised that all work on bride-price must take into account its previous usefulness as an ancient and valued practice which has aided communities and promoted social cohesiveness and harmony throughout remembered history.

- The interviews with key theorists and religious and cultural leaders on the issue revealed that bride-price had cemented families together in the pre-Colonial period and had not been regarded in acquisitive terms as a 'price', but as a custom to build and strengthen communities and families.
- These interviews suggested that the practice was not understood well by the Colonial powers who may have inadvertently aggravated its negative aspects through attempts to regulate it. For example, this was the case in the 1964 Bukedi bye-law passed at the end of the Colonial era in Tororo District which attempted to limit the amount of goods given. This attempt to legislate a maximum amount had the opposite effect, according to our academic and theorist informants. Rather than reducing bride-price demands, it led instead to the institutionalisation of this maximum as the amount that was always expected to be given. This has gradually become accepted in the cultural marriage practices used in the District, even though it has been almost impossible to achieve for many members of poor communities and has led to consequent problems, according to duty bearer, religious leader and academic interviewees.
- In the recent era, bride-price appears to have become a commercialised practice which is losing its former helpful role. Our research revealed that this could be particularly the outcome in richer or professional class communities and in the cities.

- Thus, the traditional value of bride-price is now less clear due to the impacts of modernisation and the resulting commercialisation of social customs in contemporary times

It has become so commercial now. It is like the girl's parents are selling off their daughters in order to become richer or to escape poverty. Every parent wants their daughter to get married so they can benefit from her...

(Sub County Chief interviewee)

As if the woman becomes a commodity.

(Key expert interviewee)

It is not right to put human beings on the commercial market, bargain for them and, when one is fed up with them, dump them, leaving the woman psychologically tortured. Women lose their dignity, have to do endless hard labour – and then failure to produce children becomes a big crime -- once you have been paid for.'

(Duty Bearer: Christian father)

- It was pointed out by interviewees that bride-price tends to cement gender inequality into place in that women have little power in relation to the practice but, rather, are passed from family to family. Negotiations usually involve senior men in the two families who decide what the woman will do and how she will behave. Thus, bride-price can be seen, in this view, both as a *symptom* of male dominance and power in families and also as a *cause*.
- One example of how it can be seen as a symptom is that it is a product of men being in the more powerful position in the family. It can then lead to men automatically expecting to control their family through its operation. One example of how it can be seen as a *cause* is that women have little power to influence the custom but are bargained over and 'exchanged' from household to household by male family members so there are few opportunities for equal treatment of men and women. Rather, the subservient position of the wife is often made worse and greater inequality is therefore frequently caused by the payment of bride-price.

Bride-wealth normalises men controlling everything and women's weak position as the one negotiated over, the object to be exchanged, so both ways the power difference is increased by bride-wealth – it gives men more and at the same time women less....So it changes the power both ways. No wonder men don't like it to be challenged.

(Theorist interviewee)

C. 2. Custom and tradition

Duty bearer and key expert interviews suggested the following 'cultural' issues which need to be taken into account in any consideration of bride-price.

- There are differing systems of bride-price in the country. About 62 communities in Uganda use varying bride-price practices.
- Customary marriage is solemnised and made valid if bride-price is paid. It can act as a 'certificate' of marriage, so that any reform would need to substitute another method of recognising such marriages. (This is being partially addressed in the new Bridal Gifts Ordinance in Tororo.)
- The payment of bride-price has become a way of life, often normalised in people's minds and difficult to challenge or change.

People think it is normal, it's just 'what we do'.

(Duty Bearer Interviewee)

C.3. Not 'Throwing Out the Baby with the Bathwater'

Many of our interviewees pointed out that bride-price will take a long time to change as it is embedded in communities and everyday cultural life. The following points were raised with the researchers:

- Bride-price is a sensitive issue in that seeking to change it could appear as disrespectful or a discourtesy to ancestors and traditional ways of life.
- However, support for reform of bride-price was almost unanimous in the study, as discussed below.
- Preserving positive aspects of this long-standing African tradition during any reform was simultaneously emphasised by some duty bearer and religious leader interviewees, as in the following quote:

Shake up the practice, by all means, but try to get at its basic VALUE

(emphasis by the interviewee)

It can be as if you are insulting your mother, your forefathers. As globalisation happens, we need to preserve the old but remove the harmful bits of it. Don't throw out the baby with the bathwater.

(Senior Church Leader Interviewee – both quotes)

C. 4. Positive and negative impacts of bride-price

The study assessed both the positive and the negative impacts of the practice of bride-price. Many positives were identified by the study respondents. These numbered more than had originally been anticipated. However, the negative impacts far outnumbered the positives.

The positive and negative effects were identified in the data-set of members of the public with experience of bride-price (N=180) specifically as follows: Sixty-one per cent of interviews in this data-set suggested that bride-price has mainly negative impacts. Only 0.44% of these interviewees believed that it has mainly positive effects. However, almost 35% believed that it has both positive and negative effects, a sizeable percentage.

BP has mainly bad effects		Bp has mainly mixed effects or not clear, both bad and good		BP has mainly good effects
83 (61.03%)		47 (34.56%)		6 (0.44%)

Note not all respondents answered these questions

Overall, from all the data sets, a slightly higher percentage of approximately 65% of interviewees suggested that the impacts were mainly negative and almost 35% that there were both negative and positive impacts that need to be taken into consideration. The percentage suggesting mainly positive impacts remained at less than 1%.

The following quote demonstrates both positive and negative aspects.

BP as a form of 'buying people' is not right... But, at the same time, it is believed that a man taking someone's daughter as a wife can give some appreciation to the parents, a marriage gift: to show he is appreciating them for the nurture, the care and upbringing of the girl. It is not to be bargained over, quarrelled over ...

(Church Father Interview)

C.4.1. Positive impacts of bride-price

From the data-set of members of the public, the following were highlighted:

Bride price benefits the in-laws to compensate for the expenses used to bring up the daughter.

Bride-price can be used by the brother of the girl for also marrying

It is a sign of appreciation to the parents of the girl, and you earn recognition and respect from the in-laws.

It gives the parents of the girl some wealth in that even a poor family can use the bride-price to buy land. The cows also produce milk, which can be sold, and proceeds used for various plans.

Bride-price is good because you sit in your marriage peaceful, it gives you value and mostly when you produce children, it is good.

In this section, we list examples of key points made during the study in relation to the positive impacts of bride-price. These points were repeated in many interviews from the interview data-sets of a) members of the public and b) professionals and duty bearers.

They centre around:

- Bonding families together and
- Offering appreciation for the 'gift' of the wife to the husband.
- Giving women value and status in their marriages.

Bride-price has cultural value -- many people like it.

(Church Leader Interview)

Also when the man has paid it, there is a way he safeguards the wife; even when he thinks of getting another woman, he will count the cost of how much he has put in. But when no BP is paid, he will keep changing women. BP actually reduces polygamy, because it is a burden to be paid for a wife.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

More developed examples of the positive impacts of bride-price:

- Bride-price bonds together i) the couple and
ii) the two families.

It joins the families to assist each other and work together in life. Two families becomes one family'

(Member of the Public Interviewee).

- It can also cement the community and provides stability within the families and hence in the wider village / community.
- It can spread the wealth around, transferring it between families
- Bride price says to the bride's family:

Thank you for raising such a beautiful person and 'lending' her to us.

(Religious Leader Interviewee)

- It is a symbol of appreciation to the wife's parents:

It's a token of what you have done for your daughter, her education, training etc etc, --now she is leaving your home, here is some recompense

(Duty Bearer Interviewee)

- Thus, bride-price is a recognition and partial recompense for the fact that the woman is leaving her natal family and will no longer be able to contribute to that household. Thus, through the practice, their considerable and often painful loss is partially recognised.
- Bride-wealth gives the woman importance and value. She may feel that: *'She is worth something and is honoured and respected'* (Interviewee).
- She may have some weight and prestige in her new family due to bride-price payment, which help her avoid abuse.
- Therefore, at best, it can give daughters security and purchase in their marriages and their new homes. It can give pride to the woman, makes her feel comfortable and important. It promotes the 'official' wife and seals her status as wife, as a worthy woman.
- She may, conversely, feel worthless, valueless and a failure if bride-price is not paid.
- Bride-price gives value to the marriage and also to the man. It provides legitimacy for him and his marriage. He is a proper husband.
- Further, bride-price:

Tells the boy that he has to be responsible about this, taking a wife, he is grown up now and there are responsibilities, have to show you can work, have to show you can support a family.

(Religious Leader Interview)

C.4.2. Negative impacts of bride-price

In this section, we list examples of key points which were repeated in many interviews from the interview data-sets of a) members of the public and b) professionals and duty bearers. These centre around:

- The cementing of inequality between women and men.
- Wives being 'paid for'.
- Early and child marriage.
- Loss of education for young brides.
- Landlessness and homelessness for women.
- Abuse and violence against wives.

Bride-price affected me in a bad way because on my husband's side -- every time they give orders make me overwork in the garden and at home saying that I am the property which was bought and I must do each and everything at home.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

More developed examples of the negative impacts of bride-price:

- Men and women should be equal in marriage according to the Law of Uganda. However, bride-price makes the marriage unequal in that the woman is paid for by the man.
- Thus, the continued existence of bride-price cements inequality between men and women into place.
- The woman can become an article of property in own home. Bride-price can give the appearance of commodifying human relationships: *'Selling a human being because the family want wealth, selling your daughter at a tender age'* (Member of the Public Interviewee)
- It may therefore feed into the abuse and maltreatment of the wife.
- It may deprive girls of education when parents seek an early or forced marriage in order to raise the bride-price, and take their daughter out of school: *'People prefer to get wealth at the expense of their daughter's education'* (Member of the Public Interviewee)
- Children may be taken away and withheld by the husbands relatives if the mother leaves since bride-price was paid
- It leads to women appearing to be worthless unless paid for, belittled, and able to be treated however the man wants.

I feel bad. My husband could not afford bride-price. I feel lonely, rejected, neglected by my parents since they got no benefit from my marriage. My family is on bad terms with me because there was no dowry paid. I am very unhappy because there was no bride-price. I would take it for my daughters because it was not paid for me and he divorced me for a new wife and I was left. He didn't take me seriously as a wife because he had not paid.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

- The practice gives the possibility of the virtual enslavement of women in the worst cases.

Family can be divided, mothers in law, sisters in law can be resentful, their cows get taken away to pay it for new wife. Everyone takes it out on the woman often. Overall, she must obey everyone, respect, serve everyone in her husband's family all the time.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

- The man / boy may have to borrow substantially and go into debt and impoverishment when he is young and may have no income.
- The practice may cause a male inferiority complex for a man if he cannot -- or fails to -- pay.
- Very young brothers may be left to pay back bride-price for a sister leaving her husband.
- Some men are left unmarried because of lack of ability to pay bride-price.
- It may make having children impossible, as men / young people cannot afford marriage, holding back development and community life

Forcing boys to cohabit or not even be able to marry or to have to leave rural areas and home. Leads often to forced marriage, girls being used as a source of income, parents pull her out of school early because they get a good offer, they need the cows, money, so it affects education and welfare of girls etc.

(Duty Bearer Interview)

C.5. Are bride-price and domestic violence connected?

The vast majority of interviews overall in all the data-sets in the study believed that there is a connection between bride-price and domestic violence. The connection, however, was acknowledged to be a complex one in that domestic violence is a much broader social problem, and bride-price can be seen a contributing factor.

C.5.1. Data sets of interviewees with experience of domestic violence and widows (in total, n=37)

Approximately 99% of the interviewees who were known to have experienced domestic violence and other forms of abuse presented evidence, or believed, that bride-price had been an important element in the violence they had experienced. In a small number of cases, different views were expressed within an interview, where the interviewee said at different points that domestic violence both was and was not connected with bride-price.

A connection between bride-price and domestic violence was also a key element in the mistreatment of widows in the small data set with widows, with all 10 interviewees describing highly distressing examples of the impact of bride-price and abuse.

Case Study

T is 34. Her words have been translated and précised.

What happened?

T married her husband and bride price was paid. She had four children. She managed her household OK but her husband was violent to her and she wanted to leave because she was unhappy. Her life was a misery with her husband and he was always unfaithful, going with other women and beating her at home, saying he had paid bride-price.

Impact of bride price

She felt she could not leave because the bride-price could not be paid back by her parents. She was stuck. She did not know what to do, and had nowhere to go except to stay with her husband. Her husband kept on being unfaithful to her and she was often left with the children with no money or food. Then her husband got sick. He was ill for a while and she looked after him. They did not know what was the matter with him at first. Then he died. He left her with the four children. It turned out he had died of HIV. Ever since he died, his brothers have harassed her. They say she should go away, they do not want her there, and say that her husband has died so why is she still staying ... They have kept trying to push her away. They have beaten her and hurt her time and time again. They say she is a widow and is living on her husband's land that is now their land. They are trying to take her children saying they are her husband's children so she must give them up. They come and fight her all the time. She has been badly abused both by the husband and more lately by his brothers. She still does not feel she can go back to her parents as the bride-price would still have to be repaid, even now, according to the brothers. Two cows were given for her which have died or been eaten. She lives in constant terror.

C.5.2. Data set of interviews with members of the public (n=180)

Significantly, almost all the women interviewed in the 'members of the public' interview data-set (n=122) had experienced abuse and this was very frequently connected with bride-price. It should be noted that the sample for this data-set did *not* consist of victims of domestic violence. Experiences of violence were not a criterion for selection. Rather experience of bride-price was the criterion used.

However, the vast majority of the women interviewed – approximately 95% -- told the researchers that they had such experiences.

Both the men and women interviewees suggested that bride-price was related to domestic violence, but the percentage doing so was higher for women. The majority of the interviews with men (n=58) did indeed believe that there was a connection but, overall, more women believed this proportionally than men.

Overall in the whole interview data-set, approximately 84% (n=126) of interviewees who answered the question (n=150) believed there was a direct connection between domestic violence and bride-price.

Bride-price/Domestic violence connection	
Yes	No or not sure
126 (84%)	24 (16%)
Note: not all answered	

I had no happiness in my marriage because I experienced a lot of domestic violence and abuse. Bride-price is a very bad thing because when you are bought you are almost like a property and it causes domestic violence.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

C.5.3. Data-set of interviews with duty bearers and agencies (n=27)

The vast majority of the expert, duty bearer and agency interviewees believed that there was a connection between domestic violence and bride-price, although some interviews contained contradictory data.

The number of these interviews was small (n=27), but the percentage believing that bride-price contributes to domestic violence was approximately 90% (n=24). However, a small minority of important expert interviewees asserted that the connection is a complex one. They suggested that it would be inadvisable to attribute abuse to a cultural practice which is so widely practised and accepted, stating that the causes of domestic violence are much wider than bride-price and that, in some cases, bride-price may actually be of help in that the wife is accorded some worth.

C.5.4. Key points

Many different examples of domestic violence resulting from bride-price payment were raised by research informants during the study. However, the principal ways in which bride-price causes domestic violence were identified by interviewees as follows:

- Domestic violence occurs because the man often feels that he ‘owns’ the woman and she is therefore his servant.
- Thus, if the wife does not do the husband’s wishes, he may feel entitled to punish or chastise her.

- Further, he may lack any feelings of respect for his wife due to the payment made, so that he may engage in domestic violence as a matter of course.
- If a wife leaves due to domestic violence or marriage problems, her family often cannot repay the bride-price and therefore cannot take her back. The woman is frequently forced to stay in or to return to the violent marriage.

Yes, physical and verbal abuse because of the bride-price he paid: I had to do a lot of work and was expected to serve my husband's people. I was abused by the grandfather- in-law and my husband became physically aggressive when I reported the father- in- laws complaints, saying he had paid bride-price so I had no right to complain about anything.

I experienced all forms of domestic abuse, verbally, sexually and financially. He wants my money but doesn't give me his and that is why he one time cut me with a hoe and disappeared for one month. Many times he has forced me into sex when I am sick, beaten me, slapped me and shown me no form of respect. You can even see this scar on my face. This happened because he paid bride-price. Many times he would say 'after all I have paid for you....'

After the bride-price was paid is when my husband started mistreating me but when he married his second wife, the abuse even became worse. I think he beats me because he knows I cannot refund bride-price so I cannot leave him.

(Member of the Public Interviewees)

However, our professional informants were also clear, as noted above, that domestic violence may be the real problem and bride-price is one symptom of this. While domestic abuse is widespread and endemic in some communities, bride-price itself appears to increase the types of abuse that wives experience and the reasons why violence occurs. It cements women's inequality and the likelihood of their husbands feeling that they have a right to dominate and control their wives, using violence if they wish.

Domestic violence is much bigger than bride wealth. Bride-wealth is one stop along the way of an enormous wide problem. There are many other causes of domestic violence of course. You will not get rid of domestic violence by getting rid of bride-wealth -- but it would certainly help.

(Academic Interviewee)

- This indicates that combating domestic violence requires a multi-pronged struggle, of which reform of bride-price could be an important part.

C.6. Are bride-price and poverty connected?

A large majority of interviews overall from all the data-sets pointed to examples of experiences of bride price contributing to poverty, and maintained that there was a connection between the two.

C.6.1. Data-set with members of the public (n=180)

Approximately 82.4% of interviewees believed there was a connection between poverty and bride-price. This is a very significant majority but represents a smaller percentage than those believing the same about domestic violence, demonstrating that this is not a simple issue.

BP/Poverty connection		
Yes	No	Mixed results, some increases in wealth, some decreases
119 (82.4%)	17 (12%)	8 (5.6%)
Note: not all answered		

The interviewees gave many examples of how impoverishment had been increased in their own or other's lives.

C.6.2. Expert, duty bearer and agency interviewees (n=27)

The majority of the expert, duty bearer and agency interviewees believed that there was a connection between poverty and bride-price. Some interviews contained contradictory data and the number of interviews was small (n=27).

The percentage of the key expert interviews who had evidence of, or believed, that bride-price contributes to poverty was approximately 75% (n=20). Again, this was a significant majority, but still was substantially less than the equivalent percentage for domestic violence. A significant minority of expert interviewees -- one quarter -- believed that the connection is a complex one (n=7). This was due to the fact that goods and money are transferred between families by the payment of bride-price. These interviewees suggested that this traditional practice is to be valued and does not necessarily result in impoverishment. The issue is not always a clear one because wealth changes hands (given for sons, received for daughters) but may still remain in the community.

It gives the parents of the girl some wealth in that even a poor family can use the BP to buy land. The cows given also produce milk, which can be sold, and proceeds used for various plans.

A payment of bride-price in our home: it was good because my family are able to appreciate that at one time they gave birth to a girl, it also gives some little financial boost because like my father, he did not have cows to pay for my brothers, those cows from me, they can be used for their bride-price.

(Member of the Public Interviewees)

A minority of interviewees suggested particular caution in claiming that bride-price promotes poverty, although it may contribute. The bigger issue is certainly poverty itself.

Nevertheless, various mechanisms were suggested for how impoverishment is increased, as discussed below.

C.6.3. Key points

The following key points were drawn out from the interviewee data in relation to impoverishment and bride-price.

- The practice encourages impoverishment for young couples and families as all their resources are often put into raising bride-price, just at the time of their lives when they need to be beginning to settle down and make a home.
- People therefore start out on their married life in impoverishment so that it can become difficult to then build income and sustainability
- Young men with few resources are likely to have to spend all they have on bride-price and then face poverty as they try to support their new family
- Many young men have to go into quite severe debt to raise bride-price and therefore start out, not only in poverty, but also indebted and so even further disadvantaged.
- Wealth tends to be transferred to older, more established community members (the bride's parents) at a key time in young people's lives, instead of to them
- Thus the 'evening out' effect of bride-price transferring wealth around a community tends not to happen, but rather to leave younger people impoverished or destitute.
- Impoverishment due to bride-price payments may mean that the family is not able to educate their children or pay school fees, so that disadvantage is reinforced.
- It may also result in early marriage since parents may have need of the bride-price their daughter will bring, as noted above.
- Thus, bride-price difficulties are particularly an issue of poverty. Our research informants described how, in richer communities, the issue might not raise too many problems.
- In poor communities, however, people struggle for wealth. Thus, families may depend critically on the bride-price they have received, or might be able to attract in the future, for their daughters. Bride-price then becomes of enlarged importance to everyone, and takes its toll in terms of making the poverty experienced even worse.
- People may therefore be turned against each other due to the struggle to survive and to compete for scant resources.
- For example, parents may be forced to refuse to take separated daughters back because they cannot repay the cows and goats given for bride-price.

Interviewees throughout the study made the very important point that the overall problem is that of entrenched poverty itself, and bride-price is often a factor in increasing it. The overriding issue is challenging poverty itself. However, work on bride-price is one part of this larger task.

In middle class, urban or richer communities, demands for bride-price may also cause problems. In modern times, these demands may become very extravagant, inflated and hard to provide. Examples were given of bride-price including the gift of a new car, or costly consumer appliances. Young men may therefore have impossible demands made upon them in middle class communities for goods and money (rather than for animals) which they cannot meet. An example was given of teachers and legal workers being unable to afford to marry, as they could not raise the bride-price.

On the man's side, everything is spent during the process of payment leaving a huge debt to be paid back in the marriage and nothing to start out with.

(Duty Bearer Interviewee)

To parents it causes riches but to the girl, it is poverty and suffering.

She also experienced abuse because of bride-price. She left her violent husband. Her brother had to sell off iron sheets off his house to repay the bride-price, but the money was not enough, so they came and took the sides of the house. But as a result of it still not being enough, she was forced to re-marry; her second

husband contributed two cows to refund the first husband. She is still suffering even with the second husband but can't go back to home because she is paid for.

(Member of the Public Interviewees)

Case Study

Z. was 24 at the time of interview and was painfully thin and pale. Her words have been translated and précised.

What happened?

Z's parents have broken with her because she is not married and because she is sick. She was beaten very badly by her father the last time she tried to go home, because she was not able to get married, and was thrown out literally. She has nowhere to live permanent and no income.

How did bride-price contribute?

She was unable to marry because no bride price would be paid due to her sickness. She said that she would not be regarded as a satisfactory wife by anyone. She has sickle cell anaemia and gets stigmatised wherever she goes. Her father said she had to marry because of the bride-price this would attract and he wanted for her. But because she could not earn bride-price as no-one would want to marry her, her father was angry, told her she was a useless daughter, beat her and drove her away. He says she is no good as a woman or a daughter as she cannot bring in money or cows. She feels a failure and is very vulnerable. She cannot get work, cannot get help from her family, cannot get the support of a husband. Whenever she tries to go home, her father makes her leave again. What is she to do? She has been driven away permanently by her own family because of the bride price. But she has no other people to take her in and no way of earning money. Her father will not let her have any of her own possessions from the home. She asked the interviewer: What will the future bring? Who will support her? How will she be able to live with no support, no money and this bad illness which is making her sicker all the time?

C.7. Are there connections with HIV infection?

The research could not provide large-scale robust evidence of connections between bride-price and HIV infection due to the small number of people in the sample who were HIV positive. However, a variety of ways in which bride-price may contribute to increased HIV infection were identified in the study. The interviewees (mainly from the data-set of members of the public) brought up three key routes through which the infection can be spread in this instance, giving the following examples:

- The first route involved older men who may be able to pay good bride-price. Cases were presented in the research of parents who had sought experienced and wealthy men for their young daughters. However, such men may be HIV+ or have other wives. In the examples given, the parents appeared not to have checked this carefully enough. The HIV had been spread, with the young wives and their babies becoming infected.
- The second route involved several wives in the study who had been forced to stay with unfaithful husbands because their parents could not repay the bride-price. The husbands became HIV positive and the wives (and children) then contracted HIV as a result (when otherwise they would have been able to leave and remain healthy).
- The third route involved a husband dying of an AIDS-related illness. His brothers sold his land and the wife was driven away as she had no rights in the family without him, since bride-price was paid and now she was in the way. She was forced to marry again for economic support and the HIV was spread, when she might otherwise have stayed in her original married home.

Further examples were given of brothers saying, after a man's death, that: *'they have paid so much and now she is useless, she should go, she cannot stay on their land'* (Member of the Public Interviewee). These instances would not have happened if the husband had not contracted HIV in the first place, so that this is an example of the impacts of the infection being made worse by bride-price issues.

C.8. Further examples of impacts of bride-price from cases reported in the research data

The following are further examples of actual experiences described to the community-based researchers by interviewees in the research data. While some repeat issues already raised in this report, these examples are provided to give a flavour of the wide range of impacts on families and individuals:

Real-life examples of the impacts of bride-price provided by the research

- Women being landless because of inheritance, of bride-price and of being excluded from property owning..
- Husbands who regarded their wives as their property and engaged in violence and 'punishment'.
- Women who were expected to serve constantly, since they had been 'paid for'.
- Parents who were not able to take woman back on marriage problems as they could not repay the cows and resources.
- Women who became homeless and destitute as a result.
- Girls who were subjected to marriage at a very young age in order that their parents could gain bride-price.
- Girls who were withdrawn from school to marry and had to end their education.
- Young man who had had to spend all their resources, and more, on bride-price.
- Young couples who had started off in extreme debt and impoverishment.
- A man did not pay bride-price, and the woman's parents and community rejected her since she had made a non-lucrative marriage and so refused to help her when problems arose.
- Women for whom bride-price was not paid said they were regarded as inferior and stigmatised.
- Women, for whom bride-price was paid, who were victimised if they did not give birth (especially to sons), since they had been 'paid for' to produce children. In several cases, this had led to severe abuse and abandonment
- Several examples of bride-price still being paid after death, or the burial of a wife being delayed until payment by the husband was complete.
- Opposite examples of burial being denied until fully-paid bride-price was repaid, where the women had died and their husbands' families demanded bride-price return before she could be buried.
- Young brothers who had inherited their sister's bride-price and were unable to pay it.
- Young men with no resources who had not been able to afford to marry at all.
- Parents who had sought unsuitable older men for their daughters who had more resources in order to get good payments.
- Parents who regarded daughter as source of income and organised forced or premature marriage
- Examples of wife/ widow inheritance by her dead husband's brother.
- An example of further spread of HIV through widow inheritance.

- Women who were sick or not strong and could not marry as would not attract bride price.
- A father who drove one frail woman in this situation away in consequence (to destitution and near starvation) (see case study above).
- Fathers who came and threatened the husband when no, or insufficient, bride-price had been paid or who took their daughters and babies away until bride-price payment was complete, thus causing disruption of family life
- A first wife who had been forced to contribute to the bride-price for a second wife against her will
- Husbands who ran away because they could not complete bride-price and abandoned their wives with all the children and no income.
- Husband's brothers who resented supporting the children or drove the wife and children if the husband died.
- In similar situations, a husband's brothers would claim the children and drive the widowed wife away without them, refusing to allow her to see them.
- Couples who eloped to avoid bride-price but were pursued by the bride's family.
- Examples of difficulty where a woman from the city (where there is more money and expectation of it) married a village boy who could not raise the resources.
- Examples of salaried people in the towns who were in a better position but where demands for bride-price had become very large, inflated and damaging.

An Example

The ills connected to bride-price: for instance: should the boy's family fail to complete, normally the girl's family begins to pester for payment and it begins interfering in their relationship as a man and woman in marriage. This normally brings about domestic confusion and violence to the family.

Member of the Public Interviewee

C.9. Impacts on widows

The study revealed that bride-price can become a particularly difficult problem for widows and families when the husband dies. This information was derived both from the small sample of interviews with widows (N = 10) and also from the other interview data-sets with members of the public and with victims of domestic violence.

set

BP was bad for me because it forced me into early marriage. My parents would not pay school fees and I had no choice but to marry for the BP. I contracted HIV/Aids. It made me become a young widow and it made my family poor

(Widow Interviewee)

There were distressing impacts on widows recorded throughout the study. These included:

- HIV infection.
- Landlessness and homelessness.
- Destitution and malnutrition.
- Widows who were driven away from the husband's family property (unless bride-price was repaid). *'You have no rights here.'*
- Widows who were driven away from parents home. *'Go back to your husband's family'*.

In the following case study, the widow concerned had been facing destitution and near starvation for a long period because of bride-price not being repaid and because she had no property rights after her husband's death. It reinforces the previous case study on p. 18 in terms of the possible devastating impacts of widowhood and HIV infection where bride-price is an issue and distorts an already highly distressing situation.

Case Study

X. is in her 50s. She is not sure of her exact age. She is a widow. Her words have been translated and précised.

What happened

Bride-price was paid. X had a hard marriage, and her husband had multiple other relationships. He was always taunting her with information about his other women, always making her sad, always cheating on her. She could do nothing. She knew that the bride-price could not be repaid so she had to stay. Then he died. His brothers decided to sell their land including the part of the land that was hers and her husband's. They sold it without consulting her, including the home where she lived. They did not let her stay in her house even for a short while. They kept tormenting her, pressurising her to leave, even pressuring and assaulting her children, saying they were no longer welcome. She had to leave but had nowhere to go and no house or possessions. The children had to leave education, she had no money and could not pay school fees. None of them have had any further schooling. Then she got sick.

How did bride-price contribute?

When she was pushed to leave, the brothers of her late husband were happy. This might not have happened if bride-price had not been an issue because she would have had more rights. Instead, they said she had already been paid for, so was not entitled to stay after he died. They said she was worth nothing because the bride-price had been paid for her and now she was a burden and was not wanted.

She still has nowhere to live at all unless she can make a hut somewhere and no food. This has been going on for a long time and she has been almost dead from lack of food for some years. She scarcely gets by, trying to eat every second day. She showed the interviewer parts of her extremely emaciated body. She goes without food most days and is too weak to earn much. The children are gone now and all, including herself, are HIV positive, due to her husband's infidelities.

C.10. Impacts on young girls

The research suggests that the impact of bride-price can be particularly severe for young girls, especially where parents may have an urgent financial need for the bride-price she will attract. The main impacts on young girls, identified from all the data-sets, included, as detailed throughout this report:

- Early or forced marriage.
- The girl additionally being forced to leave education in order to marry and earn bride-price for her family.
- The girl being forced to leave education because fees could not be paid since bride-price was needed for her brothers.
- HIV infection due to marriage to an older, richer man, as discussed above.
- Girls being exposed to sexual abuse by older dominant men and having no way to escape, due to their youth, inexperience and lack of power in the situation.
- Girls experiencing pregnancies when too young due to early marriage, and sometimes developing severe medical problems and fistulas as a result. This was followed in several

cases by subsequent rejection by the community and family, leaving them in a desperate plight. Such rejection, stigmatisation, damage to young women's lives and possible ensuing destitution, occurred in the instances investigated solely because the young women had been made to marry and bear children too young, specifically for the bride-price payment.

C.11. Impacts on men

A number of impacts of bride-price on men were highlighted in the interviews which were conducted with male respondents in the Members of the Public Interview data-set. As also noted in other sections of this report, these included being forced into poverty as a result of having to pay bride-price; going into severe debt; young brothers being left to repay bride-price; men not being able marry at all or to marry women of their choice; male feelings of inferiority; huge pressure on young inexperienced men when they have no resources; and young people starting marriage and adult life in financial trouble.

All of the men interviewed (N = 57) spoke about the strain created by payment of bride-price, as it commonly used up all their savings or led to loans. For a minority, it had led to the selling of valuable and much needed land.

It has strained me financially in the starting of a new home Because of the great demand that was needed, I had to begin other sources to generate some income to support my new family/ home. I had to get a loan to finance my marriage BP. From the girl's family sometimes it is very strenuous and so hectic for the boy's family or for the boy to collect and send to the girl's family.

Bride-price made my family poorer as soon as I paid bride price, because by then those were the only possessions I had.

(Male interviewees)

There were also issues around co-habiting, where parents had come to take their daughters back since bride-price was clearly not going to be paid, breaking up the new family. In other cases there was unhelpful interference in relationships by the parents if the agreed bride-price payment was incomplete:

The failing to pay BP has affected me in that, my father-in-law came and collected their daughter after she had finished one month in my house and delivered my first born baby boy; this happened when I had gone to look for something for survival and it has affected me badly because I feel I am unable to marry due to lack of money and animals to pay the BP.

There are also ills connected to BP for instance; should the boy's family fail to complete, normally the girl's family begins to pester for BP and it begins interfering in their relationship as a man and woman in marriage; this normally brings about domestic confusion and violence to the family.

(Male interviewees)

The connections between bride-price and domestic violence were specifically recognised by many of the men interviewed, as noted earlier:

Sometimes when a man gets so much disturbed from the in laws demanding BP to be completed, it can bring real violence in the family. This is because some men take BP to be a price paid for the girl and sometimes take women as property in a home.

BP and domestic violence are related because when a woman is paid for you she thinks that she is in control of your life which deprives the man of his power and thus domestic violence.

(Male interviewees)

In short, bride-price was seen to have the following negative effects by the majority of the men interviewed:

- It breeds antagonism, and even hatred, between both families when a marriage fails.
- Those who don't have wealth are denied women of their choice because they cannot afford bride-price.
- Poverty on the young men's side may mean the land or possessions they own have to be sold to pay bride-price.
- Having to pay for a deceased wife was raised by many of the interviewees.

At the same time many of the men recognised the positive impacts of bride-price, as follows:

- It links up the two families together.
- It gives a wife a sense of belonging.
- It is a token of thanks to the parents.
- You, as a son-in-law, receive some respect from the girl's side.

Yes it was necessary. It has been good in that it links up the two families together, it is a token of thanks to the parents, and you as a son in law receive some respect from the girl's side.

(Male interviewee)

Case Study

B was a man interviewed as part of the Members of the Public interviews. His words have been translated but are given verbatim.

How did bride-price contribute to his life?

It made me poorer and frustrated in that I could not manage to buy myself even clothes because of trying to raise the bride-price. My father in-law wanted to arrest me for the failure to pay enough bride-price for his daughter so I had to get the animals, all as bride-price...

I was also affected in that I became psychologically tortured as I remained with nothing to depend on or start with that even I failed to construct a house of my own. I am still borrowing where to sleep with my family until recently my brothers contributed for me to build a permanent house which I have not yet entered and when the child is sick I feel difficulty of treating him/ her...

Also, it has affected me in that I have to make my wife to over work to cover what was paid as BP until of recent when I sold a garden of cassava to buy 2 kids that I now own as my property.

C.12. Impacts on family members, community and development

All the interviews with member of the public knew of other family and community members who had been adversely affected by bride-price, even if they themselves had not been.

It has affected them. Like my sister got married and the bride-price was paid but after some time they had problems and she ran back home...the husband kept demanding for his money, my father was forced to sell off part of the land which

has affected even my brothers, because they don't have enough land to grow crops or to pay bride-price.

My cousins and sisters have also experienced the same problems of no peace in the home; though they are beaten, they cannot leave because they also cannot refund the BP.

(Member of the Public Interviewees)

Positive impacts, in terms of development, included the strengthening of communities and families in a few cases which were described, where bride-price was paid with no problems being created.

It has created good relationship between my people and theirs and it has united us. It has also made me confident in marriage.

It has also brought love between us in the house.

(Member of the Public Interviewee)

Negative impacts on family members and communities, in terms of development, included:

- The retarding of development due to bride-price violations and to family life being disrupted, as outlined throughout this report.
- The retarding of development and destabilisation of communities due to men (and women) being left unmarried in that community and unable to have families
- Impacts for AIDs orphans who will probably not be able to afford bride-price, both now and in the future.
- Empowerment of women is known to be fundamental to development. However, bride-price issues tend to work against such empowerment in terms of women having little power and being the ones to be exchanged from one family to another with bride-price legitimising this exchange. Women are the ones to be 'bargained for', so that equality between the sexes and possible empowerment of women are directly compromised as a result.
- The cementing of landlessness for women is one example, and is directly related to bride-price in that inequality in terms of property ownership is reinforced, and equal development is often held back.
- Bride-price reinforces gender inequality in marriage, contrary to the Constitution of Uganda, and the holding-back of gender development as a result.

D. What should be done about bride-price?

As an action research project, a key aim of the research was to generate knowledge about the practice of bride-price through a more in-depth investigation which would then feed into social action and awareness-raising at the local level, as well as inform wider policy and legal work. All respondents were asked for their views and advice about what action needed to be taken on bride price and, especially, if the practice should be left as it is, abolished or reformed.

D.1. Reform, abolish or leave as it is?

The research findings revealed that reform, and to a lesser extent, abolition, were recommended as the way forward in the data-set of interviews with members of the public. Among the professional and expert interviews, overwhelmingly, reform was favoured. These figures were as follows.

D.1.1. Data set of interviews with members of the public (n=180)

- Reform was favoured by 60% of the interviewees.
- Abolition was favoured by a further 28%.
- Thus, in total, 88% of interviewees, a very significant majority, suggested bride-price should either be reformed or abolished.
- 13% of interviewees suggested that bride-price should be left as it is.

REFORM	ABOLISH	LEAVE AS IS
99 (60.11%)	47 (27.96%)	22 (13.1%)
Note: not all answered		

Examples of the type of advice offered to duty bearers, government and agencies by the members of the public interviewees included:

I think they should try to educate the public and families and people until we understand what it means. The good thing about BP and the bad things about BP, so that we can come to understanding, analyse and see what to do.

The government I think should come in and put a limit there to help the people. If it is like a rule like it is in the regulations of the country, I think people also will understand like now they are discussing about land and whatever. They should also discuss about BP.

Sensitise mostly the village people about the values of BP, and not to look at BP as a prerequisite for marriage; this will help the women.

D.1.2. Expert, duty bearer and agency interviewees (n=27)

The vast majority - 98% - of the expert, duty bearer and agency interviewees (including cultural, religious, political, clan and tribe leaders) suggested that bride-price should be reformed to make it a non-refundable gift and a small token of appreciation. Thus, this was an almost unanimous opinion. When asked what specifically should be done about bride-price, the following points were highlighted in the research data:

- The issue is a sensitive, cultural matter and change is likely to be slow.
- Such change can only be carried out through a multi-faceted approach and cannot be enforced crudely.
- The name of bride-price could be changed to remove the emphasis on price or 'wealth'. For example, the new Ordinance in Tororo is called the Bridal Gifts Ordinance.

D.2. How could reform be carried out?

Overall, reform efforts aimed at removing the harmful impacts of bride-price were encouraged by the vast majority of the interviewees from all data-sets.

The mechanisms through which such reform could be carried out were suggested as follows:

- The reform of bride-price to make it:
 - **A gift**
 - **Voluntarily given** and not an automatic expectation
- The reform of bride-price to make it **non-returnable**.
- The reform of bride-price to make it of **modest size** only.
- The validation of customary marriage by the payment of bride-price to be outlawed and replaced with another simple form of validation.
- The removal of all official and religious expectations that bride-price must be paid (while people are of course free to pay it, should they wish).

Cultural customs are deep-rooted and often slow to change. Efforts for reform, therefore, need to plan for both the short and the long term, and to occur at both national and local levels. With respect to long-term development, cultural change and public awareness-raising, the need for community education and sensitisation work among local people in villages was repeatedly highlighted by the majority of the interviewees. This was also reinforced by the participants at the two Round-table events held in Tororo and Kampala, though slightly different actions were suggested at the national and local levels.

D.2.1. National level

Any reform needs the backing of legislation and policy. The recommendations of the study was that such legislation and policy-making needs to be developed by the national Government of Uganda. This research aims to provide evidence to support such national developments.

At the national level, emphasis was placed by our respondents on the Constitutional Petition on Bride-Price which has been prepared, as an initial step, with accompanying media and dissemination work.

The study also recommends that there is a need to have wider public debate on bride-price, to consult with communities, and to develop awareness-raising and public education programmes at a national level.

D.2.2. Local level

Strategies for action which were developed during the study at the local level included:

- The development of new strategies locally and guidelines to address violations.
- The development of implementation guidance in Tororo for the upcoming Tororo District Bridal Gifts Ordinance, and perhaps to enable its adoption in other Districts in the future.
- The sensitisation of individuals in villages and communities.
- The provision of sensitive education and awareness-raising.
- The provision of advocacy and support services for those affected.

Given that the new Tororo District Bridal Gifts Ordinance, as a pioneering piece of legislation, is soon to be implemented, the development of guidance, including protocols and procedures for its implementation, and training were viewed as a priority for the Tororo District along with sensitisation work with members of the public to raise awareness of the new law. This Ordinance could possibly be adopted in other Districts, also with implementation guidance.

One strategy for action developed at the Tororo Round-table meeting was to set up an implementation group with key representatives of the local council, the police, clan and cultural leaders, religious leaders, MIFUMI and other stake-holders to oversee the implementation of the Ordinance

D.3. Training, capacity building and use of a Community Sensitisation Model

In taking forward the strategies for action as informed by the research findings, a programme of training for conducting community sensitisation work was carried out with a team of community development workers, women's educators, activists and support workers from women's forums and projects at village level, together with selected local researchers (who had undertaken the research fieldwork and were in a position to continue working on the project). A 'Community Sensitisation Model' (see Appendix 1) to facilitate this grassroots work was developed by the whole group facilitated by UK researchers in dialogue with MIFUMI and those participating in the training. The model consists of focussed cycles to develop the content of the sensitisation programme and to carry it out which were:

- Involvement of all participants to look at the issue from their own experiences (Own Experiences).
- The facilitators to input further information, perhaps using fact-sheets etc. (Input).
- Melding these together, the training group then engages in reflection and develops action strategies to address the issue and possible change (Reflection and Action).

This method is being used both to develop the content of the sessions and to carry them out with local people so that they have a stake in the outcome. The model developed will facilitate participants both in learning about bride-price and sharing their own experiences, and also in developing meaningful strategies of relevance for use in their own communities.

D.3. 1. A wider community programme of public awareness

As a result of the project, MIFUMI will develop further their on-going work of providing advocacy and support services to those affected by bride-price issues, including bride-price violations. The importance of the continued provision and development of this support, assistance and advocacy at village level is underlined by this research.

In addition to the capacity building sensitisation programme discussed above, a broader programme of community education and sensitisation is to be devised and implemented by MIFUMI in consultation with the researchers. This will include community radio broadcasts, community awareness through sensitisation meetings at the village level, and the production and distribution of 5000 leaflets. Through these methods, the hope is that awareness of bride-price issues will be increased at the community level, initially in Tororo, in a way that could be rolled out to other Districts in the future.

E. Conclusion

The study found a mix of positive and negative impacts of bride-price on individuals, families and communities, and mainly negative impacts in terms of development. These included gender inequality, early or forced marriage, and both landlessness and homelessness for women (including for widows).

While both domestic violence and entrenched poverty were clearly identified as the over-riding issues, bride-price made both worse. Thus, findings of the research revealed significant inter-connections between:

- Bride-price and domestic violence.
- Bride-price and impoverishment.

Some connections were also identified with increased HIV infection.

As the first rigorous research investigation into the practice of bride-price in rural Uganda, using a participatory approach, this study raises important issues for consideration for those seeking to address its negative impacts. Clearly, the research findings highlight both positive and negative outcomes of the traditional cultural practice in the contemporary context. While consideration has to be given to its important role in the enactment of cultural traditions, overwhelmingly, respondents of this study suggested that the practice of bride-price required reform.

Furthermore, if the reform of bride-price is to be carried out, five main routes emerged from the research findings:

- Legislative reform at government level.
- Policy reform through government initiatives and civil society.
- Legislative and policy reform at the local level, e.g. through the Tororo District Bridal Gifts Ordinance.
- Educational initiatives in the education system.
- Community awareness raising and sensitisation.

While progress may be slow in effecting the reforms highlighted by the research, though some have already taken place, it is hoped that this research will help to inform and act as a catalyst for future action and change, not only across Uganda but also in other parts of Africa.

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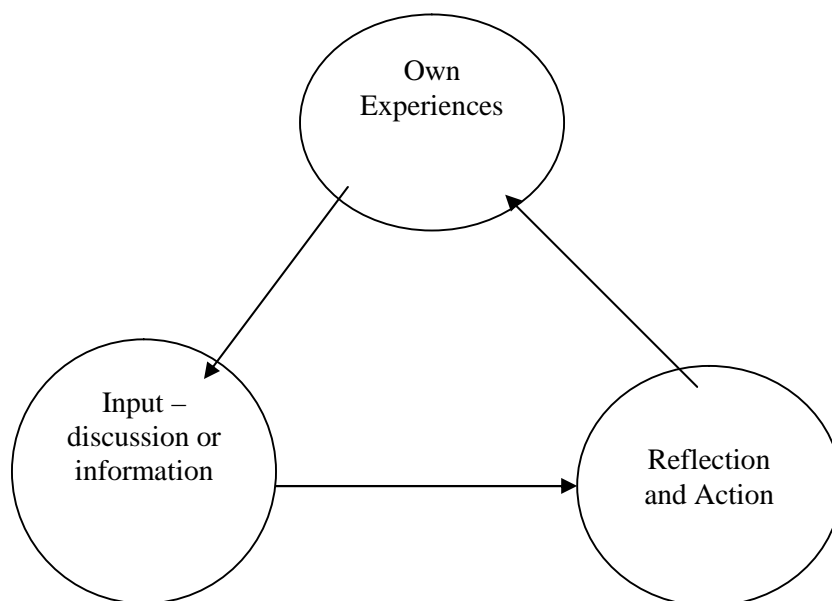
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APPENDIX 1 Community Sensitisation Model

Community Sensitisation Model



APPENDIX 2: Details of Interviews in the Members of the Public Data-set

District	Age 19 -29	Age 30 -39	Age 40 -49	Age 50 plus	Clan / Tribe	Married	Your choice?	Marriage type	Children	How many under 18?	Live with you?	Occupation	Partner Occupation	Property Land/ house	Income	M/F	
Tororo				Yes	Kochi	Yes	Yes	Customary	12		9	Yes	Carpenter	Farmer	Animals	None	M
Tororo			Yes		Pagangop	Divorced	No	Customary	5		5	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	animals	Unknown	M
Tororo		Yes			Karwoko	Yes	No	Customary	4		4	No	Carpenter	Peasant	Land	One million	M
Tororo		Yes			Amoro	Yes	Unknown	Co-habiting	6	unknown	No	Builder	Tailor	animals	Unknown	M	
Tororo		Yes			Sorly	Yes	yes	Customary	3		3	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Household & Animals	Unknown	M
Mbale		Yes			Munyole	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Businessman	Housewife	House	300,000	M
Tororo	Yes				Unknown	Yes	yes	Customary	4		4	yes	Boda-Boda rider	Housewife	Household & Animals	Unknown	M
Tororo		Yes			Karwoko	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	No	Peasant	Peasant	animals	Unknown	M
Mbale		Yes			Lugisu	Yes	No	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Housewife	Land & House	Unknown	M
Manafwa		Yes			Bumufumi	Yes	Yes	Customary	3		3	Yes	Tailor	Housewife	Land & Households	600,000	M
Mbale		Yes			Banabudubuli	Single	Yes	unknown	2		2	No	Businessman	n/a	Land & House	100,000	M
Siroako		Yes			Sita	Yes	Yes	Customary	4	unknown	Yes	Yes	Teacher	Housewife	Land	20 Million	M
Tororo		Yes			Heso	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	600,000	M
Tororo		Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	50,000	M
Tororo	Yes				Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Co-habiting	1		1	No	Peasant	Peasant	Bicycle	500,000	M
Tororo			Yes		Koyi	Divorced	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	One Hen	200,000	M
Tororo		Yes			Loli	Divorced	Yes	Customary	5	unknown	Yes	Yes	Boda-Boda rider	Peasant	Households	Unknown	M
Tororo		Yes			Dutrongi	Single	Yes	Customary	4	unknown	Yes	No	No job	Housewife	Bed Sheet & Bed	Unknown	M
Tororo		Yes			Koyi Katanti	Divorced	Yes	Co-habiting	3	unknown	No	No	No job	Peasant	No	None	M
Tororo		Yes			Amori-Kasede	Yes	Yes	Co-habiting	1		1	Yes	No job	Peasant	Households & Animals	200,000	M
Tororo		Yes			Oruwa	Single	Yes	Customary	3		3	Yes	No job	Peasant	Households & Animals	Unknown	M
Tororo	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Japadhola	Yes	Unknown	unknown	Yes	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	M
Tororo	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	Yes	n/a	Yes	Yes	Boda-Boda man	Housewife	n/a	n/a	M
Tororo	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	5	n/a	Yes	Yes	Driver	Boda boda	Yes but n/a	n/a	M
Tororo		Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Boda-Boda man	Housewife	Yes but n/a	600,000	M
Tororo	Yes				Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	1		1	Yes	Peasant	Housewife	Yes but n/a	500,000	M
Pallisa			Yes		Mugwere	Yes	Yes	Customary	4	n/a	No	Peasant	Peasant	No	None	M	
Pallisa		Yes			Mugwere	Yes	No	Customary	6 (now 5 as 1 died)		5	Not all	Boda-Boda rider	Peasant	Animals	250,000	M
Pallisa	Yes				Mugwere	Yes	Yes	Local	3		3	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	Unknown	M
Pallisa	Yes				Mugwere	Divorced	Yes	Religious	No child - died	n/a	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Small Land	Unknown	M	
Pallisa		Yes			Mugwere	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Land	200,000	M
Pallisa		Yes			Musoga	Single	Yes	Local	2		2	Yes	Peasant	n/a	Land	120,000	M
Pallisa	Yes				Mugwere	Divorced	No	Customary	2		2	No	Peasant	n/a	Land	60,000	M
Pallisa			Yes		Munyole	Single	Yes	Customary	13	n/a	Yes	Yes	Carpenter	n/a	Land	n/a	M
Pallisa	Yes				Mugwere	Yes	No	Customary	No	n/a	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	1 Animal	n/a	M	
Pallisa		Yes			Musoga	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	n/a	M
Pallisa			Yes		Munyole	Single	Yes	Customary	5	n/a	Yes	Yes	Housewife	Retired Policeman	Animals	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes			Mugwere	Single	Yes	Customary	6		5	Yes	Peasant	Policeman	Animals	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes			Mugwere	Divorced	Yes	Customary	5		4	Yes	Peasant	n/a	1 Animal	None	F
Pallisa			Yes		Mugishu	Divorced	Yes	Customary	3		0	Yes	Peasant	n/a	House & Animals	None	F
Pallisa			Yes		Mugwere	Divorced	Yes	Customary	3		1	Yes	Peasant	n/a	Animals	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes			Mugwere	Widow	No	n/a	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	1 Cow	80,000	F
Pallisa		Yes			Musoga	Widow	No	Customary	4		4	Yes	n/a	Peasant	No	70,000	F
Pallisa			Yes		Mugwere	Yes	No	Customary	6		0	Yes	Peasant	n/a	Animals & a bike	24,000	F

Budaka			Yes	Mugwere	Widow	No	Religious	11	n/a	No	Peasant	Died - was Peasant	No	Unknown	F	
Pallisa		Yes	Yes	Mugwere	Widow	Yes	Customary	7		6	n/a	Peasant	n/a	No	Unknown	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Unknown	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Land & Animals	30,000	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Peasant	Nursery Teacher	Animals	200,000	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Security	Peasant	Land & Animals	One million	M
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	100,000	M
Tororo		Yes	Yes	n/a	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		5	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Land & Animals	200,000	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	7	n/a	Yes	Yes	Peasant	Farmer	Land & Animals	n/a	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	3		3	No	Farmer	Farmer	Land, House & Animals	150,000	M
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	n/a	Customary	3		3	Yes	Businessman	Farmer	Land & Animals	Unknown	M
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	11	n/a	Yes	Yes	Businessman	Housewife	Land	Unknown	M
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	1		1	Yes	Peasant	Farmer	Land	100,000	M
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Religious	3		3	Yes	Religious leader	Farmer	Land, House & Animals	100,000	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Religious	4		4	Yes	Bicycle repairer & Farmer	Farmer	Land & Animals	550,000	M
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Religious	2		2	Yes	Teacher	Teacher	House	Will not answer	M
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	6	unknown	Yes	Businessman	Housewife	Land	Unknown	M	
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	4	(now 3 as 1 died)	3	Yes	Businessman	Housewife	Land	Unknown	M
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Divorced	Yes	Customary	2		2	Unknown	Builder	Peasant	Land	One million	M
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	200,000	M
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary/Religious	9		5	Yes	Farmer	Farmer	Land & Animals	One million	M
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Yes but n/a	10,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	9		6	Yes	Peasant	Businessman	Animals	500,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Widow	No	Customary	2		2	Yes	n/a	n/a	House & Animals	120,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	1		0	No	Peasant	Died - was Doctor	Yes but n/a	One million	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary/Religious	10	n/a	Not all	Housewife	Businessman	n/a	n/a	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Japadhola	Yes	No	Customary	6	unknown	Not all	Housewife	Dry Cleaner	No	n/a	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Teacher	Businessman	Yes but n/a	2 million	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	8	unknown	Not all	Housewife	Peasant	No	n/a	n/a	F
Katajula		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	n/a	6	(2 died)	0	No	Peasant	Peasant	No	70-80,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Mamilwa	Widow	Yes	Customary	5		4	Yes	Peasant	Died - was Carpenter	Animals	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Single	Yes	Eloped	4		4	Yes	Drug Seller	n/a	Yes but n/a	One million	F
Tororo	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Japadhola	Widow	No	n/a	4	(now 2 as 2 died)	n/a	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	F
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	F
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	No	Religious	Yes	n/a	n/a	n/a	Housewife/Peasant	Peasant	Animals	20,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Iteso	Yes	Yes	Religious	6	n/a	Yes	Yes	Housewife	Headteacher	No	50,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	20,000	F
Kirewa		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	n/a	3		1	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Yes but n/a	20,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Widow	Yes	Customary	2		0	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	100,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Widow	Yes	Customary	6		0	Yes	Peasant	Engineer	Animals	200,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	7	n/a	Yes	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	n/a	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	40,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	No	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	20,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Koruko	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		3	Yes	Peasant	Chamber boy	Animals	50,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Damongi	Yes	Yes	Customary	6	unknown	Yes	Yes	Peasant	Teacher	Household & Animals	30,000	F

Tororo			Yes	Kateke	Single	Yes	Customary	1	unknown	No	Peasant	Peasant	One Cow	None	F	
Pallisa		Yes		Mugwere	Widow	Yes	Customary	3		0	No	Peasant	n/a	Building	None	F
Pallisa	Yes			Mugishu	Yes	No	Customary	1		1	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	Unknown	F
Budaka		Yes		Mugwere	Widow	No	Customary	7		6	Yes	Peasant	Died	Land	Unknown	F
Mukuju		Yes		Amuteso	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		3	Yes	Peasant	Butcher	Trees	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes		Mugwere	Divorced	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Tailor	Builder	House	Unknown	F
Pallisa	Yes			Mugishu	n/a	No	Customary	1		1	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	Unknown	F
Pallisa			Yes	Mugwere	Single	Yes	Customary	3		3	Yes	Peasant	n/a	Land	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes		Muganda	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Housewife	Peasant	Land	None	F
Pallisa		Yes	Yes	Mugwere	Yes	No	Customary	8		6	Yes	Peasant	Security	Land	Unknown	F
Pallisa	Yes			Mugwere	Yes	No	Customary	3		3	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Plot & one Cow	Unknown	F
Pallisa		Yes		Musoga	Divorced	No	Customary	3		3	Yes	Peasant	n/a	Land	n/a	F
Pallisa		Yes	Yes	Mugwere	Divorced	No	Customary	2		0	No	Peasant	n/a	Plot & animals	980,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	No	Customary	7		6	Yes	Housewife	Peasant	House & Land	200,000	F
Pallisa		Yes	Yes	Musoga	Divorced	No	Customary	3		3	Yes	Teacher	n/a	Plot & House	n/a	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Mugishu	Single	Yes	Customary	5		2	Yes	Peasant	Businessman	No	500,000	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Amori Polam	Yes	No	Customary	10		6	Yes	Housewife	Peasant	No	None	F
Tororo			Yes	Japadhola	Widow	Yes	Customary	1		0	Yes	Farmer	Died - was Farmer	Animals	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	7		4	Yes	Farmer	Farmer	No	100,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Iteso	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		2	Yes	Teacher	Accountant	House & Land	1,600,000	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Japadhola	Divorced	Yes	Customary	6		0	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	No	Unknown	F
Tororo		Yes		Jaramogi	Single	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Farmer	Retail shop	House & Land	600,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Tailor	Businessman	No	150,000	F
Mbale	Yes			Muganda	Yes	Yes	Co-habiting	1		1	Yes	Housewife	Boda-Boda man	Yes but n/a	900,000	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Mugishu	Single	Yes	Customary	6	unknown		No	Housewife	Taxi Driver	House & Land	Unknown	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Lumasaba	Yes	Yes	Customary	7	n/a		No	Tomato Seller	Retired Driver	House & Land	n/a	F
Mbale	Yes			Muganda	Divorced	No	Customary	7	unknown		No	Hotel Owner	N/a	House & Land	n/a	F
Mbale	Yes			Mugishu	Divorced	Yes	Customary	1		1	Yes	Tailor	N/a	House & Land	300,000	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Mugishu	Widow	n/a	Customary	10	n/a		Yes	Businesswoman	Security	Land	100,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	2		2	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	20,000	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Mugwere	Yes	Yes	Customary	8		2	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	10,000	F
Tororo	Yes			Karwoko	Yes	Yes	Customary	4	n/a		Yes	Peasant	Businessman	No	None	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	40,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Karwoko	Divorced	No	Customary	3		3	Yes	Peasant	Accountant	No	1,800,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Mugwere	Yes	Yes	Customary	1		1	Yes	Peasant	Businessman	Animals	150,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Iteso	Divorced	Yes	n/a	5		3	Yes	Alcohol Seller	n/a	Households	Unknown	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Pawangara	Yes	Yes	Customary	7		2	Yes	Nothing - she is sick	Peasant	Household & Animals	Unknown	F
Tororo		Yes		Amori Kasede	Yes	Yes	Customary	7		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals	Unknown	F
Tororo		Yes		Jaramogi	Yes	Yes	Customary	10	n/a		Yes	Vegetable seller	Vegetable seller	One Cow	90,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Karwoko	Yes	Yes	Co-habiting	3		3	Yes	Peasant	Works with Church	Household	60,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Karwoko	Divorced	Yes	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Household	70,000	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Moriwa	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	No job	Animals	200,000	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Bushiende	Yes	Yes	Customary/Civil	5		0	Yes	Housewife	Died	House & Land	None	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Mugayina	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		3	Yes	Charcoal Seller	Businessman	Yes but n/a	100,000	F
Magiya		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	7	n/a		No	Housewife	n/a	House & Land	None	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Mugishu	Widow	Yes	Customary	12	n/a		No	Tailor	Died	Land	2 million	F
Tororo		Yes		Benito	Divorced	Yes	Customary	2	n/a		Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Households	60,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Jamoripatikidige	Widow	Yes	Customary	7		7	Yes	Peasant	Security Guard	n/a	n/a	F
Tororo		Yes	Yes	Kukuro	Widow	Yes	Customary	5	unknown		No	Peasant	Businessman	Animals	Unknown	F

Tororo			Yes	Muteso	Yes	Yes	Customary	9	unknown	Yes	Peasant	No job	No	None	F		
Tororo	Yes			Kijawa	Yes	Yes	Customary/Religious	3		3	Yes	Teacher	Driller	Animals	n/a	F	
Tororo	Yes			Oruwa	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		6	Yes	Peasant	Businessman	No	Unknown	F	
Tororo			Yes	Japadhola	Yes	n/a	Customary	3 (2 died)		0	n/a	Peasant	Peasant	No	None	F	
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	Peasant	Yes but n/a		40,000	F	
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	10,000	F	
Mbale		Yes		Munyole	Yes	Yes	Customary	8	n/a	Yes	Yes	Businesswoman	Security	Yes but n/a		Unspecified	F
																Around 1.2	F
Mbale	Yes	Yes		Amuteso	Widow	Yes	Customary/Religious	4		3	Yes	Designer/Tailor	Security	Cars, Radio, TV		million	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	No	200,000		F
Mbale		Yes		Munyole	Yes	Yes	Religious	4		2	Yes	n/a	Teacher	Yes but n/a		Not much	F
Mbale		Yes	Yes	Ikomolo	Yes	Yes	Religious	10		0	Yes	Retired Headteacher	Housewife	Household & property		2,607,404	M
Mbale		Yes		Nvana	Yes	Yes	Customary/Religious	4		0	Yes	Retired Broadcaster	Medical Worker	Yes but n/a		6.6 million	M
Mbale	Yes			Nyakoi	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Peasant	Housewife	Inherited a house		Unknown	M
Mbale	Yes			Mukiga	Yes	No	Customary	4		4	Yes	Teacher	Housewife	Household		2.4 million	M
Mbale	Yes			Babikdonje	Yes	No	Customary	4		4	Yes	Salonist	Peasant	Salon, hair dryers, TV		3 million	F
Mbale	Yes			Mugishu	Yes	No	Customary	4		4	Yes	Teacher	Businessman	None personal, only family.		1, 800,000	F
Mbale		Yes		Banambury	Yes	n/a	Customary	3		2	Yes	Teacher	No job	House		4,800,000	F
Mbale	Yes			Samia	Yes	Yes	Customary	1		1	Yes	Cashier	Businessman	Land, Car & other items		3.6 million	F
Mbale	Yes			IKomolo	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Teacher	Teacher	Land, Bike, animals & other items		Unknown	F
Mbale		Yes		Iteso	Yes	Yes	Customary	No	n/a	n/a	n/a	Housewife	Retired Teacher	Household		One million	F
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Widow	Yes	Customary/Religious	6		0	Not all	n/a	Accountant	House to rent out		Unknown	F
Mbale		Yes		Mugika	Yes	Yes	Religious	4		0	Not all	n/a	Soldier	Secret		7 million	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	5	n/a	Yes	Peasant	Security	Animals		10,000		F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	5		5	Yes	Peasant	Peasant	Animals		10,000	F
Tororo	Yes	Yes		Japadhola	Yes	No	Customary	5		5	Yes	Businesswoman	Driver	Clothes		One million	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	7		3	Yes	Housewife	Carpenter	Clothes & Food		One million	F
Tororo	Yes	Yes		Malakisi	Yes	Yes	n/a	8		8	Yes	Housewife	Carpenter	n/a		500,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	6		5	Yes	Housewife	Farmer	Animals & crockery		100,000	F
Tororo		Yes		Japadhola	Single	Yes	Customary	4		3	Yes	Teacher	Carpenter	Bike & Animals		2,400,000	F
Tororo	Yes			Japadhola	Yes	Yes	Customary	8		8	Yes	Housewife	Peasant	Animals		Unknown	F
Mbale	Yes	Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	2		2	Yes	Housewife	Teacher	Land		Unknown	F
Tororo		Yes		Amoro	Single	Yes	Customary	4		2	No	Farmer	n/a	No		n/a	F
Mbale	Yes			Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Religious	2		2	Yes	Teacher	Teacher	Land		Unknown	F
Butesa	Yes			Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	3		3	Yes	Housewife	Motorcycle Rider	n/a		Unknown	F
Sironko	Yes	Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	n/a	Housewife	Land		Unknown	F
Mbale		Yes		Muwalasi	Widow	No	Customary	12 (7 died)	n/a	No	No	Housekeeping	Tax Collector	Land		n/a	F
Mbale		Yes		Mugishu	Yes	Yes	Customary	8		3	Yes	Businesswoman	Businessman	Land, Shop & Animals		around 10	F
Mbale	Yes			n/a	Yes	Yes	n/a	1		1	Yes	Housewife	Hotelier	Radio, Bike & Sewing machine		n/a	F
Mbale		Yes		Musoga	Yes	Yes	Customary	4		4	Yes	Businesswoman	Businessman	Land		6 million	F
Mbale		Yes		Musoga	Single	Yes	Customary	3		3	No	Housewife	Farmer	No		n/a	F
Mbale	Yes			Bugisu	Yes	No	Customary	2		2	Yes	Businesswoman	Businessman	Yes but n/a		Around 3	F
Mbale	Yes			Mugishu	Yes	No	Customary	2		2	Yes	Housewife	Vet	Yes but n/a		5,400,000	F
	Interviews taken	180															

