

Respondent Name: P.F. **Village:** Mkanda **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** Widowed, YAO **Interview Date:** June 30, 1999

Note: Among the Yao, “*Abiti*” is a local term referring to “Miss., Ms., or Mrs.”, “*Che*” is a prefix for the title of “Mr.”, and “*Mayi*” refers to “mother”.

Q1: Some people say people do not help each other these days as they used to. Some say there is just as much help as there used to be. Others say there is more of helping each other these days than was the case in times past. What are your views?

A: People still help each other. What used to happen previously seems to continue. People help each other especially when they experience problems like illness, funerals, and food shortage. When a relative or a friend is suffering, you are supposed to help.

Q2. But has helping each other improved, is it the same, or is it declining?

A: I cannot really tell as I am not really sure how things were before.

Q3: Tell me about your household: who is the head of the household, how many members are there, and what are the sexes and ages of these members.

A: My husband is dead. So I am the head of the household. There are four of us in the household. My first-born child is F. a son; my second born is H., also a son, and the last-born is E. also a son. F. is 17 years old, H. is 13, and the youngest is one year and three months.

Q4. How far did you go with your education?

A: I went as far as std 1 only.

Q5. What about your children: do they go to school?

A: My son F. is in std 4 and still going to school, H. is 13, in std 3 and still at school too. E. has not yet started school – he is too young to be going to school.

Q6: Concerning helping each other, who help you when dealing with problems or to meet your needs?

A: The ones who mainly help me are my elder sister G., my friend Abiti J., another friend Abiti L., my elder sister’s daughter Abiti W.. Abiti G. is in Mbawa [another village next to Mkanda]; the others are in M. [another village next to Mkanda].

Q7: In what way do these people help you?

A: They mostly help me when I or someone in my household is ill or when we run short of food or lack something. When ill, your friends or relatives come to help you with household chores like fetching water, fetching firewood, cooking, or just sweeping the surrounding of your home. When you lack some flour, they may give you some if they have any.

Q8: You said your sons F. and H. go to school. What school-related expenses have you had on F. and H. the school year that is just ending?

A: I bought them some clothes at the beginning of the school year. I also sometimes gave them some money to buy some food at school. Notebooks and writing materials are given free; also we are not required to pay school fees.

Q9: Any relatives or friends who helped you with the educational expenses for F. and H.?

A: None. I get money from farming?

Q10: Why exactly are you sending these children to school?

A: If a child is educated, he or she becomes *wotukuka bwino* [able to help himself or herself] and more knowledgeable unlike one who is not educated.

Q11: During the last school year, did you help any other person or household other than your children with school expenses?

A: No, I helped no one else.

Q12: Any body who has been ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden [kugona nawo pansi matenda] in your household since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: Yes, my husband; now he is dead. Died of internal wounds. He went to Kasungu to sell fish. He used to work for some one who trades in fish and used to take the fish to Kasungu. He came back from Kasungu ill with *zilonda* (wounds – internal). He was ill for two months, June and July, and lost a lot of weight then died in August of last year. He is the only one in the household who was ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden since last year.

Q13: Who helped you in dealing with your husband's death?

A: The husband's relatives, the boss and friends he was working with at the lake, and my relatives and friends such as Abiti J.

Q14: Did you or anyone in your household help someone else or another household in caring for an ill person since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: Yes. I helped a child of a friend of mine who was a polio case. He is now dead. I went to visit the sick one, and encouraged my friend to take the sick child to hospital. He is the only case that I helped.

Q15: Why exactly did you feel like helping this friend of yours?

A: I was sorry (kumva chisoni) about the way the ill person amavutikira [the pains he was experiencing]. We actually went to ask some health people at Ulongwe Health Center to come and see the sick person. They recommended that the person be taken to Liwonde (a bigger hospital).

Q16: Anybody sick in the last month in your household?

A: None.

Q17: Anyone in the household who helped an ill person or household that experienced illness last month?

A: None.

Q18: Did you or any one else in your household attend any funerals last month?

A: No.

Q19: What do people do when death occurs in this village?

A: We go to the khomo [homestead] where death has occurred. We, women, go to fetch water. Men go around to collect some money while women collect flour contributions. The money is used to buy ndiwo [that is eaten with nsima during burial time with some left for the bereaved]. The flour is for cooking the nsima for those who have come to the funeral. Once burial is done, some of the women stay with the bereaved to help with fetching water and cooking. We also smear the floor of the bereaved.

Q20: What happens to one who does not attend funerals regularly?

A: He is called (not during the funeral but after missing a number of funerals) and told that he should not be surprised when other villagers do not come to his aid when he/she experiences maliro [death]. Generally therefore when one does not attend funerals, other villagers retaliate by not going to his/her funerals.

Q21: What crops do you grow?

A: Maize, cotton, and groundnuts.

Q22: How many acres of each of these crops did you grow last season?

A: I grew maize about 2 acres, cotton about an acre, and groundnuts about half an acre.

Q23: Who helps you with farming work?

A: None. It is I and my two sons who do most of the work. I also use anyamata a ganyu [ganyu labor] who are paid maize which they take to their households. I need most labor during weeding – that is the time when I hire ganyu labor.

Q24. Did you provide any farming labor to another household the season that has just ended?

A: Yes, in the form of ganyu which I did at the Village Headman's farm.

Q26: How did you know that the VH was hiring ganyu labor?

A: People tell us that there is ganyu at the VH and I just went there to do the ganyu. My sons too did ganyu within the village and were paid in cash. They go wherever they hear that there is ganyu. Most of the ganyu is done during weeding time.

Q27: Were you so short of food since the beginning of the growing season such that a day went by without eating?

A: Not at all.

Q28. Did you help others meet their food needs since the beginning of the rainy season that is just ending?

A: I helped my friend Abiti J. and Abiti W. both are in this village. I gave maize flour to both of them when they badly needed flour.

Q29: Why did you decide to help these people?

A: I was better off than they were; ndinamva chisoni [I was sorry!] that they did not have adequate food.

Q30: What livestock and property do you have?

A: I have a chicken, a bike and radio. I also have a bed that my husband left me.

Observation: House is brick-walled but unburnt bricks and grass thatched. Dreams of building a burnt bricks house with a cement floor and iron-roof. Hopes to achieve this through growing more cotton to get enough money to build the house.

Q from respondent: What is the purpose of your questions?

R: To understand what exactly is going on in the villages with regard to how people help each other.

Respondent Name: N.B. NYANJA **Village:** Nkaweya **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** in a polygamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 1, 1999.

This case story is based on notes taken during the interview time – notes taken by me and S.S.C., my Research Assistant. I failed to operate the tape recorder because of a faulty cassette hence had to depend on recording what was said.

The respondent was female, and the first wife in a polygamous marriage. Her husband, a Che M. married another wife about three years ago, after about ten years of marriage to her.

Q1: Has “helping each other” among people increased, is it the same, or is it declining?

A: I cannot tell because I was not there in times past to make the necessary comparison. I think people help you when they lack something or you are in problems. How much people help you depends on your problems and what you lack, and whether they know you or not and whether they have the means to help you.

Q2: Who is the head of your household?

A: My husband is the head of this household although he does very little as a head of the household. He spends more time with and provides more help for the wife he has married recently.

Q3: Do you know your fellow wife?

A: No. She lives in Misowa (another village next to Nkaweya, the village in which the respondent resides). I do not know her name, they have been married for the last three years. The arrangement was that he comes to stay with me for a week then goes and stays with her for a week. But he does not really do that now. He spends more time with her than me.

Q4: Why does he spend more time with her than you?

A: I really do not know. May be I have failed as a wife.

Q5: What do you mean by “I have failed as a wife”.

A: Probably my fellow wife gives him in their ukwati [sex] and cooking something that I am unable to give him.

Q6: Did he follow the procedures for getting a second wife?

A: It used to be the case that a husband asked his first wife for permission to marry another wife. These days, husbands do not do that. Instead, they just decide what to do. What happened in my case is that I was in a “chitengwa” arrangement. The chitengwa was more or less forced on me by circumstances – his

mother died, followed by his sister within a month of his mother's death. I went to stay with him to help in his bereavement then stayed there like a chitengwa. We were married for some three years. Then I requested my husband to go and build a house for me "kwathu" (my mother's place); he refused. I then asked the husband's mbuyake (his mother's mother) who told her grandson to go ahead and construct a house for me here at my mother's place. After building this house for me, he started running around and married a second wife on a chitengwa arrangement – the other wife stays with him at his home while I am here at my mother's place. Since then, he has not helped me as much as he used to.

Q7: Tell me a little more about your household, particularly its composition.

A: My husband (M.) is 40+, I am 30+. We have three children between us, all sons: D. is 9 years, G. is 7 years, and J. is 2 years and 4 months. D. and J. stay with me here, G. is staying with his paternal aunt at his father's place - he comes here quite often. I suffer from "likango" (has something that kills children at a young age) – we had three daughters: one died in 1985 at 9 months old, another died in 1987 at 11 months, and the third died in 1989 also at 9 months old. My husband and I did not go to school, D. is in std 2 and G. is in std 1. I do not know whether the other wife went to school or not but I doubt it; I do not think she went to school (a lot of bitterness here when talking about the other wife).

Q8: Who are the various people who generally help you when you meet various problems or when you want to meet certain needs?

A: My husband does help me although not as much as he used to. Others who help me often are Abiti D., a woman friend, Abiti N., also a friend, Abiti A., a friend as well, and my mother E. W. All the friends who help me live in nearby villages, my mother lives with me right here on this compound.

Q9: How did you get these friends; how has it been possible for you to find friends who can help you?

A: Most of them, we grew together but others, it is through helping each other and exchanging that help as we see each other's problems and needs.

Q10: Apart from your mother, are there any other relatives who help you?

A: There are five of us: three women and two men born to my mother. I receive very little help from any of my relatives other than my mother. My sister sometimes comes to help but not very often. My brothers do not help me. I think it is because they are busy helping their wives and children.

Q11: Who are the people who generally receive help from you?

A: All those who help me also receive some help from me. There are many others who ask for help from me. Abiti M., an old lady living in the same village used to ask for my help with firewood, water supply, and some food. I used to help her when I had something – she is now dead. I do the same for Abiti K. and Abiti Y., also old ladies living in the same village.

Q12: What educational expenses did you incur on D. and G. this last school year?

A: Bought them clothes. These clothes were actually bought by their father.

Q13: Other than your husband, did any one help in educational expenses for D. and G. this school year which is just ending?

A: No one really helped except the father. We bought second hand clothes for them at the beginning of the school year.

Q14: Have you helped anyone or any household with school expenses?

A: No, I have helped no one else other than my children.

Q15: Anyone sick in the household to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden from the beginning of the 1998/99 growing season and who received help from anybody?

A: I myself was sick for some two weeks. I have asthma and when it starts, I get really bad. My husband picked me on his bike to hospital. We also went for traditional medicine. My mum helped with all the household chores: cooking, fetching firewood and water, and sweeping surroundings. Apart from myself, no one else was sick in the household.

Q16: Anyone who was sick outside your household who needed your help from the beginning of the 1998/99 rainy season?

A: My mother, E.W. was sick and needed my attention. She suffered from tsungu (tonsils); also had chibayo (pneumonia), had dizziness and was quite weak. She felt that she was bewitched. Steven and Willard (both brothers to the respondent) helped in taking care of the ill mother. The brothers went to buy pills but also helped in picking the mother on a bike to hospital. I stayed with mother at the hospital where she was admitted for almost two weeks but also helped in fetching water and firewood for her as well as cooking and sweeping the house before she went to the hospital and during the time she was recovering after returning from the hospital. Mother gets ill frequently.

The other person who got ill and needed my help (since the beginning of the 1998/99 rainy season) was my younger sister's daughter. She had measles for a month. It was the time I had my mother at hospital. My sister brought her daughter to hospital at the time my mother was discharged from the hospital. What we did was that my sister took mum home while I stayed in the hospital to now take care of the sick child. I stayed in the hospital because I am the elder sister and needed to take care of the sick one at hospital instead of my sister doing that work. It was my responsibility to care for mother and my niece.

Q17: You indicated that your daughters died: one in 1985, another in 1987, and the third one in 1989. What kind of help did you receive concerning funeral arrangements and other things related to the deaths?

A: My mother took care of me: did the household chores. My friends came to console me and to help my mother in fetching water, firewood, cleaning the house, and cooking for me.

Q18: What about your husband; how did he deal with the deaths – what did he do?

A: Of course he was grieved but also disappointed with the loss of the girls. In death, there is always some disappointment. I am not sure whether this has contributed to his marrying another wife – it could have but I have not been told that. It is now established that I cannot have girls because of likango; he has to accept that situation. But the other wife has had no children with him.

Q19: Have your sexual relations with your husband been strained?

A: He spends more time with the other wife; he comes here very infrequently.

Q20: What crops do you grow?

A: I grew about 2 acres of maize last year.

Q21: What help did you have in the cultivation of your crops?

A: None except my husband's. He has provided for my food and other needs; I do not really complain in that area.

Q22: How was your food supply since the beginning of the 1998/99 growing season?

A: There were quite a few days we were without food. I did ganyu in a number of households mainly weeding. I was paid in money which I used to buy some flour. I also depended on the mikeka that I made and my husband son helped me in making these mikeka. I sold these mikeka and used the money to buy [corn] flour.

Q23: Did you help other people with their food needs since the beginning of the 1998/99 growing season?

A: Just cooking and eating together with my mum. We tend to depend upon one another.

Q24: What livestock and assets do you have?

A: I have four chickens and a bicycle, nothing else.

NB: Respondent's house is made of un-burnt bricks. She qualifies as a poor household. She also remembered that last year, similar research was done but asking questions mostly pertaining to KULERA (family planning). She seemed enthusiastic about the research – a respondent who was quite informative about what goes on in HHs.

Respondent Name: L.S., YAO – 20 yrs, **Village:** Nkaweya, found in Mtole
Area: Ulongwe **District:** Balaka **Status:** monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July
 1, 1999.

Q1: Has “helping each other” among people increased, is it the same, or is it declining?

A: It is different. These days, people help you to go to hospital and they would escort you there. Those days, they would actually prevent you from going to the hospital (*question was repeated several times and the respondent seemed not to be able to realize that we were asking her to contrast how people help each other this time as opposed to times past*).

Q2: Tell me about your household: who is the head and how many are you in your household?

A: There are four of us in this household. The head of my household is my husband in that ndiye amatsogolera [he is the leader] at the household mu zambiri [in many things!] like buying food, clothes, and other such things that need income to get. I got married to my husband in 1995. Our first child is a girl 2 years and 3 months old. Our second born is a son born four days ago. The boy does not yet have a name, my mother is expected to name him; it is her turn to do so. The first child is usually named by parents from the male side and her paternal grandparents named M., our first born. This second one is to be named by parents from the female side. Thereafter, anyone can name the child. I have no deceased children.

Q3: Who are the people you get help from when in trouble, facing problems, or when you want to meet some identified need?

A: Abiti M., paternal aunt; D., paternal uncle; T., M., and A. all my brothers; and Abiti B.. Except for Abiti B., none of these is living in this village but in nearby villages.

Q4: Who are the people you mostly help yourself?

A: My mother-in-law Abiti B.; my gogo (grandmother) Abiti M., my mother’s sister Abiti A. I help them in collecting water, firewood, and cooking for them especially when they are sick. My mother is dead and so I depend more on my mother in law here at my chitengwa. I have not helped anyone with school expenses.

Q5: Anyone seriously ill in the household since the beginning of 1998/99 growing season?

A: M. got really ill during February to March this year. He had diarrhoea for such a long time (the child looks quite malnourished, the mother too is malnourished). I bought her some pills and went with her to hospital. My husband helped me to take the child to hospital. Apart from M, I did not care for anybody else this last growing season. Also, we have not experienced any deaths in the household, and we have had no ill person to take care of since last month.

Q6: Attended any funerals since last month?

A: Yes. VH Nkaweya passed away and we went for the funeral. I did not do anything, I just sat and waited for burial to take place. I went alone as my husband was busy doing other things.

Q7: Tell me about the agricultural activities you are involved in.

A: We have a maize garden but I do not know how big the garden is. No one helped us in our farming last season. My husband and I worked in the garden alone; we did not employ ganyu labor. Last year, we run short of food. We made mika and sold them, using the money to buy food we needed. On top of that, my husband went to do ganyu, was paid in cash and we used the money to buy food.

Q8: What are your main possessions?

A: We have a bicycle. We do not have any livestock. (The respondent has a tiny house – quite a poor structure. The mother in law on the other hand has a house that is grass-thatched but built with burnt bricks. Respondent looked quite malnourished. The husband had left for Lilongwe – he had been called by his brother for reasons that the respondent did not know).

Respondent Name: F.D., 25 yrs, NYANJA **Village:** Namonde
Area: Ulongwe **District:** Balaka **Status:** divorced **Interview Date:** July 2, 1999.

Q1: Tell me about your household, who is the head of the household, how many are you in your household, and the ages and sex of the various members of the household.

A: I am the head of this household since banja linatha [my husband and I parted]. I have three children: V., my son who is 7 years old; M., another son who is 3 years old; and F., my daughter who is 5 years old. V. was fathered by K. who I married in 1992; the other two children were fathered by B. who I married in 1994 and who has just left me. I also stay with my mother E. I also stay with my brother D. who is at school in Lilongwe; I do not know exactly what school he goes to because he left for the school only three weeks ago and has not yet written. V. is in std 1 but does not attend school regularly for reasons unknown.

Q2: How is it that you are found here?

A: I came here with my mother and brother D. We asked for a place from the Village Headman where we could stay. The VH gave us this place where we are settled. (From E.Z.: VH Namonde allocated the land next to the game reserve – the area where F.D. lives – with the idea that they will act as a shield against elephants that have been marauding the Namonde villagers on the west).

Q3: Were you already married when you asked for the place?

A: No, I was just with my brother and mother?

Q4: Tell me about your married life.

A: My first husband was K. He left me for unknown reasons. He went to Balaka and was there for two years, never came to see me during those two years. That was the end of our marriage. K. came from within this area. After K. left, I went to Zomba where I was staying with my mother's younger sister. We are from Zomba actually. I met B. K. there and married him. After some time, I parted from B. and I returned to this place. B. followed me to this place and we got together again. We thereafter parted and he went back to his home in Zomba.

Q5: What went wrong for you and B. to part?

A: He wanted to marry another wife and I thought I could not manage the mitala business. I therefore thought it wise that we part. In fact, what happened was that during the second time when we came together, he got a girl friend and went to construct a house for her at Mtanga (another village near Mangochi). He came back to collect his stuff from this house while I was away and went to stay with his new wife at Mtanga. He came back only last week – I cooked for him and went back the same day. He carried nothing for me or his children.

Q6: When he came, did you have sex with him?

A: Not at all (she was laughing while responding. It is unlikely that she did not have sex with him. It is more than likely that she had sex with him; if he comes again, it is likely that she will have sex with him).

Q7: Who are the people you share help with?

A: My own mother E.; S., a friend of mine from Thyolo – she is in Mangochi Town working; Mayi M., a friend from Zomba now living in the same village; M.S., a friend from Zomba as well living in the same village with the respondent. I used to share a lot of help with M. K., an in-law from my first husband K.. She stays in this same village. Now there is very little sharing of help between us since the end of marriage between K. and I. I used to help M. a lot but did not get much from her.

Q8: What educational costs did you experience this ending school year?

A: I bought copies for V.'s education.

Q9. Anyone helped you to meet these costs

A. None.

Q10. Did you help anyone with their educational expenses in the last school year?

A: I helped no one with educational expenses.

Q11: Why are you sending V. to school?

A: Hoping that V. would have a better future than I do.

Q12: Any ill people in your household since the beginning of the 1998/99 growing season who you have had to care for; any one who helped you with caring for the ill one?

A: My mother was ill for a month. She opened bowels (diarrhea). We bought some pills from groceries. We also went to seek traditional medicine. Actually, mother knew the traditional medicine that we had to go and dig to treat her. Others helped in the caring of my ill mother. M., a friend, contributed some money for us to buy medicine. B., also a friend, gave her an injection. He has no training in administering injections but does inject those who are ill when requested to do so. G., also a friend staying nearby, went to buy pills. Apart from my mother, I did not take care of any other ill people.

Q13: Any funerals you attended in the last month?

A: An elderly woman passed away in the village. Only I went to the funeral; my mother had to stay behind to take care of the children. If I go to a funeral, my mother stays here and if she goes I stay here. I was involved in cooking, fetching water, and collecting food to be used at the funeral.

Q14. What would happen if you do not attend funerals?

A: People will not come when I have a funeral.

Q15: What crops do you grow?

A: Maize, tobacco, and cotton. This year I only grew maize, about one acre.

Q16. Anyone helped you with farming work?

A: No one helps me in my farming. However, we have a club – we grow maize and tobacco for the club. We provide our own labor. There are six members of the club – three men and three women. Individuals have their own maize and tobacco gardens; the club's garden is for raising club money. We use the money to help club members who have funerals or are sick.

Q17: Did you provide ganyu (casual) labor elsewhere?

A: There was a time when we spent nights without eating. I had to undertake ganyu to find some money to go and buy food.

Q18: Any livestock or other possessions

A: I have three chickens, two bicycles both belong to my mother.

Q19: How do you find life without a husband?

A: It is hard but I would like to rest from marriage problems such as quarrelling about mitala [polygamy]. I was very hurt that my husband married another wife.

Q20: What do you mean when you say life is hard?

A: Well, there is no one to help you with soap, money for grinding, and many other things one needs.

Q21: Many other things like what?

A: Of course as a woman you need ukwati with a man and when he is not there, it is difficult. Despite these needs, I would like to rest a while – mitala really hurt me.

Observations: The household is poor. The house was grass-thatched with unburnt bricks and one bedroom.

Respondent Name: W.A., 48 yrs - YAO **Village:** Namonde **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** in a polygamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 2, 1999.

Q1: Tell me about your household: who is the head and who are the members of your household?

A: The head of this household is my husband but I am the second wife to my husband and I do most of the things by myself. I have been married to my husband for nine years but I do not know my husband's other wife. I do not visit my fellow wife; I do not see any need to do so. I think it is the husband who does not help us to know each other. He is the one who should help us to be friends. All these nine years, we (fellow wives) have not visited. The husband is not attending to me [showing me as much love] as much as he does attend to the other wife.

Q2: Did your husband follow the expected procedures for marrying as his second wife?

A: In the old times, the husband used to ask the first wife for permission to marry a second or third wife. The first wife could give permission or not. In that situation, it was automatic that the two or three wives had to know each other and talk to one another. Because women are too jealous these days, men are afraid to ask for permission to marry another wife. Hence men marry without their first wives giving permission. The result is a lot of hatred between the wives.

Q3: How exactly is your husband managing the two of you as his wives?

A: At first, he used to spend four days here and would spend the other four days with the other wife. What he does these days is that he spends only a day here and spends most of the time with the other wife. I still receive him warmly since you cannot be angry with a man. I used to have sex with him if he wanted it. He regularly did not seem to be interested in me. With his constant neglect of me, I reached a point at which zimene amachita zimandinyasa a lot and I had to tell his mother that he needs to tell me what exactly is going on. That is when he started spending more time with his first wife rather than coming to me as was expected. In fact, he says these days he comes mainly to visit his children.

Q4: Is Che D. your first husband?

A: No, he is the third. The first was Che J. We divorced because he went to work (place not known) and he got another woman there. The second husband was Che K. He also went somewhere to work and came back to tell me that he has another woman and he cannot maintain two wives – that was the end of our marriage. After this marriage, I married Che D?

Q5: Why exactly do you think these husbands are leaving you?

A: I think I do not really fulfill their desires particularly mbali ya ukwati mu nyumba (sex life) so as a result they want to go other women who fulfill their sexual desires.

Q6. Tell me more about your household and your children. Who do you consider to be the head of your household?

A: My husband is the head of household. As I have told you, I have been married three times for a total of 9 years. I had three children with my first husband; they all died young. I had two children with my second husband K.: W. a son now 13 years old and G., another son who is 15 and staying with his paternal aunt (K.'s sister) at Mwima Trading Center (about 5 miles away from the village). G. is staying with his aunt because she requested that she stays with him after K. and I separated – I could not say NO as she is abambo ake aakazi (her aunt). In fact, the aunt wanted to pick G. after noticing that I could not help him very well. I have one child by D., a girl named A. who, like W., is here with me. My husband D. and myself did not go to school. W. is in std 3 and still going to school, G. is std 5 and still going to school too. Apart from my children, there are no other members of my household. Also, although mother is not part of this household, we tend to eat from the same pot; we also eat together with my sisters.

Q7: Does K. still take care of his kids?

A: Yes he does. In fact, he buys them things that they want such as clothing and blankets.

Q8: Who do you share help with?

A: They are many. My brother B. staying in a nearby village where he is married, a S. also staying in a nearby village where he is married, Abiti W. married and living in the same village, Abiti I. who is married and lives in Limbe, Abiti D. daughter of Mayi B., she is married and lives in Lilongwe City, Abiti S., my brother H. not yet married and living in the same village, and my brother E. also staying in a nearby village where he is married. My mother's sister B. not married and who stays in this village. My sons G. and W. also help a lot. Friends who help me include Abiti M. and Abiti T. – they help me especially when I am ill and need some water, firewood, cooking for my children and such other household chores.

Q9: You said W. and G. attend school, what educational expenses did you incur this school year that is just ending?

A: I bought some clothing for W. to use when going to school. G. was helped mostly by his aunt. Apart from my children, I did not help anyone else in meeting educational expenses.

Q10: Any seriously ill member of your household since last year?

A: A. was ill. She generally gets ill frequently. She has high fevers. My husband and I do most of the caring work. Apart from my daughter, I also took care of my mother who suffers from mutu wa ma gini. We bought pills but also had a matalasimo ritual. This involved going to the Shehe who conducts matalasimo rituals (he gets a paper, identifies a verse – yotemberera - in the Qoran, they write the verse on the paper and tell the sick person to take the verse and kuviika in water and take the water to drink . It is believed that the person is bewitched hence the matalasimo ritual yimamutemberera the person who has bewitched the sick one. Only specific Shehes can do this chitemberero).

Q11: Attended any funeral since last month?

A: Yes, I went to a funeral but did not do anything at the funeral. I just went kukawonekera.

Q12: Tell me about your agricultural activities.

A: I grow maize. This last season, I grew two and a half acres of maize. Apart from myself and my children, I did not use any hired labor in my farm. Also, I did not go anywhere else to do ganyu. I did not employ ganyu labor either in my maize plot.

Q13: Did you experience any food supply problems to the extent of staying without food for some time?

A: Yes. We depended on the sale of mikeka. I used to buy mikeka and gave them to my brother who sold them for me in Blantyre. I used the money I got from the sale of the mikeka to buy food. I do not have any livestock to depend on during times we run short of food. My son G. has two goats.

Q14: Coming to the issue that men seem to just leave you after staying married to you for a short period of time. Tell me again, why do you think this is the case?

A: I think part of the reason is that when I have a young child, as has been the case with D., the child is too small and we cannot have sex. My husband then wanted to get another wife as waiting for me was too much for him. The other thing is just as I said that mwina ine sindikwaniritsa chikwati.

Observation: A malnourished woman, children too look malnourished. The house is a poor structure, grass-thatched, and made of wood and mud.

Respondent Name: D.E., 47 yrs - SENA **Village:** Namonde **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** in a monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 2, 1999.

Q1: Tell me about your household.

A: I am the head of this household since my husband passed away in February this year. I have nine children but I stay with 6, the other three are married. My sons M. and S. married in 1998 and 1999 respectively and are staying at their wives homes. My daughter M. married some time back and stays with her husband (just a few yards from the respondent's home). The sons I stay with are D. who is in std 4 and still going to school, B. who is only four years old and not going to school, and E. who is about 2 years and not yet started school. My daughters are F. who is in std 3, M. who is also in std 3, and N. who is in std 2. All these children were fathered by my late husband. Apart from my children, I do not stay with any other person.

Q2: Who do you share help with?

A: A M., the grandson of my late husband (not sure how there was this grandsonship), Abiti D., a friend living in the same village; Abiti M., also a friend living in the same village; a K., another friend living in the same village; and N. also a friend living in the same village. These are the people who help me and I also help them in one way or another.

Q3: How did you meet your husband?

A: I come from Nsanje. My sister came here with her husband. She was approached by my late husband saying he was looking for a wife. My sister then told him that she has me as her sister. My late husband and sister came over to Nsanje (another district) and the two of us were married in that way. We then came over to stay here. We asked the chief for a place to stay and he gave a huge piece of land. We were married for about 30 years. He was the only husband I knew, he is the father of all my children. I have no other relatives here. All my relatives are in Nsanje. I take my friends here as my relatives. In fact, during the death of my husband, there was no relative of mine. I have not been able to let them know about the death. It is expensive for me to do so.

Q4: Now that your husband is dead are you thinking of going back to Nsanje?

A: I will stay here because I have many children. Going back to Nsanje would be troubling these children.

Q5: Exactly how did you get this place?

A: My late husband's place is Hindhinda, near the road to Ulongwe. When he married me and took me away from Nsanje, we came to Hindahinda. Since we did not have adequate land, we came here and asked the village headman for malo. He gave us this piece of land which we developed. We have been here for about 20 years.

Q6: What educational expenses did you incur on your children this school year that is just ending?

A: Clothes and soap to wash the clothes with. None has come to my help with regard to educational costs for my children. Unfortunately, the children are not working hard at school. Also, I did not help some other person or household to meet their educational costs.

Q7: Any illness in your household since last year?

A: Apart from my deceased husband, I myself was ill for almost a month suffering from wounds (tonsils). I was coughing a lot and had terrible heart burns (pamtima kupweteka). My son D. took me on a bicycle to go to Liwonde (it is a government hospital therefore we do not have to pay for medical services unlike here at Ulongwe where we are required to pay). I also looked for traditional medicine. I know the mitsitsi myself and told my daughter M. to go and get the appropriate roots. My friends helped me a lot with household chores when I was ill.

Q8: What did your husband die from?

A: His hand started swelling and umangokusupuka. He was in a lot of pain. At the hospital, they just gave him some pills which did not seem to work. This was followed by zilonda (tonsils?) – he was coughing badly and experiencing a lot of pain pa mtima when coughing.

Q9: Who helped you in taking care of your ill husband?

A: My friends and anthu achipani and mdzukulu wawo M.. This chipani refers to some collective of people who are banded together for the sake of helping each other to meet their needs such as during illness or funerals. People belong to such groups by choice but once you are a member you are one of the people who would benefit from the group when you have problems. The chipani people really help during maliro. During illness, only your friends and yourself undertake the caring work.

Q10: Did you help anyone else aside from your ill husband since the beginning of the rainy season last year?

A: None.

Q11: Anyone ill in the household since the beginning of the rainy season last year?

A: I have been ill myself. My sons went to buy some medicine for me. Also my daughter F. had a swollen eye. We bought some pills for her. I did not take her to hospital because she did not want to go. I also took care of M., my daughter who is married. She had high fevers for about three days. I helped her with household chores during the time of her illness. Her mother-in-law would be the one most close to help her but she stays in Tsanya, a far away village. Therefore I had to go in her place. After all she is my daughter. I would not be happy to see her suffering.

Q12: Who helped the most during the death of your husband?

A: His grandson M. He bought the cloth for burial and also bought ndiwo for people to eat food. Also a mgwirizano wa ku manda collected money that helped with other arrangements for the funeral.

Q13: Any funerals attended last month?

A: Yes. My mother in law passed away. I went there and helped with cooking work and other activities.

Q14: Tell me about your agricultural activities.

A: I grew 2 acres of maize and an acre and a half of rice this last season. The only source of labor is my family. I did not hire any ganyu labor. However, I did go and provide ganyu labor in Ngasale, a nearby village. I was paid cash which I used to buy some food. D. went with me for ganyu. The ganyu was to help us meet the food needs in our family.

Q15: Any livestock and assets?

A: I have four goats. They are not mine but belong to somebody. They brought them to me to allow me to get some for myself. Once the goats give birth, I will be given some of the kids. I also have a bike and a radio.

Q16: Do you think of getting married again?

A: I am not really thinking about getting married because of the children that I have. It is rare to find a husband who would be willing to keep another man's children. Men of these days may want me to be alone with them without my children – I cannot do that. If a man comes along, I would tell him about my problems, that I have all these children. If he accepts the responsibility, I would consider marrying him, although I am sure the man is just cheating that he would be okay with children.

Q17: What are the things you miss the most since the death of your husband?

A: I have problems getting soap, salt, and such other needs. Of course I miss ukwati mu nyumba. There are times when I need a man but he is not around. If a man came along, I would be willing to have sexual relations with him, hopefully marry him as well.

Q18: Did you have sex with your late husband before you got married?

A: No. In fact, he is the only man I know. I have never had ukwati [sex] with any other person. My husband also samayenda-yenda. Popeza mwamuna siungamukanire [one cannot know everything about a man] but from my own observations, we were doing fine.

Socioeconomic Status: Poor. House with burnt bricks but grass thatched.

Respondent Name: M. , 41 yrs - YAO **Village:** Misowa **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** husband to. N.B. and E.B. **Interview Date:** July 5, 1999.

Q1: Tell me about your household.

A: I have two wives: N. J. is the elder one and E.B. is the younger. N. stays in Nkaweya at her mother's home while E. is staying with me here at my home in Misowa village. I married N. in 1986, I have had her as my wife for 12 years. I married E. in 1996, I have had her for three years.

Q2: Why did you get married?

A: When I grew up I thought of getting married. When one becomes a man he needs many things, the big thing is sex and the smaller things are somebody to cook for him, wash his clothes but the big thing is sex. In fact, children are just a gift from God – the big thing we need in marriage is sex. It is actually difficult to stay without sex. If you do not get married, the end result may be getting infected with std diseases because you may have sex with people who are infected.

Q3: Why then did you marry a second wife?

A: Once a wife has a child, you stay for a long time without going to bed with her. I could not stand the long waiting period. I therefore chose to marry another one instead of running around with other women. This time I can go to the first wife if the second one cannot have sex with me or vice versa. Also, here if you marry two wives then you are rich.

Q4: What would be one main reason that may lead you to leave your wife?

A: If my wife gets out of the house to go and have sex with another person and I catch her, that would be the end of our banja (marriage). If she does that, she is showing that she is tired of me. It is good therefore that she goes and marries the other man. There are actually no other reasons that would lead to the end of our marriage. If it is disagreements on different issues, you can deal with those through discussions while calling upon a nkhoswe (the elders, usually maternal uncles, who are designated mediators for the marriage to be there and work at dealing with problems spouses experience) to mediate the discussions.

Q5: Are both wives happy; are they satisfied sexually?

A: I would not really tell but from what I observe, both are happy and satisfied. I try to give the same amount of help and attention to their needs. If I give K100 to one wife, I try to give the same K100 to the other wife. I think they are also satisfied sexually. I have told each one of my wives that if they are not satisfied, they should feel free to let me know – they are also free to leave me for another man. What I do is I spend one week with one wife and another week with the other.

Q6: Whose week is this one?

A: For the Nkaweya wife.

Q7: How then are you found here?

A: There is some dimba work that I am doing here.

Q8: How many children do you have?

A: Three sons all born to the first wife (see interview with N.B. for all details about these children).

Q9: Tell me about your education and that of your wives.

A: I did not go to school. Both of my wives did not go to school either.

Q10: Who do you share help with?

A: Because a lot of people are poor, they do not help each other very much. People who help me most of the times are my sister L.D. (same mother but different fathers), my brother A.K., my mother's elder sister, Z.M., my mother's sister's brother. These do a lot to help me and I also do a lot to help them when they are in problems.

Q11: You have told me that your children D. and G. go to school. Why do you find it important that they attend school?

A: Education is important for a good job. Even in our local villages, they may be looking for some body to work as a secretary. You have to know how to read and write for these people to pick you. You are more involved in local activities when you have some education.

Q12: Any ill persons in your household?

A: Both of my wives got quite ill. N. was ill for two weeks; E. was ill for a week. In both cases, I took them to Liwonde Hospital on my bike. During the time my wife E. was ill, my sister L. assisted with household chores. For N., her mother and younger sister helped as she stays at her mother's place. For me, I was lucky that the two wives were not ill at the same time. When N. was ill, E. was okay. I had my food and other needs met by E. The reverse was the case when E. was ill. The last month, none in my household has been seriously ill.

Q13: From what you are saying, E. is on a chitengwa and N. is on a chikamwini arrangement. Why not make sure that both wives stay with you on a chitengwa arrangement?

A: You would be starting a war. N.J. used to stay here before I married E. Because her mother gets ill frequently, she requested that she goes back to be helping her frequently ill mother. Hence, she requested me to go and build a house for her at her mother's place which I did, then she went back to stay at her mother's place.

Q14: What help did you get during the death of your three daughters?

A: Different people helped us. Mostly it was a chipani cha kumanda. People choose to be in a chipani. There are different zipanis: chipani cha ku nyumba and chipani cha kumanda. I belong to chipani cha kumanda. Our job is to dig graves and make all appropriate arrangements for burial.

Q15: Did you attend any funeral this last month?

A: I went to a funeral; the deceased was not related to me. My wives did not join me because the funeral took place in Tsanya village and they had other things to attend to here so they did not go. We attend funerals with the objective that others will come and help you when you experience the same problem.

Q16: Tell me about your agricultural activities.

A: I grow maize 2 acres and a half here at E.'s place and one acre and a half at N.'s place. I also grow green maize, sugar cane, vegetables in an area of about an acre. We mostly eat the produce and sell some of it. No one really helps us in our farming. I work on the farm together with my wife. Also, this last season, I did not provide ganyu labor.

Socioeconomic Status: Has a tiny round hut as a house. Looks poor but has enough food to last the household a year.

Respondent Name: A.S., 28 yrs #7008 - YAO **Village:** Misowa **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 5, 1999.

Q1: I see that you are married. Is this your first husband?

A: This is not my first husband. The first one was M. He came to visit with his relatives and told them that he wanted a wife. His relatives pointed me out and he came to ask me for marriage. He parted with me on account that he thought I was pregnant by another man. He used to go to South Africa. When he went back to South Africa on his third trip, he left me two months pregnant. I gave birth just before he came back from South Africa on his fourth return. M. said the child was not his, that I had been with another man; that was the end of our marriage. Unfortunately, the child died at birth. I actually had two children by M. and both children died. The marriage ended on my second child. The second husband was J. I had one child called N. by this man and the child also died. We did not really divorce each other. J. went to Machinga to look for food. He never came back; he just married there and that was the end of our marriage. My third husband is K. J. who I am currently married to. I have two children by this husband and both are alive.

Q2: Why did you get married or get into marriage?

A: I was of age and of course needed sex apart from wanting children. Therefore I had to get married otherwise I would be running around like a prostitute.

Q3: How did you and K. J. meet?

A: My maternal uncle went to Mangochi and used to stay there. My son N. was sick with ma gini (something like vimbuza). My uncle came over and requested my mother that we take N. to Mangochi to a traditional healer. I went with uncle and N. to Mangochi. At the time, J. was in Machinga having married there. I was in Mangochi for about a week and K. J. came the second week to ask me for marriage. We got married there and he came to live with me here.

Q4. How did you meet M?

A: He came to see his relatives around here and told his relatives that he was looking for a woman to marry. They pointed me out and he came to marry me.

Q5. Why really did you get married to M?

A: I just wanted to get married to be helped by a man and me too to help him.

Q6. Is it that you could not stay without getting married?

A: I had reached a stage when I needed a man to sleep with and had to get married.

Q7. After you parted with M., could you not stay unmarried?

A: No, I could not stay without getting married, because of ukwati wa mnyumbawo (sexual desires). I could not manage to stay without a man [sex-wise].

Q8. So far, two husbands have parted with you. Why do you think this is the case?

A: Maybe, I do not perform ukwati mu nyumba to their satisfaction. May be the husbands find the women they go to perform better than me.

Q9. Do you have fulfillment during ukwati mu nyumba yourself?

A: I feel okay especially since these husbands give me children who I want. I feel ndikukwanitsa mu nyumbamu.

Q10. Is there any difference between the men who left you and the one you are currently married to?

A: Yes there is a difference. The evidence is that we have stayed together for long and tikugwirizana.

Q11. Tell me about your household?

A: I have two children by K.J.: a daughter N. and a boy J. N. is 15 and J. is 13 years old. K. J. did not go to school and I did not go to school either. J. is in std 2 and continuing with school while N. stopped in std 4.

Q12. Who is the head of your household?

A: I am the head of this household.

Q13. How is it that you are the head of the household when you have a husband around?

A: Because I am the one who undertakes all the household chores and also because my husband spends most of the time goes to work. He works with the Forestry people – taking care of a forest nursery.

Q14. Who are the people you share help with?

A: Abiti B., my in-law who is married to my brother; her mother Abiti B.; Abiti F. my younger sister, Abiti S. (my granddaughter), N – a friend of mine living in the nearby village.

Q15. Who do you help yourself?

A: Those who help me, I also help. The others include Abiti W. my younger sister; Abiti N., a friend; Abiti J., Abiti W. my younger sister and my sister Abiti S.

Q15. You have said that J. is at school. What expenses did you incur for him during the school year that is just ending?

A: I bought some uniform and supplemented the pencils and notebooks he got from school. No one helped us to meet these educational expenses.

Q16. Why did you send N. and J. to school?

A: My own ignorance makes me desire to help my child attain some education. If my children get educated, they would be of much assistance to me later on.

Q17: Helped anybody other members of your household with education expenses?

A: No.

Q18. Anybody ill in the household to the extent of being bed- ridden?

A: I was ill with wounds.

Q19. What kind of wounds?

A: I had a terrible headache. As my headache subsided I had wounds arising in my mouth.

Q20. Who helped in taking care of you during your illness?

A: My mother B. and my brother A. They got me some pills from groceries. My in-law also helped me with household chores.

Q21. Anyone ill in the household this last month?

A: None.

Q22. Did you care for someone else, not a member of your household, who was ill since the start of the growing season that is just ending?

A: I took care of my mother and my brother. My mother complained of body pains and heartache. She was ill for two weeks. I looked for people who give injections [within the local area – not trained in injections]. After she received an injection, she started getting better. My brother complained of chibayo (pneumonia). He had problems breathing, and when breathing he complained that he was having pains mu thitimu. I went to a traditional healer who gave me some medicine that he used and got well. I went to the sing'anga together with my in-law, my brother's wife.

Q23. How did you know about the traditional healer you went to?

A: People just told us about the particular sing'anga we could go to to get help.

Q24: You have said that three children left us (died). What did they suffer from?

A: The first died at birth. The second was suffering from kalongolongo (children get thin and cry a lot probably because of terrible stomachache). We did not know about kalongolongo then. The child was crying the whole day; and died in the evening of the same day. The third child suffered from khunyu (epileptic) – child first cries a lot then bits her/himself then passes out.

Q25. Who helped you during the funerals of these children?

A: Mainly my friends, brothers and sisters that I told you about. They cooked, fetched water for me, cleaned the surrounding, and provided what was needed during the funeral services.

Q26. Why exactly did they have to help you?

A: They saw that I was weak and could not help myself; they therefore had to come to my assistance.

Q27. Did you attend any funeral this last month?

A: Yes. I was among the people who collected water for the funeral attendees and bereaved to use.

Q28. Tell me about your agricultural activities.

A: I grow maize and we cultivated two acres last season. My children, husband, and myself provided all the needed labor in our plot this past season. We did not employ any ganyu; we did not have money to do that. We (my children, husband, and myself) provided ganyu to others to get some food. We went to my friend Abiti N. for the ganyu, and she paid me maize that I needed to feed my family.

Q29. Was there a time since the beginning of the rainy season when you went for some day(s) without nsima?

A: Yes, many times. Apart from ganyu, we made mika and sold them to get some cash to buy food.

Q30. Helped anybody meet food needs since the beginning of this ending growing season?

A: yes, I helped my friend Abiti N. --- we tended to help each other.

Q31. Any livestock and other possessions?

A: I have two chickens, four ducks, and a radio. I have no bicycle.

Q32: What are the things you have around your neck?

A: The one that is thornlike is medicine for my heartache that I used to suffer from. The other is medicine for ma gini that came from my dead parents. Now I am okay.

Respondent Name: K.J.K. , 34 yrs – YAO, husband to A.S. **Village:** Misowa **Area:** Ulongwe
District: Balaka **Status:** monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 5, 1999.

Q1. When did you get married?

A: 1970. Married to the same wife that I have

Q2. Why did you get married?

A: Ndinakula [reached puberty stage] and needed to stay at one place with a wife thus got married.

Q3. What do you mean by ndinakula; how does that make one want to get married?

A: You want to have a woman [that you can have sex with her]. A man has stages; he reaches a stage where he wants a woman badly and has to get married. I reached that stage and could not really stay alone without a woman [without sex].

Q4. Who are the people you share help with?

A: My father J., who is now dead; my mother Abiti B. who lives in Mangochi, my brother A. who stays in this same village, my grandfather M. who lives in Mangochi, my in-law who lives in this same village; and my friends W. and M. who live in this same village – they help me mainly with nzeru on how to deal with certain problems. These people very much help me. I mostly help my mother Abiti B. and less so the other people I have mentioned.

A: A person reaches a stage when you need a woman very much. I reached that stage and it was difficult for me to stay without a woman [to stay without having sex].

Q5. We have been told by your wife that your son J. goes to school; why do you send him to school?

A: Maybe he will not be as ignorant as I am.

Q6. Anyone helping you with the educational expenses for J?

A: None.

Q7. What would lead to ending your marriage?

A: If I find her with another man, the marriage would end but we would have to discuss – the ankhoswe would be involved before I would take any action to divorce my wife.

NB: This was a defensive respondent. His wife actually offered much more information I needed to know about the household. My interest in interviewing him was to establish whether he has a different set of people that he shares help with from that of his wife.

Respondent Name: D.S. , 30 yrs - YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: monogamous marriage, husband in Kasungu **Int. Date:** July 5, 1999.

Q1. Tell me about your household: how many are you, what are your ages, and how far you went with school.

A: There are four of us: my husband, myself, and our two children. This is my second marriage. I first married K.M. and I was married to him for 14 years. I had one child, A.K., with M. then we parted. A. is now 15 years old and in std 3. We parted with M. because of kuchulukitsa women. At first, there were three of us as his wives, I was the second. He parted with the third wife but still went on to marry another wife. That is what led me to think of parting from him.

Q2. Why did you get married?

A: Because I was of age. When you are of age, you should not just stay because you become stupid [umachitika zauchitsilu].

Q3. In what way do you become stupid [umachitika bwanji uchitsilu]?

A: You can become a runner to fulfill your sexual desires and to find money for things you want such as soap, money to grind maize, a nice house [uyamba uhule pofuna kuthandizika zinthu zako za mu thupi].

Q4. If you had a relative who would provide all your needs, would you still want to get married?

A: I would still want to get married. I would need ukwati mu nyumbamu (sex) which my relative would be unable to help me with.

Q5. How long did K. stay with you, his first wife, and his third wife?

A: The time he was marrying me, he had lived with his first wife for 11 years, and he has been with me for 14 years. It means K. was married for 25 years. The third wife was with K. for only six months.

Q6. How long have you been with your current husband, Mr W.?

A: I have been with him for three years.

Q7. How did you meet?

A: He came right here at my house after hearing that I parted with K.

Q8. What is it that made you marry W., your next husband?

A: Marriage is necessary to us women. It makes us to have a family. You also get some respect when married. When someone says “wife of so and so”, it is quite an honor.

Q9. Apart from respect, is there something else that makes marriage necessary to women?

A: The time in bed is actually what makes us women desire to be married.

Q10. Could somebody not stay without getting married?

A: Sizingatheke [it is not possible to stay unmarried].

Q11. Any difference between the first husband and your new husband?

A: Yes. I am happier with this husband than the first one.

Q12. Any difference kumbali ya ukwati (sex)?

A: There is no difference between the two except that I did not agree with the mitala (polygamy) practice by my previous husband.

Q13. What would be the things that your current husband were to do that would lead you to consider terminating your marriage?

A: No reason at all.

Q14. Where is your husband right now?

A: He went to Kasungu for business. He trades in second hand clothing. He comes to visit us regularly; generally once every month or whatever time he takes off from his business.

Q15. How many are you in your household?

A: There are three of us if we do not include my husband. Our children are A. and the second child is our daughter A. Apart from these children, I do not stay with any other dependents.

Q16. Who is the head of your household?

A: The man [husband] is the head of my household.

Q17. Why do you take the husband as the head of your household?

A: He is the one who gets zofunikira (necessary things) in our household.

Q18. Who are the people who help you?

A: My friend P., my elder sister Abiti W., and my friend Abiti B. They stay in this same village with me.

Q19. Who are the people who receive help from you?

A: My mother Abiti W.; my younger sister Abiti Y.; my grandmother Abiti M.; my brother Che M.A. All these stay in this same village.

Q20. Tell me how you help each other with these people.

A: Generally, we help each other when we find that one of us has a problem. We may know about the problem as we visit each other or you may just go and see someone when you have a problem. You go to one you think could help you. If you do not help your friends and relatives, there will come a time when you will need help and there will no one to help you.

Q21. How far did you go with school?

A: I never went to school.

Q22. What about your husband, how far did he go with school?

A: He went to school but I do not know how far he went with his education.

Q23. What about your children's education?

A: Only A. goes to school; he is in std 3. The other child is too young for school.

Q24. What educational expenses did you have last school year for A?

A: We bought some notebooks for him, soap to wash his clothes, and clothings for him to attend school.

Q25. Anyone who helped you with educational costs for A?

A: No one.

Q26. Did you or anyone in your household help someone else or another household meet educational costs?

A: We helped no one because we also lack things we can use to help others.

Q27. Anybody ill in your household such that he or she was bed-/mat-ridden since the beginning mof the rainy season last year?

A: No one.

Q28. Anybody ill since last month in your household?

A: A. was ill. He had high fevers. We took him to Liwonde Hospital.

Q29. Anyone who helped in taking care of your sick child?

A: No one helped, not even my husband because he stays far away.

Q30. Any one dead in the household?

A: None. God has blessed us.

Q31. Have you attended any funerals since last month?

A: Oh yes. I went to the funeral in Chagunda village (nearby village). It is my in-law who passed away. I mainly was involved in collecting water to be used during the burial ceremony and by the bereaved; I also was involved in the preparation of food for the funeral attendees.

Q32. What did you in-law die from?

A: Ndizolochedwa. She had something chimangoyenda-yenda in the stomach.

Q33. What crops do you grow?

A: Maize and nkhungudzu. We sell nkhungudzu if the yield is good. This year, the yield is not good and we are not going to sell any of it. Maize; we grow for food mainly. (We did not find out how much acreage they put to each crop)!!!

Q34. Anyone who helped you with farming work in the season that has just ended?

A: Yes. Maize, however, chimazilima chokha in that people who come to work in my maize garden are paid the maize [ganyu arrangement paid in kind). There are others who want to be paid money. For these, I sell the maize and get the money to pay them.

Q35. Did you help anyone with farming work during the season that has just ended?

A: Yes. I went to help my mother. I did this after I was through with farm operations in my munda.

Q36. Since the beginning of the rainy season last year, have you gone without food for a day?

A: Yes, but it is because we did not have the needed ndiwo to eat nsima, otherwise we have never spent a day without eating. We looked for ndiwo and was thus able to eat nsima.

Q37. Did you help anybody who experienced food shortages with food since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: Many. My mother Abiti W., my brother Che M., and my grandmother Abiti B. They all stay within this same village.

Q38. Did they do ganyu for you to receive the food or you just gave them the food?

A: These people are my relatives so I just gave them the food when I saw that they lacked food.

Q39. Do you have livestock?

A: Yes, there are 6 goats and 4 ducks.

Q40. You have said that your husband is in Kasungu. What is it that makes him want to stay alone here?

A: He went to fetch things that I and the children here can use.

Q41. Don't you desire that your husband stays here with you?

A: He comes often. In fact, last week he was here.

Q42. Do you think your husband runs with other women or do you trust that he does not?

A: I trust him and I do not believe that he would get married to someone else ndi mmene ndimawalandiriramo when he visits us.

Q43. Is there any difference between the first husband and your second one?

A: The first one was a runner [anali woyenda-yenda]. I was afraid to have sex with him because I feared that I might contract sexually transmitted diseases including AIDS. The one I have now, timapanga bwino chikwati chathu [we have good sexual relations] without I being afraid of contracting diseases from him.

Respondent Name: P.B., 30 yrs – YAO **Village:** Mkanda **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 5, 1999.

Q1. Tell me about your household – who is the head of the household, how many are you, and the like.

A: I am married. My husband has just gone to Mangochi, his home. He is gone there to visit his relatives. He is my second husband. I got married to my first husband in 1980 and we parted in 1987. I stayed for three years then in 1990 married my present husband.

Q2: Why did you get married?

A: When I reached puberty, I did not want to run around [kuchita zoyenda-yenda ndi amuna ambiri-mbiri]. I therefore got married.

Q3: How did you part with your first husband?

A: He went to Limbe when I was pregnant. I gave birth while he was still in Limbe. I wrote him telling him that I had given birth. He never came over. Since men get other women wherever they go, he was caught with another woman. He sent a message to his home telling them that they should come and get me and take me to Limbe. His relatives told him that since they have heard about his being caught with another woman and since he has not come over since the birth of the child, my relatives would kuyimba mulandu. They asked him to come over and explain what really happened in Limbe. He was afraid to come as he would have had to give a fisi (hyena). That was the end of our marriage.

Q4. What does giving fisi mean?

A: To find some medicine to give to the child since he went to have sex with another woman while the child I had was small.

Q5. What kind of medicine (mankhwala)?

A: I do not know. Pachikulu pawopo, they say if this happens, mwana amusempha and therefore some medicine must be found to stop the child from getting ill because of sempho.

Q6. Please explain for me to understand what you are saying.

A: They thought that way would kusokoneza. His having sex with another woman and me going there would sempha the child. If I went to Limbe mwanayo akanamuchenjeretsa ena not me because I would be kusokonezeka. Because I did not go to Limbe, the marriage ended there.

Q7. If he came over, he would have paid a find?

A: Yes. He would have been charged with kusokoneza azibale awowo, and the child amuchretsa wina. He was afraid of going through with the charges and so we parted.

Q8. Did you have any regrets with the end of the marriage?

A: No.

Q9. Since then, did he come to visit you?

A: He came but nothing happened between us [but was laughing, which suggested that what she was saying was not really true – it is likely that they had sex].

Q10. What was your first husband's name and how did you meet him?

A: A. W.. He came over from Mbawa village to ask me for marriage.

Q11. What about the second husband; how did you meet?

A: He also came here to ask me for marriage. He also came from Mbawa where he was staying with his sister. He was coming from his sister's place and come and ask me for marriage. His sister is on a chitengwa arrangement and right now is in Mangochi with her husband – that is where my husband is gone today.

Q12. How many children did A. W. father?

A: Two children and one is dead. The living child, a girl who is 13 years old, stays with my younger sister in Lilongwe. My sister is married.

Q13. How many children do you have with your second husband?

A: I have two children by him, a son who is 4 years old and a daughter 2 years old.

Q14. How many are you in your family?

A: There are seven of us, four women and three men.

Q15. What would be the one reason that would lead to the end of your marriage [banja]?

A: I currently stay very well with my husband. If there are things that annoy me or him, we discuss and forgive each other. I am the only wife he has, and we are staying with our two children very well.

Q16. Why is your child who is staying with your younger sister in Lilongwe, why did she go to stay with her instead of staying with you here?

A: There was a time when my younger sister was pregnant. Apart from the pregnancy, she was also quite ill such that she was unable to carry out household chores well. My sister came to pick up the child so that the child could help her with the various household chores.

Q17: Who are the people you share help with?

A: My mother A. S., my maternal uncle K., another maternal uncle M., and my brother M..

Q18. Where does each one of these stay, and what do they do?

A: Uncle K. lives in Mbayani in Blantyre city; my mother S. lives in this same village – she has left today for Lilongwe to visit somebody I do not know who; uncle M. lives in another place called Sigoleke and my brother M. lives at Ulongwe. Uncle K. is a shoe repairer while M. is not doing anything in particular.

Q19. Who do you yourself mainly help?

A: My mother. I pound maize for her, I also fetch water from the borehole for her. That is the main help I give her.

Q20. Are any of the children and people you stay with going to school?

A: None goes to school.

Q21. Did you help in meeting school expenses for anyone not in your household?

A: I did not help any one.

Q22. Even your daughter who is staying with your sister in Lilongwe, you did not help her with her school expenses?

A: No. She has been away for three years and I have not given her anything. All this time her mother [respondent's sister] takes care of her including meeting all educational expenses.

Q23. Anyone ill in your household to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden since the beginning of the last rains?

A: None.

Q24. Did you help take care of an ill person anywhere since the beginning of the rains that have just ended?

A: None.

Q25. Any death in the household?

A: My own child died in 1983. She was 3 years old. She opened bowels for quite some time. People came over to help deal with the grief. Her father bought the burial cloth. Others who came helped with drawing water and fetching firewood and taking care of the people who came for the funeral. Also, my father died in 1993.

NB: I used flat batteries and the recorder stopped recording without me realizing that it was not recording.

Respondent Name: M.S., 48 yrs – YAO **Village:** Mkanda **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: husband deceased **Int. Date:** July 11, 1999.

Q1 to Q9 missing --- still looking for them!!

Q10. How did your marriage with ---- end?

A: He did not really love me because the time I was sick, he had no chidwi to take care of me. He was gone beer drinking even during my illness.

Q11. What were you suffering from the time you were ill?

A: I had terrible stomachache to the extent of being too weak [kulefuka namo].

Q12. When exactly did you part from your husband, during the illness or after you were well?

A: I parted from him after I was well. After I got well, I told him to leave (he was in a chikamwini arrangement). He left and showed no remorse at all. I think he expected to be sent away.

Q13. You were married to the first husband for how long?

A: For 14 years.

Q14. How did you and your second husband meet?

A: He came from his home and came here and asked me for marriage, and I accepted and he took me to his home [chitengwa arrangement]. We stayed together very well till his death. In my 10 years of marriage to him, I did not experience any problems.

Q15. Any children with the second husband?

A: None. The child I have, C. who is 16 years old, is from my first husband.

Q16. Does C. go to school?

A: No, he left school in std 3 for reasons known to himself.

Q17. Who do you share help with?

A: My mother-in-law Abiti P., a friend N., a friend Abiti P., my father Che J., my in-laws Abiti R., Abiti T., and Abiti B.; and my friends Abiti J., Abiti S., Abiti W. These people help me when I do not have enough food or money.

Q18. How did you develop these friendships with the people who help you as friends?

A: For most of them, it was through growing together and sharing things as we grew up. With reference to Abiti S., her parents were friends of my parents and so we grew to know each other. My friends have been most helpful in sharing salt or even food when one of us is lacking.

Q19. Have you helped anyone with school or educational expenses?

A: Apart from my son, I have helped no other person or household in meeting educational expenses.

Q20. Anyone sick in your household to the extent of being mat-/bed-ridden since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: My husband who is now dead is the one who was ill. He was sick with stomachache [zilonda za mmimba] as diagnosed by the doctor where we took him. He was ill for a month.

Q21. What did you do in caring for him?

A: I took him to hospital. When I saw that there was no change in his condition, I brought him back and started looking for traditional medicine. Even the traditional medicine did not help, thus he passed away. [It is likely that it was an AIDS case].

Q22. Anyone who helped you in taking care of your husband during his illness?

A: Abiti P. and Che J. Che J. gave me some money to buy medicine while Abiti P. helped with fetching some water and cooking some food.

Q23. Anyone in your household who went to help someone ill elsewhere since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: Yes. I went kukadwazitsa my mother's younger sister. She was suffering from thupi kungotupikana. She was ill for two weeks. I gave her some money to buy some medicine and also fetched water for her.

Q24. Anyone else who helped in taking care of your maternal aunt?

A: Yes. My brothers A., C., and C.; Bait B., and Che N. – a friend of the ill one. All live in this same village.

Q25. Did you take her to hospital.

A: Yes. We took her to Liwonde then Zomba hospital but in both cases she was not helped.

Q26. Who really took her to these hospitals?

A: My brother A. He lives in Blantyre.

Q27. Anyone else who has been ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden that you were involved in caring for?

A: None.

Q28. You have told me that your husband passed away. How old was he at the time of his death?

A: I really do not know how old he was.

Q29. Who are the people who helped you in your bereavement?

A: My friends came to visit with me and carried some flour. These included Abiti S. who lives in Mbawa (the nearby village), Abiti S., and Abiti J. all live in Mbawa.

Q30. Anyone in your household who attended funerals last month?

A: Apart from my husband's funeral, we did not go to any other funeral last month.

Q31. What crops did you grow this last season?

A: I had 1.5 acres of maize, .5 acres of tobacco. I plant nandolo in the same field as maize. I have a small plot of groundbeans.

Q32. Who helps you in your farming work?

A: None, I depend on my family labor.

Q33. Did you help any one or any household with farm work this last growing season?

A: I did not but my son went to do ganyu. He went to do ganyu at Nyanga village. He received some money for the ganyu. He was involved in weeding [bandila] a maize plot.

Q34. Were you at one time so short of food that you were unable to eat nsima for some days since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: Yes, njala yinakula chaka chino because even at ADMARC markets, there was hardly enough maize. So even when someone had money, there was no where one could go to buy food. In fact, at the ADMARC market, they did not allow to buy a bag but small amounts.

Q35. So how did you meet your food needs?

A: My husband used to take his tobacco around places to sell it. The income we got was used to buy the little food from ADMARC which meant long waiting on the line to get some maize.

Q36. Did you help anyone else to meet their food shortage since the beginning of the rainy season last year?

A: Yes. I helped Abiti P., C., Che F. I helped them mainly with ndiwo.

Q37. Why did you think of helping these people to meet their food needs?

A: The main reason is that they are my relatives and ndinamva chisoni that they did not have the ndiwo when they needed that.

Q38. What if you did not help?

A: They would have complained [kudandaula kwambiri] and those complaints may have led to kupeza kwanga uku kuti kubwerere m'mbuyo.

Q39. What livestock do you keep?

A: None.

Q40. You have told me that your husband passed away this last month, what are you thinking of doing? Do you intend to get re-married or you would like to stay single?

A: I want to get re-married.

Q41. Why? What are the reasons why you want to get re-married?

A: Kuvutika kwa usiwawu (being poor), kulima is the main reason I would want to get re-married.

Q42. You might find some people to help you with farming. Why would you still want to get married?

A: Do you think as I am that I would not want to get re-married. I want to get married because ndatopa [I am tired].

Q43. Tired of what?

A: I need to spend nights with a man.

NB: Household is a poor one.

Respondent Name: S.L., 40 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 12, 1999.

Q1. Tell me about your marriage and household.

A: This is my first marriage. The husband came over to my place and asked me for marriage and I accepted. We made chitengwa arrangements and so I moved from my home in Chagunda village to here at my husband's place in Nyanga village.

Q2. Why did you get married?

A: I saw that I had reached the stage that I had to get married. When you grow up you need to get married. When you reach that stage, you need to have a man [kumapanga nayo ukwati]. Ukwatiwo is the thing that really made me want to get married.

Q3. How is your sexual life with your husband?

A: Very satisfactory. There is no problem. We both get satisfied.

Q4. What is it that if your husband did, you would want to part from him?

A: If my husband starts zochulukitsa akazi [running around with many women], I would tell him that we need to leave each other.

Q5. How many children do you have in your family?

A: We have five children. D. and M. both have just started school. I also have P., M., and I. I stay with all my children myself.

Q6. Who are the people you share help with?

A: My friend Abiti S., we are married to the same banja. Also my mother P. and my younger sister Abiti M. These people reside in Chagunda village (a nearby village). I really help them when they tell me that they have no food especially ndiwo but also some money when there is need and I have some.

Q7. Anyone ill in your household to the extent of being mat-/bed-ridden since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: I got sick with the big headache [migraine headache]. I was ill for some two weeks.

Q8. What help did you receive and who helped you?

A: My husband who tried to take care of me. He took me to the hospital; when there was little help from the hospital, he took me to a traditional healer. My mother P. and my younger sister also helped with some household chores.

Q9. Did you help others who were seriously ill in another household since the beginning of the growing season in 1998?

A: None.

Q10. You said that you have two children at school. What educational costs did you incur for these two children this last school year?

A: I bought some clothes and gave them some money when they asked for the money at school.

Q11. Anyone who helped you with these educational costs?

A: None.

Q12. Did you help anyone else with school related costs?

A: None.

Q13. Anyone dead in the household?

A: None.

Q14. Have you attended any funeral since last month?

A: Yes. The funeral was in Mpata at Abiti J. and the one who passed away is Abiti S., not a relative of mine.

Q15. What did you do at the funeral?

A: When we left from here, we collected some money that we gave to the bereaved household; we also carried some flour for them. There were people at the funeral who were responsible for preparing food to be eaten by those who came to the funeral.

Q16. What crops do you grow?

A: Maize and rice [acreage for each crop not asked].

Q17. Who helped you with your farming activities this last season?

A: None. I did not even employ ganyu labor this last season.

Q18. Anyone in your household who helped with farm work elsewhere last season?

A: None. I did not even go to do ganyu anywhere.

Q19. Was there a day you went without food since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: We did not have a day without food.

Q20. Did you help any one or household to meet food shortages since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: Yes. My younger sister, my mother, and my friends also. I gave them some food when they complained that they had no food. For the others, like my mother, I saw that they had no food and decided to give them some food since I had some food to spare.

Q21. Any livestock?

A: None.

Q22. Any assets?

A: Yes: a bicycle and radio. Also we have a bed and mattress.

Respondent Name: A.B., 40 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 12, 1999.

Q1. Tell me about your household.

A: This is my first marriage. I went to her village in Chagunda and asked her for marriage; she accepted and we got married. We have five children in our family. M., D., P., and M. are the girls and I. is the boy. D. and M. go to school.

Q2. Why did you get married?

A: I reached the stage at which I had to get married. Once you reach that stage and you do not get married, you may start to run around (kuyendayenda) thereby contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

Q3. When did you get married?

A: Many years have passed since we got married and I cannot really remember when I got married. I think we married in 1984.

Q4. What would be the one reason that would lead you to parting with your wife?

A: If she had extramarital sex because if I caught my wife having sex with another man you need to leave her because you do not know what she has carried that may be dangerous to you.

Q5. Supposing it is the husband who has extramarital sex, should the woman take the same action of parting from the husband?

A: She should be free to part from the husband. Let us be true to ourselves; running with women or men may lead to kutenga zambiri. These days, there is matenda that even if you are to eat all types of medicine, you get no help. Those days, people could be treated but the diseases of these days.

Q6. What kind of marriage is yours: a chikamwini type or a chitengwa type?

A: The woman came over to stay with me. It is thus a chitengwa type of marriage. In fact, we have our own place here. I asked for this place from the village headman. Our relatives are on the other side of the village. I chose to come and stay here alone kuwopa maphokoso.

Q7. Why did you decide to come and settle here?

A: I run a business here. I buy mikeka in bul and go to Blantyre to sell them. In fact, the house that you see came from trading in mikedas. The mikeka cost me K20 each, and I sell them at K30 each.

Q8. How far did you go with schooling?

A: I never went to school.

Q9. Who are the people who help you to deal with your problems or meet your needs?

A: Nobody. However, I generally help my friend S. usually with money when he runs short.

Q10. Anyone who was ill in your household to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: My wife was really ill for some two weeks. She had body pains and high fevers. I went looking for traditional medicine but also bought some pills for her.

Q11. Anyone helped you in taking care of your ill wife?

A: None.

Q12. How many are you in your household?

A: There are seven of us: my wife, five children, and myself.

Q13. Any of your children staying with someone else other than yourself in this household?

A: None, and I do not keep other people's children or any other dependent.

Q14. Who is the head of the household?

A: I am the head of the household since I am the one who amathandizira banjali.

Q15. Anyone who was ill in your household since last month?

A: None.

Q16. Did you or any one else in your household go to take care of an ill person in another household since last month?

A: None.

Q17. What expenses did you incur this school year that is just ending for the education of your children who you say go to school?

A: I bought some clothes for them. I also bought some additional copies, additional to what they were given at school. I also gave the children some money for them to buy something to eat at school.

Q18. Anyone who helped you in meeting the expenses for the education of your children?

A: None.

Q19. Did you help anyone else with school expenses this last school year?

A: None.

Q20. Any death in the household?

A: None.

Q21. Have you attended any funeral since last month?

A: I attended a funeral in Chagunda village (just nearby). A child passed away but the child is not related to me or anyone in this household. I was involved in digging the grave and collecting soil to be put at the grave.

Q22. What crops do you grow?

A: I grew 2 acres of maize this last season. I used ganyu labor, and paid cash for those who came to work in the farm plot.

Q23. How did you identify people who came for ganyu?

A: I just informed people in the village as I met them that I had ganyu in the farm plot. I tell them whether the ganyu is for cash or that I would pay them maize.

Q25. Did you ever go to provide ganyu at another household's farm plot this last season?

A: No. In fact, even my children and wife never went anywhere to do ganyu.

Q27. Did you spend a day going without food since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: No.

Q26. Did you help anyone during the last season to meet his/her/their food needs?

A: I helped my mother-in-law P. and my friend S. I gave them some money to buy food. I also gave some food when I realized that they did not have any food.

Q28. Do you own any livestock?

A: None.

Q28. Any assets?

A: I have a bicycle and a radio.

Q29. Who do you share help with?

A: Mainly my young brother, the one who just passed here. There are actually 6 of us from my mother, two women and four men but the one who helps me and I help is only my younger brother.

Q30. How come the others of your relatives do not seem to help you?

A: There is always a case where any two relatives may not really agree with each other, and may therefore not want to help each other.

Q31. Do you think the rate at which people help each other nowadays is different from the way people helped each other in times past?

A: Relatives used to help each other a lot those days. People used to easily share flour and other such things. With mcherewu (the money economy) these days, people do not help each other as much as they used to because getting these items is a problem. Getting something that you have had a lot of problems getting and just giving it to somebody is difficult

Q32. Do your parents not help you?

A: My parents are dead.

Q33. Where are you from originally?

A: I was born here. My sisters are here.

SES: He has a grocery and runs a business (goes to Blantyre to buy second hand clothes and comes to sell them in the village and the nearby Ulongwe Trading Center). He also runs the grocery in the village. He has a red-bricked house which is iron-roofed. He falls into a middle class category.

Respondent Name: W.M., 50 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka **Status:** monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 12, 1999.

Q1. Tell me about your household.

A: I am of course married and have only one wife, A.B. I was born in 1949 and married a long time ago; I cannot really remember when. We have five children, three of whom are male. R. is four years old, B. is 10 years, K. is 6 years; the girls are L. who is 5 years old and A. is 2 years. B. is in std 6, K. is in std 4, and L. is in std 1 and the others have not started school. [B. and K. seem to be much older than what the father indicated to be the ages]. I do not stay with other children or dependents other than my children.

Q2. Why really did you get married?

A: Staying alone [without a woman] ndikovutira [is problematic]. You need a woman in the house, that you can stay together. It is ukwati m'banjamo really made me get married. If you do not get married, siumamva bwino [you do not feel very well].

Q3. What are the things that if your wife did would lead to the end of your marriage?

A: If my wife went to another man, the marriage would end without much trouble. If she does that it means the wife wakudelera [does not respect you] indicating that in your house there is nothing that is going on to her satisfaction [suggestive that you do not satisfy her sexually]. In fact, if one is not sexually satisfied in the banja, one may start running with other women or men.

Q4. Who help you in dealing with your problems or meeting your needs?

A: My uncle Y. who stays in Liwonde, my mother staying within the same village, and my wife.

Q5. Who do you help when dealing with their problems or meeting their needs?

A: It is really the same people who help me

Q6. You have children who go to school. What educational expenses did you incur on them this last school year?

A: Uniform only.

Q7. Anyone who helped you in buying the uniform?

A: None.

Q8. Anyone who has been ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: None

Q9. Did you help anyone or household in taking care of their ill members since the beginning of the rainy season in 1998?

A: No I did not.

Q10. Any deaths in your household?

A: Yes, a small child who was only three years.

Q11. What killed her; what did she suffer from?

A: She had a cough and a headache. These are the diseases that killed her.

Q12. She was sick for how long before passing away?

A: She was ill for about two weeks.

Q13. What help did you receive connected to the death of your daughter?

A: People brought some flour which was needed at the funeral.

Q14. Who are the people who brought this flour: your relatives, your friends, or who?

A: My relatives, the ones I told you help me, are the ones who brought flour. In fact, they did not only bring the flour, they also helped to prepare the food for those who came to the funeral.

Q15. Have you gone to attend a funeral since the beginning of last month?

A: Yes, I attended a funeral.

Q16. What work did you perform at the funeral?

A: I belong to a chipani (group) for grave making. Thus, when I go to a funeral, I go to help in the digging of the grave and making sure that all trees needed for burial are there.

Q17. Is it that all men are involved in digging the grave?

A: No. There are different groups undertaking different activities. Some women go to collect flour from different households in the village. Some men, especially the elderly stay at home where the dead body is until the grave is ready. When the women have collected flour, they prepare nsima and bring it to the grave yard for us to eat after we are through with digging the grave. When we are through with eating, we go back to the village to tell them that we are through with the digging of the grave. Then the whole group gets ready to bid farewell to the dead person.

Q18. The men who stay at home, what exactly do they do there?

A: Some go to collect some money from different people in the village. The money is used to buy ndiwo for us. Also, some of the money that remains is used at other funerals in the village. Some men are responsible for the making of the coffin box.

Q19. Thank you for enlightening me about funeral procedures. So, what crops do you grow?

A: Maize mainly.

Q20. How big is your maize farm plot?

A: An acre and a half.

Q21. How was your harvest this year?

A: We have not harvested a lot of maize because my maize farm plot was flooded with water for the most part of the growing season.

Q22. Apart from members of your household, are there others who helped with farm work the growing season that has just passed?

A: None.

Q23. Not even ganyu people?

A: No, not even ganyu people.

Q24. Did you provide labor to other households during the last growing season?

A: No I did not. We spent our time making mikeka and selling them.

Q25. Since the beginning of this last rainy season, did you run short of food such that there were days when you had nothing to eat?

A: Yes, but it was just a few days.

Q26. So how did you meet your food needs?

A: We worked hard making mikeka and selling them. We used the income to buy food.

Q27. Anyone who helped you to find food when you run short of it this last year?

A: None.

Q28. Did you help someone to meet their food needs since last year?

A: None.

Q29. What livestock and assets do you have?

A: Three goats only. I also have a bicycle and a radio.

SES: House is iron-roofed and made of burnt bricks. Household could be regarded a lower middle income.

Respondent Name: A.B., 40 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 12, 1999.

Q1. We are told you are married, is that so?

A: Yes, I am married.

Q2. Is this your first marriage or not?

A: This is my first marriage and my husband is W.M.

Q3. When did you get married?

A: I have forgotten the actual year we got married because it is really long ago.

Q4. Why did you get married?

A: Sleeping alone is a problem. There are many things that you lack such as soap, money to buy clothes.

Q5. Supposing a relative of yours was able to give you the soap and money for your clothes, would you still have gotten married?

A: Of course yes.

Q6. Why?

A: To have a man you can go to bed with.

Q7. How did you and your husband meet?

A: He came from his village Mkaweya to ask me for marriage here in my village.

Q8. Have had any serious problems in your household since the two of you got married?

A: No problem, we have experienced no problem.

Q9. Who is the head of this household?

A: My husband is the head of this household.

Q10. Why is he the head?

A: He is the one who supplies every need in the household?

Q11. How many children do you have?

A: There are six children.

Q12. Can you tell me their names and what class they are in at school?

A: B. is in std 5, L. is in std 5 also, L. is in std 1, R. has not started school as yet, S. also has not started school, and Y. who has not started school as well.

Q13. How far did you go with school yourself?

A: I never went to school.

Q14. What about your husband?

A: He went as far as std 6.

Q15. Are some of your children staying with someone else?

A: None.

Q16. Who are the people who help you to meet your needs or to deal with problems you experience?

A: My mother abiti S., Mother Abiti K., my mother abiti M., Abiti N., Abiti A., and mother A. All these stay in this same village.

Q17. Who are the people that you help to meet their needs or deal with their problems?

A: My younger sister Abiti J. who stays in Balaka, Abiti A. who stays in this same Nyanga village, Abiti A., and my friends Abiti E. who also stays here in Nyanga village.

Q18. How exactly do these people help you?

A: In many ways like giving me some money, flour, sometimes they cook some nsima and bring it over to me

Q19. You have told me that some of your children go to school. What educational expenses did you incur for your children this last school year?

A: I spent money buying uniform, notebooks and pencils. The notebooks and pencils were to supplement what they received at school.

Q20. Is there somebody who helped you in meeting the educational expenses for your children?

A: No, none.

Q21. Is there anyone in your household who was ill since the beginning of the 1998 rainy season to the extent that he or she was bed or mat-ridden?

A: There is none who was that ill.

Q22. Did you help take care of an ill person in another household not yours since the beginning of the 1998 rainy season?

A: No, I did not help someone who was ill.

Q23. Any body ill in your household since last month?

A: No, none.

Q24. Did you take care of an ill person in another household since last month?

A: No, I did not.

Q25. Any one who passed away in your household?

A: No, there is none.

Q26. Did you attend any funeral since last month?

A: I did. The funeral was in Chagunda village just nearby.

Q27. Who passed away?

A: A man they called A.

Q28. Was he related to you?

A: No, not at all.

Q29. What did you do at the funeral?

A: I took some money and gave the bereaved person. Also we carried some flour to be used at the funeral. When there, we went to collect firewood to be used for cooking there. We also collected some water to be used during cooking but also for the bereaved household.

Q30. What crops do you grow?

A: Maize.

Q31. How big was your maize farm plot this past growing season?

A: An acre.

Q32. Any one who helped you in farming this last growing season?

A: None. My husband and I together with our children did all the farm work.

Q33. Did you help other people with farming work this last growing season?

A: Our children are the only ones who went to do ganyu at K.'s farm. They did weeding work and were paid cash for the work.

Q34. Did you go without food on any day since the beginning of the growing season that has just ended?

A: Oh Yes.

Q35. How did you find food during such a time?

A: We depended on our mikeka. We made these mikeka and sold them then used the cash to buy food.

Q36. Did you help another person or household in meeting their food needs since the beginning of the growing season that has just ended?

A: No, we helped no one.

Q37. What livestock and assets do you have?

A: We have three goats, a bicycle, and a radio.

SES: Similar to W.M. --- she is his wife.

Respondent Name: A.P., 29 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: wife in a monogamous marriage **Int. Date:** July 12, 1999.

Q1. How are you?

A: I am okay, what about you?

Q2. I am okay too. Mr P., your husband, is he your first husband?

A: He is my first husband. We have had nine children together, five are still alive and four of them left us.

Q3. How did you meet with your husband?

A: At first, it was kucheza chabe (just chatting), then we started dating. Thereafter, he asked for my hand (marriage) and I agreed. We soon after got married.

Q4. Where does your husband come from, what village?

A: He comes from Mkwewe, a village next to this Nyanga one.

Q5. Any problems since the two of you got married?

A: There are no problems, we have had no problems.

Q6. What is it that if your husband did would lead you to consider leaving him?

A: If he goes around with other women (kuchulukitsa akazi am'mbali), that would a big enough reason to separate from him.

Q7. Who is the head of your household?

A: My husband.

Q8. Why? Why is he the head of household?

A: He is the one who cares for me and the children.

Q9: You have told me that you have children. Could you please tell me what their names are?

A: I have three girls, H., P., and S. I have two boys, Y. and S.

Q10: How old is H.?

A: She is 13 years old.

Q11: Does she go to school?

A: Yes, she is in standard 2.

Q12. What about P.?

A: P. is 3 years old and has not yet started school.

Q13: What about the others?

A: Y. is 6 years old and is in std 1. S. is a year and a half and, of course, has not started school. S. is this one I am holding in my hands. She is a few months old and of course still breastfeeding.

Q14. Apart from your own children do you stay with other people's children or other adults in your household?

A: No, I do not.

Q15. Do you have some of your children staying with other people in this village or elsewhere?

A: None. I stay with all my children right here.

Q16. Who are the people who help you or share their resources with you?

A: I have quite a few. They are Abiti M., Abiti J., and Abiti W. All these are my friends and stay in this same village. Also, I receive help from my brothers T., M., and C. They are all in this village.

Q17. For your children who attend school, what educational expenses did you incur this last school year?

A: I bought some clothes for them and notebooks to supplement what they received at school.

Q18. Why do you send your children to school? What do you hope to achieve?

A: What they learn at school will help me as well.

Q19. In what particular way?

A: If they get educated, they will be able to be respected in society; I will also be respected.

Q20. Did anyone other than a member of your household help you in meeting the costs that you incurred on the education of your kids this last school year?

A: Yes, my brother T. He is the one who bought the notebooks and pencils my children needed this last school year.

Q21. Who are the people that you help to deal with their problems or in meeting their needs?

A: I do not really do a lot of helping. There is a friend of mine who has been ill for a long time. I have always prepared some food for her and her child especially when the child leaves for school.

Q22. Has there been anyone in your household who has been ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden since the beginning of the rains last year?

A: My husband was ill for about two weeks. He suffered from a headache.

Q23. What did you exactly do in taking care of him during his illness?

A: We bought some pills from the groceries.

Q24. Any people who helped you in caring for your sick husband?

A: My younger sister Abiti A. gave me some money to buy the pills. My friend Abiti M. also helped with some money for the pills. My friend Abiti J. helped in collecting some water for me. Many others just came to visit and see how my husband was doing.

Q25. Did you care for anyone who was ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden this since the beginning of the rainy season that has just ended?

A: My sister Abiti A. was quite ill and I had to go and take care of her.

Q26. What did she suffer from?

A: She had heart problems. She experienced a lot of "burning" on the chest.

Q27. What type of care did you provide?

A: I took her to hospital and was there during her time of illness until she felt well.

Q28. Is she not married?

A: She is married. A husband cannot really take care of a woman in hospital. So he was here in the village and used to occasionally visit us to see how his wife was progressing. He used to bring firewood for us to use at the hospital.

Q29. Any other ill people you cared for since beginning of the rainy season that is just ending?

A: I took care of my friend Abiti M.

Q30. What did she suffer from?

A: She had terrible stomach aches and then opened bowels badly.

Q31 She was ill for how long?

A: A full week.

Q32. What did you do in your caring for her?

A: I collected firewood and water for her. She is also the woman I said I used to help care for her child. I would cook some food for the child before she went to school. Also, I gave her K10 to buy some pills.

Q33. Anyone so sick as to be bed-/mat-ridden in your household since last month?

A: None.

Q34. Did you care for any sick people since last month?

A: No, I did not.

Q35. You said four of your children left us (passed away). What are their names?

A: One died before we even named him. He was born and was alive for only a few hours then passed away. The other deceased child we named A., the third we named him K., and the fourth and last one we named him P.

Q36. What did the children die of? What did they suffer from?

A: K. was anemic. He got so thin and died. P. was getting swollen (probably suffered from marasmus) and died. A. – we just found that his whole tongue was full of blood; it was like he was bewitched. He died just like that. We do not know why the one who died before we even had a chance to name him died.

Q37. What kind of help did you receive on their funerals?

A: People brought firewood, flour, and other necessities to take care of me.

Q38. Where did these people come from?

A: From within this Chagunda village and surrounding ones.

Q39. Have you attended any funeral since last month?

A: No I did not.

Q40. What crops do you grow?

A: I have an acre of maize, 2 acres of rice, and an acre of groundnuts.

Q41. Who help you in your farming?

A: None. My husband, my daughter H., and I do all the farm work.

Q42. You do not employ ganyu?

A: No we do not.

Q43. Did anyone in your household go and help someone else with farming work this last season that has just ended?

A: Yes, my husband went to help his mother

Q44. Did he just help her or he was doing ganyu at her farm?

A: He was just helping her. In fact, his mother's farm plot is nearer here than where she stays.

Q45. Anyone else in your household who went to do farm work elsewhere this last season?

A: Yes, H. went to work at Abiti E.'s farm plot.

Q46. Was this ganyu?

A: yes, he went to do ganyu and was paid cash for his labor.

Q47. What particular farm work did he undertake?

A: He was doing banking of the maize.

Q48. Have you ever gone without food for a day since the beginning of the rainy season that is just ending?

A: There was a time we went without food for about two days.

Q49: What did you do to find food?

A: We depended on the mats (mikeka) that we make and sell then use the money to buy food.

Q50: Did you help any other person to meet their food needs?

A: Yes, we helped Abiti J. I gave her some flour and ndiwo to prepare her own food.

Q51: What assets do you have?

A: I have four chickens, a bicycle, and a radio.

SES: The house is brick-walled (burnt bricks) and iron-roofed. It is one of the well to do families in the village, probably falling into the middle class households under village standards.

Respondent Name: P.B. 35 yrs – YAO **Village:** Nyanga **Area:** Ulongwe **District:** Balaka
Status: matrilocal monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 9, 1999.

Q1. How long ago did you get married?

A: 1981.

Q2. Is your present wife the first or not?

A: This is the second one.

Q3. What was the name of your first wife?

A: A.

Q4. Where was her home?

A: She came from Mwalabu village?

Q5. How long were you married?

A: About six months.

Q6. What happened? Why are you not together with your first wife?

A: She was rude.

Q7. In what way? What kind of rudeness led to the divorce?

A: When I returned from farming, she would not welcome me at home. Instead, she would say a lot of things which were quite rude. She never respected me. I just felt that it was necessary for us to separate rather than for me to stay in such a horrible relationship. So I left. I was in a chikamwini arrangement so I had to leave her home. I came over to this village to marry this wife that I have.

Q8. How is the new wife different from your first one?

A: I have a very good relationship with this wife. She takes good care of me.

Q9. Why in the first place did you get married?

A: When you grow up you want to stay at one place [not run around with women]. To do so, you have to get married. That is what happened to me.

Q10. You mean it is not possible for a grown man to stay without getting married?

A: It is not possible because you want to have sex with a woman so where do you go!

Q11. The time you were getting married did you have sexual relations with other women?

A: Oh Yes, I had quite a few girl friends. What do you do when you have girl friends – you have sex, at least if they accept. In fact, this wife that I have we started as boy-girl friends first.

Q12. Any difference between the first and second wife --- sex-wise?

A: Oh Yes. I did not have a fulfilling sexual relationship with the first wife. In fact, I heard that she cannot give birth and so I thought her problems were related to her being unable to give birth. Actually, I found out myself during our sex that she indeed could not give birth. What used to happen is that when I have sex with her, the next day I would feel burning feelings in my loins. That was the main reason I left the first wife. This burning is not there with my second wife.

Q13. What would lead to the end of your marriage to your second wife?

A: If she becomes a runner, and I find her with another man; that would be the end of our marriage.

Q13. Who is the head of your household?

A: I am the head of household.

Q14. Why?

A: I am the one who is responsible (wokhuzidwa ndi zinthu za mnyumba umu) for all that happens in this household.

Q15. Who are the people, friends or relatives, who help you to deal with your problems or in meeting your needs?

Respondent Name: S.M. 38 yrs – CHEWA **Village:** Mphita **Area:** Mkanda **District:** Mchinji
Status: patrilocal monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 15, 1999.

This was the first interview in the village. I did not find the village headman. Instead, his nduna I, in whose house A.K. lived during her field work on family planning in 1998, took me to S.M.'s house. We found S. and the nduna introduced me as a Mr. M. doing research on how people help one another in meeting their needs and during illness, deaths, farming, meeting educational expenses, and when they experience food shortage.

Q1. As the nduna has said, I am interested in understanding how and why people help each other. I tape my interviews but only when you consent to the taping. Can I go ahead to tape our discussion?

A: Of course, there is no problem.

Q2. Is your husband around?

A: Yes but he is busy collecting grass.

Q3. Well, I will interview him after I am through with you. So when did the two of you get married?

A: 1976.

Q4. Are you in a polygamous marriage?

A: No I am the only wife he has.

Q5. Is he the only husband you have had?

A: Oh yes, and I have had no other man in my life.

Q6. How many children do you have?

A: Five. There is one girl and four boys.

Q7. The first is?

A: A boy, actually a young man. There he is.

Q8. Ooh, he is actually a man! Is he married?

A. Oh no, not yet.

Q9. I want to ask some things that may not be suitable for children to hear. Could we ask these children to leave? [Children were told to go away]. Why did you get married?

A: I just thought I should get married. Time came for me to get married so I got married.

Q10. There must have been a reason why you felt like getting married!

A: Real reasons!!! You know we girls used to talk a lot about marriage. My friends all got married, so I felt I needed to also get married otherwise people would have been surprised. You know here in the villages, everyone expects you to get married once you reach a certain age otherwise people start wondering what is wrong with you. So I had to follow the tradition and got married.

Q11. Has your marriage been on a chitengwa (patrilocal) or chikamwini (matrilocal) arrangement?

A: It is on a chitengwa arrangement; chikamwini is not common around here. I am from the Mzumacharo village.

Q12. Why is chitengwa favored around here rather than chikamwini?

A: It is the tradition; that is how marriage takes place.

Q13. You have told me that you have five children; you said the first born is a boy, what is his name?

A: P.

Q14. What are the names of the other children.

A: There is M., also a boy. The other boy is Y., and the last boy is N. The girl, and the only one is L.

Q15. Apart from these children do you stay with other people in your household?

A: No, none.

Q16. How old is your husband?

A: I really do not know how old he is.

Q17. What about you; how old are you?

A: 40 years old.

Q18. What about the children; how old is each of your children?

A: P. was born in 1979 so he is 20 years old. M. is 18 years old. Y. was born in 1988 so he is 11 years old. N. was born in 1991, that gives him 8 years. L. was born in 1985, she is now around 14 years of age.

Q19. Any children dead?

A: yes, a girl who died at three days old. This happened in 1975. Actually, she was the first child we had.

Q20. You said you were in what year?

A: 1976. The first child was born before we formally got married.

Q21. But then P. came in 1979, three years after you got married. What happened?

A: After getting married, we saw that days were going by without me getting pregnant.

Q22. Did you do anything to be able to get pregnant.

A: Eeh; you see when the very first child was born and passed away, we did not follow (tinadzatsokoneza) the demands of tradition. We did not ask our elderly people what we were supposed to do. As a result, I was unable to get pregnant again until we sorted out the confusion.

Q23. What exactly did you do wrong (tsokoneza)?

A: They say we did not take care of the hair very well (masisi sitinalongosole).

Q24. What do you mean by “masisi sitinalongosole”?

A: That is the tradition I am talking about. We did not follow the funeral rites (mmeto wa tsitsi) as we should have hence I was unable to be pregnant for three years. For me to get pregnant, My husband and I had to get some traditional medicine.

Q25. How far did you go with school?

A: Standard 5.

Q26. What about your husband; how far did he go with school?

A: He also went as far as Standard 5.

Q27. What about the children?

A: P. went as far as Std 4.

Q28. Is he continuing with school?

A: No, he stopped going to school.

Q29. What about the others?

A: M. is in std 5. He is at school and we hope he will go far with school. Y. is in std 3 and N. is in std 2. L. is in std 4.

Q30. Why do you send your children to school?

Respondent Name: J.Z., 62 yrs – CHEWA **Village:** Mphita **Area:** Mkanda **District:** Mchinji
Status: patrilocal monogamous marriage **Interview Date:** July 20, 1999.

Preamble: The village headman took me to this household. It was 8:24 a.m. We found Mr. Z. about to go to his “dimba” garden about a mile from the village where he grows sugar cane, beans, and some vegetables (rape, lettuce, and tomato). The village headman introduced me as a Mr. M. undertaking research to understand how families in his village help each other when meeting their needs and in times of illness, death, food shortage, during farming, and in meeting educational expenses. Mr. Z. reacted rather unpleasantly making reference to the “Family Planning” interviews undertaken the previous year, saying we are the type of people who waste people’s time and turned to me to ask how long the interview would take. I responded that I expected the interview to last 45 minutes, that it would take less or more depending on his responses. He consented to the interview, which took 72 minutes. At the end of the interview, he apologized for his unkindly reception.

Q1. Accept my apologies for taking your time. I will be as quick as possible since you need to go to your dimba. As the village headman said, we are trying to understand how people help each other. I would like to tape the interview. Is it okay for me to tape our discussion on how you people help each other?

A: I have no problems with that.

Q2. Thank you for consenting that I tape our discussion. Some people say people do not help each other these days as they used to. Some say people help each other these days the same way they used to help one another in times past. Others say there is more of helping each other these days than was the case in times past. What are your views?

A: People still help each other but the way they help each other these days is different from past times. For example, in times past, an orphan was taken care of by people collectively in that people used to eat their food communally. This meant that an orphan would just be one of the children eating food with others. These days, we eat our food in our households just with our own children. To take care of an orphan these days, the orphan must be attached to a particular household.

Q3. So would you say that people help each other these days more than they used to, less than they used to, or just about the same?

A: Our elders (makolo athu) tell us that people do not help each other these days as they used to.

Q4. Why would you think this is the case; what do the elders parents say?

A: I really do not know. You would better ask these elders to get an explanation about this. I think though that it may be because people these days would rather just take care of themselves and their children only. Maybe they are more comfortable doing that than helping everybody.

Q5. Let us talk more specifically about you and members of your household are involved in helping others and others helping you. First, I would like to know who is the head of your household?

A: Aah! Whatever may be the case elsewhere, here the head of the household is the man; I am therefore the head of the household.

Q6. Why?

A: Head of state of the household! That is how God made it. Eve was made from A. not A. from Eve. Ooh yes.

Q7. What really do you mean by head of state of the household?

A: I mean I am the leader, the one who sets rules and regulations in the household. A woman cannot be able to deal with everything that need to be done in a household. There is need that she is led by the man. The woman is indeed under the authority of the man.

Q8. Uh! the woman under the authority of the man. Meaning?

A: If there is some disagreement over something between me and my wife, it is possible that she may have talked rather too quickly (kulankhula mofulumira meaning she did not think through what she was saying carefully) or it may be that I talked rather too quickly, the man must “*cool down*” [his words] first. In this way, the wife will also cool down then we can discuss the issue more rationally. The man must take the initiative to cool down first as it is more difficult for the woman to cool down first. If the disagreement continues, then the man’s decision must be final.

Q9. How many wives do you have?

A: I have only one wife, the one pounding maize there with my daughter.

Q10. What is your wife's name?

A: S.

Q11. How old is she?

A: Ah! I really do not know. I would be lying if I were to suggest how old she is. You know we just marry; I think it is her parents who know how old she is.

Q12. Since I will chat with your wife after you, I will ask her how old she is!

A: Good! She will be able to explain herself.

Q13. How old are you?

A: I in this year, this year will be the 62 year.

Q14. How far did you go with your education?

A: I reached Form Two, the old one.

Q15. Have you ever been employed in a wage or salary job?

A: Yes, in the police then army.

Q16. For how long were you with the police?

A: Just a short time.

Q17. And the army

A: Ooh! For 16 years, it indeed was a long time.

Q18. Retired?

A: Yes, retired 90..., 80..., yes 87.

Q19. So you were in the army from 1971?

A: Yees.

Q20. I was still in school then. You have children?

A: Ooh yes, there are seven. One died this January, ooh no, in February. He was suffering from *meningitis* [his words].

Q21. Of the seven, how many are male and how many are female?

A: Four are male.

Q22. Their names?

A: P. is the first born; he is at Polytechnic in Blantyre. Then there is T., he is right here. L. is at school; he is in standard eight. Then there is A; she is married and has left school.

Q23. When did A. get married?

A: Got married last year. After A. came A.

Q24. A girl?

A: Yes a girl; then S. followed and the last born is I., a boy.

Q25. What is the name of the one who left us (died) in February?

A: K., a girl.

Q26. What are the ages of your children?

A: P. was born in 1975 on August 19. T. is 18 years old.

Q27. Is T. at school too?

A: No, he is not at school. Just left school, was not interested in continuing with education. The highest class he attended was standard 6. We just trained him how to use the hoe and axe (taught him farming).

Q28. And L?

A: L. is 15 years old. You know these children follow each other closely.

Q29. Where does L. go to school?

A: He is at the boarding school at Kaigwazanga.

Q30. A?

A: A. was born in 1978 and left school in standard 6.

Q31. How about A.?

A: A. was born here in 1984. She is in standard 6. She is the girl pounding maize with her mother there (pointing towards the girl). Today she decided not to go to school in order to help her mother.

Q32. S?

A: Born here in 1986. She is at school and in standard 4.

Q33. And I.?

A: Was born in 1991. He is at school in standard 2. He started school last year and now is in standard 2.

Q34. Apart from your sons and daughters, are there other people staying with you in your household?

A: Eeh, I would say that all these children are under the care of my household. None of the boys is married as yet. Only one girl is married. All the others are here with me.

Q35. Apart from your children, any others staying with you in your household?

A: No, no. As I said these days, families stay with their children mainly. I do not have any other dependents staying with us in the household.

Q36. Do you have any of your sons staying with someone else, a relative or friend?

A: Yaah, P., who goes to school at the Polytechnic in Blantyre. During some of his vacations, he goes to stay with his uncle [maternal uncle] in Thyolo. Some vacations he comes here.

Q37. What does his uncle do in Thyolo?

A: Mmm, he is one of the managers (wamkulu) at Thyolo Tea Estate. I raised him [P.'s uncle].

Q38. What is his [uncle's] name?

A: C.M.

Q39. You stayed with C.M. when you were in the army?

A: Eeh. He came to stay with us when I was working for the army. That way he could go to school while staying with us. At the army barracks, we had better schools than here in the rural area where he (C.) used to live. So we felt we could stay with him to give him an opportunity to pursue education.

Q40. Why exactly does P. spend some of his vacations with his uncle?

A: Hah! It is because he is his uncle. He just decides to go and see his uncle; we cannot stop him from going there since M. is his uncle. He likes visiting with his uncle and we have no problem with that.

Q41. Does his uncle help P. in any way?

A: Of course. I usually pay his tuition at the Polytechnic but sometimes when I cannot make it, his uncle supplements. His uncle, on the other hand, helps him mostly with soap and other incidental expenses.

Q42. During the last school year, how exactly did his uncle help P.?

A: I paid his tuition. In fact, in all the school years, I pay his tuition and his uncle gives him some pocket money to buy soap, colgate, writing materials, notebooks, books, and such other items.

Q43. What does P. study at the Polytechnic?

A: Whatever courses he takes there; I think he is doing a course in accounts.

Q44. Wow! I am sure he will help you in analyzing your income and expenses. Any of your daughters staying with somebody else?

A: There is one girl who has just gone to her elder sister this last month.

Q45. Who?

A: S.

Q46. Whom did she go to stay with?

A: A.

Q47. To A. her sister; why did she go to stay with A.?

A: She went there after A.'s husband requested that S. goes to help them. Sometimes they go to church and there is no one left at home. They wanted S. to be keeping watch of the house when they go somewhere else. It is actually not very far, it is at Kalumbwe Estate which is very near to here. As she is there, she goes to school at Kazyozyo.

Q48. Apart from these two, P. and S., are there others of your children who stay with someone else?

A: None. All the others stay with me and my wife here.

Q49. Who are the people who help you to deal with your problems or meet your needs?

A: Apart from food needs, we can not say we go to someone else for help, but we have mwambo (customs and traditions) concerning funerals in this village that the village headman enforces: when we experience deaths, we have *admission* [his words] that we have access to.

Q50. What do you mean by admission?

A: Admission, yes, is helping each other. What we do is collect some money from different people in the village. So when death occurs, we take the money to buy what is needed for funeral proceedings. These things that we buy include *ndiwo* and other such things needed during funeral services. So we use the money as the first help we offer to a bereaved household. Even with illness, we also help each other especially in taking the sick to hospital. In fact, when your relative is ill and you are not there, others may help you to pick the ill one and take him or her to hospital. When you come back you may find your ill son or daughter already at hospital. This sharing of help is most common among relatives.

Q51. This admission money you are talking about, how frequently do you contribute money to it?

A: We collect money from people only when we have a problem to deal with. When we have a funeral in the village, that is when we collect admission money to help with the funeral arrangement; some people offer planks for us to use in making a coffin. We also use some of the money to buy nails for making the coffin. If we collect more money or planks than are needed for a particular event, we store the remaining for use when we have other similar problems. That's the way we help each other here in the village.

Q52. With specific reference to your household, who are the people that help you in dealing with your problems or meeting your needs?

A: You mean among my relatives?

Q53. Your relatives and even friends.

A: Here in this village we are all related to each other. So the help is shared among us relatives.

Q54. Is it that this whole village comprises one clan?

A: Yes, that is how it is. We are all from the same mother's breast (tiri anthu a bele la munthu mmodzi). Thus when we have problems like illness or death, we tend to help each other as children of the same mother. We also help in undertaking some farm work of the particular afflicted person or household.

Q55. What about your household? What if you want to do something and you need assistance, who do you go to for help?

A: With regard to fertilizer, nowadays there is no one who would go to somebody's house to ask for money to buy fertilizer. I would not lie to you. It is not possible these days because the price of fertilizer is very high. Fertilizer costs over K1,000 a bag these days. To find somebody to give you that money is impossible. But if you are short of K200, somebody, usually a relative, may loan you that much as it is not too much. If one has the problem of fertilizer shortage, one needs his own capital to buy the fertilizer. What is needed is for the person to plan ahead of time and keep enough money for fertilizer. For example, if you sell your crops, it is important to set aside money for fertilizer right away. It used to be the case that we depended on government loans to buy fertilizer and so we would spend money we get from tobacco sales on other things knowing that government will grant us loans to buy fertilizer when time came. This is no longer the case; government does not provide such loans these days.

Q56. Quite a few people are surely having problems to get fertilizer. Getting back to people you go to for help, are there people to whom you go when you need something or you face a problem?

A: Of course there are some. Yes we are relatives in this whole village but one does not go along with every one. There are indeed some who I go to if I need some help to deal with a problem or to meet a need.

Q57. Who are these people? What are their names?

A: It is difficult to specify because there are many of them.

Q58. Aah, I am interested in them. Could you please name each one of them? It does not matter how many they are; I am interested.

A: I usually go to that one who you see there Mr. B., my brother. I also go to my nephew E., he is my sister's son.

Q59. Any others?

A: There is also L.M.. The three of them are the main people I go to when in trouble.

Q60. But you said they are many?

A: The others are not a main source of help.

Q61. In which village do these three people reside?

A: They all live in this same village.

Q62. This village is big and there are many people in it. Why is it that these three are the people you think of seeing when you have a problem to deal with or you have a need to meet?

A: Eeh. The main thing that leads to such connections is kugwirizana mumakhalidwe (cooperating with each other in life). We cooperate on many things. For example, when I have a project, they come to help me. Thus when we find ourselves in some kind of problem we tend to go to these people that we cooperate with and get some assistance. The more you are assisted the more you are willing to help them when they approach you and also the more you go to them for help when in need.

Q63. The three people you have mentioned are people who help you. What about those that you yourself help?

A: There, I cannot really tell because helping others does not have any boundaries, and I cannot really sort of list that I have helped this one with this and that one with that!

Q64. I understand that. It is not really within our customs and tradition to sort of list people who you helped. Just for the sake of trying to document what you have done, who would you say are the people who have helped most?

A: Here in the villages, if you list the people you helped and what you did for them, they say "wandikumba" (keeping stock of your help which does not seem to go well with the traditions). When you help someone, you keep it to yourself. Anyway, the same people who help me I also help. In our Chichewa, we say kachipande ka therere kamakoma nkuyendrana (exchange of gifts is mutual). So sometimes they come to me to borrow my spade and I give them knowing that they will come to my help at some other time.

Q65. Kachipande ka therere kamakoma nkuyenderana translates as kachande ka derere kakwenderana in Tumbuka, my mother's tongue up north. You have quite a number of children going to school. Apart from the tuition you pay for P., what other educational expenses do you incur for the other children?

A: Buying uniform, notebooks to supplement what the government gives the children, and some other incidental costs.

Q66. Apart from P.'s uncle M., are there others who help you in meeting the educational costs of your children?

A: Not really. I have been thinking of the question you asked me about people I share help with. There is one who is not my relative and does not live in this village and he is like a brother to me. I have helped

him in many situations. He has also helped me in many situations. He is Mr. C. In fact, he has helped me with school fees in times when I did not have enough school fees for P..

Q67. He just gave you the tuition for P.?

A: He just gave me the money when I complained that I did not have enough money for P.'s tuition. I went to pay back the money and he said to me, "P. is also my son and I would not want you to repay the money."

Q68. How did your friendship with Mr C. start?

A: Mmakhalidwe athu omasuka (friendly attitude) like what you have. Mr .C. is also a friendly person. It starts with such friendly attitude when you meet somebody. Then when you meet again, you remember that you met with that person before. The friendly attitude bonds you. When you do for me things I did not expect you to do, the friendship (chibale) develops. That is how it started with Mr. C. and me. Mr C. comes from Dedza. When Mr C.'s father came from Dedza, he was received here by my elder uncle who gave him some land to cultivate. When I retired from the army, I found the Ching'ombes here. I and the young C. came to like each other because of his positive attitude as I said; he is a very nice man. Our wives have come to like one another as well. I willingly help him just as he willingly helps me. For example, during the time we lost our daughter this last February that I talked about, he gave us a bag of maize, tomatoes, plates, and other things to be used during the funeral.

Q69. And your friendship with Mr. C. is going strong?

A: Oh yes; we visit each other often; we advise each other, and our wives are also very friendly towards one another. Our children are also friends

Q70. Have you helped others with school expenses in other households this last school year?

A: Eeh, many of them like my nephew E., and not just last school year but even before this last year.

Q71. Apart from E., who are the others you have helped to meet educational expenses?

A: None others; this is the only one I recently helped with school. I actually met all his education costs.

Q72. Does he still go to school?

A: Oh No. He left school and is actually married.

Q73. Why were you paying for his education rather than his parents?

A: In Chichewa custom, I am responsible for him rather than his father. He is the one who is supposed kutenga ufumu wanga (take over my chieftainship).

Q74. You are Chewas around here; I thought you are Ngonis?

A: We are Chewas. That is why if a child's father fails to take care of the child, I as an uncle (the child's mother's brother) must take over the care of the children.

Q75. That is an interesting custom!

A: That is the reason he, E., also helps me a lot. My children are his mbumba. By helping us, he is helping his own mbumba.

Q76. From the start of the rain season last year, 1998, to now, has there been any member of your household who has been ill to the extent of being bed-/mat-ridden?

A: Oh Yes, I was sick myself. My wife was also sick. Maybe we could say it is "matiti" gha khasu [because of the hard work we do in the farm]. You know, we really work hard during the rainy season. I wake up at 4:00 a.m. to go to the farm. Now that it is the dry season, people like you today are lucky. They find me still at home having not left for the farm.

Q77. You were ill for how long?

A: I was ill for some three days. I bought some pills from the groceries, and got well.

Q78. Did you use any traditional medicine?

A: No.

Q79. Who helped you during your illness?

A: Being ill for three days does not require someone to sit and take care of you. My wife did her usual job of boiling water for me to take a bath and making sure that I sleep well. Wives are like doctors; they know how to take care of you. I do not want to be disrespectful to my wife otherwise she would not take good care of me when I am ill or when I need other things.

Q80. The medicine you bought, was there someone who helped you to buy the medicine?

A: I bought the medicine by myself. I just sent my son T. to buy the medicine for me.

Q81. What did your wife suffer from?

A: Malaria

Q82. For how long?

A: She suffered from malaria along with a bad cough. She was ill for about a week. It is this time that she feels much better than she has been for most of the year.

Q83. How was she cared for?

A: I did not take her to hospital. I bought her some pills from groceries. After taking the pills, she felt okay.

Q84. Why did you not take her to hospital?

A: These days when one goes to hospital all they give you is aspirin. I can get stronger medicine from groceries rather than going to hospital.

Q85. May be you went to some of the people who provide injections in the villages?

A: There are such people. I avoid these injections very much. Some of these people who inject others are using medicine that has *expired* [his word], and such medicine makes the person even more ill. That is why I do not like to use such people myself. I prefer going to hospital and if there is no medicine at the hospital, I go to buy my own medicine at groceries. Also, at the groceries one can find drugs that have expired. We make sure that we buy drugs that are in sealed containers like panado or parapain.

Q86. Did you help someone else who was ill in another household since the beginning of the rains in 1998?

A: Yes I did. Unfortunately, the person left us [died]. I helped the brother of my wife. He was not living with us here but was living at the home of my wife.

Q87. Where is that?

A: At J. village (a village within the Mkanda area). The man was a soldier in the Malawi army. He got ill while there at the army. They took him to Likuni hospital in Lilongwe. From there, he went to Kamuzu Barracks hospital. There was little help at both hospitals. His wife wrote us to go and pick him up. My wife went to pick him up and we tried to help him here to get well. We tried some traditional medicine. They also tried but failed. He died this last April.

Q88. What did he suffer from?

A: These problems of today are many. He was coughing, had chronic diarrhea, and was generally weak [symptoms corroborate AIDS].

Q89. Apart from this in-law, did you help anyone else?

A: Not really. We helped others right here at this village as we stay together.

Q90. I am interested in finding out even about these others who you helped. Who are these others in the village that you helped?

A: I helped my uncle, the nephew of the village headman, the one who came with you here. He was seriously ill for some time. His illness started suddenly but took some time. I took him to Mchinji hospital and later on to Namitete Hospital.

Q91. Why did you have to take him to Namitete Hospital after having taken him to Mchinji Hospital?

A: Namitete is a mission hospital and it has better services than the Mchinji Government Hospital. In fact, when we went to Mchinji hospital, they just gave him some panado not real medicine. I thought we could get better treatment and drugs at Namitete hospital.

Q92. How did you take him to these hospitals?

A: I have an in-law who married my sister who had a car. We used the car both to Mchinji and Namitete. This in-law of mine who had a car is also dead and I had to help him. We tried some traditional medicine on him after hospitals failed but failed. He died quite young too.

Q93. What did this particular in-law suffer from?

A: His lungs (kapamba) were swollen. So we took him to the Roman Catholic hospital at Kapiri. They tried to help him but failed and so we brought him back home and tried traditional medicine and failed too. He was from Lilongwe but grew up here and got married here to my sister. His relatives therefore felt no need for us to take the dead body to Lilongwe and we had to bury him here. In fact, his relatives gave us permission to do whatever we found fit in trying to help him get well and in burying him. My nephew E. helped me in taking care of the in-law. The in-law actually had a farm in Bua.

Q94. In whose hands is the farm now?

A: It is the hands of his wife, my sister. Because of our helping their son, his parents allowed that his wife takes care of the farm. They reasoned that she had children with the man. She took good care of the man and children. They felt that she was responsible enough to take care of the farm and therefore left the farm in her hands.

Q95. You said that you also helped in the death of the village headman's nephew. When did he die?

A: He died in 1990; yes in 1990.

Q96. What about your in-law, the one who was a soldier in the army, when did he die?

A: He died in 1993; oh no in 1995.

Q97. Anybody ill in your household since last month?

A: No; none.

Q98. Did you help any other ill person other than those in your household since the beginning of the rain season last year?

A: No I did not.

Q99. You told me that one of your children, K., left us (died) in February. How were you helped?

A: The death rites (mwambo wa maliro) can be either religious or traditional. Each follows different rites. In our case, the religious method was followed. The mpingo (church) did all the work that needed to be done.

Q100. Which church was this?

A: Church of Central Africa Presbyterian.

Q101. What exactly did the church do?

A: Church elders were in-charge of all burial activities. They conducted prayers and singing. Of course different people provided moneys as part of admission, others brought flour for nsima, we had to provide some ndiwo but the church was responsible for making sure that burial is done in a Christian way.

Q102. How old was K. at her death?

A: She followed A. so she really was a big girl.

Q103. She was a grown girl!

A: We lost a namwali (girl who had reached puberty stage). She used to suffer from epilepsy and she had very little blood in her body. In fact, the other time her brother P. donated some blood. At her time of death, we also felt that she had very little blood in her. While away looking for an ox-cart to take her to the bus stage so that we could go to hospital, P. followed me there to tell me that K. is dead.

Q104. Sorry (pepani) for your loss. Did you attend any funeral since last month?

A: Funerals were plenty and I went to many of them. My wife's uncle died in Zambia, I went there. He used to be called P.. We named our son P. after him. He was the last born in my wife's family. You know the way we name our children, we alternate. Sometimes we take the name from the male side, then we go to the female's side to name the next child.

Q105. So you went to Zambia for your in-law P.'s death?

A: Yaah. I went to transport the dead body over to here. We buried him in Malawi. His home is here. He went to Zambia to follow up his wife. He was either involved in a car accident or killed by thugs.

Q107. When did this happen?

A: Just this last month. He died on May 29 but was found on June 14 when he was taken to the mortuary at Chipata hospital in Zambia. He was in the mortuary for 15 days. On the 16th day, the Zambian police picked up the dead body and brought it here. I assisted in the transfer of the body over to here, not at this village but in the village where my wife comes from.

Q108. Apart from going to pick the dead body from Zambia, how else did you help with funeral arrangements for your in-law P.?

A: Well, I mainly spent some money on funeral arrangements. You know, when death occurs, whether at my wife's home or here in my village, I and my wife "sit down" (meaning discuss) to decide what we need to do about a death, whether a relative's or a friend we think we should help. In most cases, we end spending some money and contributing some food for use during funeral arrangements. We do this mainly for close relatives though. That is what we did at the death of this in-law of mine. During the funeral itself, we gave some admission money. I gave K20 when the plate for collections went round.

Q109. What other funerals have you gone to since last month?

A: There was death of a relative at Mulenga village, I went there. Also, at Poko village I had to go there. Just this last week, there was death in this village; I had to attend. There was also death in the nearby Zefelino village, just across the stream; I also went there to attend the funeral. There are so many deaths these days that we do not rest.

Q110. At the Mulenga, Poko, and Zefelino funerals, what did you do there?

A: Attending a funeral is one thing that you do so that when you have death you do not bury your dead alone. It is like buying each other's days (kugulana masiku) so that when you experience death, other villagers will come to help you bury your dead. Thus apart from contributing some little money as the collection plate went around, I did nothing else at these funerals. My presence however was important so that people from these villages may also come to be with me if death strikes my household.

Q111. Apart from the funerals you have mentioned, did you go to other funerals since last month?

A: Oh Yees; I also went to Kaulimbo village.

Q112. The one who died there, was he or she a relative?

A: It was a man and he was not a relative. You see, we still go to funerals of people not related to us. By going to help them, we are actually creating relatives among those people for ourselves.

Q113. How do you decide which village to go to and which village not to go to?

A: Funeral rites (mwambo wa maliro) here in our villages is like this: once death occurs in a particular village such as Chawala, the village headman there sends messages to all villages nearby. In every village that receives the message, the village headmen have boys who are messengers. The village headmen send these boys to announce the death. This is usually done in the evening since by then every one is back from wherever they went. With this announcement, we change our plans for the next day to make sure that the next day we go to attend the funeral in the particular village where death has occurred. It does not matter whether the deceased is a relative or not, the village headmen still announce.

Q114. This is really helpful. I have understood "mwambo wa maliro" as practiced here in your village and surrounding ones. So when did you get married?

A: I got married in 1969. This is the only woman I have had. I used to travel a lot. After finishing school, I went to Zambia. I was employed there as a policeman. First, I went for training as a policeman. After that, I came over to Malawi to get married in 1969.

Q115. You came back for the purpose of marrying?

A: Yes, yes, and from J. village. I did not elope but had a church wedding on 11 November 1969.

Q116. Why did you get married?

A: Eeh marriage is made by God in that when a person has reached the stage, he must get married. I reached that stage and had to get married. I went to find my wife at J. village. I saw that I could not stay without a woman (kupilira). If I tried, I would have fallen into a hole (kugwa mu mbuna).

Q117. What do you mean by "kugwa mu mbuna"?

A: It means that instead of following the right paths, I would find myself in trouble.

Q118. I really do not understand!

A: This is the mbuna: I had reached puberty stage. If I decided to continue with school, I would end up going to hunt for girls at night at other people's homes (kutseguliza atsikana kwa weni). It is possible that parents of the girl or her relatives would hide in the khonde of the houses and could cut my leg. Kugwa mu mbuna would mean that they have maimed me because of my stupid behavior. To avoid that, I chose to get married when I reached the puberty stage. In this way, I avoided going to hunt for girls otherwise the relatives of the girls would maim me or even shoot me. That is why when I found that I was ready to get married, I asked my father that I need to find a wife so that I "sit down" (not run around for girls). Thus after identifying the girl I wanted to marry, my father paid *chimalo* (some payment made to the parents of the girl to thank them for raising the girl into a woman) while I was still in Zambia. After the *chimalo* was paid, I came and got married and took my wife with me to Zambia.

Q119. I do not understand. You said you retired from the Malawi Army. On the other hand, you said you were in Zambia. What exactly happened?

A: After working in the Zambia Police, I came back home and joined the army in 1971. I was in the intelligence unit in the army, and was promoted to the rank of Sergeant. I was in the Malawi Army from 1971 to the time I retired.

Q120. I would like to understand more about your views on marriage. What would be the one thing which if your wife were to do would certainly lead to the end of your marriage?

A: I would say that on matters concerning the end of marriages, women are more forgiving while we men are not as forgiving. It is like this: I may be running around with women; the wife may hear that your husband is running with so and so. The wife would forgive me. Even in situations where the woman would actually catch me red-handed with another woman, she would still forgive me. However,

if it is the woman who is involved in such behavior, the husband may not think twice about it. The marriage would end immediately. This may be the case even when you have many children with your wife. Also, if the wife does not obey the husband, the marriage may end in some cases. For example, if the husband says to the wife "warm some water for my bath" and she constantly does not do that, the marriage may end. In my marriage, we have a warm relationship. What I am saying here are things that go on in other households not mine.

Q121. Would sexual problems (kuvuta kwa ukwati ku chipinda) in your marriage be a problem serious enough to lead to the end of your marriage?

A: Ooh Yes; many of us would end our marriage because of that. Why would you be in a marriage if there is no sexual satisfaction? There are generally two things in many situations: a good thing or a bad one. People chose the good, okay! And if you find that what you thought is good is not really good, you would wish to change. This is important especially when we consider birth. However, if one in the household is not able to give birth, people look for medicine to help such people. In fact, most of the problems experienced in a marriage are settled through the "ankhoswe" - elderly relatives (uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, grandfathers and grandmothers) who help settle marital disputes or to deal with other problems in households.

Q122. Wooh! This is very helpful. What crops do you grow?

A: Maize, burley tobacco, cassava, groundnuts, and some other dimba crops.

Q123. How many acres did you grow of each of these crops last season?

A: I had three acres of maize, half an acre of tobacco.

Q124. Only half an acre of tobacco! Why such a small acreage of tobacco?

A: We decided to grow a small acreage of burley because tobacco brings problems (amabweretsa zina ndi zina) on a household. We grow maize because it helps us tremendously in our needs in my household particularly with food needs. We grew three acres of maize and applied fertilizer to one acre. We were short of fertilizer so we ended up applying very little fertilizer to the remaining two acres of maize. Tobacco uuh! There is too much work in it and you do not get as much out of it.

Q125. So what is your main cash crop?

A: Not tobacco but cassava.

Q126. Cassava?

A: Oh yes, cassava. I have four acres of cassava. There is plenty money in cassava. Not only that, cassava helps me to eat well here in my household (chimandithandiza kudya motakata). I use cassava when taking my tea instead of buying the expensive bread. I get more money from cassava than tobacco. You see one acre of cassava goes for K200 per ridge 70 yards long. And one acre is 70 by 70 which means 70 ridges each K200. That gives me K14,000. You cannot make that much money for such little

cultivation work with tobacco. If I get K14,000 per acre; what about 4 acres, yes go ahead and add yourself. That is what I mean when I say there is money in cassava.

Q127. Four acres at K14,000 per acre gives you K56,000!

A: Eyah. And many times I get more than that. What is even better is that I do not have to do the harvesting work. Those who want to buy my cassava I just show them the ridge they can get their cassava from. I tell them to leave the stems there; it is seed. I also tell them to make sure that they leave the ridges well banked. This means I do not have to do a lot of work to plant the other cassava and to weed it. I therefore make money with very little labor invested into cassava. That is not the case with tobacco.

Q128. Wooh!

A: You see, I pay school fees for P. at Polytechnic in Blantyre from my cassava sales. This last year P. had his own one acre. He was able to make more than K14,000 which was enough to pay his tuition at Polytechnic and still have enough for his other needs.

Q129. What about the other crops, how many acres did you grow of each?

A: I grew some soybeans one time and stopped. It is a useless crop. No one wanted to buy my soya. I changed to groundnuts. Last season I grew an acre of groundnuts.

Q130. Why only one acre of groundnuts?

A: I would love to grow more groundnuts but last year I had inadequate seed; it was enough to grow only an acre of groundnuts. Also, we grow groundnuts not as a cash crop but to eat here at home. We use the groundnut powder for mixing with vegetables. We also use groundnut powder in our porridge. We only sell what we see as surplus. Right now we have a lot of groundnuts.

Q131. What about dimba crops; what did you grow?

A: There is indeed a dimba garden. I grow sugar cane there. Children sell those sugar cane and make money for themselves mainly. I work in the dimba together with the children. The one in-charge is T. my son. He has gone to order some paraffin which he sells to people in the village.

Q132. How many acres do you have of sugar cane?

A: It seems I have about an acre and a half. I also grow rape (mpiru) and Chinese cabbage in the dimba garden; I also have some sweet potatoes there. I have some white beans as well as tomato. You know what, a soldier never rests. Since my retirement, I do not want to be idle.

Q133. You cultivate a lot of land!

A: Eeh; see! you just found me on my way to go to the dimba: a soldier never rests - that is what I was taught in the army. After the dimba, I plan to go and cut (kusenga) grass getting ready for the rainy season.

Q134. How do you accomplish all this work? Who helps your work?

A: I undertake all this work with my son T., my wife, and the other child who is now at school. We are able to do a lot of farm work because of the cassava. During the rainy season, many come to do ganyu to be paid cassava. We get a lot of ganyu people who want our cassava. In fact, sometimes we get enough people who finish a whole acre in a day. Most of these people want cassava to sell it to other people particularly in town. Others get the cassava to eat at home. At one point in time, we had 30 people coming to do ganyu to be paid cassava at the end of their work.

Q135. How do you divide them in their work?

A: Each is given a number of ridges to do for a certain amount of cassava. If somebody wants a whole ridge 70 yards of cassava, he or she would have to do a whole acre of ridging work. In most cases, they agree to do a whole acre as a group in payment for a 70 yards ridge of cassava.

Q136. Apart from the cassava ganyu, do you use cash or other means to get more labor for your farm work?

A: Not really. It is actually a waste of money to pay money for ganyu people.

Q137. Did you help any household with their farm work this last season?

A: Aah! May be I should say my mother who is old. With her, I sometimes allow myself not to go to my farm for a day and just go and work in her farm plot. Last season, there was a day my wife, children, and myself just went to work in my mother's farm plot. It was during the weeding time. You see, you cannot go and help people who are themselves strong enough to carry out their work by themselves.

Q138. Has there been any time since the beginning of the rainy season last year when you went to bed without food because there was no food?

A: Ooh Yes. We lacked maize. However, we really did go to bed without food. We went and bought rice at the shops. You know what, people here in the village would say that you have gone to bed without food when they do not eat nsima that day. We ate rice, which qualifies us for having gone to bed without food, but I think we did not really go to bed without food. In fact, when we run short of maize flour, we eat nsima made from cassava flour. Cassava is thus both a nsima crop as well as a cash crop.

Q139. You eat nsima made from cassava flour here?

A: Yes we do but not very much. What we do is mix cassava flour with maize flour.

Q140. Since the beginning of the rainy season last year, have you helped other people or households who ran short of food to meet their food needs?

A: No we did not help any one or household with food.

Q141. What livestock do you have?

A: Pigs.

Q142. How many?

A: I had two pigs. The other one was killed, I just threw it away and dogs ate it. I think someone fed some cement mixed with madeya (maize bran). The pig started blotting and died within a week. I just threw it away since I did not know what the pig died from so it may not have been suitable for consumption.

Q143. Any other livestock?

A: I had cattle; they all died of some disease that I do not know. I am hoping to get two cattle this year.

Q144. Any chickens?

A: Yes, I have nine chickens.

Q145. Of course you have a bicycle, that one standing there. Do you have more than one bicycle?

A: I actually have two bicycles. The old one is the one that you see there. I use that one. I have a new one, which my son T. uses. He has taken it to Mkanda where he buys paraffin and sells it here.

Q146. Any beds, mattresses, and dining tables?

A: Eeeh, I have two beds. The other one we have given to our son T. We also have a dining table and four chairs.

Q147. This is the end of our discussion. Thank you very much for your time. I know I have taken a lot of your time; accept my apologies. Maybe you have questions you want to ask me?

A: This is much better than I expected. We were talking about things that matter to us. Forgive me (pepani) for my outburst at the beginning. Feel free to come again. How exactly are you going to use the information you have gathered?

My response: That is an interesting question. I am interested in knowing how and why people help each other. Do you think knowing how people help each other and whether the way people help each other is changing for the good or bad would be worthwhile and useful information?

A: Of course yes, but how do you use that information?

My response: I am not really sure. Such information may be used to improve how people relate to and help each other. You see, I am interested in collecting such information and documenting it carefully; the information would be available to any one who would want to use it for whatever purposes. I think there are people who would make use of such information to improve how people relate to and help each other.

A: Eeh!

My response: Again, thank you for your time.

Economic Status of Household: The dwelling unit is a one-bedroom unit, grass-thatched, with a separate kitchen unit. Despite such a poor structure, this household would qualify as a middle income one. They do not have problems with food and income. They can even afford to pay tuition for a son going to university (The Polytechnic in Blantyre).