Balancing men, morals and money: Women’s agency between HIV and security in a Malawi village
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P 2: Fieldnotes Gertrude Finyiza

This document contains field notes of the anthropological study that led to Janneke Verheijen’s PhD dissertation Balancing men, morals and money: Women’s agency between HIV and security in a Malawi village (2013). In this dissertation many references are made to the field notes through codes. These codes refer to the specific document (P2, P3 or P8) and the specific paragraph within these documents. P2 contains the field notes of research assistant Gertrude Finyiza. P3 and P8 contain the field notes of Janneke Verheijen.

As described in the dissertation, the field notes were initially handwritten by Verheijen and Finyiza, and later typed out by a Malawian woman specially hired for this job. The typed out notes were then entered into a computer programme for qualitative data analysis (Atlas.ti). The paragraphs of the field notes were numbered by this software (explaining the sometimes strange numbering).

All documents contain the raw material – no editing of the field notes has been done accept for a replacement of all names (of both persons and places) by pseudonyms, abbreviations, or XXX. Most person pseudonyms consist merely of first names, even though in reality women are generally addressed as “(grand)mother of” followed by one of their (grand)children’s names, or by the name of their father or then-husband. By which name they are addressed or talked about can vary per occasion. For readability, all these varying references were replaced by a fixed pseudonym for each woman.

Clarification P2:
P2 contains the field notes that were written by Verheijen’s Malawian research assistant Gertrude Finyiza (see Chapter 4 for more information). Finyiza took over the data collection when Verheijen was not in the field, describing whatever occurred in the village and occasionally doing interviews. After Verheijen returned to the field, Finyiza’s notes were read and elaborately discussed. Between square brackets Verheijen has here and there added comments resulting from these discussions. Finyiza was encouraged to write down conversations she had as much as possible in the original words and formulations, hence in ChiChewa. For readability, her translations of these have later been added in red.
Glossary of frequently used ChiChewa word:

Chibwenzi = Boyfriend/girlfriend
Chitenje = Multifunctional piece of cloth that women wear over their skirts, carry their babies in on their backs, sleep on and/or under at night.
CUMO = Microfinance institute in Malawi, established by Concern Universal
Dotta = Gertrude’s English spelling of ‘daughter’
Ganyu = Piece work
Kachasu = Locally brewed gin
Kanyenya = Dried fish fried in maize flour
Mandasi = snack (fried flour cake)
MASAF = Malawi Social Action Fund
Masamba = Green leaves for relish
Matemba = Dried fish
Ndiwo = Relish
Ngaiwa = Flour made of maize husks
Nkhokwe = Maize granary
Nsima = Thick maize porridge (the staple food)
Thobwa = Maize flour drink/gruel
Ufa = Maize flour
Ufa woyera = White maize flour
Usipa = Small dried fish
Zibwenzi = Boyfriends/girlfriends
Zigumu = Maize flour cakes
Zitenje = Plural of chitenje
Zitumbuwa = Maize flour cakes with banana

Glossary of frequently used abbreviations:

BS = business
DIL = daughter-in-law
GVH = group village head (the head of a group of villages which all have their own village head)
HH = household
MIL = mother-in-law
MK = Malawi Kwacha (national currency, at the time of the research 100MK = 0.5 Euro)
SA = South Africa
VH = village head/chief
Fieldnotes Gertrude

Sept 12, 2008
Wife to chief Mudzi A came saying that the GVH is not participating in any club or activity done by PROSCAP or FIDP.

GVH told the chief Mudzi A to come and sleep on the veranda (khonde) to guard the house, then I said “No, I am not afraid to sleep alone in this house,” then the chief agreed to go back to his house.

Sept 13 - there was rainfall
GVH gave me 6 mango’s.

Three girls came by & they were discussing about their vlg eg Ndi bwino kukhala ndi chibwenzi mudzi wina osati kukuno [It is better to have a boyfriend in another vlg, not here: grew up here together, in this vlg boys are like brothers] & they were asking one another saying that it’s good to get marriage rather than staying with my brother. This girl is known as Doris. She is staying with her brother coz their parents died [mother died when Doris < 1 year, sister of mother Rashida took care of Doris, but Doris kicked Rashida out of (mother’s) house now], Doris is 14 yrs old. Her brother is receiving K1500 every months from Orphan Care, with the money he built a house and taking care of Doris, his sister. Then Jane [g’dughter GVH], a friend to Doris, was complaining [to me] saying that: Doris is having a boyfriend at [small crossroads market] & M. village vlg. One day the brother of Doris told her to go & buy ndiwo at [small crossroads market] around 5 o’clock but she came back at 7 PM. Jane her friend was not happy. Ndinacheza ndi Doris pa Sept 13 kamufunsza za vuto lake ndipo anati ndinasiya school St5 [I was chatting with Estere on sept13 and I asked her about her problem and she said that she stopped going to school when she was in std 5] because there is no benefit & more girls in Mudzi B are just staying without going to school (laughing). Eg there is a certain girl who is 15 yrs in Mudzi B, she left school when she was in ST5 (12 yrs) but as of now she is married ndipo ine ndili ndi zaka 14, nditha kwatira [and I am 14 years old, I can get married] “no difference between those who do & don’t go. Those who marry/My friends who are married stay good.” Doris was also telling her friends on the veranda (khonde) that “my boyfriend has got a cellphone.” [others later told G that she borrowed cellphone from someone in Mudzi B to call a boyfriend in Lilongwe. Brother of Doris lives in Area 49, perhaps she stayed with him for some time and found boyfriend then]. They departed at 5 PM. [While chatting with G, Jane and Dorica, Doris went to chat with all boys passing by. This was also a complaint after people went to GVH to tel about Doris’s threatening letter to Naima]

Sept 16
Doris amakhala punyumba yosamaliza [stays in uncompleted house eg no roof], the house that is made without bricks/the nice house nearby.
I was knitting on the veranda then a certain girl [g’ daughter Magda] came from where
they sell beer (Kachasu) (traditionally distilled beer) & I asked her about the owner of this house.
Then the girl said that he went to South Africa but the wife was staying here alone. Then one day a
certain woman from another vlg went to GVH as her mother-in-law they were chatting under the
mango tree. As
they were chatting the woman of this house heard from other people who were just passing by,
saying that: “have you seen the woman who is charting with GVH? She is a second wife to
your husband.”Then the woman went there to beat the GVH & the second wife GVH says
however that she chased/addressed the woman because she was having several zibwenzi
[boyfriends] and that’s why her daughter-in-law beat her]. After that she packed her things and
went to saty with her mother, but the marriage ended. The girl continues saying that the owner of
this house have got several wives, and more children with different mother [all in other villages].
And in
2007 the man was suffering with ghonolia (transmitted disease). [Girl continues saying that
her own father did same behavior, having several wives, died now. Mother remarried in Lilongwe,
staying there with 2 of her children. Father was son of GVH. Mother daughter Magda].

Za Boma radio program (local news radio program): In Dedza there was a certain man who
was ugly and it was difficult for him to propose a woman, then he decided to go to the
traditional
doctor, so that he can be helped. Then the doctor [eerste dagen dacht G blijkbaar dat enige
interessante wat er te vermelden was, deze radio programma’s waren, moest er nog
inkomen...] told him that he should go and sleep with her sister, when he went back home
he talked to her sister but she refused then her sister shouted as the result the man is now
mad
(misala) because he didn’t manage to do what he was told by T. doctor.

Sept 17

People in Mudzi A II are getting worried because thieves have already started stealing eg they
went to a certain house at 10 PM then instead of stealing maize in nklokwe [maize granary] they just took
2 chickens & broke all the eggs. The chickens were staying in nklokwe at night, then the same
night they went to another house and started knocking at the window but the dogs heard them,
then chased them up to the graveyard (manda). The thieves disappeared.

One pawpaw from Chenawe. From Eveles 2 mangoes, 1 pawpaw & 3 eggs.

Hamra says she didn’t receive coupon last year because makuponi achepa anhu ena
simulandira, (because the coupons are few that means other people will not receive)
mulandira chimanga cha mbewa, (you will just receive maize seed for planting) promised
GVH… Says spends half time ganyu (casual labour), half on own field = kuganyu ½ kumunda
kwamganso ½. (working in other peoples field half then working another half in my field/casual
labour)

RADIO PROGRAM (7:30 PM)

1. Bangwe in Blantyre: Bambo wina wachita manyazi Banja lake litatha anaganiza
zogawana katundu (a certain man was a shamed when his marriage ended, and he decided to share his property) but
the problem was that, they were using 1 toilet then he decided to
fill theToilet with more bricks inordr to be full quickly and many people laughed at him.
2. Nyau (masquerade): amavina mochititsa chidwi Ku Ntcheu (was dancing attractively at ntcheu and) (many people were interested) ndipo analandira Mphatso ya Ndalama (and they received a gift of money), after receiving that money he begged a car drive up to the Market buying Zitumbuwa (local pan cakes made from maize flour). More people showed appreciation (kuyamikira) by saying that (Anthu ena amagwilira [rape] ana other people rape young children), akazi akamadutsa kumanda) (and also women when they pass by a grave yard) but this is a nice (Nyau) (miscarried) because he know how to drive a car.

18th September
RADIO PROGRAM (7:30) PM

Kukasungu (one of the district in the central Malawi) there is acertain woman who is HIV positive but she proposed aman who is a Fisher man then the man agreed anthu atawaona akuyenda limodzi anati: (but when other people saw them they said that) mkazi uyu amgwiritsa ntchito traditional medicine akamafunsira azibambo chifukwa “Fisher man wathetsa banja lake” (this woman uses traditional medicine when proposing men because that fisherman has ended his marriage because of her) [People explain this by assuming that she must have used traditual medicine to attract men because 1) it is unusual that women propose to men, should be other way around, 2) the fisher man knew the woman is HIV positive yet divorced hos wife to marry her.]

18th September 2008. 2:30 Afternoon

I was knitting on the veranda, then I just heard people shouting I followed the and people gathered at the group village Mudzi B House The village asked “what is happening? 1st Speaker then the woman (Naima) said that Doris : it seems that she is in relation with My Husband Because (tsiku lina anabwera kunyumba ndikukhala pamwendo wa amuna anga nditamufunsa Doris anati because one day she came at my house and sat on my HBs lap when I asked Doris she said that) ” you know that he is my in-law then I can not be afraid with Him the story ended there. Then the woman (Naima) continued:

On 18th September “Doris “ wrote a letter to me saying that (you are stupid if you want we should met at the Borehole (fighting “Timenyane”) am not afr aid of you. if not whenever you see a strange thing don’t ask me.

2nd Speaker

Then the GVH told Doris to stand up and read the letter herself, “but people shouted because Doris agreed to read the Letter. After leading the Letter the group village said Doris is a (witch Ghost “ Mfiri”) because she is not afraid of elders (people shouted) then the Group Village continued by saying that she should be punished by swiping at the graveyard (Kusesa Kumanda) Doris agreed and People crapped hands Doris went to swip at the Manda, after (5-6 minutes the group said that) mwamuna alibe mantha akahhala wina akanapepesa koma uyu ndi Mfiri (this child is not afraid of anyone, if it was another girl she could have apologized but this one is a witch)..

After swiping she was told to go and dig a big hole the after that the Group village asked People that (Tipite naye kwa Sub T/ A [nearest crossroads market] people agreed, but there was a certain woman who said don’t send her there because people will beat her then she will be told to pay something you know that she is an Orphan she can not manage to pay, just give her a punishment here in Mudzi A Village and tell Her 6 or 10 elders to sit down with her and give her a last warning Conclusion not known.)
On the way back home people were also saying that this girl Doris used to eat Nsima at [nearest tradingcenter] Restraunt but we don’t know where she get the money because she is not working.

Doris is 14 years old who lives in a nice house where Rashida used to live is Daughter of deceased Sister of Rashida. next day at Borehole women pointed at Doris to others who didn’t attended this happening s, this was Thursday [Gertrude saw her on Friday last.]

19th September, 2008.

RADIO PROGRAMME ZAMABOMA" OF THE DISTRICT"

1. Sing’anga (Traditional doctor) Kunabwera Amayi ena amafuna mankwala kuti abereke mwana ndiye Sing’anga nawauza kuti (acertain woman came looking for traditional medicine so that she can bare children(was barren) then the traditional doctor told her that lets) lets g to the bush to fetch some medicine, but you should be naked and I will also be naked if not then the medicine will not work in your body. the woman agreed but on the way boys who were herding cattle in the bush (oweta ng’ombe) saw them& shouted (Panopa Amfumu awathamangitsa [chased] asing’angawo) (as of now the chief has chased the traditional doctor]. [Walking naked is not showing respect to the village.]

On 19th September I went to attend the funeral I Mudzi B village near the group village (House) the young boy of 6 years died on September but the burial took place on 19th September.

The parents of the boy said they went to the field with the boy in the morning and they came back at around 11:30 am then the boy told her Mother that “I want to go to Mangochi to see my grand Mother, but before going there I would like to eat a chicken, then the mother agreed. After 10minutes the boy felled down then her Mother asked him (what’s the problem? But the boy failed to respond. The Mother run to the Grocery to Buy painkillers but when she was coming back she found a boy already dead. They borrowed a bicycle and went to [nearest tradingcenter] Hospital but they were told tat a boy is already dead. then on the same day; the father of the son started speaking loudly: I will go to the traditional doctor in another village and he was told that there was someone else who has bewitched your Son, but if you want to revenge am ready to help you ad the father of the son told the traditional Doctor that I welcome when I have the money.

Conclusion not known.

Sept 20, 2009

On 20th September I went to Church and it is after Mr.Chikombo’s House (Thanthwe Seventh Day Church) they were about 27 people in the Church. The service started at 10:00am and ended
at 12: 15. On the way back home, I was coming with Joyce (Mudzi A II) and we met with a husband her first Husband then the man started saying that I am back from Lilongwe want to take all the Children, and Joyce said that we should go and discuss with my Grand mother cause am married with another man. If people see you they will go and tell my second husband that am charting with you on the road.”I left them going to Mudzi A II)

[Man said Come to Lilongwe with me again because I have no one to cook for me there people are cheating you here, saying that I’m married to another, is not true. Joyce said she had heard his new wife has 4 children and with her own 2 would ad up to 6.. (Sunday 28 September: In Mudzi A II we hear that Joyce has gone to Lilongwe again).]

Sunday 21 September.

Made Small garden (spinach, Tomatoes, Pumpkin) Afraid that chicken may destroy, so only Small trial now. 6 children agreed, Water twice a day ½ bucket, pitched firewood, about 10 mm wall (after field of)

Monday 22 September.

Washed clothes, draw water, cooked beans.

On 28 September Sunday,

I was knitting in the afternoon, but no-one came, tried to find out what made them busy but I didn’t find. There was no-one else who was passing by.

29 September Monday,

I went for HH interviews in the morning. then in the afternoon was knitting pakhonde (on the veranda) then daughter to GVH came she was saying that she has failed to go to Balaka because the house they were staying costs 2000 and know raised to K 3000 and she asked
me if possible I should interview her. Her Mother called her all the way from Balaka to register. Then I said no problem I will register [but didn’t come].

On the same day Mother to Innocent came, she was asking where you [Janneke] have gone and I said Lilongwe then she started laughing that “I saw her with something carrying on her head going to draw some water. Does it mean that she want to learn what people in the Village do?” then I said yes. she also continued saying that “one day I will take her to fetch some firewood” then I said no problem she will be happy. on the same day Innocent came and I said where were you yesterday then she was saying that we went to Balaka to wrote examination at our Church concerning, translating Arabic to Yao then we went there to hear the results.

This happens every year, Innocent continued after passing the examination every mosque receives a gift e.g they sent 50 Bucket to each mosque, but here in Mangochi people were already quarrelling instaed of giving us “Free of Charge” we were buying at K 200 each bucket last year people received bicycles, clothes. They just sent this to every mosque because hey were just quarrelling, fighting, because they were a lot of people gathered.

I was knitting on the Veranda then Livia came and told her to come because I was going to fetch firewood. When I came back the Chief Mudzi B came to tell me that there is a funeral at Musitafa Family Daughter of Musitafa (one who was pregnant) gave birth to a baby girl on 26th September at [nearest tradingcenter] Hospital when they came back from the Hospital they just stayed 2days from 28th Sept- 30 Sept. then the baby died at around 3. I went there with Livia to attend the funeral at the funeral people were asking me that (is that true that you want to distribute maize in our Villages) I said No. Then they continued saying that: we know that we are going to receive something because on the interview you asked how many people stay in each household. Then I continued telling them that no benefit, we are just researching. And they were are also telling me that most people didn’t come to attend the funeral because “Mrs Musitafa has never attended funeral in this vlg. She used to go to Balaka for tailoring.” That means people were revenging. We went to the graveyard very late around 5.30PM. But only men entered kumanda [at the graveyard]. People were not singing they were just making noise, discussing that “there are many witchcraft (afiti) in this 2 villages (Mudzi A & Mudzi B) after everything we came back home around 6.15PM.

On 3th Oct I went to Lilongwe and I came back on 7 October 2008 at 4:29 afternoon. When I came
here in Mudzi B I just started cleaning the house putting everything in order & fetched some water.

0075 Oct 8
0076 In the morning I went to fetch some water at the borehole, then I saw HB of Emra working in the field alone (making ridges) and the wife was at home.

0077 At the borehole again I met Chisoni drawing some water (for watering at dimba) (garden).

0078 At 10 AM I went to distribute pictures in Mudzi B, when I reached at Innocent’s house I gave them a picture for the HB (grocery) then I found her mother making zigumu (maize flour cakes) and she said that I started on 6th Oct 2008 but am selling here at home K10 or K5 each.

0079 They were also saying that Charles Msako (famous singer in Balaka) is preparing a place near [nearest primary school] to open a bottle store (bar) and they advertised that girls who want to be working there can go and register their names.

0080 In the afternoon I was knitting then I saw few people gathered at GVH (tree). I went there to find out what is happening then they said that they were told to meet there for th conclusion of the story of Doris [would not have been very appropriate for me to join in?] but relatives of Doris said that they don’t want GVH to end their story because she is not the elder one, but they want sub TA [small crossroads market], so that Doris could be punished seriously, in order to stop her behavior. Then the GVH told the people to go back to their houses. They will arrange another day.

0081 When I came back home I continued knitting then Livia joined me & she was saying that on 6th Oct people started working at MASAF project. She said that: they were told to select 2 people each group village eg GVH selected 5 people (but her relatives) eg Kingsley (g’son of 14 yrs) her brother from J. village, chief Mudzi B (they are related), and g’daughter. Most of the people complained that they were expecting to get fertilizer through the project but they failed. [Chief Mudzi A watched over equipment + GVH brough water to workers both received money for this. Included chief, mother of Ada, Venesi.]

0082 After Livia, then Chisoni came then we saw daughter-in-law of chief Mudzi A passing by: then Esnart said that the son of Hamra married Filimona who have got 2 children from another HB [which Filimona did not mention in interview].

0083 Chisoni was also saying that she finished working on her field on 5th Oct and now she is just staying.

0084 Then mother of Livia [Phingi] came, she was complaining that Fatima is a thief. One day the chickens of Phingi was playing at Fatima’s house, but in the evening the 2 chickens didn’t went back. Then Phingi went there to ask for her chickens, but Fatima said that: I didn’t see the chickens playing around (but granddaughter of Phingi is the one who saw Fatima carrying chickens in the morning when she was going to the field at M. village, but she came back empty handed without chicks, said Phingi telling me. Phingi continued saying that even last year she was just stealing chickens going to keep at M. village where her mother is staying. [Also killed a pigeon of Phingi who came to eat from her drying maize. Instead of chasing it, threw stone and killed
Phingi very angry, spoke to Fatima’s HB who said he would talk to wife.]  

After knitting I started watering my garden.  

Oct 9  
In the morning I was going to distribute pictures in Mudzi A II. On way I saw Thokozani working alone on the field at Mudzi A, she was making ridges. On the way again I saw Dorica and her mother coming back from the field. When I reached Mudzi A II I distributed all the pictures but I failed to interview mother of Victoria bcoz she was not there. She went to the field.  

On the way back home I met with wife of chief (Hamra) selling some tomatoes, I bought some tomatoes & I asked who is the owner of the BS & she said that: “it’s for my daughter-in-law” am just helping her. She also continues saying that she grow tomatoes on her dambo at Nk. village and as of now my son is just taking some tomatoes from their field selling at Liwonde market while her wife is selling at home.  

In the afternoon I was going to Mudzi A II to meet with the mother of Victoria (Yona, young sister to Fiona) then on the way I saw HB of Jasmine clearing his field by burning.  

Oct 10  
In the morning I was going to Mudzi A II to meet with the mother of Victoria (Yona, young sister to Fiona) then on the way I saw HB of Jasmine clearing his field by burning.  

On the way back home I saw HB of Nyamwale making ridges alone in the field near Mudzi A II.  

In the afternoon (after lunch) I went to fetch some water at mjigo [water pump] the on the way I passed by Kingsley with his 3 friends under a mango tree, Kingsley was telling his friends that: my girlfriend has already started begging me some money to buy kanyenya [snack], maybe because I have started working at MASAF (then the other boys were just laughing).  

When I started knitting pa khonde (on the veranda) Chisoni joined me & she started saying that: This MASAF project makes people not to work in the field bcoz they get up early in the morning to work in the road (clearing the road) then when they go back home they used to be tired (laughed).  

As we were knitting Jasmine passed by & she told me that Innocent is sick (teeth) then I went there to see her. She told me that she were to Balaka Hospital & she was treated (doctor removed the
teeth) then she is now getting better.

In the evening around 6:50PM the GVH came to chart with me and she was complaining that her HB is not feeling good, they went to the hospital at [nearest trading center] treated but not changing. She also continued saying that: “The goodness is that we’re 2 wives and as of now he went to stay with another wife. It’s now 5 days on 6-10 Oct I was also sleeping there helping one another taking care of the HB because it is now becoming worse. She also continues saying that Jane was watering at your garden when you where not here, then I said thanks a lot for helping me. After few minutes the GVH went back.

Oct 11

In the morning I started working on my garden because chickens destroyed all my crops. After breakfast I went to fetch some firewood then on the way I saw GVH & g’daughter Jane working in the field (making ridges). On the way back I met with wife to the chief & daughter-in-law discussing that: It’s good to be boiling mangoes for lunch & nsima for dinner only.

After this I went to fetch some water the after lunch there was a heavy wind and some clouds, as if there will be rainfall but not the heavy wind continues up to 4 PM but when it stopped Mphatso (daughter Rosemary) and dotta of (related to Doris) came to join me knitting. As we were knitting Mphatso started saying that: those people who are working at MASAF wil be receiving K2,500 per month. But next week the MASAF wants to add a number of people, for the work to be done quickly but they will be receiving K200 per day she continued. Then Dorica also joined us. Dorica asked where is Doris nowadays? Then Mphatso said that she is busy with a certain man from [small crossroads market], then the girls shaked hands and laughed. Then Mphatso continues saying that one day a certain man called Doris, he told her that I have got K200, can I come and sleep at your house? Then Doris said that no problem but you should also bring some matemba (girls laughed) [True? Makes sense, says G, considering Doris’s behavior: staying alone, has several boyfriends for sure. G heard her speak about boyfriend in Lilongwe, started going to CCAP bcoz someone there proposed to her, wanted to join choir so he could see her working hard]. Then the daughter of (related to Doris) answered saying that let’s wait for the day of the conclusion of the story at [small crossroads market] (all girls laughed). The other girl continued saying that tomorrow there is a netball match against … vlg but it’s good to put on short skirts so that people should see our legs (all girls laughed). It was around 5:45PM all girls departed and I promised to watch them when they will be playing netball (they all agreed after that I started watering my garden).

Oct 12

In the morning I was watering my garden then Livia came she was saying that “sorry I didn’t come yesterday because I was busy cleaning tins for making zigumu (maize flour cakes) .” Then Venesi came, she was saying that: I have heard some people that you know how to knit. Then I would like to come and learn how to make a poncho & a jersey for my baby. Then I said no problem you can come.

Mr Ntawanga also came the same morning, he was saying that “thanks a lot for helping them at the funeral, they are relatives” & he continued that she was suffering from headache but they don’t believe it! Because the cloth that they wrapped the dead body was full of blood. So it was difficult to
After lunch Venesi came and joined me in knitting. I taught her how to make a poncho, then she managed the same day. She was also saying that: People in this village (women) are not serious in learning something, they are just staying, saying that we cannot manage knitting (without coming to try) (we laughed). She also continued saying that: At Adult School most women used to chat only but not listening to what the teacher is teaching them. Most of the people are coming in order to be involved in loan, but not serious to learn how to read & write. She was also saying that: I have stopped taking loan now, because in my BS am not getting any profit. And the “loan people” went to someone else who failed to pay back the loan of K3000, they took a bicycle and plates, and he was told that he will receive his things after paying back the loan.

Innocent joined us & she was saying that after selling cotton next year she will start a BS of knitting then selling. Venesi also said that “I will buy thread and I will make a nice jersey for my daughter” (we all laughed). Innocent also continued saying that it’s good to be coming here to knit rather than just moving around (kuyendayenda) with boys or men because there is a benefit in knitting if you put much attention. At 5:20PM they all departed.

Oct 13

In the morning I went for interviews in Mudzi B II & on the way I met with Venesi. And she was complaining that: I am used to be tired everyday because early in the morning am going to work at MASAF, in the afternoon teaching at Adult School, in the late afternoon I work in my field.

On the way with Ainessi and her HB coming back from the field. And I saw mother of chief Mudzi B making ridges alone in the field and near the borehole I saw Lovely making ridges alone in the field.

Firstly I distributed soap & salt to those people whom I interviewed first. And I asked Mwayi if the child is hers but she said no am just helping my elder sister to take care of him. Then after that I interviewed Lizzie.

After the interviews Alma asked me that: Do you mean that you will not help us in anything? Then I said no we are just doing research. Then she continued saying that are you married? Then I said no I will get married later (she laughed). Then she continued saying that 1 of the granddaughters who were staying here was staying at [nearest tradingcenter] but her father said that I should be staying with his dota here in Mudzi B, so that she can go further with education because their house in near a market ([nearest tradingcenter]) and bottle store, then he was afraid that she cannot continue school by copying other behavior from the market/bottle store. Then Alma continued saying that let me call her (granddaughter) so that you can encourage her to work hard in school, in order to be like you. Then I agreed. When her granddota came I just told her that she must work hard in school and don’t allow any boy to disturb her because she is still young then she agreed. Lastly her grandmother was happy and we departed.

After that Lizzie escorted me up to the borehole. On the way she was saying that Charles Msako (famous singer wants to open a bottle store) but am not happy because most of the families will be destroyed. For example men will be going there to drink beer & there will be more girls from
different villages working there in order to attract customers by putting on short skirts or dancing different styles (we laughed). And the men will be attracted because their wives, maybe they don’t know how to dance (we also laughed). She continued by saying that: last year certain people from social welfare same, they told me to find out (write names) for the orphans in Mudzi B village but many people registered 3-4 children in the family but not orphans. Many people it is difficult to understand because they didn’t go far with education. She also continued by asking me that: So people understand that you are just doing research, then I said no! It is difficult for them to understand. We all laughed & separated.

In the afternoon I went to fetch some water for my garden. Then after that I started knitting but no one else joined me.

Oct 14

In the morning after breakfast I started washing the clothes, after that I went to fetch some water for my garden. Then at the borehole I met with Livia & she was saying that sorry I didn’t come to knit yesterday because I went to Balaka to attend Madras at the mosque (tailoring). They told us that we will receive a machine next months. Then we departed.

After lunch chief Mudzi A came to greet me, he was saying that nowadays “am not coming to see you because am busy at MASAF project. I am looking after the equipment that people are using (guarding) after the project I will receive something. He also continued saying that: as of now I have not yet started working on my field because there is still time (we all laughed). He also continued by saying that after 2 wks the MASAF people will employ many people to work, fr it to be done quickly before the rain starts.

After the chief went I started knitting, then Magda was passing by, she was saying that I have stared working at [nearest primary school] school in writing names for those people who want to vote at the upcoming elections.

As I was knitting Livia, Lizzie, Dorica, Grace, Ada joined me. They all said that they want to be like Venesi who pays attention when someone is knitting (we all laughed). All the women mentioned what they wanted to learn, then I agreed. As we agreed Grace said that “u should make a jersey for my dotta, I have already discussed with my HB.” Then I said no problem I will make it for you. She also continued that: My HB told me that if I will manage to knit he will give me some money to buy my own thread to make something for my dotta (we all laughed). [She is still in contact with her HB over telephone, but she didn’t tell him that she was going to Mzuzu. Livia said Grace got soap & bread]. Then Lizzie said that, when my HB sends money from SA I will also buy thread to make a big poncho. Then Grace also continued sayin that Ada have you remembered that you got pregnant when you was going to the tailor to make your school uniform? Then you were just cheating your mother that “I am going to take my school uniform” while you wanted to meet with your boyfriend (we all laughed). Grace continued saying that: As of now you learnt a lesson by having unexpected baby, not so? And you are lucky now that you have decided to come & start learning knitting so that you can make something for your baby! (all laughed). And Dorica continued saying that Naima was fighting with her
mother because of money. But I don’t know what happened with the money (said Dorica).

At the end Jasmine came, she was saying that I have started selling zigumu (maize flour cakes) where MASAF people are working. I am selling all the zigumu in short period of time. At the end all the girls were happy and we were just laughing if someone is making mistakes when knitting & they promised to come the other day. Then I just thanked them for joining me in knitting.

Oct 15

In the morning after breakfast I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I met with Chisoni & she was saying that “I failed to come on the 13th Oct because I went somewhere else for ganyu (casual labour) in order to buy ndiwo (relish) and soap” (but she didn’t mention the place). After the borehole I went to fetch some firewood, on the way I saw HB of Jasmine making ridges alone in the field. After that I started knitting till lunch hour.

After lunch I heard some people singing at Mudzi B football ground, then Livia came. She was saying that there is a meeting for the MP who wants to seat for elections at Balaka. Then we went there to see. At the meeting all the chiefs sat on the chairs (chiefs from [nearest trading center] up to [small crossroads market]), 17 chiefs and many people from different villages gathered. After 30 minutes MO Msuweni from Balaka came with other 3 women and men. When people saw the car they started dancing (welcoming them) most of the people put on yellow T-shirts but at the meeting people started complaining that instead of chief Mudzi A to seat on the char, the GVH called her elder brother from M. village vg to be on behalf of chief Mudzi A. Then the master of ceremony called the group Mudzi B to stand up and say what people in her vg need, then she said that we want a playing ball for th boys of Mudzi B and the people laughed while others clapped hands. Then people from Balaka continued encouraging people to vote for Bakili Muluzi. At the end they called all the chiefs from all vls to meet at GVH’s house and all the chiefs received some money there, said Chisoni [to vote for Muluzi]. From there they told all the people who gathered at the meeting to go at [small crossroads market] to receive something and people crapped hands [what? Probably money, is what Muluzi does for campaign, throwing money…].

As we were coming back from the meeting: Fatima was nearby and she started telling some people that “Livia stopped talking to us because she has learned how to knit different things.” Then Livia heard them talking & she stopped. Then Livia told Fatima that “we are not paying any money, and in the morning I used to work in my field then after lunch, instead of just moving around (kuyendayenda) I used to go there to learn what I want to know. Because through kuyendayenda I will get another baby then I am lucky because I am learning a lot of things that will help me. Fatima was ashamed and didn’t answer anything. On the way people were just singing different songs.

Oct 16

In the morning I went to help Innocent working on her field, then on the way we saw GVH and her g’children making ridges on the field, then I saw Dorica & her mother working in their field making ridges. Then as we were digging Innocent started saying that there is a certain man who is proposing me akuti akundifuna banja koma ineyo sindikufuna,(he is proposing for marriage but I don’t want) chifukwa ndazindikira kuti sibwino kuti ndikwantire ana anga asanakule,(because I have realized that it is not good to get married while my children are still young) komanso ndibwino ndidzakwatire (a part from that it is good to get married after) after having everything eg plates,
pots, tins & enough blankets because when I married for the second time: mwamunayo anatenga chilichonse (and my ex-husband took everything), amachotsa tsiku lilionse chimodzi chimodzi (he was collecting one item a day), eg for the first day he took his radio, another day clothes, then plates & tins, a basin and after taking everything he said that he had another wife at [nearest tradingcenter] and he went back to her. Then through this I have realized that I should buy my kitchen tools and I will get married after 3-4 years. Then she also continued that “when I realized that he is transferring his radio, clothes to another wife, I was refusing to have sex with him and he was becoming angry.” [agency! Weapon of weak! I was not able to find out about this through direct questions...]

When I came back from the field grandson of GVH came to put a new window flame. After that the old woman (mother chief Mudzi B) came, she was saying that: My friend Gertrude, there is a certain man who used to come at home to propose me, he says that he wants to marry me (she laughed) but I am old now, I cannot manage to draw some water for him to wash his body. I cannot also manage to wash his clothes & even at night I cannot manage to have sex with him bcoz I am now weak (we all laughed). And she continued saying that: I will refuse because since my first HB died I didn’t got married to any man. Then she also begged some salt & I gave her. She said that “am failing to eat porridge because of salt.”

In the afternoon I went to fetch some water, then at the borehole Mayi Musitafa was complaining to her friends that: I am now tired of working alone in the field, my HB is just busy making shoes. Although he is bringing some ndiwo (relish) but he needs to help me in the field, then the wife of chief Mudzi A said that: Amuna amasiku ano ndi choncho (those are the men of nowadays), people lauged.

From there I went to buy some tomatoes at Mudzi A (Hamra) then Jasmine called me, she was saying that I should greet her mother from [nearest primary school] vg. As we were charting mother to Jasmine said that: I have run away from my HB, he is just drinking beer for K500 a day. Doing ganyu (casual labour) in order to buy beer (kachasu). When I talked to him last wk he was sayin that “ndiwe olongola, ndikwantira mkazi wina [you are talkative, I will marry another woman] (we all laughed). She continued saying that I will stay here in Mudzi B for 1 wk [= punishment] then I will go back there (to him). As we were charting Jasmine said that “dzulo kumnsonkhano ndimaseka chifukwa GVH anapempha mpira wa anyamata ndi uniform ya mpira. (yesterday I was laughing at the meeting because GVH requested for a football for boys and uniform) M’malo mwa chimanga kuti anthu asamagone osadya nsima (we all laughed and I continued to buy tomatoes).

After lunch I continued knitting, then Grace, Lizzie & Livia joined me. Then everybody was happy that they managed to make shoes, and they started learning how to make a small jersey. As we were knitting Livia started complaining that: Fatima killer their goat in Feb this year by putting some poison in the water & her g’mother (of Livia) saw her. And she continued by saying that today (on 16th Oct) has killed a pigeon. Fatima was drying the ufa (maize flour) on the mat outside their house then a pigeon came playing around, but instead of chasing it accordingly, Fatima took a big stone and killed it. When she was doing it Phingi saw her, then she went there to ask what was wrong with the pigeon. Then the HB of Fatima told Phingi that “my wife is wrong, instead of chasing your pigeon she killed it with a big stone”. Then Phingi told the HB of Fatima that: Tell your wife to behave as if she was born in a woman like me, not from an animal.

After that Lizzie said that in the morning I received a call from a certain woman whom I don’t
know & she was telling me that I am foolish (chitsiru) ( we all laughed). Then she continued saying that the cellphone is not good because it is encouraging problems, eg separations in families. Another example: During weekends most of the men used to move around (kuyendayenda) (with different women) through communication of cellphone, they can receive a call while the wife is there. But the man (HB) can just cheat you by saying that “I am going to the market to buy some nice ndiwo (relish)” while he is going to meet another wife (hule) (a prostitute)(we laughed).

After knitting, I went to fetch some water for my garden.

Oct 17

Early in the morning 4:45AM the GVH came knocking on the door - then I went outside to greet her but she had an angry face (kukwiya). After greeting her, she said that I saw you helping Innocent in the field, then in the afternoon I used to see many girls knitting at this house including Innocent. Then I would like to tell you about the behavior of these girls especially Innocent. She is a thief, she destroyed the family of my son who is in South Africa, and she destroyed the house of my grandson Kingsley, that’s why he is not staying in his house, she was stealing my maize. So you need to be careful because they will steal your properties here, don’t allow them to come here (the girls). If you don’t have anything else to do, just come at my home & we will be carting there. Am saying this because I am the owner of this house & you are in my hands. These girls have zibwenzi (boyfriends) (police men), they can hire them to steal here.

After that I told her that “thanks a lot for your advice” then she was just repeating the same words. When the GVH went back I started thinking that may be its jealousy she is thinking that we will give them something And I sated thinking that when I was in Lilongwe especially the year when I started staying with Desi people were saying that Desi is a prostitute don’t stay with her and some people were also telling Dourine that Gertrude is prostitute where is she getting the money to pay Rent & buy food but they were saying we were just staying up she got married.

Later on Innocent told me to go and take some fire wood on her field in the same morning then on the way Innocent said that I wanted to tell you Gertrude that the GVH stopped talking to me even when I greeted her. when she will be tired [of this]? and Innocent continued that last year 2007 some people from Balaka come at the mosque in Mudzi B & they were saying that they want pastor (sheikh) of that mosque should go and attend seminar after that they will receive something then the sheikh of Mudzi B mosque is my father (said Innocent but the GVH told the people from Balaka that I used to hire sheikh from [nearest tradingcenter] that I will just go my self to attend the seminar [and receive something].

When she went there she received k2000, a bicycle and a travelling bag but on the way back home thieves strong the bicycle (we all laughed)

After coming back home I didn’t tell Innocent what the GVH said about the girls I was afraid that people will stop coming here

Around 11:00am Kingsley come to put a plastic paper on the [roof of] kitchen when he finished I asked him to say the amount of money that I can pay then he said no.

After lunch I started knitting the Grace, Livia and Ada joined me then Grace said
that now I am not happy because my HB not treating me as he was doing in the first days of marriage.

At first, he was just spending a week at Mangochi where he was doing a business (fish) but as of now he spends almost 2 weeks in Mangoci and not leaving enough money to use at home and I have now realize that its good to finish school first get employed or doing a big business an my own, not like this. As Grace was talking we heard a voice of old woman (mother to chief Mudzi B crying near by, I asked her what was the problem then she said that “I have come to give you salt you gave me because the GVH saying that Why did you went there to beg salt without my permission? Do you think do you think Getrude and Janake are your parents? (said the GVH) then all the girls were just quite and hold her that take the salt and use it at home because we distribute the salt to every body in Mudzi B and Mudzi A except you. Then she went back but not happy (with a sad face)

Then Livia said that “That’s why most of the women in this village are failing to be coming her to chart with you. The I said that no problem, just continue coming here because this is a chance for you to learn more things

Then Ada said that my HB is not coming back home but I think the problem is that we cannot manage to sleep together because my child is young. But although he went away may be to another wife but when she will also be pregnant and gave birth to a child he will also move to another wife later on he will have many wives later on he will die before 30 years (we all laughed)

After that Kingsley (Grand son of G-Mudzi B) came on the mat and he was saying that “Amnzanga onse anakwatiwa inenso chaka cha mawa ndikwatiwa kuti ndipeze munthu wonditungira madzi osamba” (all my friends got married, by next year I will also get married, so that I should have someone to be fetching some water for my bath) (we all laughed) he stayed only a few minutes and all the girls departed. After that I went to fetch some water for my garden.

**18 OCTOBER**

In the morning I waked up and I started preparing the journey to Church, then on the way I saw Thokozani and HB making ridges in their in their field in Mudzi A Village, then Doris was also working alone in the field making ridges, At the church I found my friends already starting the service. The one who was preaching was Ex-HB of Joyce, when he was preaching he used Luke 2 Vs 52 (It says Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favor of God and men and the Preacher concluded by saying that: Sometimes people who smoke Chamba [marihuana] they work hard in the field but sometimes not and he encouraged people by telling them that they should not drink beer or smoke.

And at the end he said that some members of the church must go to Charity for condolence, then they closed me, another woman and 1 man (3) and we discussed to go there at 2:00pm

I came back home for lunch at 1:30pm then I hired a bicycle and I paid K40.00. It was too hot then I failed at home. Levison HB of Thokozani came at home he said that “I want some water to drink, am tired because am coming back from Nt. village for Ganyu (Piece work) for making ridges and at 3 o’clock I want to go and work on my field. Ad he was talking (the phone for Levison started ringing) and he said that “I will not answer this call because this woman (the one who was calling) used to tell me to visit her everyday but she knows that am
married. One day I went there to hear what she was calling me for. And I told her to tell me what she wanted from me, then she said that “I want you to sleep with me (Marry me) without payments” No problem, Levison continued saying that the woman is older than me (6 years difference) “I refused to sleep with her” said Levison. I told here that am married and I can’t manage to take care of two wives. I laughed then he continued his journey.

[Gertrude made shoes for Thokozani’s daughter and Levison paid. Thokozani came with cell phone to Gertrude asking her to explain how to answer a call. She wants to find out who is calling her HB when she was taking a bath.] It is now 2:00pm and I decided to go to Charity to meet with church member for condolence when I reached there I found Charity, her mother, Alida, Saiba and young mother I stayed with them on the mat and Alida started saying that: a certain man from J. Village wants to divorce with his wife and they sold their field for K3, 000.00 and shared the money (we all laughed) and she continued by asking me “Is that true that you are distributing blankets and fertilizers then I said No. Then she continued by saying that we heard that yesterday you gave a certain old woman some blankets and clothes. Then I said no I just gave her salt because she didn’t receive anything when we distributing soap and salt (people laughed) and they continued by saying that: People in this village are gossipers because there were talking at the borehole about this.

A certain man was passing by Saiba said that, this man is Sandram (name) from M. village he have got 4wives (most of the women used to allow him when proposed because he is handsome and he has a lot of money. During this hunger season he used to have more zibwenzi (boyfriends) in order to sleep with them and gave them some money to buy soap) we all laughed. Then Dorothy Wailes joined us and she started saying that Mphatso ali pachibwenzi ndi (is in relationship with) Alexander (HB to Emra) Dorothy continued by saying that, their relationship (Kondwani & Alexander) started last year and as of now Alexander says that he want to get married to a woman who will give birth and stay alive not just dying.

Then Charity said that “I went to M. village one day to see my friend and I slept there. But my friend said that “I used to sleep with 2-3 men per day! But there is no one else who asked me to sleep with him (we all laughed). Then at midnight she told me that “I am failing to sleep because of some feeling in my both maybe I should take a maize cob and help myself (said Charity) we all laughed for two minutes. As we were laughing members of the church were coming then we stopped.

When the members of the church come we started with a prayer, then at the church we contributed some money (K100.00) for condolence and basin of Ufa (maize flour). After the prayer we gave them what we brought. After that we departed and the members of the church told Charity and me to follow them. On the way they said that we wanted to know if Charity continued going to Seventh-day Adventist Church, then Charity said I will see because I was just following HB and now e divorced and my parents are Muslims. Then one of the members of the Church introduced himself to me by saying that I married Joyce then last month I went to attend the wedding ceremony in Blantyre when I was coming back from the wedding I didn’t found her the neighbours told me that she was going back to her Ex-HB in Lilongwe and he continued by saying that “she will remembers me, because I didn’t want to marry two wives but only one. And Charity answered by saying that the first HB of Joyce was not providing enough soap, salt and he also married another woman in Lilongwe.” As of now he called Joyce to join him in Lilongwe, we will see just soon she will be back here in BK (we all laughed and departed) on the way back home Charity escorted me & I asked her how she started the relationship with her Ex-HB and
she said that we met at School (St1, HB St2) and we started with Chibwenzi (relationship) and later on my mother said that she don’t have enough money to pay school fees and I stopped school. Then later I told my Chibwenzi (boyfriend) that I stopped school because of the money and she said that he will marry me and that I can continue school in Marriage, he will be paying. The she agreed and got married. When we staying together with my mother In-law then later on my HB started ambushes of flying [frying chips] he started with K2, 000.00 but he was making a profit of K10, 000.00 after 3-4days per week and he was telling me to keep the money. And later on making more and more profit he started proposing another wife because I was pregnant, and he was saying that “you are now ugly, go back to your mother, I will marry another Wife” I was staying without listening to what he was saying and later on he was not buying soap, salt even Chitenje (cloth), And he bought another wife while I was there then I decided to end marriage and he agreed. As of now the second wife is now pregnant, and my ex-HB has transferred and married another woman in Mangochi. And I have decided to work hard in the field and I have already started making ridges. And I think next year I will go back to school and not getting married.

After that I encouraged her to continue working hard in the field and we departed (separated) At home, I just started fetching some water for my garden.

No-one else didn’t come to knit because I was not at home in the afternoon.

19th October, 2008

In the morning when I waked-up, I saw some women from Mudzi B and Mudzi A gathering near our house, and I asked them what they were discussing about and they said that they are going at Liwonde for Primary elections of the MP and they were discussing to vote MP Mpaweni because he is the one who is helping people when there is in need of transport (funeral) and he is the one who helped people in Mudzi B when there was a funeral, the none who died in Blantyre.

Later on I saw GVH and her two grand-children clearing in the field near by.

After that I went to fetch some water then at the borehole people were just quarrelling that. They should not allow people from other villages to draw some water but they should be after every body from Mudzi B and Mudzi A has finished drawing. Some people were just quite.

After that I started Knitting up to lunch hour. After lunch I was sleeping because it was too hot, then after three minutes Pamela from Mudzi B came to knit.

As we were knitting she was saying that I have now finished my house I am now remaining with the roofing. Pamela continued saying that most people have now managed to knit but as of now some are failing to come here because they are busy working in the field while others at MASAF and others at Ganyu (casual labour). and she also said that as of now I will not marry soon because I want my child to grow up to 6-7 years.

20th October

Early in the morning Innocent came and she told me to go with her to his field to get some firewood because during rainy season it is difficult to dry them. On the way I didn’t saw any one working in the fiel, and then I asked Innocent Why? And she said that there is a ceremony at Emra remembering that it’s now 40 days since the child died at the field Innocent showed me the other
side that Mr. Chikombo is renting (* part of her field and she said that I charged him K1,500 and the other field K1,800 but she didn’t tell me what she used with the money and she also said that at Liwonde where she went for the elections on 19 October 3 men, 2 children and 4 women injured because the car loaded a lot of people and some of them were just falling down, after collecting the firewood I came back home and I had my breakfast, then I started cleaning the house, plates. After that I went to fetch some water for my garden, I was now happy because, chickens didn’t destroy my crops. Most of the people were buys cooking, fetching some water of the ceremony.

0176

After lunch Livia came as we were knitting, husband of Elube came, and he said that I want to talk to you Livia. Then Livia said that you can talk it hear no problem because Getrude doesn’t hear Yao. Then the Husband of Elube started telling Livia that “My grandson wants a wife so I have decided to tell you so that you can marry him because you don’t have a husband. Then Livia said I need to know (see) him then te man said no problem here is the telephone number for my grandson you can just flash him and discuss where to meet, and after that he will go to meet your parents, because after 3 months he will go to South Africa and he wants to have a wife so that when he coming back you can start living together, Livia laughed and received the phone number. The man left but didn’t ask Livia I was afraid to disturb them. After that Grace joined us but she had a sad face and she was just quite, then I asked her what was the problem? Then she started saying that my husband is not coming back since the day you came for “household interview” and he has also stopped calling me.

0177

Then I am thinking that maybe I should just end the marriage because most of the time I used to tell him that (just take me to be staying near you in Mangochi because I am staying alone here as if am not married!” then he just laughed, then I am also thinking that maybe he has another wife because I am working alone in the field., he promised me that he will bring some money for ganyu (casual labour) people but up to now he is not coming. Then Livia answered by saying that (Amuna amasikuano ndi choncho samafuna Banja) (this is how men behave nowadays they don’t want marriage)

0178

Then later on Naima was passing by a certain man, then Grace said that, that one is her first husband but divorced she had the second Husband, then divorced and now she had married the third husband Livia laughed then Grace continued by saying that she is not afraid to be walking around with the husband that divorced, when other men see them, they can go and tell her husband which is not good at all.

0179

After few minutes girls all departed and I went to fetch some water for my garden and for washing my body. Then Pamela came to greet me and she said that “sorry am buys cleaning my new house, I will come tomorrow then I said no problem.

0180

After that Saibi came selling some vegetables and tomatoes, I bought some and she promised that I will be sending a child to give you some vegetables and tomatoes, then I will be coming to collect some money latter on then I said no problem.

0181

I agreed on the way,

0182

After that I started watering my garden.

Early in the morning Innocent also came telling me to go and cut down a tree in her field for firewood, then I agreed on the way I saw Dorica and her mother working on the field (making ridges) then Innocent left me on the field she said that she is going to help her mother making Zigumu [maize flour cakes] to sell at [large commercial estate] because MASAF people finished working on 19 the October.

When I came back from the firewood I went to fetch some water at the borehole then Hamra told me that at last night the Hyenas came near her house and they caught a goat, but people said that may be some people from this 2 villages (Mudzi A II and Mudzi B) are changing to be Hyenas at night because there is no forest where Hyenas can hide.

After that I started clearing the garden then Livia passed by she said that I will not come to knit because my Ex-Husband will come in the afternoon to see the child.

After lunch I started knitting then Ada joined me, after a few minutes 5-10 min. she departed said that I am going to fetch some water because many people from other Villages are fetching some wand boreholes are not working. after using the same borehole in Mudzi B because other taps and bore holes are not working.

After Ada there was no one else who joined me up to evening at 6:00pm I started watering my garden.

22 October, 2008.

In the morning I went to fetch some water for my garden after that I cleaned the house. Then Livia came she said that sorry I will not join you knitting today because I am going at Balaka to attend tailoring then I said no problem.

After that I had my break fast, after few minutes I started knitting then at 10:20 am I saw two cars at GVH then after 5-10 minutes I saw a certain man coming here (at home) and he introduced himself to me that he is Robert From Ndirande in Blantyre they wanted do a research about AIDS then he asked me if I was ready to answer there questions and I said no problem. Then he also said that this is a secret thing don’t ask any one, their project is called “BRIDGE FOR THE KIT” They asked me about 12 questions a copy of 12 pages some questions I failed to remember but others were like this:

1. Do you have a radio, Phone, and Chairs, Computer?
2. Do you read a newspaper?
3. Do you listen about the youth alert program
4. How many people have got AIDS in this village (People don’t like this question its like gossiping we can not know.)
5. Uمامva kapena kuziwa mawu oti nditha [have you heard the word NDITHA] (I CAN MANAGE)?

6. Umagwiritsa ntchito condom. (do you use condoms)

7. Kodi utha kudy a ndi muthu odwala edzi .(can u eat with someone who is affected aids).

8. Kodi mudzi muno anhu amodziwa za edzi .(do people in this village know about aids)

9. Kodi unamvapo za gulula NAC, PSI, Bridge for Kit. (did you heard about a group called NAC(National Aids Commission, PSI, Bridge for kit) aids)

10. Kodi asiing;‘anga angachidze Edzi. (can circumcision prevent from getting aids)

11. Kodi Mdulidwe (circumcision) umatetedza Edzi. (can a traditional doctor cure AIDS)

12. Kodi kadzakhala ndi mwana wa mwamuna udzamvinira ? [will you circumcise your son].?

13. Kodi atsikana akufalitsa Edzi? (are girls a contributing factor to AIDS)

14. Kodi mtsikana athat kumuuza mtsikana kuti agwiritsa ntchito condom.(can girls advise each other to use condoms)

15. Kodi after 6 months sungatenge Edzi.? (can u get aids after 6 months)

16. Kodi Munthu angatenge Edzi chifukwa chogonaan ndi amuna ambiri (can someone get aids because of sleeping with alot of men)

17. Kodi unawelengapo bukhu lolembedwa”Nditha”. (did you read a book tittled ‘nditha’ (I can manage)

18. Kodi umafuna udzalekeze kalasi iti? What education level do you want to reach ? (What education level do you want to reach?)

19. Kodi utha kusewera ndi munthu odwala edzi. (can you play with someone who has aids)

20. Kodi mayi wa mimba (pregnant) atha kuyezetsa magazi ? (can a pregnant woman go for blood testing)

21. Kodi utha kumusambitsa (wash body) munthu odwala Edzi ? (can you wash a body of someone who has aids)

22. Kodi mudzi muno anhu amapanga Bungwe la Edzi? (do u have aids project in this village

23. Kodi anthu akamachez mudzi muno amakamba za Edzi? (do people talk about AIDS when chatting)

24. Odi Mzibambo atha kumuza mkazi wake nkhanzi zo khudza Edzi. (can a husband talk to his wife about aids)

25. Kodi pa Tv amaonetsa za Edzi? (does TV show something about aids)

26. Kodipaa Wailsi amakamba za edzi. (do radios talk about AIDS)

27. Kodi iiweyo ukafuna kumvetsera wailii umachita ku knzeera. (you listen to the radio, is it planned?

28. Kodi munthu atha kutenga Edzi ppoonana ndi mwamuna modzi kapena ambiri? (can someone be infected with aids after sleeping with one or several men)

29. Kodi pa banja ndi bwino kumakambirana za Edzi? (is it good to talk about aids in marriage)

30. Kodi munthu wa edzi tidzi dya naye (ea together). (can we eat together with someone who has aids).
31. Kodi ndizoona kuti m’mudzi muno ambiri amadziwa za Edzi. (is it true that in this village a lot of people know about aids)
32. Kodi kugwiritsa ntchitoi CHISHANGO ungapewe Edzi? (can you prevent aids when using a condom)
33. Kodi munthu wa edzi aamoneka bwanji? (how does a person who has aids look like)
34. Kodzi Edzi ndi chilango chochokera kwa mulungu (is aids a punishment from God)
35. Kodi utakhala kuti uli ndi edzi ungamuuze mnzako.? (if you can be found with aids can you tell your friends)
36. Kodi kwanu (in you family) amene ali ndi edzi ni anthu angati. (how many in your family are infected with aids)
37. Kodi munthu wa Edzi ayenera kuchita Manyazi? (should a person with aids be shy)
38. Kodi anthu akakwatirana adzigwiritsa ntchito condom? (when people get married should they use condoms)
Kodi unagonapo ndimwamuna ndikukupatsa po ndalama? (did you ever sleep with a man who gave you some money)
39. Kodi pa mwezi umagona kangati ndimwamuna? (how many times do you sleep with a man in a month?)
40. Kodi kupsatsana moni (shaking hands) ndi munthu wa Edzi atatsha kukupatsira? (If you shake hands with someone who is infected with AIDS can it be transmitted to you)
41. Kodi kudya naye nsima limodzi mutha kutenga edzi? (if you eat with someone who is infected can you can you get aids?)
42. Kodi edzi imapha? (does aids kill?)
43. Kodi edzi imasowetsa mtendere? (does aids make you not to have peace of mind?)
44. Ulindi mnzako amne ali ndi edzi? (do you have a friend who is infected with aids?)
45. Kodi munthu wonene pa (a fat person) atha kukhala ndi Edzi? (can a fat person have aids?)
46. Kodi mwamuna adzikakamiza mkazi wake zogonana? should a man force his wife to have sex?
47. Kodi hule di amen ayenera kugwirisa ntchito kondomu (true that only prostitutes use condoms?)
48. Kodi mzimayi ayenera kumayenda ndi Kondomu Mchikwama? (can a woman travel with a condom in her travelling bag?)
49. Kodi unaonapo chinthu chojambula (poster) mtsikana pali mawu oti (NDITHA)? (have u ever seen a poster with a girl written the word ‘NDITHA’ (I can manage)
50. Anthu ambiri amene ali ndi Edzi ali pantchito zabwino (a lot of people who have aids are those who have a good job)
51. Kodi mabwana ambiri amalemba nchito atsikana akagona nawa kaye? (is it true that a lot of bosses employ girls after having sex with them)
52. Question 55: G Answered yes : When she was working at Monsato many girls (packing and stamping seeds etc) slept with Supervisor to keep the job when boss found out supervisor was fired but also all girls (including a friend of G who had told her about this, who had also slept with that Supervisor). At some tobacco companies no women are employed this year because the wives of bosses complained about their Husbands sleeping around during their night shifts)
53. Kodi Pogwiritsa ntchito condom utha kutenga Edzi? (can you get aids while using condoms?)

54. Kod anthu amadziwa njira zopewera Edzi? Answer true/false. (does people know some of the ways of avoiding aids?).

55. Kodi Hule ndi amene ali ndi edzi? (is it true that a prostitute is the one who has aids)

56. Kodi utakhaal ndi dzi ungachite manyazi? (if you get aids, are you going to be shy?)

57. Kodi M’bale wako atakhaal ndi dzi ungachite manyazi? ? (if one of your relatives has aids can you be shy?)

58. Kodi munthu wodwala edzi ayenera kunmuuza Mnzake? ( is it good that if you have aids you should tell your friends?)

59. Kodi mwaan wang’gono atha kutenga Edzi poyamwa Mkaka wa m”mabere? (can a child get aids through breast feeding?)

60. Kodi Mkazi atha kumuuza mwamuna kuti agwiritse ntchito chisango? (Can a woman tell a man to use a condom)

After that they told me to answer the same questions by saying true or False.

(Sorry my be I have forgotten some questions because it was difficult to remember everything but most of the questions they were repeating.

After that they told me to ask them if there was a question then I asked them this:

In this Village many people didn’t go very far with Education, they don’t have a radio, no News Papers and when they want to listen to the radio they tune where there is music so what are you going to help them in order to understand?

Then Robert answered that : may be we will discuss at our office but as of no I can not manage to answer.

2. How many people are you going to ask about your questions many have you answer.

Then Robert :we have come 30 people{10 women,10girls,10men}then others are in Ma. Village, J. village Mudzi A, Nd. village but according to here where I am most of the people are just Saying they don’t know more about Edzi and we cannot manage to answer you (while on 5 november Concern Universal Seminar on tree planting and HIV/AIDS showed they know the facts very well.

After that he went where he was coming from the packed their cars at GVH but the car didn’t have any symbol Company then Rosemary came, she was saying that some girls came at home asking me about AIDS, but I told them that I don’t know anything and I was ashamed because they asked me “how many times do you sleep with your Husband”? is that the question to ask me but Janake was not asking this stupid Questions an she gave us some salt an soap while this men and women are just coming empty handed this hunger season she continued saying that they need to ask these questions to those people who live in town. We all laughed and and she went back home saying Gertrude don’t tell me anything about Edzi am Busy at home?

Do you want to know more about AIDS?
After lunch Ada came to knit and she also started complaining the same thing. Ada added by saying that everybody at home was not happy about the questions.

That they were asking and I think this people will not come again this Village, Ada reminded me another question.

64 Kodi munthu amene sanagonepo ndi mwamua amadwaladwala is it true that when you don’t sleep with men you will get ill? (does a person who has never had sex get sick often?)

Then Grace came she was saying that there is a meeting get together at our Church on 23 - 25 october. so iwante to start making mandsi (doughnuts) then I told her everything the she said that thank you very much you have helped me.

After that Mrs Musitafa came she said that Getrude I saw same people moving around what were they looking for? Then I told her that they were doing a research about HIV/AIDS then Mrs Musitafa laughed and she said that I think those people ate more nsima where they are coming from! That’s why they decided to come and ask these questions every body laughed then she went back home.

People from town have food, eat well then coming here asking rude questions to people with empty stomach, not even giving anything.

After that I went to fetch some water at the borehole but everybody was saying that these people who came to ask questions about AIDS are mad instead of working in my field do you think I can be busy answering those questions? (all people laughed) I don’t there names may be from other village.

After that I watered my crops at the garden then the heavy wind and some clouds started from 5:30 - 7:10.

That was the end of the day.

23 October, 2008.

In the morning I went to fetch some water at the borehole then I saw Rosemary making ridges at home, then at the borehole I met with Amila and she started started telling me that iwent for Ganyu (casual labour) at [nearest primary school] yesterday 22 October, and they gave me K500 (making ridges) and my Husband also went for Ganyu at Nd. village with the money we went to buy Maize at ADMARC and its cheap K52/kg after that I came back home but I found chickens already destroyed crops.

Later on I started cleaning in the house then I found some blood at the door I tried to see if there was some foot steps of something but I didn’t see anything. After that I went back to fetch some water then I heard Fatima talking some people at the borehole we have relatives from S.A and they have sent some money for our family and Chisoni also said that anyone else who have got a husband in S.A in Mudzi B village, we have received money from and clothes. People were just quite to them.

Then later on Livia came she was saying that my Ex-husband came to see the child and he was
saying that I want to help you Livia to cut down a tree for firewood in order to burn some bricks for your house and I will stay here for two weeks. Then Livia continued by saying that I told my ex-husband that I can not manage to stay with a Man of 2 wives because when buying ndiwo (relish) it means you will be diving into two parts, buying chitenje and divide then I don’t want. Emra was passing by hen she told me that I have started selling Zigumu (maize flour cakes) come and buy at home, then I said I will come and see.

After that Livia said that I will ……………………………………………………………………… then after lunch I went to see Alida she said that she was ill (stomach) after few minutes I went back home then I started knitting then granddaughter to GVH (Sofia) came the one who stays in Balaka then she told me that I am back from Balaka because I want to work on the field here but my husband chased me and married another wife but I am getting worried because I gave birth birth to children with him. Then I wanted to stay at GVH because she is my Grand mother but she has chased me saying that she cannot manage to feed me and my children but I told her that I am just looking for a shelter I have got my own food but she refused to accept me.

Then went to Explain to Jasmine because she is my mother in-law I married her son and Jasmine agreed then she gave a house to be staying with my children that’s why I am here.

After that she said that I brought some thread I need a hat for my daughter she has got some wounds (on the head) with the heat of the sun she is just crying. Then I said no problem iwill make it for her.

Later on some men were passing by carrying baskets (lichelo) on the Bicycle the grand Daughter of GVH told me that they are exchanging baskets with maize (they will be giving people those baskets and people will be giving them Maize ). When the men were passing I saw the carrying a 90 Kg (2) of maize.

After that there was a heavy wind and some clouds then I saw Dorica, her Mother, Rosemary ,Emra (Grandson of Mudzi B - Kingsley) carrying hoes they were saying that we are going to work on the field again because we are afraid of rainfall we have not yet finished in our fields, after that the wind was still heavy and no one else came.

24 October,2008

In the morning I went to fetch some water then I met with Saibi then she was telling me that : (have you seen these people at the borehole ?) Instead of going earlier to work on the field then when coming back they can fetch some water. But when the rains starts you will see them very busy doing Ganyu (casual labour) later on they harvest less yield after that I worked on my own garden.

When I went to the borehole for the second time I found some women (three) from other village discussing that : (have you seen our neighbour what she is doing ? she is throwing away some dried cassava (in a pit) instead of giving some people to eat help them (Ganyu in their field ) then the other answered that even last year they had more maize but with weevils instead of giving people
to select the good ones and eat but they were also throwing away (other women were just quite
listening to them)

After that I was just staying then after lunch Innocent came and she was saying that: in the morning I
went sell some Zigumu (maize flour cakes) at [small crossroads market] for my Mother. then I also found
Grace selling Mandasi, the at the market Grace explained that : she had found a boy friend in Mzuzu, they
met when
she went there last year to buy rice for sale and again they met on 19 October 2008 when we went
for elections (for MP) then she continued by telling me at the market that :on 27 October i will in
Mzuzu to meet with him. He said that he want to give me 10,000 for business. after few
minutes Jasmine came and she was saying the same story about Grace but Jasmine added by
saying that: she has a husband in Mangochi why can’t she go and stay with Him there ? then
Innocent said that maybe that husband have got the wife there (but Pamela said that
Grace went to Mzuzu to beg Money from her Uncle).

Then later on Jasmine said that I have now finished making ridges I will be just doing my business
while waiting for the rains to come then Dorica came after Innocent and her Mother left. Then
Emra then Dorica told me that : they have divorced and the husband went to marry another
Wife! But I don’t know the reason and Emra is getting worried because they sold the maize
together and for ganyu at [nearest primary school] (Making ridges) with the money the husband used to make a
passport ready for South Africa (RSA) and as of now he went to marry another wife which is not good
(Said Dorica) after that Saibi was coming back from the borehole and she was telling
her Sister Florence that have stopped working in my field I will continue later because nowadays I am
making a lot of profits in my business. then Florence said that my husband is not happy
he is saying iam spending more time in the tree project but no benefit instead of taking care of
the children (Saibi Laughed).

Later on Lizzie came she said that I just wanted to greet you am going to fetch some
water but as of now I have already finished making ridges and I have also rented a field I want
to grow cotton (Then she left). After knitting I went to fetch some water for my garden.

25 October.

In the morning I went to church on the way I saw Hilda making ridges with Ada her
daughter then also met with Emra selling Zigumu (maize flour cakes) at [small crossroads market]. At
church I found people already started the service and I joined them but during the announcements ex-
husband of
Joyce told the congregation that my wife ran away from me but if there is a woman without a Husband
she can get me at home [was serious Says G] (people laughed on the way back I met with Saibi selling
Zigumu. Then after lunch I started knitting then Ada, Victoria, Innocent,
Livia, Daughter of Venesi joined me but after few minutes Pamela came she said
that all the women from Mudzi B and Mudzi A must go and collect stones for renewing the slab at
the borehole and then we all went there and on the way people were just pointing at Emra
saying that the husband ended marriage and married in another village. I also heard Emra telling
Teleza and Julia that “although my husband ran away I am not getting worried because I know how to work on the field”

Then other women were just discussing that : although GVH is not happy because we learning how to knit, lets continue and don’t stop because it will help us. when we will stop that means we are afraid of her.

After few minutes we came back and continued knitting then a certain woman joined us and she said that I want to learn how to make shoes I stay in the house where Rebecca was staying (Its my House) but when I was in the hospital I told Rebecca to stay in my house because my house is her uncle but as of now Rebecca went to her husband not in this Village( and I told her that I will come in the morning for interviews as we did to others ).

It was already 5:30 pm and every body departed but no one else went to fetch at the bore hole. they locked it the whole day they said that they will open the other day but all the people were not happy.

At the church the preacher (Joyce’s ex - husband) announced that some people are using the church as a rest house some men and women meet there having sex some one forgot underwear one day we should buy a door.

26th October 2008

In the morning I went for interviews in Mudzi B where Rebecca was staying but I didn’t find any one, then I came back home. After few minutes I went to see Jasmine she said that she was ill (tooth problem) and she was telling me that they are many people at the borehole and most of them didn’t go to work in the field due to lack of water. After that Chief Mudzi A at the home, he was saying that I will start working in the field when I will see some clouds (signs of rainfall) he just greeted me and continued his journey.

After lunch I went to fetch some water at the borehole but there was a lot of people waiting to draw some water, then I just left the bucket and I came back home then I started “kuzira (smearing) at the store room. After that I started knitting then Jane, Victoria joined me and asked again Jane why she was saying that there was a certain boy who wanted to marry her last year but later on the relationship ended and he went to South Africa. (Victoria laughed). Then Victoria answered that why can’t you just continue school next year then Jane said that I will start but my boyfriend is in form 3 may be he will not allow me to continue (we all laughed). Then Jane said that its not good to meet with chibwenzi (boy friend) everyday I get bored, then Victoria said I like to meet with my boyfriend everyday because I miss him(all of them laughed). Jane started telling Victoria that your boyfriend was passing by yesterday and your mother was near by,and I told you that have you seen that nice bicycle! but it was a sign for you to see your boyfriend because “I was afraid of your mother to know him” (Victoria laughed) Jane continued by saying that on Thursday(market day)we should go at [small crossroads market] and friday at [nearest tradingcenter].In order to meet with them (they all agreed)
It was already 5.00pm then I went to fetch some water but there was still more people at the borehore. But they gave me a chance to draw, after that I started watering my crops.

27th October 2008

When I woked up I saw a group of 4 boys clearing the land (ganyu for K500) in GVH’s field. Then I started washing my blanket. After that I went to fetch some firewood, then I Jane making ridges alone in the field, then Dorica her mother and her brother making ridges. Then Innocent was also making ridges alone in the field. Then Mr Ntawanga was passing by where I was fetching firewood then he greeted me and he said that I’m coming from ganyu (casual labour) at my young mother Alma in Mudzi B (making ridges), when coming back I met with Rosemary and Thokozani carrying hoes and they told me that Mavuto! (Problems!) we are coming from ganyu for K1.500 making ridges at K. village.

After that I went for H.H interviews on the way I saw HB of Jasmine making ridges alone. After lunch Fatima came to see me and she started explaining that: There was a certain boy who was lost (disappeared) when he was coming back from school at J. village (form 2) and yesterday I heared that his parents went for almost 8 traditional doctors but failed to find him then later on his parents went to Mocambique to tell another traditional doctor, then when he came back on 26th October now he said that (the boy who disappeared is staying in a certain house) There is a certain old woman who stays in that house and she dug a big hole inside the house and that boy is staying that big hole but during night hours that old woman sends that boy to work in her field then in the early morning he goes back to that pit. Then Dorica joined us she continued by saying that: the traditional doctor went back to mocambique to get strong medicine in order for that boy to get out of that house and people will gather today to on 27th October and I will go to see but when coming back I will tell you everything! It is very far don’t follow me but I will take a bicycle.

After few minutes the grandson of GVH shouted by telling people in the villages that: I’m going lock the borehore at 5:00pm for two days we want to make a slab then I don’t want to see anyone fetching water tomorrow.

Then everybody in villages were busy drawing water, I didn’t go because I had enough water. Then no-one else joined me knitting.

28th October 2008

In the morning I was just staying because the borehore was locked on 27 October and no-one else fetched some water. Then later on I wanted to help Livia working on the field but she told me that (I went there already). After that I came back home then Fatima came to greet me and she was saying that Grace has gone to Mzuzu and she has left ganyu (casual labour) people on the field. She said that she will pay those people with the money that someone else in Mzuzu will give her after that I saw GVH telling Kondwani to start making ridges (ganyu) on her field near by. Then Fatima was saying that: the GVH received some money from her son in south Africa.

After lunch I started knitting when at 4:00pm Pamela, Innocent, Victoria, Livia, Jane, Fatima, Ada joined me (they were late because they went to Adult school). Then Pamela said that I
should make a hat for her son and Thokozani also came and she said that I should make some shoes and a hat for her daughter. I made those things the same day I charged K50 every body(I used my thread) and they were all happy because at Balaka they charged them K150.00 each.

0306 29 Oct 2008
In the morning I started cleaning the house, plates after that I saw many women from Mudzi B & Mudzi A carrying their children on the their back then Pamela passed by & she told me that we are going at [nearest primary school] to receive some medicine (Vitamins and Vaccination) for children about 6 months old-5 years

0307 After that I was just staying because the borehole was still locked but after lunch they opened it and I went to fetch some water but most of the people were at [nearest primary school].

0308 After lunch I started knitting then Fatima joined me. she said that my HB told me to learn knitting not just staying. Then I said that no problem I will teach you, Then Livia & Chisoni joined us & they were happy saying that (during the rain season we will buy thread and we will be making zipewa ,shoes for sale)(we all laughed) then Chisoni said that the HB of GVH is still sick but instead of going to the hospital for a Sing’anga searching for traditional medicine. Then Fatima answered by saying that the problem is that he has 4 wives and as of now he is spending 1 week to the first wife, up to finish moving around to every wife (we all laughed)

0309 Later on Livia said that Lizzie received thirteen thousand kwacha from her HB in South Africa.

0310 Then all the women said that we are going to attend adult school we will come tomorrow. Then Jane joined me as we were knitting she started saying that my grandmother (GVH) is forcing me to have another HB and get married & I told her that I want to go back to school, Jane continued by saying that ndinali ndi chibwenzi koma makolo ake a mwamuna samandifuna akuti ineyo ayil Koma panopa anapita ku S.A ndiyi ndikumudikira kuti abwele Kaye. Koma makolo ake amupezelka mkazi wina woti adzakwatirane naye. (I had a boyfriend but his parents didn’t like me as of now he is in SouthAfrica am waiting for him to come back but his parents has found a wife for him to marry) But I don’t know what to.

0311 After that Rosemary came & she was saying (my HB is not sleeping at home he has also gone to another wife I married him to be helping one another but am just doing ganyu (casual labour) alone ) it was already 5:45 pm & everybody departed

0312 30th Oct 2008
In the morning I went to fetch some firewood & on the way I saw Dorica & her mother making ridges on their field and HB of Fatima making ridges(ganyu ) (casual labour) on the field of Malita and Jane making ridges alone in the their field. When I came back I started watering my garden

0313 Later on I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I found Tumanene telling some people that my HB sent a cell phone for me (if you want have a cell phone and money you need to marry a man who wants to go to South Africa) so that you can have your. (no -one answered) when I reached home I met with Jasmine & she started telling me that I have sold my goat at MK4500 and am now going to buy maize at Admarc for food & seed to plant because the rainfall is about come
After lunch Fatima joined me & she was saying that my HB was happy yesterday because I have started learning how to knit and she also said that we are now eating Nandolo (pigeon peas) + cassava for lunch and nsima for dinner. Then chief Mudzi B came she also said that I went for ganyu (casual labour) at N. village making ridges MK1000. Am keeping that money in order to buy fertilizer but I want to learn knitting is it possible? Then I said no problem. Hilda was passing by then she greeted me & said that am tired am coming back from ganyu at K. village village making ridges.

After few minutes Innocent joined me and she said that: Am late today because I had a visitor he said that he is looking to rent & I charged him MK1000 and he said that he will come later.

After that everybody was quite busy knitting. Then at 5:00 pm everybody departed then I started watering my garden.

31 Oct 2008
In the morning Livia came to greet me and she said that last night we passed by your bouse going to Emra, Her ex-HB came at night and he found her with HB of Ainessi at the bedroom then the ex-HB was angry and he took a sharp knife and cut a part of the forehead of Emra & she cried loudly saying that I will not stop having sex with this man because you left. Then Ainessi was just crying saying that my HB at night cheated me that he was going to buy ndiwo (relish) at Mudzi B, not knowing that he was going to the house of Emra. And even Emra, she is my real friend, I help her making zigumu (maize flour cakes).

Then Jane came she was also telling me the same story of the last night but she added by Teleza was doing that habit at school she was sleeping with male teachers so that when she is late at school she should not be punished (Jane laughed).

Then Chief Mudzi B came she was saying that I have received my salary at MASAF then I want some shoes and a hat for my daughter then I said no problem I will make for her.

After lunch Grandson of Mudzi B came and he was saying that people will receive coupons on Sunday 2nd Nov & group villages will receive a cell phone and a radio.

1st Nov 2008
In the morning I went to fetch some water then on the way I saw Emra & HB of Ainessi including Ainessi I didn’t heard what they were discussing about but at the borehole people said that HB of Ainessi wants to marry Emra to be 2 wives (people laughed ) & others said that the relationship of Emra & HB of Ainessi started before the child of Emra died. Some people at the borehole were also saying that Jonassi brother of Katiya (who was on the picture) gave pregnant to certain young girl & they have now started staying together but the parents of both sides are not happy because they are still young (other people laughed )after that I started watering my garden then Jane came & she was saying that the owner of this house is pregnant from another HB and her grandmother told her to go and take a sewing machine and a bicycle that her son who is in S.A left.
Then after lunch I started knitting & Phingi came she was saying that sorry Livia will not come today to knit because she has gone to Balaka for tailoring. After few minutes Emra was passing by then Phingi said that the HB of Ainessi escorted Sakina to the Hospital & she (Emra) telling people that I am not ashamed because anybody knows the meaning of sex and I will not stop sleeping with him. Then Phingi continued by saying that :even Mphatso (young sister to Ainessi) is in relationship with HB of Ainessi and HB of Emra (Jasmine continued :I don’t like girls of nowadays they just have sex with different men but without )we all laughed and Phingi continued her journey to the borehole.

After that I was knitting alone then at 5:00 pm Livia was coming back from tailoring then she greeted me and said that she met with her ex-HB on the way! Then she gave her MK300 for soap, but she didn’t beg, after Livia no-one came

**2nd Nov 2008**

In the morning I was going to fetch some water then on the way Jane called me, and she was saying that HB of Ainessi wanted to beat me, because there was a certain day that I was washing my body & he came while I was naked at the bathroom in order to sleep with me then I refused. later on I explained to my grandmother but she said that “just forgive him, I was angry (said Jane) because my grandmother didn’t help me. Jane continued by saying that HB of Ainessi was also in relationship with Doris and on 1st Nov because of the story of Emra he runned away and climbed in a mango tree because many people were laughing at him. But mother of Ainessi (Rosemary) told the people that don’t laugh at him because he has got power to choose a wife of his heart Jane continued :this story (the same ) happened to Pamela she was staying in Zomba with her HB but she was also having sex with her in-law of the same house(Young brother to her HB) later on she was chased from Zomba to Mudzi B as a punishment. And here in Mudzi B Pamela started chibwenzi with a doctor from [nearest tradingcenter] hospital. And one day the doctor slept at Pamela's house .Then at the midnight the HB from Zomba came to pick her but he found her with another HB at the bedroom. Then the HB from Zomba Decided to Divorce & he took all the 2 children.

After few months Pamela had another chibwenzi (boyfriend) from M. village and 1 night again a man from M. village slept in the house of Pamela without knowing that the doctor will come the same night, then when the doctor came he also found Anne with a man from M. village & the relationship ended & also a man from M. village ended the relationship the same night, after few days Pamela found herself that she was pregnant Jane was laughing & she was comparing with the story of Emra

After that I continued my journey to fetch to fetch some water. And at the borehole people were discussing that the chief has gone (g, Mudzi B) to take some coupons at [small crossroads market] for the whole village

After that I went to fetch firewood and on the way I saw Dorica, her mother & her brother making ridges on the field & when I was coming back I met with GVH & she told me that I am going to receive my coupon: this year the government has changed the decision they said that everybody who registered must go and receive alone. not a chief or a GVH receiving for their village no, because
most of them were cheating and stealing said GVH.

After that I started washing my clothes then Innocent came she told me that last night a hyena came at the house of (mother to Chief Mudzi B & caught a big goat & killed it

At 11:00 O clock people were coming back from [small crossroads market] & I asked 1 woman & she said that the coupons are not ready they will tell us when they are ready.

After lunch I started knitting but no-one else joined me, And Livia came saying that sorry am busy my ex-HB has come he wants to help me collecting firewood for burning my bricks before the rains starts.

I was knitting alone, then at 5:00 pm I heard a sound of a car and a loudly voice announcing that tomorrow on 3rd Nov those who registered must go at [small crossroads market] to receive a coupon, those who will be selling coupons will be punished (life in prison)

3rd Nov 2008

In the morning I started sweeping then I saw Kondwani & her 3 children making ridges (ganyu) (casual labour) at GVH’s field, after that I went to fetch some water & a lot of people were busy passing by ,going at [small crossroads market] to receive coupons and on the way back I saw Emra charting with HB of Ainessi

At 10:00 am Fatima came to knit she said the hyena is still moving around at night even at [nearest primary school] village, After few minutes she went back after that I started watering my garden

After lunch I started knitting then Pamela joined me she said that she didn’t go to receive a coupon because she is attending a seminar at [nearest primary school] (for tree project )after that at 3:30 pm people were now coming back from coupons then Victoria joined knitting & Ada. Then Fatima and Victoria explained that GVH registered other daughters(her daughters)who are in Lilongwe then she told Jane to be on behalf of the those people (took their names )Pamela answered that :this year some policemen are there watching and everybody is receiving her on & signing using a stamp those who do not know how to write, (fingerprints)Adas said that the GVH was just quite. but other villages everybody received 2 coupons for different variety of fertilizer, but in Mudzi B only 1 coupon each, Ada continued by saying that (this year most of the people kept some money to buy fertilizer, others sold goats, chickens, MASAF, others received money from (HB in S.A) others ganyu (casual labour) this time most of the people have got maize till Dec but the problem is ndiwo (relish) (said Pamela) at 5:45 people departed

4th Nov 2008

In the morning I saw Kondwani making ridges (ganyu) (casual labour) in the field of GVH and later on I went to fetch some water then on the way I saw mother of chief Mudzi B making ridges on her field. Then at the borehole I heard Hamra telling her friend that although I didn’t receive a coupon I will not stop working on my field I will apply manure and God will help me
5th Nov 2008

In the morning when I waked up I saw Kondwani continuing ganyu (casual labour) but with two children in the field in the field of GVH and when I was going to the borehole I saw mother of chief Mudzi B making ridges on her field and people at the borehole were just saying that: (the rain will start soon because of the lightening of the last night). Livia:

*use traditional medicines (a string it works for rope around the waist

*hospital injections

*Other men instead of releasing the sperm inside the Vagina they release outside

Then Livia went to the hospital to take an injection (3 months ) couldn’t explain why she did it. Ex-HB recently wanted to sleep with her on her field when they went there to cut firewood, but she refused, he asked her if she want to be with him (since she went for an injection today) but she denies

Jane doing ganyu (casual labour) at grandmother field (GVM) to find money to buy thread to have (knit something for a relative) (had seen them both on GVM’s field but thought Jane was just helping, but Jane says: grandmother received money But I cannot beg only in return for ganyu, wants to buy shoes and saw a skirt in Balaka at MK250 wants to wear expensive clothes in this village

8th Nov 2008

Kondwani again doing ganyu (casual labour) on GVM field behind our house in the early morning a Grandmother of GVM working on the field

Nov 9

Kondwani again on GVM field behind our house, with children in the morning hours, also Jane mother of chief Mudzi B making ridges and Amila making ridges alone

10th Nov 2008

Kondwani was still doing ganyu (casual labour) in the field of Mudzi B, when I was going to the borehole I met with mother of chief Mudzi B making ridges on her field. Then on the way back I met with Mr. Ntawanga going for ganyu and when we were working on the field Jasmine was going to work on the field at mosque when I went to fetch some water again I saw Tinenenji selling some g/nuts. Amila went to borrow a scissors then she was told that I cannot borrow you because there is HIV

Nov 18

GVH working on the field between ours and Rosemarys house clearing Dorica is doing ganyu on the same field, GVHs grandson has also been coming each afternoon to do the ganyu on that field, most morning Kondwani also. HB of GVH sitting at the veranda of little house next to ours.


29th Nov 2008

When I came back from Balaka for shopping’s I went to give Livia her Nandolo seeds (pigeon peas) then I found Jasmine making zigumu (maize flour cakes) for sale

Then after few minutes daughter of Venesi was passing by, then I asked Jasmine where that girl found her baby, Then Jasmine said that ask Innocent she will explain to you. Then Innocent said that the girl is 14 -15 years and she was impregnated by the HB of Nola (the old Man) when she was at school he was giving her money to buy soap & they were having sex at Banana trees in the field of people, Then Innocent continued by saying that the old man refused the pregnancy he said that I am weak and my sperms are very weak and I cannot sleep with this young girl, Then daughter of Venesi stopped school.

After that Innocent said I would like to meet with young brother of Mr. Chikombo (H, master of [nearest primary school]) he is looking some people to work in his field (ganyu/kupalira) (casual labour/weeding) after few minutes the H.master passed by then Innocent told him that I want ganyu for MK500 kupalira then the H, master said no problem you will start on 5th Dec. At the same time the H.master told his fried that this is your in-law (pointing at Innocent) & Innocent just smiled then they continued their journey

After that Jasmine told Innocent to go to the pig kraal and I followed her when reached there I found Suset selling Kachasu (traditionally distilled beer) & there was 5 men customers and one of the customers told Suset Akazi anangikufuna mowa ngati simundipatsa ndigona konkuno (my wife, I want some beer if you don’t give me I will spent a night here) other men were just laughing but her HB was there he was also drinking beer from there it was already 5:30 pm and I went back home & I started cooking. But Suset sold for MK1000 that day (said Innocent)

30th Nov 2008

In the morning I went to fetch some firewood, water then I saw Emra making ridges in her field. then around 10:00 I started knitting & Livia joined me as we were knitting she started saying that “I was pregnant to this second child ndili chibwenzi (when we were in relationship) asanandikwatire (before we got married)”. Then after 4 months he married me & before I gave birth to this child we divorced and we met at the hospital when he heard that I have got a baby then he brought soap, lotion & cloths for a child “after few minutes he went back home (it was lunch)Then around 1 o clock a council of [clinic] village came and he was saying that he wanted to greet us and ask why people in the village are not going for blood testing and I just told him that I don’t know. And he continued by saying that I would like to tell some people to help me to find out why most of the people are not going there. After few minute he bought Chipewa (hat) and continued his journey

After lunch I saw some people gathering at the mosque to attend a certain Meeting for Muslims but the one who told people to gather there, didn’t but most of the people were not happy
At 3:30 I went to finish some missing question to Mudzi A but first of all I talked to Jasmine!

Jasmine said that most of people they don’t know that they can drink milk from goats but cows only. Even herself (Jasmine) she just tried only once because he was ill (stomach)

Jasmine: About her marriage she explained that with my HB we are relatives because my mother is the cousin of my HB.

Then his parents came to talk with my parents & my parents agreed but we stayed 3 years before getting married because I was still at school. Then I agreed because my real mother was staying in Zimbabwe & there was no-one else to continue paying school fees for me.

About loan she explained that at the beginning people from CUMO came and talked to the chief (group) that they wanted to have a meeting to those people who can be interested to be taking loans. Then all the people (7 villages of GVH) gathered and the CUMO explained how to start taking loans, how to pay back, and their rules, how they will treat those people who fail to pay back and after their explanation, they told them to register if they want.

Others are refusing because they say that they cannot manage to pay back after 2 weeks but if it was once a month they could have joined (said Jasmine).

From there I continued my journey to Teleza.

2 Teleza

She said that she planted maize, nandolo (pigeon peas), mtedza (ground nuts), maungu (pumpkins), mseula and she will plant cotton if the rain continues.

-all the crops bought to Magda but for maize seeds she will go for ganyu (casual labour) to her field

-Fertilizer bought 1 bag but she received the whole coupon no-one to share with (I don’t know the reason said Teleza) but I failed to buy 2 bags because my uncle said that he didn’t receive a coupon & I gave him to buy

The money that I used to buy I borrowed from Magda

-Mammawa-mango (morning mangoes for break fast)

-Masana-nsima +matemba (lunch nsima and dry fish), Matemba (dry fish) bought from someone else who was passing by, someone else borrowed my money and she gave me back, then I used to buy ndiwo (relish)

-Maize for nsima I bought from a certain pastor MK52 per kg & I bought 12 kgs but I have forgotten where I found the money

3 Suset: She planted maize-cotton -Soya -mtdzsa (ground nuts) -nandolo (pigeon peas) -nkobwe (cow peas) -maunngu (pumpkins)
All seeds bought from Magda though the business of beer

- 1 bag coupon shared with Kima - money used after renting her field to someone

-Mammawa-mango (break fast mangoes)

Masana - nsima + nandolo (lunch nsima and pigeon peas)

Madzulo - nsima + nandolo (dinner nsima and pigeon peas)

Maize for nsima bought 5 kgs at MK70 per kg through business of beer selling and nandolo bought by money through ganyu (casual labour)

Loan = she wants to start a business of buying and selling fish, including kachasu I decided my self to take loan chifukwa ndili ndi mpamba wochepa ndiye ndikufumna ndiwo nje zere because I don’t have enough capital for business and I want to add)

-Anthu ena amanena kuti sangakwanitsa kubweza ngongole ndi chifukwa chake samatenga (other people says that they cannot manage to pay back loan that’s why they don’t take)

Anapangitsa mnsokhano anayitanitsa anthu ammidzi ya (we had a meeting for all those people who stays in the village of GVKH & they explained how to start taking loans, how to pay back. Komanso ananena kuti wofuna atha kulembetsa ndikuyamba kutenga ngongole ndiye ndikatenga (and they also said that for those who want to take loan can register and start getting the loan and I will take mine on) Tuesday

2 Dec 2008

(But at my return to Mudzi B still no loans were given (Feb. 8 200g) each meeting, participants are told by CUMO extension workers staying at [small crossroads market] that they cannot give money yet but next week. Because people had not been paying back their loans, Jasmine today suggested that the man may have used the money for himself, and that they should may be stop going if it just continues like this

After that I went to talk to Kima, then I saw Livia feeding the pigs

4 Kima

Ndadzala chimanga (I have planted)—Soya - mtedza (groundnuts) - maungu (pumpkins) - mseula - will plant khobwe (cow peas), but the seeds bought from Magda

-Fertilizer bought 2 bags and received a whole coupon the money that she used was the one her daughter sent

-Mammawa-sindinadye ndinapita ku Maliro (in the morning I didn’t eat because I went to attend the funeral)

-Masana - Ndinadya ku maliro, nsima nyemba + nsomba (I ate lunch at the funeral ,, nsima beans and fish)

-Madzulo-nsima + matemba (for dinner I ate nsima and dry fish) maize started buying at [nearest tradingcenter] MK70 per kg (vendors) through the business of selling beer.

When I was talking to Kima, Livia was chatting with Suset and I was just listening what they were discussing and I heard Suset telling Livia that I had been at a funeral for a long time, and I heard you that certain man wants chibwenzi (relationship) with you but you are not answering properly then he told me that if u don’t want, that means he
will propose another wife because it seems like you don’t want, then Livia told Suset that I will just write a letter and you will give him (ndavomera) \((I\ have\ accepted)\) but don’t tell my mother, then on Tuesday I will tell my mother not to come and feed the pigs, I will come so that I can give the letter to give him or else, I will meet with him here (Suset & Livia) smiled and shook hands

When I was passing by they stopped talking and I continued my journey back home

Than Magda gave me some g/nuts and a decoration for me to see what she was knitting when she was a young girl. from there I went to see Chenawe (old woman) and her HB said that he wanted chipewa \((\text{hut})\) & he said that I will give you money later on Then Chenawe started saying that this year most of the people will not have food to eat in end December because no Mangoes and zuwa lambiri \((\text{very hot})\) (this shows that Chaka cha mawa kuli njala \((\text{next year there will be hunger})\) )from there I went back home & at 4:40 Jane came to greet me

I started knitting then friend of Jane joined me (the one who was helping Jane on the field ) as we were chatting friend of Jane started saying that the owner of this house wanted to rape me then I shouted but some one heard my voice \((\text{at dambo (garden)})\) I went to plant vegetables and he was passing by )she continued by saying that he used to propose a woman by forcing her to accept with angry face and aloud voice most of the women used to agree, because of being afraid according to the way he looks \((\text{appearance})\)

Then Jane continued by saying that someone proposed me and he started touching my breasts although I didn’t agree, but I will see later on may be I will accept chibwenzi because he already touched my breasts \((\text{all laughed})\) then friend of Jane continued by saying that Kondwani \((\text{daughter of Rosemary})\) has married but people in Mudzi B are saying that in the afternoon she used to be afraid to enter in her house because the HB is just telling her to have sex anytime \((\text{all laughed})\) after 5:30 they all departed

1 Dec 2008

In the morning at 8:30 am I was having my breakfast then Rosemary passed by with the HB coming back from the field \((\text{all carried hoes})\) the HB went straight to the house of Rosemary

After that I went to fetch some water then HB of GVH was still making ridges alone in the field \((9:20)\) after that I started reading what I have been writing, after lunch I went to talk with Rosemary and I found her eating nsima +matemba with the HB while her children were just drinking thobwa \((\text{gruel})\)

1 Rosemary

Ndadzala nandolo \((\text{i have planted pigeon peas})\)-maize-mseula-tomato-maungu \((\text{pumpkin})\)-I will go for ganyu \((\text{casual labour})\) to her field \((\text{kupalira"mnola})\) \((\text{weeding})\)

She will now replant because not all seeds germinated

Bought 1 bag coupon shared with her daughter Sakina) fertilizer bought through ganyu \((\text{casual labour})\)

Ndidzasakaniza pothira kuti munda wonse ukwanire \((I\ will\ mix\ the\ fertilizer\ when\ applying\ so\ that\ it\ will\ be\ enough\ for\ the\ whole\ field)\)
Mammawa - mango (breakfast mango)

Masana - palibe - no Ufa (lunch nothing no maize flour)

Madzulo - nsima + nsomba HB bought (dinner some nsima and fish)

From there Ada came she told me to go with her at [clinic] village where a traditional doctor came to take out the boy who was still staying in the house of old woman (the boy who got lost when he was coming back from school) then on the way I found chief Mudzi B explaining to Esnart Lajab that she went at [nearest trading center] to buy maize for food MK52 per kg money found through ganyu. Still on the way Thokozani started explaining that this year kupalira ganyu (weeding, casual labour) will be 50 Tambala per phando (planting station) while last year it was 20-25 tambala and cotton will be 120-125MK per kg while last year it was MK75 per kg.

That’s why other people are working hard in cotton field not maize.

When we reached there (after [clinic] village hospital 70 minutes distance) we found a lot of people gathered from different villages & the singanga (traditional doctor) was also there from Mozambique and 6 police men.

Most of the people were just discussing about the old woman who bewitched the son, they were saying that her son is staying in S.A and he wants to come back but he bought some materials in order to open a maize mill here in Malawi at [clinic] village.

Then for a business to work properly he went to a certain tree doctor to get some medicine & he was told that you need to kill someone from his village then you will become rich and she explained this to her mother & she replied no problem I will find a certain strong boy from our village. As for now her mother called him (by telephone) what is happening here & he answered that (chonde amayi musaulure mankhwalawo pamene ali (don’t reveal) chifukwa ineyo nditha kufa mukawulura (please my mother don’t reveal where I kept the medicine because I will die as soon as u reveal to them)

After few minutes a sing’anga started pointing to young boys and girls who are witches in that village but they learned from that old woman.

On the way back I was with Thokozani & she started explaining that every night she is just dreaming about GVH forcing her to eat meat & one day she also dreamed about the same woman changing from a woman to a man and having sex with her in dreams. then later in the morning she passed by GVH but she didn’t greet her and she continued by saying that am afraid that one day she will kill my children.

We were just running when we were coming back home because there was heavy wind (sign of rainfall, but it did not) At home Innocent came she said that tomorrow 2 December will go to receive (loan) then heard her that I will go with you. then Innocent said that no problem I will for wait you.

2nd December 2008
In the morning after breakfast I went at [nearest primary school] to attend CUMO meeting. I went there with Innocent, Suset and Jasmine. At [nearest primary school] there was almost 3 groups (10 per group) but for Jasmine it was only for 7 people, but the other group received 64 thousand & Melina was included. The group of Jasmine didn’t receive anything because of other balances (they didn’t pay back the whole amount [J: in Feb CUMO found that this had been a mistake in their computer. The outstanding balance of app. 3000 MK belonged to another group]) only Suset, Innocent & Jasmine are participating in Mudzi B & Mudzi A. At the meeting people were saying that even in their villages some of them are not participant akuti amachita mantha sangakwanitse kubweza ngongole (they say that they are afraid they can’t take loan). I asked the one who was giving loans to people if they choose people to participate but he said that anyone else who wants to join can register.

Every meeting; members need to pay k50 they keep at treasure book. Other members were not happy with this contributions. This money they keep for 4 months & share instead of this money at the bank (said alangizi) (extension worker). They also contributed some money ndalama iliyonse yomwe munthu wayipezza kupeleka kwa Alangizi kuti adziwasungila kwa 4 months kenako kugawana (said alangizi) (any amount of money that a person have they contribute and give it to the extension worker to keep it for them then after 4 months they share, said the extension worker) e.g. Jasmine contributed MK100, Innocent MK50, Suset MK50. [G: I guess that Alangizi is the one who use this money]

When paying back loan 2-3 women should be sent to the bank as witnesses. Not giving alangizi. I remember gave an example that some one else at [nearest trading center] cheated his friends that thieves stole some money when he was going to pay back loan MK32000. He was alone and it was difficult to believe him (either thieves or he used the money himself). Venesi will not continue taking loan because this hunger season people can not buy anything & it aid will be difficult to pay back (but as of now she have got a balance k500 and she need to pay back said Jasmine. All members signed to agree that the loan should be given to them. But they will receive in 4 December said Alangizi. (the extension worker)

On the way back home Jasmine was saying that; when I will receive this loan I will give k500 to ganyu people (kupalira) (casual labour for weeding) and Innocent said the same words. Jasmine continued by saying that I will use the other money to buy maize because I don’t have anything to eat & I will start business later on. From their I went to talk to Sweetness.

1. Sweetness

The floods happens every year poymba timayika madothi mmatumba panopa matumba tilibe; koma alangizi (Ntawanga) atiwa kuti atipatsa udu kuti tidzole ndiye tidzala panopa. (at first we were putting sand in a sack bag but as of now we don’t have those sack bags but the extension worker (Ntawanga) said that he will give us some grasses so that we should plant and we will plant now)

From their I went to Lizzie then I found them making ufa woyera. On the way back home I met with Livia was going to the maize mill. Then Livia said that I will eat phala (porridge) this lunch because we don’t have enough Ufa (maize flour).

Suset said that (telling Livia) you should come tomorrow with that letter because that man will be at home drinking beer. (I didn’t ask anything) but after few minutes Livia came home to borrow a pen then I asked her what she answered that (ndikufuna ndilembe kalata kwa asi ku Mangochi (I want to write a letter to my sister at Mangochi) I didn’t continue asking her.
3 DECEMBER 2008

In the morning I started cleaning the house then after that I went to fetch some water & I saw group Mudzi B her he & grand children (2) clearing the field & making ridges. On the way back I saw Rosemary coming back from the field alone.

After break fast I saw Innocent & Sofia going to [nearest trading center] Admarc to buy maize for nsima (Sofia’s HB sent money) (Innocent’s her mother kept from business) but they back without maize because at Admarc there was no maize (already finished on 2 December ).At 10:30 Kondwani came to knit & she was saying that she went for ganyu (casual labour) (kupalira (weeding) at K. village with 4 young boys from Mudzi B but 40t per phando) and Dorica said that she want to buy some note books & soap, lotion with that money preparing for school.

At 01:30 I went to Innocent’s house to take my knitting needles then on the way I saw Fatima & her Daughter eating nsima, Elube &her Daughter were also eating nsima. then I found Sofia & her children eating nsima, Jasmine grand daughter & Innocent were also eating nsima with matemba (dry fish).

At 4:00 Thokozani came she said that she wanted to learn how to knit. A s we were knitting we saw 4 women passing by then Thokozani said that Mr. Ntawanga's father ali pa chibwezi ndi mzimayi wa kwa J. village (is in relationship with a woman from J. village) ndiye akazi awo a Mr. Ntawanga (elder) amadandaaula kuti amunya awo sakugona mnyumba komanso saguila chakudya ndiye awathandize kuti mkaziyo athetse chibwezi ndi abambowo (then the wife of mr Ntawanga (elder) was complaining that her HB is not spending a night at her house and he is also not buying food, now he should help her so that the other wife must end the relationship with that man) (they went to explain to GVH )conclusion not known.

At 4:00 I went to Amila ndi for missing questions but she was not there she went to see some friends at K. village & I just heard some people saying that Grace is back from Mzuzu, then I went back home.

At 07:00 pm Pamela came to greet me then I asked her where she was coming from, then she answered by saying that ndimaperekeza amuna anga (I was escorting my HB). Pali a bambo ena ake anandifunsira banja ndiye ndinavomera koma ndinawauza kuti asanandikwatre ndiwone kaye khaliidwe lawo (there is a certain man who is proposing for marriage and I have accepted but i told him not to marry me till I know his behavior)

Then Pamela continued by saying that I will tell you if will get married to this man (But he is ready to marry me)

At 07:00 pm Pamela came to greet me then I asked her where she was coming from, then she answered by saying that ndimaperekeza amuna anga (I was escorting my HB). Pali a bambo ena ake anandifunsira banja ndiye ndinavomera koma ndinawauza kuti asanandikwatre ndiwone kaye khaliidwe lawo (there is a certain man who is proposing for marriage and I have accepted but i told him not to marry me till I know his behavior)

4th Dec 2008

In the morning I went to fetch some water and I saw Livia making ridges, near the borehole I saw Lovely replanting (maize) after breakfast I started knitting then Thokozani joined me. Then she started explaining that my HB, HB of Fatima (the one who was doing ganyu (casual labour) in the field of GVH) went to drink beer at Jim village they went there to celebrate that his wife has got a baby girl & he bought beer for himself + 2 friends

She also explained that Rosemary rented a field from GVH at MK1000 her elder brother
sent some money (the one who is staying at Ch. village she also continued by saying GVH gave Mphatso (daughter of Rosemary) 1/4 acre only because she is now married. And Mphatso was complaining that her HB bought fertilizer 1 bag but the field is very small while GVH has got a lot of land but she wants some people to be renting not giving them free of charge, Thokozani continued by saying last harvest most of the people refused to do ganyu in her field because she used to pay them a little money but big field (ridges, kupalira (weeding) then she just hired young boys

0458 Thokozani said that I went to [nearest trading center] to buy mseula (MK50 through ganyu then Chenawe was passing by & Thokozani started saying that the HB of Chenawe used to drink a lot of beer & at night he also chase his wife not to sleep in- the house, sometimes staying naked (after drinking a lot of beer ) but always hide the behavior of her HB at 10:30 I saw Rosemary & HB + son coming back from the Chenawe field & Thokozani said that (they went together for ganyu (casual labour) but 30t Phando (per planting station)

0459 At 11:30 Thokozani left

0460 At 2:30 I went for the missing questions in Mudzi B then I started talking to Kondwani

0461 1. Kondwani

0462 Ndadzala chimanga (I have planted maize) (her mother gave her) thonje (cotton) (borrowed) nandolo (pigeon peas) bought at mk60 khobwe (cow peas) (kept) mtedza bought at MK150 - Maungu (pumpkins) (begged from friends) the seeds bought at the grocery (Nduwa village)

0463 Fertilizer bought 2 bags (coupon shared with her mother (old woman) but she refused to buy ) and she told her daughter that she don’t like applying fertilizer all the years but she used to harvest a lot, she don’t even apply manure she says that fertilizer destroys fertility in the soil not adding fertility

0464 Money found to buy fertilizer through ganyu (casual labour) (making ridges)

0465 She will just mix when applying kuti adzakwanire minda yonse (so that it should be enough for the whole field)

0466 Mammawa- mango (break fast mangoes)

0467 Masana - nsima + masamba (a mtchire) (lunch nsima and vegetables collected from the bush)

0468 Madzulo - phala no ndiwo (dinner porridge no relish)

0469 Maize for nsima bought at [nearest trading center] Admarc MK52 per kg she bought 15kgs for MK780-

0470 About business she explained that ndasiya chifukwa ndi kulima komanso chinangwa kulibe komanso koma January akayamba kugulitsa ku D. village (I have stopped because i am working on the field and apart from that there is no cassava then I will start in January because that’s when people from D. village start selling) from there I saw some 3 men putting a new roof iron sheet of the house of Ayama. then Amila said that her son from S.A is the one who bought the iron sheets [People say that she is among those who kept the rain from falling, bcoz the rains only came back after her iron sheets were put in place...]

0471 2. Blessings

0472 Ndadzala chimanga - nandolo - nkhwani - mtedza - (I have planted maize, pigeon peas, pumpkin leaves and ground nuts) (not finished –now replanting)

0473 All seeds kept - fertilizer bought 1 bag (shared with Lovely) money kept when the HB sent -
ndiwochepa ndidzasakaniza pothira (its not enough then I will just mix when applying (mixing two different kinds of fertilizer instead of applying separately)

Mammawa -phala -masana nsima +nandolo

Madzulo- nsima +nandolo (dinner nsima and pigeon peas) (what she kept)

3 Amila

Chimanga (maize)(bought MK800 through ganyu )nandolo (pigeon peas) kept -maungu (pumpkins) (kept )mtedza (groundnuts)MK250 through ganyu (casual labour) (bought at grocery). Thonje (cotton)will be planted on Saturday, she continued by saying that this afternoon am going for ganyu kipalira casual labour for weeding. 50t phando (per planting station)at K. villages fertilizer bought 1 bag through MASAF

Chief Mudzi B told her to go and help her to work for MASAF [worked together on part assigned to chief Mudzi B] & they will share the money and they shared 1200

She also continued by complaining that she is working alone in the field HB akumwa mowa kwambiri patsiku amalima mizere 10 ndalama amagula ma battery (is just drinking a lot of beer and he only makes 10 ridges per day then use his money to buy batteries for radio)

I found them eating nsima with grasshoppers (children catched )she started complaining that they don’t have ndiwo (relish) but he went to drink beer for MK120 then when he reached home Amila didn’t give some nsima but the children went to give him grasshoppers + nsima(I also found him listening to the radio, Amila continued by complaining that she built the house alone e.g. making bricks,fetching some water for bricks & cutting down trees for roof and grasses +ganyu (casual labour) to build a house while a HB was just drinking beer

Fertilizer ndidzasakaniza pothira chifukwa munda ndi waukulu (I will just mix the fertilizer when applying because I have abig field)(that means it will not be enough)

She [Amila] also complained that HB used to cheat her that I am going to work in the field & you should not go today just stay here & take care of the children when I followed him to the field I didn’t find him there he went to drink beer from 6 am -6 pm

As of now I used to go in the morning to my field then late afternoon for ganyu, am working both sides apart from that I told my HB that we need to be helping one another when buying maize for nsima e.g. contributing MK400-MK400 not only drinking, then he accepted as we were knitting Thokozani started explaining that at K. village a certain man was coming back from beer at 11:00 pm but because he drunk a lot he slept on the road thinking that he is at home. Then the hyenas came and ate all the intestines and he died. Some neighbors found the dead body in the morning and the wife cried by saying ndimawauza kuti mowa ndiwoyipa koma samamva (I always tell him that beer drinking is bad but he don’t listen to me)

Thokozani also continued by saying that Mphatso (her young sister) has married a man from clinic village as of now he bought fertilizer he left school in form 3 and he is working at Balaka but at a certain mosque sometimes he used to sleep there at Balaka

She also continued that Chisoni aborted when she was at school then as of now she is telling some people that someone else has bewitched me in order for me to any child ndiye ndipita kwa asinganga kuti munthuyo ndimudziwe (then I will go to the traditional doctor so that I should know the person who bewitched me) (Thokozani said that akuyiwala/kuti
amangochotsa mimba ) (she has forgotten that she always abort)

After few minutes a certain boy passed by then Thokozani Said that the boy went to buy a goat from Emra for MK5000 & she continued by complaining that my young sister Ainessi is pregnant & only few days to deliver but the HB used to sleep at Emra’s house leaving her alone. Then Ainessi is getting worried because she will not manage to go alone to the hospital at [nearest trading center] by foot.

She [Thokozani] also continued by saying that the owner of this house was just proposing anyone else and he slept with most of the people in this village except 40-60[old women] & he was also telling some of his friends that ndimafunanso nditagona ndi amayi [my mother] koma ndimalephera (chifukwa ndiwokongola) (I wish to have sex with my mother but am failing to do so because I don’t know how I can approach her)[since she is beautiful] Thokozani continued: Amfumu a Mudzi B anakwirana ndi uncle anga koma nthawi imeneyo anali ndi mimba ya 2 months from another HB koma uncle anga samadziwa (chief Mudzi B got married to my uncle when she was already 2 months pregnant from another HB but my uncle didn’t know about it) after staying 6 months she gave birth to child. Then my uncle said that zatheka bwanji kubereka mwana miyezi 6 osati 9, (how come you give birth in 6 months instead of 9,) after some quarrels the HB decided to divorce.

Munda wanga anandipatsa ndi amfumu a Mudzi B koma panopapa akufuna kundilinda mundawo chifuwaka banja ndi uncle anga linatha (said Thokozani) (chief Mudzi B is the one who gave me the field, but as of now she want to take the field back because the marriage with my uncle ended)

Thokozani continued: Agulupu Mudzi B ndi mfiti anatenga mankhwala ndikuthira pamutu pa Kondwani kuti ndi cholina choti amuna asamamufunsire akamuwona adziwona ngati nyani (Group Mudzi B is a witch she took traditional medicine and poured on Kondwani’s head so that men should stop proposing her because of the medicine men see her as a monkey) that’s why the marriage ended. The HB was saying that masiku ano sukwoneka wokongola ngati kale sindingathe kuyenda nawe pa nseu (you are not looking beautiful nowadays compared to the past and I can not walk in the street with you) (then HB divorced)

At 5:10 pm the rain started & Thokozani went back home. I continued knitting alone up to 7:10 pm

5 Dec 2008

In the morning when I get up I started cleaning the house after that I went to fetch some water but I was with Innocent then she started saying that grandson of my mother (Davie) bought blouse, Underwear for his girlfriend but through ganyu and I am not happy instead of going to school, he is just staying but his girlfriend is in standard 6, he don’t have enough soap but giving to his girlfriend, when we were coming from the borehole I met with GVH carrying 25 kgs of maize but I don’t know where she bought

At 10:30 I went to talk with Grace & on the way I saw Elube making zigumu& women from Mudzi B was busy buying & Jasmine also was Busy making Zigumu (maize flour cakes)

Grace

1 Grace

Not started planting she is waiting for the rains to come but she will plant maize (local) nandolo (pigeon peas) maungu (pumpkin) (she kept all the seeds)

Fertilizer not bought but next week (I already kept the money) uncle anga anandipatsa ku Mzuzu (my uncle gave me at Mzuzu), coupon received and shared with Haliday

Ndidzangosakaniza chifukwa ndi ochepa (I will just mix when applying because its not enough)

Mammawa -mango (break fast mangoes)
Masana - nsima + nandolo (lunch nsima and pigeon peas) > all kept

Madzulo - mpunga + tea (dinner rice and tea) > kept when she bought in Mzuzu in Jan 2008

*I tried to ask her what she was doing in Mzuzu but she just said that I went to see my uncle

On the way back home I met with Dorica and Ada coming back from ganyu (kupalira (weeding) at K. village 30t per phando) (per planting station)

And I saw 3 boys and 4 young girls doing ganyu in the field of Jasmine but I don’t know where she got the money to pay them, 30t phando. [HB paid, said T later]

At 12:40 I went to check my bicycle if it was ready, then on the way I met with Livia going to Suset & she was saying that alangizi (extension worker) from CUMO came and told them they will not give them loans but she didn’t ask why! Still on the way I saw Chikondi (pregnant) with the same man sitting together on the verandah

When I reached to [Bicycle maker], I found the bicycle not yet finished he said that he used the money (MK1500) by hiring ganyu people in the field (kupalira) (weeding) he told me to check him on Saturday afternoon

On the way back home I found Rosemary crying & some people were saying that one of her relatives died at Ch. village I just saw 2 women going there.

At 4:00 I started knitting but no one else joined me (they were busy in their fields)

Most of the people started kupalira on 4th Dec Said some women who were coming back from the borehole

6th Dec 2008

In the, morning I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I heard Jasmine telling her friend that in the morning she just cooked Phala (porridge) for grandchildren while others ate zigumu (maize flour cakes). And at the borehole I saw Lovely replanting maize on her field on the way back I heard Thokozani telling her friend that I am going to plant cotton with my HB after breakfast I started knitting then Fatima was passing by & she was telling Livia that (Ndayamba kupalira (I have started weeding) then Livia said that ndiyamba mawa panopa ndikudzala mtedza (I will start tomorrow because as of now I am planting ground nuts), GVH and her HB were also replanting maize

After lunch I went to check my bicycle then on the way I saw Jasmine & HB replanting then, still on the way I met with Innocent & she started saying that I went at [nearest trading center] yesterday with Sofia then my brother gave me MK800, for me to buy soap. Then I asked Innocent that how much money did your brother gave to his wife Sofia? Then Innocent said that: palibe (didn’t believe that it was her brother who gave her MK800 instead of giving his wife, I continued my journey then on the way I saw mother of Dorica replanting maize Mr. Ntawanga & wife replanting maize Rashida was also replanting maize and Maungu (pumpkin)

When I reached to the old woman I found the bicycle not ready then I just turned back because
there was some thunders & lightening (Signs of rainfall) on the way back I saw a group of 5 boys working in a certain field (kupalira) (weeding) and they were discussing that kumunda kwa amayi tidzawathandiza mammawa koma masana ku ganyu (tomorrow morning I will help my mother working in the field but in the afternoon I will go for casual labour)

0514 At 3:00 I went to fetch some water then I saw HB of Amila doing kupalira (weeding) alone from there I started knitting & no one else joined me at 7:30 pm slept

0515 7th Dec 2008

0516 When I got up in the morning I saw GVH and her grandchildren making ridges then Rosemary & her HB passed by going to the field, Then later on I saw Thokozani and her HB going to the field at 9:00 I saw Emra making ridges alone in the field

0517 At 9:30 I started knitting then Thokozani joined me and she was saying On 8 Dec Muslims will be celebrating that they have finished fasting (for 9 days) and people from other villages will gather and eat together

0518 After few minutes she begged some vegetables from the garden then I gave her

0519 From there I continued knitting and people were still replanting (Lovely) (Rosemary and chief Mudzi B)

0520 After lunch Jasmine called me she said that she was making zigumu (maize flour cakes) then I should go and see when I went there I found Sofia complaining to Innocent that amuna anq sakundipatsa chithandizo chokwanira mwanaano okudwala koma sakundithandisa kumusamala, (my HB is not taking good care of me, my child is also sick and he is not helping me to take care of the child), Then Innocent answered that ali ndi akazi ambiri ndiye olo apeze ndalama amafuna kupatsa mkazi aliyense pangonopangano (he has a lot of wives and when he finds money he share with all the wives, giving everybody a little) (I found them eating nsima with masamba (vegetables)

0522 Then 2 daughters of Elube passed by with plate’s full basin to clean at the borehole

0523 After few minutes Sofia was talking to HB of Fatima saying that “akazi anu Ali kuti?” (where is your wife) then HB of Fatima said that Ndwathamangitsa toyambana”adzabweranso (we quarreled and I have chased him but he will come back) after three weeks (but he didn’t explain what they quarreled

0524 As we were chatting Jasmine said that most of time mother of Charity used to encourage her daughter to start finding her own food while they are still young for example she was encouraging her daughter Saiba to start searching her own food before she gets married, Even Charity she started cooking her own food before she got married, Jasmine continued by saying that Zimenezi zimapangitsa Ana kuti akwatire nsanga nthowi yowo isanakwane. Ine sindingachite (this makes young children to get married earlier before there time as for me I cant do it)

0525 At 2:30 the rain started then I went back home it stopped at 3:45

0526 At 4:00i went to take my bicycle then on the way I met with chief Mudzi A going to his field to replant when I reached to the old woman I found that the bicycle ready and I was very happy, then I went straight to the grocery just to check who was selling then I saw a woman selling in the grocery & I new woman selling tomatoes only but those women and girls we talked to were not selling any
thing I greeted the 2 women & I told them that ndibwera mawa kudzacheza nanu” (I will come tomorrow to chart with you) it was already 5 oclock that’s why I failed to talk to them I didn’t take follow up questions

On the way back I found the old woman (Eveles ) eating nsima with Masamba ‘( vegetables). still on the way the old woman (Chenawe) called me she said that I want to buy I chipewa for my grandson and my HB wants to buy 1 for him, then they gave me the money [500MK – G comments that she thinks in the beginning people were hiding that they have some money], still on the way I found Sofia eating nsima with masamba. But still around 5:30 people were busy working on their field (Livia, chief Mudzi A, Elube, HB of Fatima, Mr. Ntawanga )

I saw Chikondi with the same man pakhonde ( on the veranda) around 5:30

8th Dec 2008

In the morning when I waked up I started kupalira (weeding) then Esnart passed by then she told me that: Lero sindinapite kumunda tikukapephera (I will not go to the field because iam to pray) (celebrating that they have finished fasting for this year)

At 10:003 women passed by then they came home to see zipewa (hut) after that they started introducing themselves to me

Timakhala kwa [nearest primary school], tikupita kwa [small crossroads market] tinatenga ngongole za MADEF ndiye mznathu wina sanamalize ku bweza ngongole ndiye tikupita kumeneko, Anthu a ku MADEF akubwera, ifeyo timagulitsa mowa wa kachasu pena timagulitsa kwambiri koma nthawi zina pangono poti kuli njala njala (we stay at nearest primary school) and we are going at [small crossroads market], we took some loan from MADEF then one of our friend didn't finish paying back the loan, then we are going to meet her because people from MADEF are coming, we sell traditionally distilled beer, sometimes we sell a lot of beer but sometimes we sell alittle because it is hunger season ), after 30 minutes they continued their journey

At 11:00 I saw some people coming back from the mosque & Chenawe was with her friends & they were discussing that the world is going to an end because there is no enough rainfall comparing to last year, And daughter of Kondwani was telling her friend that Today nsima ndiwo nyemba (relish beans) and her friend daughter of (chief Mudzi B) said that ife tikungodya nsima ndiwo thelele kuyambira dzulo (we are just eating nsima and the relish is okra since yesterday) (they laughed and shake hands) --> J: beans are considered better

After lunch at 1:40 Thokozani came to knit & she started complaining that amuna anga akuti sindikusamala mwana wawo. koma ndinawawuza kuti “mwanawo amakhala ndi agogo ake ndiye ndingamusamale bwanji? (my HB is saying that I am not taking good care of of his child , but I told him that his child stays with his/her grandparents then how can I take care of the child) she continued by saying that mwanayo amati akadya nsima kwa agogo ake amabweranso kwathu kuzadya (that child eats nsima to his/her grand parents then he/she also comes to eat again at my house), I have started getting worried & I have seen that its not good to get married to a HB who has got children from another wife, because anything else that I can do, it seems as if I am mistreating his daughter

At 3:30 I went to grocery to check who is selling then on the way I saw the same man with Chikondi and I heard Mr. Ntawanga that Chikondi has got 2 boys (twins)

Still on the way I met with the old woman (Eveles) coming back from the Mosque, Then she started explaining that I was selling tobacco and stopped. But as of now I have also started but no-one else comes to buy because they forget that I sell tobacco, its four months now since I stopped (we all laughed) she continued by saying that maybe I should put a certain sign in order to remind them
that I have also started selling tobacco

After few minutes I continued my journey, then at the grocery I just found I woman selling usipa (small dry fish)

Market woman Gayipa, 1976, J. village

2 Sometimes I sell tomatoes but especially usipa (small dry fish) (now)

3 Since 2007 we all decided chifukwa cha mavuto ndiye tinakambirana (because of problems then we discussed), HB gave me MK450 to start a business then I started selling I had enough money I stopped and started selling usipa buying at MK650 (5l) selling at MK800 buying at Liwonde turn off

4 Zinazo sindingakwanitse ndi chifukwa chake ndinayamba ya usipa (I can not manage to run other businesses thats why I started the business of selling small dried fish)

5 Ndimagulitsa pompano kapena kunyumba lolemba -lachisanu (I sell here at the market or at home from Monday to Friday)

Saturday - HB goes to church

Sunday - I do go to church

6 650-800 I use to buy maize, mchere (salt), paraffin, matches, ndiwe timakambirana ndi abambo (when I want to buy relish I discuss with my HB)

7 Ndayiwala chaka chomwe tinakwatirana (I have forgotten the year that we got married)—mwana ndayiwala chaka chomwe anabadwa koma omaliza 2000.Ndi banja loyamba anandipeza pakhomo, ndiye ankandifuna Banja, anayendera (I have forgotten the year that my child was born but the last born child was born in 2000, this is my first marriage and he found me at home and he proposed about marriage, he proposed me for) for 1 week, I was refusing because we belonged to different churches

* Ndinavomera kumutsatira ku mpingo wake (P.I.M) I accepted to follow him at his church after that I week we got married. But as of now my HB started praying at Seventh Day Baptist But I don’t know why. And I am still going at P.I.M church

Anandiwuza kuti ndili ndi ufulu kumapemphera kulikonse (he told me that I have the right to pray at his church or my church)

Good HB because amandigulira zovala komanso chakudya akapeza ndalama amagula (he buys clothes for me and d when he has money he buys food) (through ganyu (casual labour)) no other wives

8 Nine children but four died five staying in the family

HB + wife + three children but other two children are staying with my mother (grandmother)

* we also find money through ganyu (casual labour) + selling cotton >no ganyu hired now (no enough money)

9 Std 3, school fees no & no school uniform amatibweza (they send us back when we don’t put on school uniform)

10 Ndimasowa ndalama zogulira zovala, soap, mchere, chakudya koma panopa zonzei ndimatha kugula (I don’t have money to buy soap salt, food, but as of now I am able to buy myself)

11 No disadvantage

12 Anthu amanena ali ndi mavuto ndi amene amaganiza zoyamba geni, ena amakhala aulesi, ena manyazi (those people who have problems are the ones who think of starting business, others are lazy, while others are shy)
When coming back from the grocery I met with Hamra then I greeted her & she started saying that in the morning she went for ganyu (casual labour) in a certain village 30t per phando - 1 worked for MK270 & I have kept the money (she carried a bag of salt) she continued by saying that this afternoon I was thinking that I will work in my field but am tired and I decided to be moving around selling this salt 20kwacha per small plate exchanging with maize I bought this after selling cotton (3-4 bags 25 kg) but as of am deciding to keep this salt [bcz people are not buying now] and give some people In January. So that when they will be harvest they should give me some maize (exchanging salt-maize)

After that she continued her journey, still on the way I found Innocent making ridges and planting cotton & she started saying that Fatima banja lake latha akuti anakumba mayenje (the marriage of Fatima ended because she dug some holes near her home so that when the HB come at night should fall down) (Fatima started thinking that maybe her HB found another wife somewhere because he used to come at mid night everyday Then the HB chased (Innocent laughed & said if he can propose me I can agree (she was happy that maybe this would be her chance to find a HB, Perceived Fatima was the lucky one to have a HB)

In the morning I went to fetch some water then I saw four young boys working in the field of Jasmine (ganyu kupalira) (weeding casual labour) then at the borehole I found Livia & Chisoni they were discussing that (Livia: bwenzi pano ndikukhala kwanu koma amayi ndi omwe ankakaniza (I could have been staying at your place, but my mother is the one who ignored), That man is now staying in S.A and he married another wife and you Chisoni your HB is in S.A) bola inu mukupeza soap (at least you are able to find soap) During chibwenzi (our relationship) we were going together at Balaka for shopping’s soap, lotion, clothes, ndiwo (relish) but my mother said that we belong to the same village & its not good, That means we will not be respecting one another [Elder brother of Chisoni’s HB = son of Fissa, could have been Innocent’s HB, If Phingi had not refused, Livia says regrettingly], from there I saw Ada coming back from their field with her mother

At home I saw Elube working alone on her field (kupalira) (weeding) and Lovely was also coming back from the field

After few minutes Innocent came and she asked me to go with her & see zigumu (maize flour cakes) made by Auleria, on the way Innocent started saying that Suset was married to her brother [=owner of Suset’s first child] who is staying in J. village but they divorced because one day he found her with another man in the house cheating that he was a customer who came to buy beer (kachasu) (traditionally distilled beer) Still on the way I saw chief Mudzi B & Kondwani preparing thelele for nsima. Then Sofia was buying matemba (dry fish) for MK60 (man passing by then we found Auleria making zigumu for sell. Then Innocent, Ad, Grace were buying. on the way back home I saw HB of Jasmine working on his field (kupalira) and Innocent bought vegetables MK40 & she said that my mother also is making zigumu, Then I wanted to differentiate the quality and price

After lunch I saw mother of Dorica & Auleria going to the field to replant & Kupalira (weeding)

At 2:30 I went to fetch some water then I saw Thokozani cooking some mangoes she was telling her
mother that she don’t have ufa (still the HB didn’t buy fertilizer said Thokozani.

Later on at 4:30 pm Phingi came & she was complaining that other people are doing ganyu in order to get some soap but Livia is just waiting for me to give her everything nsima + lotion & her children but when I will die she cry loudly because she is failing to take care of herself &her children

10th Dec 2008

In the morning I started applying fertilizer after that I started clearing at the garden then I heard Jasmine telling Innocent to make phala (porridge)

At 8:00 Jeneti was passing by going to the field then talking to Lovely saying that yesterday I ate phala mammawa -masana ate nsima-madzulo I ate zigumu instead (ate porridge in the morning, lunch ate nsima, and dinner ate maize flour cakes) of nsima. Then Lovely answered that zimachitika nthawi ino ndiyosowa chakudya (it happens because this time is difficult to find food), after that I saw children of Elube+ Lovely + HB of Fatima working on the field of Elube & they were discussing that tomorrow tikalima munda wa Lovely kenako munda wa HB of Fatima (kupalira we will work in the field of Lovely then at the field of the HB of Fatima) then I saw Livia making ridges alone in the field.

At 9:00 I saw Jasmine +HB (kupalira on her field) (weeding) then GVH +HB making ridges up to 11:00. Then I saw Sofia carrying thelele she was telling Trinity (granddaughter of Jasmine to go to the maize mill.

I saw chief Mudzi B passing by with masamba (ndiwo) (vegetables relish) then at 10:30 Ada came then she was saying that my mother wants to cook zigumu (maize flour cakes) today for sell we went for ganyu then I found MK200 and my mother MK300 then I gave that MK200 to my mother so that she can add what she have in order to start that business.

Then Thokozani came at e1:30 and she was saying that I went for ganyu at K. village kupalira alone 30t phando (weeding alone 30t per planting station), Then this afternoon at 3:30 pm I will go with my HB to work on our field, she continued by saying that some people are working on their field from 5 morning - 2 o’clock afternoon (Amila + HB-Kondwani - Auleria). Although they are working more hours but they just work for a small part of the field. But I went to work on my field yesterday (kupalira at 5:00 and I came back at 8:00 but I am the one who worked for a big part of the field (she laughed)

She added by saying that I am still dreaming g Mudzi B giving me some meat to eat but I used to refuse although she forced me. And most of the people are suspecting that GVH is the one who making some medicine for the rain not to come, because she has not yet finished making ridges (this also happened last year)

Ayama is also doing something for the rain no to come, because she was telling some people at the borehole that the rain will come soon after finishing putting my iron sheets on the roof

Then (mother of chief Mudzi B) because she wants to finish kupalira (we all laughed)
Then Livia joined us & she started saying that the man who is in S.A who wanted to marry me sent a greeting through the one who has come from S.A and he said that he is coming soon & he will give me something (son of Fissa)

Thokozani didn’t answer anything she just said that Ainessi her elder sister gave birth to 3 babies but 2 died. the other one died when he was playing with her friends (2 years) but the hyena came and caught him. They searched everywhere but no where to be seen. The following day they went to police and the police came to help them then they found the dead body very far near the lake but some bones (skeleton) only the other child also died when he was still young not ill

Thokozani continued by saying that I heard people saying that at Admarc they will be selling mphale (grinded maize for making white flour) & if they will found a vendor selling mphale he/she will be in prison. AT 2:15 the rain started. At 5:10 Innocent come to continue knitting & she was saying that pepani ndabwera mochedwa (sorry that I came late because ) husband of Fatima came he told me that he wants some nsima then I was cooking for him & I just took some eggs that my mother kept for her husband & he was happy that cooked some nsima for him at 5:30 Innocent departed

At 6:20pm Fatima came to greet me & she started explaining that my husband is searching for another wife I heard this from my friends & decided to divorce but I will be staying with my n \mother, koma (but) with my relative today in order to discuss this issue and my husband said that its good to divorce & I am happy that we have divorced. But I will be coming to continue knitting after few minutes she left & Tinenenji came to greet me & she was saying that sorry am busy now weeding that’s why I m failing to come &knit panopa ndikulima mumunda mwa amuna anga. Ineyo ndilibe munda amfumu sanandipatse (as of now am working in my HBs field but as for me I don’t have a field because the chief didn’t give me) . . I don’t know why!

At 7 PM Jasmine passed by & she shouted greeting me. Then she told me that ndikuchokera kwa J. village uja ndimakapempha ufa kwa amoyi koma andipatsa makeya (Maize grain) komanso loan tilandira pa 16 Dec amatero a langizi (I am coming back from Jim to beg some maize flour to my mother but just gave me maize grain flour, but we will also receive loan on 16 Dec said the extension worker) (she speaking loudly while passing by)

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning the house and clearing at the garden then I saw Livia making ridges on the her field and planting Cotton. Then after few minutes I saw g Mudzi B + husband + granddaughters too including Sofia working on the field making ridges but husband was planting Cotton.

Then I saw Jasmine and husband making ridges. At 10:00 I went to fetch some water then I heard Esnart complaining to her friends that she is tired eating thereere then masamba. at 12:00 o’clock I started cooking then at 2 o’clock I started knitting but no one else joined me

At 3:00 I went at [small crossroads market] (market day) then on the way I met with Innocent knitting chipewa (hat). Then I asked her the owner of that chipewa, then she answered that its for the husband or Fatima he told me to make it. Then I continued my journey still on the way I saw Chikondi sitting on the verandah with the same man
At [small crossroads market] I saw only 2 women selling tomato (we talked to them already) four men selling clothes one woman& three men selling dried fish and usipa (small dried fish)

I asked the one who sales tomato about the woman who sales Zitenje & she said that she is now at Balaka not here.

1 Mary, 1952, [small crossroads market] village

sells tomateo and Matemba

3 Ndinayamba Kalekale nsika wa [small crossroads market] usanayambe ndeganizha ndekha kuti ndizipeza chithandizo cha ana capital through ganyu (I started long time ago before they opened sawali market ,I decided to start a business on my own so that I should be able to buy what my children need, I found capital through casual labour)

4 Sizimaonongeka msanga (it doesn’t rot quickly)

5 Ndimagulitsa pompano koma nthawi zambiri amandigulitsira mwana wanga ine ndimakhala ndikugwira ntchito za pakhomo (I sell here but sometimes I send my child to sell while iam home doing household chores),Sales Monday-Friday

6 Matemba (dry fish) buying at MK400 selling at MK5000 sometimes at MK700 profit

Tomatoes MK5000 sells at MK7500 ndimagula soap,paraffin,mcher,ndiwo(I decide)koma panopa sizikuyenda chifukwa cha njala anthu akungogula chimanga komanso thelele (I buy soap, paraffin salt,relish, I am the one who decide what to buy ,but nowadays our business is not going well,most of the people are spending there money buying maize and okra) from their field if it was in town atleast people could be buying

7 Ten children (all alive )amuna anga anandifunsira ndikukhala ndi makolo ankandifuna banja koma ndinkakana for a month chifukwa ndinali wamngono. Koma panthawiyi makolo ndi amene ankati ndikwatiire. Ankandifuna kuti ukkukana chifukwa chiani ?ukufuna uzingoyendayenda ndiye ndinavomera kukwatiwa (my HB proposed me when I was staying with my parents ,he proposed marriage but I refused for a month, because I was very young at that time. My parents were the ones who forced me to get married, they asked me why I was refusing to get married,” you just want to be moving around”, then I just accepted to get married)

Its my first marriage. Good husband because timalima limodzi ali ndi chikondi (we work together in the field and he loves me), I go to Mlangeni Ntcheu)to buy some tomato for sale while other husband cannot agree, they can think that I will be with other men there (no other wives)

Four children+ wife +husband my mother she is very old she cannot manage to take care of herself

*We also sell cotton, maize, and g/nuts after harvesting

9 standard 5(no fees)

10 Ndikuntha kugula ndiwo sopo,cloths ndi mchere (iam able to buy relish soap and salt)

11 N0 any disadvantages

12 Anthu ena ndi aulesi, koma amene amapanga bizinesi ndi amene ali ndi mavuto (others are lazy but those who do business are the ones who have problems)

13 MADEF,Cuma, ine sindimatenga ngongole chifukwa ndimaona mwa chitsanzo ena anayamba bizinesi koma anasya vuto ndi lakuti timapangira bizinesi kumudzi anthuambi ndi achibale amabwera kuzakongola koma amatenga nthawi yayitali kuti abwereal [relatives take some merchandise and say they will pay later] kenako pangono ndi pangono (I don’t take loan because for example others started Bs and stopped, the problem is that we do Bs in our village where a lot of relatives stay then instead of buying they just come and borrow ,then they take long time to pay back, then little by little the business goes down then at the end no profit) no profit then you stop doing bizinesi & no money to pay back (she said to her friend near by that lero mowa wanga anthu
sakugula mwina mawa) (today people are not buying my beer may be tomorrow)

0607 After that I saw another woman selling Mangoes then I went there to talk to her and she said that am just selling today only because I don’t have money to buy soap & most of them they don’t have mangoes now finished from there I saw a certain woman selling clothes, shoes, string plastic papers then I went there to talk to her

0608 2 Chrissy 1974 from [clinic] village

0609 >shoe polish, plastic papers, shoes string, I was selling Mandasi but no profit then I decided to stop

0610 I started selling clothes after cotton season, it’s not my business but for my brother who is staying in Mangochi I am just helping him but I applied for a loan but up to now I am just waiting for the answer, I will start selling secondhand clothes

0611 I sell here but I sent the money to the owner of the business & he gives me some money to buy soap, ndiwo (relish) & lotion, my husband died in 2003

0612 One child 8 years now but I get support through Assemblies of God Church

0613 Business ya zovala siyikuyenda anthu sakugula alibe ndalama komanso mvula sitikuntha kugulitsa (business of selling second hand clothes is not doing good people are not buying because they don’t have money and also because of rainfall we are failing to sell)

0614 I didn’t continue asking her because it was not her business after that I went back home

0615 At home Victoria was passing by with her friend (girlfriend of grandson of Jasmine) then she was complaining to Victoria that Masiku ano Davie sakundilankhulitsa komanso wasiya kundipatsa ndalama Victoria said iweyonso wasiya kumukonda. girlfriend :Ayi akukana kuti tidzicheza. (nowadays Davie stopped talking to me and he also stopped giving me some money, then Modesta said “you have also stopped loving him”? No, he is refusing to chat with me) Victoria: mwina wapeza mkazi wina (may be he has found another wife)

0616 I didn’t get everything because they were passing by

0617

0618 12 Dec 2008

0619 In the morning when I waked up I saw Livia making ridges alone in the field, then GVH and husband were replanting g/nuts, then I saw Thokozani & husband going to the field. The same morning Phingi came & she started saying that she sent her son to buy some tomato at Lizulu for sale then he bought for Mk1700 & she sent Livia to sale at [nearest trading center] and she sent her grandson to buy Nandolo (pigeon peas) Mk100 & Khobwe Mk50 to plant at 8:00 my mother called me & she said that she don’t have ufa (maize flour), she already finished what she harvested & I went there at Dedza but I departed at 9:00 and on the way I saw mother of Tinenenji making ridges on her field (alone) on the way to Balaka depot I saw many people in another village weeding on their field from Balaka boma (district) up to Dedza there was rainfall & people were also busy weeding when I reached home (Dedza) Kapenuka village I found my mother weeding alone in the field. she greeted me & she explained that she finished her maize on 2 Dec. then the money for potatoes she used to hire some ganyu people (making ridges) she continued saying that the maize is growing quickly and the rainfall is enough but the problem is that people in the village don’t have enough fertilizer. then I gave her
MK3,800 to buy 40kgs of maize at Dedza its MK56 per kg. I asked her if my elder sister who was staying in Lilongwe got married and she said that she is not married she is just busy working on her friend & doing ganyu (casual labour) in the afternoon. I told her to buy fertilizer to add what she had she also explained that nowadays she is weak and she cannot go for ganyu that’s why she called me to help her with some money to buy food & extra fertilizer, I didn’t give her a lot of money because am keeping the money to pay at school. but I promised her that I will be sending money little by little to be buying food

0620 She was happy because I visited her but I didn’t see my elder sister because they went for ganyu and other went to work on their field, She gave me some fresh beans, pumpkins & vegetables from dimba (garden)

0621 At 1:00 I departed because I was afraid that it was already hunger season & people can steal ufa on the way some people were very busy weeding. I reached here in Mudzi B at 5:10pm then I found mother of Tinenenji still making ridges & Jasmine was busy making zigumu (maize flour cakes). Then Jasmine came & she was saying that

0622 Agulupu anabwera kunyumba amati abwerake njinga akufuna apite ku Balaka akatenge nyama mwana watumiza kuchokera ku S.A ndiye ndawakaniza chifukwa munthu sangatunzize nyama kuchokera ku S.A koma ndalama (GVH came at home to borrow the bicycle, she wanted to go to Balaka to take some meat that her son sent from South Africa, then I refused to borrow her because someone cannot send some meat all the way from South Africa!) (we all laughed & departed)

0623

0624 13 Dec 2008

0625 In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning the house. I failed to go to church because of the members of church came home to tell me that that no service today people will go to someone else who is sick but it is very far (then I didn’t go)at 8:00 I listened to the radio news program & they were saying that a certain woman in Chitipa is in prison chifukwa anakangana nda mwamuna .Mzimayiyo sanathire mchere mundiwo chifukwa mamuna wakeyo amanthera ndalama mowa. (because of quarrelling with her husband the woman didn’t add some salt in the relish, she said that she did it because her husband always spent his money buying beer) then when the husband started eating there was no salt in the relish then he shouted to the wife (why she didn’t put some salt in the relish) chifukwa cha funsolo mkaziyo anakwiya mpaka kumenya mpaka kunthyola nthiti (ndi mtengo) (because of that question the wife became angry and started beating her husband with a stick and broke his limb) the police came & took the wife

0626 They also announced that lightening (of rainfall) killed 6 people in Kasungu. Then at 9:30 Livia came she was going to fetch some water then she started explaining that dzulo pamene ndinapita kwa [nearest tradingcenter] kokogulitsa tomato ndinakumana ndi ex-husband [J: Livia 2 months pregnant of him when she decided to go back to her first HB in Balaka. He wanted to kill te baby, abort. After 8 months she left him again, and married 2nd HB, but he left her soon after] ndiye amati andimenya chifukwa ndinayamba bizinesi ndiye ndalama yoyambiro bizinesi wandipatsa ndi mwamuna wina (when I went to sell tomato at [nearest tradingcenter] yesterday, I met with my ex-HB and he said that he will beat me because I started business, that means that the money which I used to start my BS came from another man).Then I told him that the business is for my mother but I don’t really understand why he wanted to beat me chifukwa akandipatsa ndalama ndi MK200-MK250 ya sopo koma ineyo sindimakwanira. (because he only gives me 200—250 for soap but its not enough for me)after this Livia continued her journey to the borehole

0627 Then at 10:00 I saw HB of GVH planting cotton alone in the field then Ada was planting in the field of her young mother. At the same time Trinity (granddaughter of Jasmine) coming back from the maize mill & she was explaining to a certain woman that she bought maize for MK900-12kgs
At lunch I went to greet Jasmine and she explained that CUMO meeting will be held on 16 Dec. Then I told her that no problem I will go with you. Then I saw GVH coming.

, Thokozani, Esnart coming back from their field (kupalira) (weeding)

Then GVH amagula tomatoe Jasmine amaphika nsima + therere, Sofia nsima + therere, Esnart came to buy soda + tomatoe for nkhwani (then GVH was buying tomatoe, Jasmine was taking a pot of nsima + okra out of fire, Sofia nsima and okra, Esnart came to buy soda and tomato for pumkin leaves)

Still there Pamela came to buy soda and tomatoe for therere then Jasmine asked Pamela that

I saw you with a certain man working on your field & I heard that you want to get married

Pamela answered that (eya! Ndikudikira kuti apereke ndalama kwa amfumu yolowera mmudzi kenako tikwatirana (yes I am waiting for him to pay some money to the chief so that he should be accepted in this village, then we will get married) (Innocent laughed) then Tinenenji came to buy soda + tomatoe Then Pamela started explaining that Jeneti started making zigumu but very dirty some flies every where then people are not buying (we all laughed )then they all departed & I was with Innocent only. Then

I told Innocent that I have got many customers (chipewa (hat) then I gave her 3 customers & she said no problem I will take some money from the husband of Fatima, I was also with him at [nearest tradingcenter] selling tomatoe. After few minutes Innocent left me with daughter then she went to husband of Fatima ,she came back with MK200 & she told me that I will buy thread & start this business, kenako Innocent anawuza amayi ake kuti amugayire [please share = begging] thelele mumbale and nsima akamupatse (then Innocent begged okra to her mother in the plate and nsima so that she can give it to) husband of Fatima. then I didn’t heard what her mother answered.

Sofia said that mangoes are now finished we don’t know what we will be eating, then Dorica came to buy Tomatoe + soda for thelele (okra) , Elube came to buy tomatoe tomato for bonongwe

After there I went to fetch some water there I found Tumanene cleaning a lot of plates & cups

At 3:00 Innocent came to knit & she started complaining that Davie (grandson of Jasmine) ali ndi chibwenzi mkazi wa kwa N. village komanso Libana (friend of Modesta) panopa akumakhala otanganidwa ndi ganu kuti apezekelena zotanganidwa zotanganidwa ndi ganu kuti apereke ndalama zmawawatsa atsikanawo, koma sibwinwo kumuwuza samawu. Kusukulu samapita mkaziyo (he has a girlfriend from Nd. village while he is also in relationship with Libana, as of now he is busy doing ganu so that she can find money to give those girls, but this is bad, when we tell him he doesn’t listen, and the other girl doesn’t even go to school) (Libana std 5 winayo (the other one) std 6) Davie anasiya (stopped) std std 5 (Innocent laughed ).then after few minutes her mother called her to make porridge for her daughter then she departed

14 Dec 2008

In the morning when I waked up I started washing my clothes then after that I started cleaning the house then after that I saw husband of GVH making ridges alone in the field.

Then I went to fetch some water & I found Jane making ridges alone in the field. then I saw Grace coming back from the field. then I asked Jane how she heard about blood testing at [clinic] village then she answered that a car was passing by announcing that people should go for blood testing, then Grace asked Jane that: why are you working alone in the field? Then she answered that ndikuphunzira kulima ndekha ndi cholinga choti chaka cha mawa ndidzalime munda wanga kukonzekera banja (I am learning to work on my own field so that next year I will work on my field preparing for marriage) (we all laughed) then Grace said that kodi chibwenzi ndi mnyamata wa ku S.A
zikuyenda ?then Jane answered that eya akubwera pa 16 Dec, akudzandipatsa ndalama ya sopo(is the relationship with the man from south Africa still going on, then Jane answered that yes, and he is coming on 16 Dec he is coming to give me money for soap) (Jane smiled )

0638
When I came back from borehole Jasmine called me to buy zigumu then when went there I found her HB making ridges alone but she was also coming back from the field with Innocent (kupalira)then Innocent told me that there is a certain question that I want to ask you and I said that no problem you can ask

0639
1-kodi munthu uli ndi chibwezi ndiye akukuuza kuti akufuna kugona nawe koma anthu asadziwelungatani? ( suppose you have a boyfriend and he is telling you that he want to have sex with you but other people should not know that we had sex. What can you do?)

0640
2-komanso munthu ukukhala ndi makolo ako, ungawanthawe bwanji? ( you are staying with your parents, then how can you run a away from them?)

0641
3-Innocent continued by explaining that HB of Fatima said that he wants to sleep with me he told me to go there at night, but he will marry me later on not now because the story of Fatima is not yet finished, then what can I do because am failing to run away from my parents at night so that I can go to HB of Fatimas house ? I told him that: ngati ukufuna kundikwirira uwaaze agogo ako ( if you want to marry me then you must tell your grand father)-then your grandmother will tell my grandmother then we will arrange for marriage

0642
Innocent continued that I liked him because he works hard in the field & he told me that he liked me because we are neighbors. Mkazi amene anakwatirana naye ndi wammudzi wina mwina ndi chifukwa chake samanulemeseka, koma ineyo ndimakhala pafupi (he married a woman who stays in another village may be that is why he don’t respect her, but as for me I stay near by)(that means she has a better chance to become his wife) :then I answered Innocent that it is difficult for me to tell you what to do because you told me that you will not get married soon .Then you will see what to do yourself

0643
At 10:30 I went back home to take some g/nuts to make nsinjiro (ground nuts flour) then on the way I met with chief Mudzi B coming back from the field carrying pumpkin vegetables for ndiwo (relish) & Hamra was going to fetch some water & she was explaining to chief Mudzi B that ndikuchokera ku ganyu kenako madzulo ndikalima ku munda kwanga (I am coming back from casual labour then in the late afternoon I will work on my field). Then I found Livia going to Kraal(Pig) then I escorted her & on the way I saw Julia + HB kupalira (weeding) in the field, Then at the kraal Suset was talking to Livia that don’t forget to come in the late afternoon around 5 then Livia said that mzwina ndilephera chifukwa ndili ndi rchito yoti ndikagwire, koma umuwuze kuti ndikufuna ndolama kuti ndikagule ulusi MK120, then Suset said that palibe vuto akoramamwa mowa ndimuza andipatsira kenako ineyo ndikutupatsira iweyo (may be I will fail to come because I have some work to do, but just tell him that I want some money so that I can buy thread 120MK then Suset said that ”no probem I will tell him when he comes to drink beer” if he will give me that means I will give it to you) (they all smiled & shook hands, On the way back home we saw a certain tree then Livia started saying that when I was pregnant (second HB) I wanted to abort the child using this tree medicine then I failed (it was one and half month)there after I tried to take 15 panado & 5 quinine tablets but I failed and I was very weak, my mother took me to hospital & grandson of GVH but they didn’t know what I did then at the hospital the doctor ([nearest tradingcenter]) told my mother that amaofuna kuchotsa mimba ndiyi walephera amayi anga sanandikalipire koma anati zimachitika koma ndizazachitenso (she wanted to abort but she has failed , my mother was not angry with me but she just told me that it happens and I should not do it again)when I reached home I started cooking then the rain started

0644
After the rains I saw HB of Jasmine planting cotton alone & HB of GVH making ridges alone & Elube + her daughter were also making ridges

0645
At 2:50 I went to see the old woman (Evelles) and I was also going to maintain my bike there was a problem of chain after using for three days only, On the way I met with Rosemary and she started explaining that yesterday I didn’t eat, no ufa ( no maize flour) , no salt my HB went to Balaka early in the morning to
sell grasses (roof) but he back midnight and empty handed & he was just smelling beer then he cheated me that (I sold grasses for 300mk but thieves has stolen all the money) Rosemary continued by saying that ndinakadandaula kwa achemwali awo kuti banja lithe chifukwa ndalama akuthera mowa komanso kumunda ndikumalima ndekha nthawi yaitali ndiye achemwali awo atawouza amuna ananga anakana (I went to complain to his sister and I decided to end my marriage because he always spend his money buying beer and a part from that I am working alone in the field for along period of time, when his sister asked him about the whole story he refused). Rosemary stopped explaining because she saw the HB coming nearby, Still on the way I saw GVH replanting maize, Then I heard Jasmine complaining that almost 5 women are doing the same business even Hamra wants to start on 16 Dec. Then I heard Saibi saying that she will apply fertilizer on 15 Dec

0646 Then I found the old woman (Eveles) complaining someone else came to steal shoes

0647 She was happy because I visited her & she was saying that her maize is growing quickly & her son helped her by hiring young boys (kupalira) (weeding) part of her field (MK200), There was some clouds and I didn't chart for along time, On the way back I met with Davie (g. son of Jasmine with his g. friend) Then Vic with her b. friend (brother to g. friend of Davie) then I met with Ada & she was saying that I went for ganyu with my mother in the morning at K. village 30t phando (per planting station) more than last year because people say all prices have gone up, Then I saw Chenawe carrying masamba (vegetables) & she was buying tomato - Blessings was also buying tomato and Jasmine was preparing masamba (nkhwani) (pumpkin leaves). Sofia was eating nsima with her children

15 Dec 2008

0648

0649 When I waked up in the morning I went to fetch some water then I saw HB of GVH working alone in the field & she explained to his friend that my wife is working in another field & my granddaughters+ son are also working in another field, Then I also met with Tinenenji, Thokozani & HB going to their fields

0650 At 9:30 I went to see the 2 kids of Chikondi then on the way I met with Innocent coming back from the field then she started explaining that I would like sell my fertilizer half bag to my mother at MK1000 and she told me that she will give me MK500 but the other MK500 she will do ganyu in my field (ridges) with her HB, still on the way at 10:00 I saw Melina carrying a hoe & she told me that ndikuchokera kumunda anyamata aganyu sanamalize kupalira ndiye ndimakamaliza (I am coming back from the field, I employed some boys to do the weeding but they didn't finish then I went to finish myself), Then I saw Filimona & Hamra coming back from the maize mill (carried masamba + matemba everybody)

Then I saw HB of Hamra making ridges alone when I reached to Chikondi's house I found her with her with the same man +Mrs. Ntawanga + a woman (but new face) After greetings wife to Ntawanga started explaining that poyamba timadya 50kg for 2 weeks koma pano timadya 50kg for 3 weeks chifukwa atabwera Jannake & Getrude kutifunssa mafunso tinazindikira kuti timadya kwambiri sitisamala, Poto wankulu nthawi zonse, Mwana wamwongo nsima yambiri koma pano tinasintha tikudya mammawa pangono, masana pangono, madzulo pena nsima kapena phala (at first we were eating 50kgs of maize per 2weeks but as now we eat 50kgs for 3 weeks it is because when Janneke and G asked us some questions we realized that we eat a lot, we misuse we always cook using a big pot all the time, a small child eating a lot of nsima, but as of now we have changed we eat a little of food in the morning a little food for lunch, for dinner we eat nsima or porridge then zione) then Chikondi laughed & said that inenso ndinasintha ndinawona kuti ndiwino umumadzi pangono ndipo pano ndinazolowera (I also changed because I realized that it is good to eat a little, ) (we all laughed ndiwino umumadzi ma boma ena kuti tidziona momwe anthu amakhalira (we should copy the way on how other people live). Then Chikondi said that I didn’t know that I will give birth to twins for 8 months only but I am happy because I will manage to work on the field then the other woman answered that you are lucky because your HB is working on your field (Chikondi smiled ) on the way back I saw Rashida
+ her daughter replanting. then HB of Jasmine was also making ridges alone while Jasmine went
to sell zigumu (maize flour cakes) at [small crossroads market]. In the afternoon there was rainfall then I started
knitting. At 3:00 I saw Sofia coming back from the field then Ada + her mother were also coming back from their
field + HB of Fatima went to plant cotton alone in the afternoon,

0652  At 5:00 Rashida + Filimona and Saibi were coming back from the borehole and
they were discussing:

0653  Rashida : ndadzala soya (i have planted soya beans)

0654  Saibi: ine ndadzala koma sanamere (i have planted but it hs not yet germinated)

0655  Filimona: ine apongozi anga [mother-in-law] sanandipatse, anandinamiza kuti watha ( my mother in
law didn’t give me, but she just cheated me that its finished)

0656  At 5:40 I went to take my hoe that Jasmine borrowed then I found her cooking nsima + matemba (dry fish) &
she started explaining that after selling zigumu at [small crossroads market] she started selling tomatoes by passing
every house because there was rainfall & she sold almost half bucket

0657  Then I met with Ellesi she was going to buy tomatoes for masamba (vegetables)(said herself)

0658

0659  16 Dec 2008

0660  In the morning when I waked up I started weeding at the garden then I saw Livia clearing her
field alone & HB of GVH was making ridges alone, After that I went to fetch water some water
then I saw Jane planting in another field

0661  After breakfast I was waiting for Jasmine to go at [nearest primary school] to attend CUMO meeting, as I was
waiting for her I heard on the radio(new program) saying that a certain woman in Balaka is just
eating thelele (okra) morning, lunch, dinner no ufa (maize flour)

0662  At Admarc no maize, vendors are selling at high prices (but not true they wanted to make people
not to vote for Bingu and somewhere else in Chitipa a certain man asked his mother in-law to sleep
with her so that he can be rich! Then the mother in-law accepted (at kitchen) then after few
minutes neighbors saw them and shouted then the medicine didn’t work properly because they
didn’t finish everything that he was told by witch doctor

0663  At 8:30 Jasmine came and we were together on the way to [nearest primary school] then I saw Sweetness +
HB+ a son kupalira kamunda kwawo (glasses not planted as she told me )heavy water still destroying
the maize then I saw Alma, kupalira (weeding) alone in her field and 5 women ganyu (casual labour) in her
field making ridges not women from Mudzi B but from other villages

0664  Still on the same way I saw Lizzie with 6 men+ 2 boys doing kupalira then on the way Jasmine
complaining to Suset that kodi ndichifukwa chiyani mwana wako akupemphera katolika not Islamic
(why is it that your HB goes to church at cathoric not Islamic) <then Suset answered that because I
am married to another HB then I cannot allow my child to be going to Muslim alone while I go to
catholic church and my ex HB is not helping me. Jasmine
continued by saying that teachers from [nearest primary school] used to rent a field but not paying the money in time almost 5 field per teacher, later on we will stop renting our field to them.

AT [nearest primary school] people were discussing that at they have started selling rice at MK180 per kg while vendors are selling maize at MK100 per kg then one of the woman at [nearest primary school] said that ife timadya mammawa phala masana osadya koma madzulo nsima ndipo ana panopa anazolowera (we eat porridge in the morning no lunch but we eatnsima at dinner and my children are now used to eat like that) and Jasmine answered that we eat phala masana nsima madzulo nsima chifukwa amuna anga amati sangakwanitse kadya kambodzi chifukwa akulima mwambiri mmunda (we eat porridge at lunch then nsima for dinner , this is because my HB said that he cannot manage to eat once a day because he works in the field)[other women laughed ]Suset answered by saying that ndinawona azibambo akudutsa atanyamula ufa from Balaka in packets akuti bola kugula mu shop (I saw men passing by and they carried maize flour all the way from Balaka , they were saying that it is good to buy at the shop than buying to vendors) than vendors

When alangizi from CUMO came he started that money is not ready may be on 20 Dec then Jasmine complained that in January no business because there will be no ganyu then we will not manage to pay back why cant you just give us now since last of last month October up to now we are just waiting.

Alangizi [(the extension worker)] said that musadandaule ndalama zibwera ( don't worry the money will come) Alangizi asked money for contribution as usual but everybody said sitipereka tidikira kaye ndalama zibwele (that we will not contribute till the loan come) , Then alangizi said that you can go back where you are coming from then I will tell you when to receive the money. But you need to contribute (others contributed while others didn’t). On the way back home I saw wife of Mr. Ntawanga doing ganyu in the field of the daughter of Alma + her 2 sisters then I saw Amila going back to the field at 12:10 alone then near the borehole Esnart cleaning vegetables (nkhwani + tomato then Tinenenji + Suset were buying tomato then Ada was explaining to Chikondi that I am tired I am coming back from the field (kupalira ) (weeding) but no ufa (maize flour) at home I saw HB of GVH still making ridges

At 1:20 I saw Jasmine, Innocent and HB making ridges in one field then Jasmine was explaining to her HB that I will take a loan of ten thousand, Suset 3000, Innocent 2000 ndiyamba geni ya matemba (I will start a BS of selling dry fish) said Jasmine, inayo nditumiza ku Zomba kwa mwana wanga (I will send the other money at Zomba where my dotta stays so that she must grow some rice for me) (HB laughed )

At 2:30 Innocent came and she started explaining that HB of Fatima came and he was telling me that mkazi wanga wabwera tikambirana ndiyi ukamuona usadaunde koma iweyo ndi ineya chibwenzizhilipobe ndizokussamalira (my wife has come but we will discuss it later, please don’t worry when you see her, but our relationship is still there, I will take care of you) . Innocent continued by saying that ndikanakhala kuti naye ndikanachita manyazi, ndinachita bwino kukana, koma zandiwawa (had it been that I was living with him I could be shy, but its good that I refused , but it is paining me) (sadface)[If I had een slept with him I would have been ashamed. I did good to refuse. But it makes me sad] then Innocent went back to the field

At 2:50 I went to greet Fatima then I found Elube cooking nsima & Fatima was explaining to her mother -in-law that amayi anga andipatsa 35 kg (my mother gave me 35kgs) from what she harvested and Elube answered that nowadays we are just eating nsima + masamba a nkhwani, thelele, bonongwe (nsima and vegetables , pumpkin leaves, okra, bonongwe) and now I am going for a ganyu 30t phando (casual labour 30t per planting station) to my mother (Ayama). In my field and now am goin for ganyu (Fatima smiled ) Elube continued by saying that am happy that you are back Fatima said zimachitika (it happens) from there I went back home

At 3:40 Thokozani came to knit & she started explaining that I went in the morning to work on my field & this afternoon I cannot manage to go back because am tired but my mother (Rosemary wants to go for ganyu tomorrow at P. village the owner of the field said that he will pay goat meat to ganyu (those who did the piece work) (kupalira) (weeding)
workers (kupalira) but not money then Thokozani laughed by saying that I cannot go there for ganyu because I cannot eat meat without nsima

After few minutes she departed she said that ndikukatenga masamba kumunda (iam going to take some vegetables at the field)

Then I saw Julia coming back from the maize mill with half dengu (basket)

17 Dec 2008

SMS: No mango's, masamba everywhere, enough rain now.

SMS 2: A lot of ganyu indeed, hunger not really, no maize at ADMARC but instead there is rice 180MK/kg. Vendors' maize at 100MK/kg.

In the morning when I waked up I saw HB of g Mudzi B making ridges alone, then Innocent was also making ridges alone. At 9:00 I saw chief Mudzi B coming back from the field

Then at 9:50 I escorted Livia to feed the pigs then on the way I saw HB of Julia weeding alone in the field, then near the kraal I saw Kima with four boys ganyu workers (kupalira) (weeding) then at the other side I saw Magda and two boys + HB weeding

On the way back Livia said that we will eat nsima + nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) near home I met with HB of Thokozani coming back from the field alone

At lunch I saw Blessings carrying pumpkins leaf +some tomatoes after few minutes I went to fetch some water then I saw Emra cleaning some vegetables

After lunch I started knitting the rain started & Jane, innocent, Thokozani and one new face came & joined me & they were just discussing that kuli njala chako chino chifukwa mango atha nsanga pomwe last year mango anatha early January. komanso anthu ambiri sakulimitsa mango ndalama koma chimanga +mbuzi we have a lot of hunger this year because we have already finished eating mangoes, while last year we finished mangoes in early January, apart from that a lot of people are not doing casual labour with money but with maize or goat meat and abig.... a big place with little maize or little money after the rain they all departed & Innocent remained, Then she told me that I would like to come at night here and knit but I will sleep here then I accepted

Indeed at 7 Innocent came then she started explaining that pamene ndinali pachibwenzi ndi ex-HB amkatumiza njinga kuti ndimupeze kwa [nearest tradingcenter] ndiye wanjinga uja akandipeza ndili ndi amayi ndimawanamiza amayi aja kuti ndikubwera mnyamatayu akufuna kugula phone ndiye ineyo ndikuziwa munthu ali ndi phone ndiye ndikufuna ndimuperekeze (when I was in relationship with my ex–boyfriend, he was sending a bicycle to pick me at home, so that we should meet at mbera,when the cyclist come and find that I was charting with my mother, I was just cheating my mother that have you seen that guy? he wants to buy a phone then I am the one who knows where to get it, then I want to escort him), Then my mother was just accepting, At [nearest tradingcenter] my ex-HB was buying some soft drinks, kanyenya wa nyama tikatero tikagonera limodzi nyumba ya mznake chifukwa yakeyo kunali mkazi wake (fried goat meat, then after that we were sleeping together in the house of his friend bcause at his house he was staying with his wife)

After few minutes HB of Fatima came and told Innocent that there is something that I want to tell you But Innocent refused to go out (I don't know why)then HB of Fatima went back after also few minutes HB of Fatima sent a child (young boy)then the boy came by saying that Innocent akukufuna (Innocent, you are wanted by) HB of Fatima. Still Innocent said sindikufuna (I don't want), then I asked her why she is refusing, then Innocent answered that zikundiwa chifukwa amandinamiza kuti andikwatira(it is paining me because he always cheat me that he will marry me), Then after few
minutes Innocent said that ndikupita ndinaiywala kuti amayi akudwala (I am going, I forgot that my mother is sick) then at 8:00 she left. I guessed that she was going to HB of Fatima.

18 Dec 2008

SMS: Thieves came I have seen this morning that they have taken my bag with some clothes that I kept there, flak, nali, my shoes, my 1 blanket, my underwear.

At midnight of 17th December I was dreaming about someone else asking me where we put everything in the house I was just explaining everything in dreams. Later on at 3:45 I waked up and checked everything in the house, then I found the window opened my blanket, a bag some cloths, inside underwear thermostat, three plates, one basin, charcoal iron, some fish, chigumu (maize flour cake), bed sheets, a packet of rice, onions, oil, JCE + MSCE certificates fuel att certificates then I went at the sametime to tell Jasmine then she escorted me to GVH then after few minutes Emra came complaining that her radio is also stolen, And the police unit came, HB of Sweetness & I called the police at Balaka explaining what happened. then later on some boys moved around and they found a basin & 3 plates at the graveyard, after few minutes Grace came running with my book for the hospital + charcoal iron + onion and flask Grace said that I have found this in a certain field after that I started cleaning the house then I found that some ufa (maize flour) was not there, beans, knife, some money for knitting MK1200

Mr. Ntawanga and Mr. Chikombo chief Mudzi A and other people from the village came they moved around searching but they didn’t find everything, except Levison and her mother in-law & I called the police for the second time and they said we will come and see, Then later on at 11 after waiting for along time I decided to go to Balaka police & explained what happened and Mr. Ntawanga , chief Mudzi A, Mr. Banda (police unit) escorted me at the police they asked me what happened ,Then they gave me a paper to write what happened and what was stolen then they said they wanted to see my identity card & the address + phone numbers of ICRISAT after that they told me to wait for the police car so that they should escort me and the police asked me if there is someone else that am suspecting then I told them that I am suspecting Ndaba because at 6 :pm he came home to greet me but he was looking direct my window looking at the graveyard then after that he left then in the morning some one else said that he met with him at 10 night with a big stick and a trouser in his hand, Then one who saw Ndaba said that I was going to steal some fish at [large commercial estate] as usual (I don’t know his name). then the police told me to go back home they will come at 6 or 7pm,Then on the way back I saw Fatima weeding alone to the village of her mother then she greeted me & told me that I am again back to my mother I will tell u later still on the way Mr. Banda said that everyday midnight I used to go & buy fish at the lake then all times I used to meet with Ndaba just moving around alone, And I explained to my wife told Rosemary (son-in-law then Sigele said that he is a thief because

He was chased at Ch. village because of stealing that’s why he is not afraid of moving around at night when we reached I found some women waiting for me and asked what happened at night and I explained

Then a certain boy came & he started saying that I saw a big foot at the grave yard & it is similar to
People waited for the police they didn’t go to work on their field because there was rainfall the whole day. I tried to call the police to remind them then they said tikubwela tili munjira (we are coming we are on our way there). Around 7pm 5 police men came by car then we went at F. village near [nearest tradingcenter] + HB of Amila + Banda when we reached there we didn’t find him, we tried to search everywhere. Then the police said that we are going if you catch him just call, we will come to pick him when the police went: one of the men in F. village said go at [nearest tradingcenter] and check, I was with HB of Amila & Mr. Banda wanted to tie his hand he came out with the knife & said ndikuphani nonse (I will kill all of you). And we runned away because we were afraid (we just had a string but not a stick or knife)

Then Mr. Banda said that lets go where he is staying and we went back at F. village. Then we found him there, we called him to come out of the house, before asking him if he is the one who have stolen, he just started shouting by saying that iwe Banda ndikuphani (I will kill you mr Banda) he took a big stick but Mr. Banda didn’t run away then he went to sleep I called again the police men explaining what was still happening & they said we will come anytime just watch him where he will be going either to the toilet follow him. The same night we waited for the police but they didn’t come

Then I told Mr Banda that I m going to the police and explain then I left Ndaba with chief F. village + HB of Amila and I went with Mr Banda at the police then on the way I met with the police car then I stopped them & they told me that sorry we were busy lets go and catch him when we reached at F. village the chief said that he has gone to buy ndiwo (relish) without knowing that he was running away we went at [nearest tradingcenter] with the police and searched everywhere but we didn’t find him(30min)the police told some boys at [nearest tradingcenter] to search for him and took him to police & they agreed, fro there we went back to Mudzi B to explain to the group about what happened & on the way back Mr Banda started explaining that at the lake most of the women used to propose to men who sell fish by saying that kodi simutigulira chakumwa (are you not going to buy a drink for me) then at lunch they used to say tiyenzi mukatigulire nsima ku restraint (let us go to restraunt and buy some nsima for me) and some time most of the men used to accept, then at night women used to say that mutha kubwera palibe vuto (you can come no problem). He continued by saying that this is the biggest problem with business women when they don’t have enough mpamba (capital/money) they used to chart with different men in order to attract them by sleeping with them & gave them some money (HB of Amila laughed) then Mr Banda continued by telling HB of Amila that instead of kupalira (weeding) you are busy making ridges for cotton(he laughed then after selling your cotton you will not think of buying maize for food (he laughed) most of the people are growing cotton one acre while maize half acre what are you going to be eating ? later on every year, you will just be doing ganyu said Banda when
we reached home we found people from Mudzi A and Mudzi B gathered waiting for us to tell them the results. Then Mr Banda explained everything of what happened. Then GVH said that may be you should stop making zipewa (hat) for boys because they can be coming as if they want to buy while they are checking the surrounding. At night I slept alone but I was still afraid that may be other men from other villages will be coming to steal.

20 Dec 2008

Early in the morning women came to greet me from Mudzi B & Mudzi A they just asked if no-one else came to disturb me, They were just complaining that Chisoni, Livia, Kondwani, Chief Mudzi B, Sofia chaka chino kuli njala yambiri chifukwa ganyu akuvuta kumupeza ndiye akuba akukhala ambiri iterated sitipita kumunda chifukwa kuli mvula yambiri tidzingodya masamba popanda nsima (there is a lot of hunger this year and you can see that it is difficult to find piece work, that’s why we have a lot of thieves and today we will not go to work in the field because we have a lot of rainfall, therefore we will be just eating vegetables without nsima)

Livia- Ife tikumadya usiko okha Ufa ndiochepa (we are just eating dinner because we don’t have enough maize flour)

Chief Mudzi B-ife tikumadya phala Pena nsima (we are just eating porridge sometimes nsima)

GVH: ndilibe ufa bwanji mundipatseko pangono ndikaphike phala (I don’t have maize flour can you give me alittle so that i can make some porridge)

I gave her just a small plate because I didn’t have enough

At 10:00 I saw HB of group Mgwria planting cotton but it was still raining then Livia started making ridges and I saw Jeneti & her daughter planting maungu (pumpkins)

At 10:30 I went to charge my phone then on the way I didn’t see anyone else working in the field, there was rainfall at the grocery I just found a new woman selling tomato at 2 for MK20 I asked her if it was her first time to sell & she said that ndimagulitsa kwina kulikonse komanso ndimatenga loan (i sell at any place and I also take loan) for CUMO then I didn’t take the question paper & I failed to ask her a lot of questions (on 19 Dec at [nearest tradingcenter] when I was with the police men I just saw one woman selling tomato (the one we interviewed) one woman selling green maize (fresh) one woman was selling g/nuts & inside the market only one woman selling vegetables and few girls selling mandasi and zigumu. One man selling second hand clothes, five men selling new clothes there was only few men +women +young girls selling and buying

At 3:00 I started knitting alone and I came up with the idea to stop making zipewa (hut) for boys because they can be coming as if they want to buy while checking where to pass by at night

Then indeed i stopped. At 4:00 I went to take my phone then I met with Mr Ntawanga + HB of Fatima & they explained that they were coming back from ganyu (kupalira) (casual labour weeding) in the field of Alma. At the grocery I didn’t find anyone else selling, only 1 shop then I went back home

At 6:30 Jasmine came and she said that I will be there with you at night said my HB because the
GVH said that there is security here but not

Then at 6:40 the police called me and they told me to go & tell GVH to take 6-7 strong boys to be moving around at night or afternoon searching for HB of Sakina, the police continued by saying that the chief have got the responsibility to tell his boys what to do not you Getrude because you're a woman you cannot manage to catch a thief but boys. I went to tell GVH but she just accepted without telling the boys about what the police said

At night I was with Jasmine & Kingsley in the house & Jasmine was just complaining that most of the thieves use tree medicine when they want to steal; they make the body of someone very weak to asleep so that they can manage to steal

She continued by saying that she ate nsima + masamba there was still rainfall then Jasmine slept while I was knitting, after that I slept because I was also tired

SMS: He is still running away, only 1 man in the vlg is helping me, am tired bcoz some strong men from our & other vilgs needs money like ganyu. U know Malawian police they like bribes but I cannot do it bcoz it's their dury others are also including HB of Thokozani.

In the morning when I waked up Jasmine said that ndikupita kumunda (I am going to work in the field) then I said no problem. soon after she left there was rainfall then Mr Banda came & he told me that ndalakhula ndi anyamata a kwa [nearest tradingcenter] kuti akuthandize kufunafuna munthuyo koma kuti ndi ganyu munthuyo akapezeka ulipire ndalama (I have talked with some boys at mbera, so that they should help you to search for that thief, but they are saying that it will be casual labour, if they find that thief you will pay them some money) then I asked Mr Banda that why should I pay them because they are police unit is it not there duty to help in the village, Mr Banda answered that masiku anoaliyense amafuna ndalama (nowadays every body needs money) even the policeman they like bribes in order to help someone quickly, That's why they were saying that mugalimoto mulibe mafuta wokwanira (we don't have enough diesel) while the government gives them enough

Then I just told Mr Banda anyway I will to see what to do

Then Jasmine came she started saying chaka chino kuli njala kwambiri ndi chifukwa chake anthu akuba ali ponseponse, Inenso chaka chino ndikulephera kupeza ndalama zokwanira panopa ndagulitsa nkhuku MK350, munthu wina amafuna kugula amangodutsa (there is a lot of hunger this year that's why thieves are everywhere, even myself it is difficult to find enough money, as of now I have sold a chicken at 350mk, someone who was just passing by bought it)

After few minutes I saw Dorica carrying some tomatoes and Amila came to greet me with some salt in her hands Jasmine continued by saying that ndalama zomwe ndagulitsa nkhuku ndakagula chimanga chakudya ufa wina wachigumu (the money that I got after selling achicken I bought maizefor food and maize flour for making maize flour cakes)

Mr Banda continued by saying that if we will not catch Ndaba that means he will not stop stealing, Rosemary was passing by with her HB & they were discussing that my son in-law is not a thief while the first days she was complaining that he is a thief that's why he was chased from Ch. village

Later on I went to fetch some water then I saw Jane making ridges alone and HB of Amila was
Also making for cotton alone.

After lunch I started knitting chipewa for the kids of Chikondi (just a gift not selling). After few minutes I started moving around checking what is happening. Then I saw chief Mudzi A replanting maize, Auleria was weeding alone in the field, then Jasmine+HB weeding by hands because of more weeds then Innocent was also weeding by hands then I went there to ask her why they are using hands then she explained that muli zomera zambiri komanso zazikulu kuposa chimanga, ndiye tikatha kulima ndi manja tiyamba kubandira ndi nkhasu, koma ambiri sakonda kubandira chifukwa cha chiswe chimaononga chimanga (there are a lot of weeds and big more than the size of maize, then after removing the unwanted weeds with our hands, we will start thinning using a hoe, but most of the people don’t like thinning because of termites that destroy crops) and I asked Innocent to teach me how to remove unwanted weeds and kubandira (thinning), I learned and managed the same day from there I saw Jane working in the field with her friend then she told me that we are doing ganyu in the field of GVH for MK350 and we will share from there I went to chart with Sofia & I found her eating nsima with masamba (vegetables), Pamela was buying tomatoes with GVH, Elube was taking some vegetables in the field GVH also carried tomatoes.

Then at 6:00 I was still there chatting when I heard Jasmine sending Trinity (granddaughter) to go and beg some ufa (maize flour) to Chenawe & she came back with a basin full of ufa from there she also sent her to Nola to take some ufa & she came back with some ufa, full plate then Sofia told me that ine sindingakwanise kupempha (I can not manage to beg), From there Jasmine started cooking some nsima +masamba and Sofia also made nsima with masamba, Jasmine said that timangodya phala masana mangoso kulibe (we just eat porridge for lunch, no mangoes), then Sofia started complaining that the HB didn’t gave her some money to buy fertilizer, She borrowed MK1000 to GVH but up to now she didn’t gave back the money because she don’t have and she continued by saying that amuna anga sakundipatsa chisamaliro chokwanira koma ana onsewa ndi ake ine ndikulephera kuwasamalira ndekha (my HB is not taking good care of me but all this kids are for him, am failing to take care of them alone).

After eating nsima Innocent said that bambo anga andiwuza kuti ndikagone kwana kuti usakhale wekha (my father told me that I should spend a night at your house so that you should not stay alone) (then I accepted) on the way back home I met with HB of Fatima and he told Innocent that ubwele kunyumba tidzacheze 8:30 pm (come home at 8:30pm so that we should chat) Innocent refused then HB of Fatima continued by saying that kodi ukuganiza kuti Getrude sakudziwa kuti tili pa chibwenzi (do you think that Gertrude doesn’t know that we are in relationship), Innocent didn’t say anything then we continued our journey home.

At home we found Kingsley grandson of GVH on the verandah as we were chatting he started explaining that the owner of this house sent a ball and uniform for the boys in Mudzi B and he continued by telling me that don’t worry about those thieves most of them use some medicine, its good that they didn’t kill you most of them used to kill or raping. He also continued by saying that HB of Fatima chased Fatima to go back to her mother no marriage at all (Innocent laughed) from there I was tired then I slept.

22 Dec 2008

Midnight Innocent and Kingsley waked up to catch ngumbi, I was tired then I didn’t help them, Then I heard them discussing that

Kingsley: Innocent, undigulitse thonje (can I buy your cotton)
Innocent: ndalama zingati (for how much money)

Kingsley: mk300-mk350

Innoncent: chabwino palibe vuto koma amayi asadziwe ndikabisa mchimanga iwe ukangotenga pamene po madzulo (no problem but my mother should not know, I will hide it in the maize field, then you should go and collect it in the evening)

Kingsley: chabwino (ok)

Early in the morning Innocent & Kingsley went to work on their field. Then I saw Auleria & Thokozani going to their field

After I went to fetch some water then I met with Levison he greeted me but I didn’t respond because I was still angry [about him maybe being thief, or helping thief]. Then Chisoni came to give me some mangoes and she carried nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) in her hands and she said that chief Mudzi B met with Ndaba (HB of Ainessi) very early in the morning coming from [small crossroads market] but they didn’t greet each other Chisoni continued by saying that Ndaba was saying that aliyense wa mmudzi muno ndinagona naye (I slept with any woman in this village) [when he was chased in this village] she continued that GVH decided to chase Emra in this village because HB of Ainessi Used to come very midnight everyday & he is a thief. After few minutes Teleza came to greet me and she started saying that sorry for what has happened to you, I didn’t came that day because I was suffering from malaria for 4days and I was failing even to go to work in the field. I went to [nearest trading center] hospital & they gave me same medicine and I m ok, continued masiku ano anthu akumapita kumunda mmamawa, masana kubwera kudzadya kenako kubweleranso kumunda (nowadays people are working in the fields morning hours, they just home for lunch then going back to continue work in the field) then Esnart joined us and she started complaining that on 14 Dec HB of Sakina came selling new clothes for kids at MK100 while the same clothes for MK250 (that means he started stealing some month ago)

Then Kondwani, chief Mudzi B, Esnart begged some vegetables in our garden then I gave them and they were laughing and said that nowadays we are eating more ndiwo (relish) in a plate nsima pangono. Lero there, mawa nkhwani, linalo bonongwe. and ganyu (a little bit nsima, tomorrow we will eat pumpkin leave and the other day bonongwe then go for casual labour is,,) is still available said Kondwani

At 12 noon GVH came and she started telling me that sindikufuna kumuwona Innocent akubwera kudzagona kuno olo amayi ake chifukwa atha kubambale, sipuni, Adzibwera mdzukulu wanga ye kha ngati simukufuna ndiye mdzukulu wanga achoke mmumbamo koma wakuba akadzabwera musadzandiuze chifukwa nyumbayi ndi yanga, ndiwawuza kuti asadzabwerenso (I don’t want to see Innocent coming to spend a night here again, even her mother, because they can steal your spoons, only my grandson must come, if you don’t want it then my grandson will stop spending a night here, but when the thief comes again don’t tell me because this is my house, i will tell them not to come again) Then she left

After few minutes I went to explain to Jasmine what GVH said then Jasmine said that ndayesetsa kukuthandizani koma ndalephera mapeto ake atha kundipha ndi makhwala [the result may be that she kills with medicine]. Innocent sadzagonanso kwanu (I have tried to help you but now I have failed as the end result she will kill me with traditional medicine, Innocent will not spend a night at your house again) and her HB said that this in not good said because we wanted to help you but now we have stopped

After few minutes I went to give Chikondo her gifts (zipewa 4,4 shoes) then on the way the police from Balaka called me asking me if the GVH is helping me to catch the thief then i said that as of now everybody is just busy in the field & most people are waiting to be told by their chief
Mudzi B what to do not me and the police continued by saying that its good to employ 2 security
guard or else you should find another house near the where people are staying because the houses
is big and near manda, maize is growing quickly if you can shout ! no-one else can hear you we are
near Christmas, new year and hunger season most of the thieves used to kill the one who is staying
in the house if they are failing to steal

after that I went direct to Mr Ntawanga to explain what the GVH said and the idea of the police
,And Mr Ntawanga agreed and he promised to another house on the way back Livia told me to go
with her at the maize mill. village then on the way Livia said that Levison akupita kuchigayo
ndiye akufuna akabe chimanga cha amayi ake ine ndimpate Mk300 (Levison is going to the maize mill then
he want to steal the maize of her mother and sell to me then i will just give him 300mk) . Then on the way
we met wuth him & he told Livia that ndagulitsa kwina kalale wachedwa ( you are late I have already sold it to
someone else) still on the way GVH called me with Livia then we saw a FIDP car bringing
Nandolo (pigeon peas) at Mudzi A 5 bags Mudzi B 6 bags for those who are participating in the tree and adult
school to share for planting. Then the GVH started saying that i told you to tell Innocent not to
stay in the house at night I have I done the wrong or not ? I answered that its your house we need to follow
your rules, then she stopped talking and we continued our journey. on the way Livia said
that I want to sell fertilizer to Sweetness MK250 2plates. When we reached there we found her
taking out some nkhwani in her field then she disciussed with Livia and agreed then Sweetness
complained that a certain thief came and took her coupon that she wanted to share with Malita
but the one who steal is coming from her relatives and she continued by saying that there
are 4-5 thieves in Mudzi B Levison, Lajabu, Ndaba - near her houses -near K. village, Then she
continued by saying that Jane with Alisa [friend of Jane, used to stay in Blantyre who
died recently. Said at borehole that ex-HB wanted to have sex all the time] are just moving around
with men, On 15 Dec Jane was with her boyfriend even Alisa but those men have got their wives
and the wives are also pregnant. Alisa & Jane likes money and today they have gone to Balaka to
other boyfriends and they used to come back at 11-11:30 midnight sakuopa matenda
(she is not a fraid of the disease) said Sweetness and Livia answered that ndinamvanso kuti ali pa chibwenzi ndi Lajabu,anthu
anawapezerela ku dimba
akuchita zachiwerere ndiye akazi awo atamva anayankha kuti asiyeni ndi pa chisuwenipeople
laughed by saying that sakudziwa kuti kuli matenda! ( I also heard that she is in relationship with XXX, some
people found them having sex at the garden, when his wife heard about it , she said that leave them alone,
they are cousins, people laughed by saying that they don't know that there is a disease) (Sweetness & Livia
laughed Sweetness complained that one day I was dreaming about HB of Ainessi sleeping with me And am
getting worried because of
the disease.

From there we continued our journey & we reached at J. village (maize mill)and they were selling at
MK80 per kg then chief Mudzi B and Hilda bought the maize. Livia 4 kgs, Hilda 6 kgs chief
3kgs and 12kgs for her mother, on the way back home Livia showed me a certain man who was
in relationship with chief Mudzi B

Then Hilda was complaining that she went for ganyu with her daughter Ada inorder to buy maize for
zigumu (maize flour cakes) and Ada spent her money by going at Balaka to buy her clothes & for her
daughter while she have got 6 skirts 7 blowers 5 zitenje 3 pairs of shoes. This is the hunger season
we need to spent our money by buying food not clothes after that I saw HB of Chikondi carrying
20kg of ufa (maize flour)and 3 women were coming back to buy cassava for sale I bought for MK40 2
for MK20 then they started explaining that mid January people will not have enough food to eat (the
cassava were very small not ready to be eaten) still on the way I met with HB of Amila coming back
from ganyu (casual labour)at D.
Then the women (Livia, Hilda & chief Mudzi B) started laughing that Hamra wants to kill Rashida & GVH because of the story of Doris chief Mudzi B laughed

At home 6:00 I saw GVH passing by with nkhwani but she didn’t even greet me as usual (with angry face) Then Sofia greeted me and she said that madzulo ndikadya phala ndatopa kudya masamba (I will eat porridge for dinner because am tired eating vegetables) (she laughed)

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they have given you, all people laughed (she went back home with angry face)

Everybody received one basin (big) full of Nandolo. Chief Mudzi B gave me nandolo (our basin full) she was told by those people who gathered. Then I saw Hilda making Zigumu (maize flour cakes). Everybody was happy with nandolo [Some ate them, others planted, but most people had already planted nandolo earlier, so ate. G says it was not an improved variety and they were just handed out, not to be paid back]

At 3:40 I started knitting then I saw women of Mudzi B planting trees near the borehole then Julia & Naima came to greet me they were just complaining that it is now difficult to find food then their will be a lot of thieves after hearing that there is mzunngu in such village. From their they continued there journey to the borehole. I stayed alone up to 9:10 pm then grandson of GVH came to sleep.

I greeted him & he started complaining that his grandfather has got a lot of money but he don’t want to hire ganyu people, he had cows then he sold a lot of money but he is just keeping the money without buying even food he has almost 7-8 field but in the morning he works in one field may be 6-9 ridges only after that he move to othr field 7-8 ridges, wife also does the same (he laugh) I was tired then I went to bed

24 Dec 2008


In the morning he left (5:00) then Mr Banda came to greet me then he told me that the thief has gone to Ch. village, he sent a certain boy related to Rosemary to stay 3 days in Rosemary’s house, while checking if I am still there & what I will be saying about the that thief and indeed he was passing by greeting Livia but not me, he also had greeted Sofia but not me and I also realized that he is looking for something

After few minutes he told me that he was going to buy fertilizer from Innocent at MK700. Then he continued his journey (HB of Fatima also bought for MK1500 from Innocent)

At 8:30 I saw Chisoni & Jane coming back from the field

At 10:10 I went to greet Jasmine. Then I escorted Innocent to feed the pigs on the way I met with Esnart coming back from the field & GVH was still weeding in her field. Esnart smiled by saying that mwina amuna anga afika lero (maybe my HB will come today) still on the way I saw Julia & her HB eating and Elube + Lovely were coming back from ther field with masauka (sack bag) in their hands. At the kraal we passed by HB of Magda making ridges alone while the wife was cleaning a pot. When we reached to Suset’s house I saw her eating Mangoes, she bought 8 Mangoes for MK20. Then she was explaining to Innocent that ndilibe ufa ndiye ndangokhala sindikudziwa kuti nditani (I don’t have maize flour then I am just staying I dont know what to do). Innocent answered that pita ukawauze achimwene kwa (go and tell my brother at J. village) J. village [father of Suset’s child and brother to Innocent] (they all smiled) On the way back I saw Teleza & Hamra coming back from the field. Then I met with Chenawe taking thelele (okra) in the field, she begged me MK30 to buy tomatoes & soda then I gave her. At Jasmines house I found
them eating phala instead of nsima (11:30) then Rashida came to buy salt, soap and soap with MK500 in her hands she said that I went for ganyu (casual labour) to Alma for MK600 (kupalira) (weeding) then I saw Sofia eating nsima with nandolo (pigeon peas)

Later on at 2:10 I escorted Livia to the maize mill then she started telling me that ndagulitsa fertilizer MK1000 kwa a Banda koma amayi sanasangalale (I have sold fertilizer at 1000mk to Mr Banda but my mother was not happy I sold half) (half bag) kuti without coupons full bag its MK9000, quarter MK4500 but I have sold at the cheapest price because I wanted to buy some maize for zigu (business - but she didn't start) on the way Livia said that ndalandirira phone kuchokera kwa a Hana/ex-HB (I have received a call from father of Hana) he was complaining that I am not going to visit him at [nearest tradingcenter] as usual. Then I told Livia that lets go at [nearest tradingcenter] (my aim was to find out who is selling and what are they going to be discussing with ex-HB)

Still on the way Livia told me that my mother was not happy when I was responding the call from ex-HB. When we reached at [nearest tradingcenter] we met with the ex-HB of Livia he greeted us then we left after 5 minutes I saw the ex-HB of Livia on the bicycle & he told Livia to follow him from [nearest tradingcenter] market they went straight leaving hospital road) I just laughed I moved around the market checking who is selling. Then I saw only one man selling new clothes. Thinja still selling tomatoes.

Still inside the market I saw young girls and young boys selling mandasi and zigumu (maize flour cakes). Opposite Maria's shop I saw a certain woman selling but her HB was near by & I just greeted them some men were busy buying goat meat, Then someone else greeted me & he introduced himself to me that he is working at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital TB doctor. He asked me to visit him oneday (a very big stomach man & short) then I just told him that ndikazakhalana nthawi ndiwikizabwera (I will come when I have time) he continued by saying that undipeze ku office ta (find me at the office of) TB then I saw Livia coming & we convinved our journey the maize mill at J village on the way Livia asked me what that man was saying. Then I explained everything to her, Then Livia told me that mmene ndinali ndi zaka 16 ndinali naye pa chibwenzi amandigulira fanta, soap, mafuta. Ankafuna kundikwatira koma ndinakana chifukwa BamBo a Hana anayamba kundifunsira, ndiye ndinakonda iwowo (I was in relationship with him when I was 16yrs old he was buying some Fanta for me, and soap and lotion, he wanted to marry me but I refused because father of Hana had propose me earlier, and I liked him) >after that I asked Livia what she was discussing with the ex-HB. The she told me that we went far from the market Because we were afraid of the other wife. And he gave me MK300 for soap and he promised that he will Be helping me & the relationship will not end. But my parents are not happy, Because he has another wife (she smiled) wandiwanzano kuti ndiluke izipewa ziwiri china cha Hana china cha mkazi wina (he also told me to knit 2 hats, one for my daughter and another one for his wife). still on the way I saw Aisha at the maize mill then Livia bought 3kgs for MK240

Then the Balaka police called me asking what is going on about the thief & I explained that he has runned away to Ch. village. on the way back home Livia said that I will start a Business of Zigumu with the Money that I sold fertilizer.

Then she [Livia] told me that mawa tipitenso kwa [nearest tradingcenter] kuti ndikakumane ndi BamBo a Hana koma uzandimange tsitsi kuti awone kusintha we should go at [nearest tradingcenter] tomorrow to meet with father of Hana but you will plaft my hair before going there so that he could see some changes). Then I just accepted. At home we found
Jasmine preparing some tins for Zigumu (maize flour cakes) & Elube was also busy preparing firewood for zigumu. Then I saw Chief Mudzi A on his bike. Then he called me and asked what happened for GVH to chase Innocent out the house and I explained everything to him. Then he told me that zimenezo sizabwino iwowo omakhala atagona ndi amuna awo iweyo omakhala wekha Janneke kulibe ndiye akumuthamangitsa chifukwa chiyani? (that is not good. At night she (GVH) stays with her HB while you stay alone, Janneke is not there. Then why is she chasing her (innocence)?) Let’s go & discuss with the parents of Innocent so that she can be back with you in the same house.

Jasmine came with HB and Jasmine also explained everything to Chief Mudzi A of what happened, then the parents of Innocent refused to send back her daughter, then Chief Mudzi A said that ndibwino anthuwa asamuke kwa Mudzi A II with one of the old women there (it will be good if these people (Janneke and Gertrude) will leave here and stay with one of the old women in Mudzi A).

Then I told them that I should go at the office first and ask any answer that they will give me I will explain to you.

Then Jasmine started preparing masamba (vegetables) while Innocent was at the kitchen cooking nsima. Then Sofia was eating phala with her kids from there I saw HB of Fatima calling Innocent & they were discussing that HB of Fatima: ubwere usiku kunyumba tidzacheze komanso undigulitse mbewu ya thonje (come for a chat at home tonight and give me cotton seed so that I should buy at 500mk) for MK500 one full packet. Innocent accepted. From there he also asked Innocent that why are you still talking to your ex-HB don’t you know that I will marry you! I didn’t heard what Innocent answered. It was already 6:55 pm then rain started & I went back home.

In the morning when I waked up I saw GVH + two granddaughters + HB making ridges. Then I saw Eveles coming to greet me. Then she just told me that don’t listen to what people are saying because some of them are saying that you should go to tree doctor but just come and take one of my cloth. Then I said don’t worry God will give me more than I had she continued by saying that I [Eveles] am still making ridges and still planting rice. After that I went to fetch some water then I saw chief mgwra making ridges with her daughter, then Blessings was preparing maize to go to the maize mill. Then the son of Elube was also going to the maize mill by bicycle full 50kg, then Jasmine called me to buy zigumu & I found them eating phala & zigumu (maize flour cakes). Then Jasmine said that I will go & sell at M. village because people will be dancing and drinking there.

From there my friends in Lilangwe sent some Messages for Merry Christmas.

At 11:40 I saw a car coming near Elubes house and people said that the HB of Esnart is the one who was coming and it was true then Innocent came & grandson of Jasmine was passing by & Innocent told me that he ran away from Mudzi B to J. village because his grandmother was forcing him to work in the field. He said that zimenezo ndi nkhanza [cruelty/mishandeling].

Later on Ellesi passed by with her friend Libana going to Jasmine’s house then Innocent said that these girl begged some money from their boyfriends for Christmas, let me show you the letter that Libana wrote to Davie [who moved to his uncle in J. vlg bcoz in Mudzi B no food]. I read the letter and the address was ndiwe wekha (you are the only one) p.o box kukupeza ndi mkazi wina ndi ngozi [if I find you with another, there will be an accident] (we laughed) ndalemba kalatayi kuti undigatile ndalama wamva!
Chifukwa Ellesi chibwenzi chake chamupatsa MK200 ndipo wagula umbrella (I have written this letter to beg you some money, do you hear! Because Ellesi has received 200MK from her boyfriend and she bought an umbrella).

Then Innocent said that I am going to cook some nsima lets just go home rather than staying alone here. I followed her then we found the girls still chatting & I just heard Davie saying that sindingakupatse ndalama munthu woti uli amayi ako komanso azibale ako ku S.A ine ndi wamasiye ndalama ndimpeza kuganyu (I cannot give you the money because you have your parents and some relatives in S.A while I am an orphan and I always find money through piece work) (girls were just quite and departed. Jasmine was busy selling zigumu (maize flour cakes) & young girls dressed well but very busy buying zigumu my aim was to go at [small crossroads market] but I failed due to rainfall. Then Levison drunk +HB of Fatima then Levison started saying that ndaba zinazake ndiye ndikupita kwa M. village (I have stolen something and I am going to M. village) (the children kept some money from ganyu said Sofia) then Sofia started complaining that ndibwino ndiyambe geni chifukwa ndikuvutika ndi ana ndiyamba geni iliyonse ndalama ndikabwereka kwa agogo (it will be good if I start doing business, because it is difficult to take care of the children, I will start any kind of business, I will borrow some money to my grandmother) (she didn’t mention the type of business) young girls & boys were still busy buying zigumu & Elube was busy applying fertilizer (mixed) & Innocent said that I will start tomorrow applying fertilizer.

Chikondi passed by & Innocent started saying that the HB who is still in marriage with Chikondi was a thief! Last year. Maybe right now he has stopped, he was stealing maize in the field, goats.

At 5:10 Tinenenji came selling mandasi MK10 each, she told me that I have started this business for Christmas & new year only I don’t mean that I will continue (we all laughed) Then Jasmine started eating nsima at 5:30 pm with her grandchildren +HB then Sofia was also going to cook nsima then GVH was coming back from the field.

Hamra + Chikondi were coming back from the borehole then Hamra was telling Chikondi that leronso ndikadya nsima ndi nkhwani (today we will eat nsima and pumpkin leaves again) & zione answered that ife tikadya nsima ndi matemba (we will eat nsima with dry fish). Abambo anagula malingana ndi Christmas. Hamra said that bola GVH anagula nyama ya mbuzi komanso azimayi omwe azimuna awo ali ku S.A ndawona akudutsa ndi majumbo andiwo (GVH has bought some goat meat, and I have also seen that those women who have a HB in S.A passed by with food in plastic bags) (they all laughed loudly).

In the morning when I waked up, I started washing my clotts then I saw Sofia weeding alone in her field. Then GVH plus HB were making ridges and planting cotton.

At 8. I went to fetch some water then Sofia greeted me and she started complaining. Dzulo mwana wanga anamenyedwa ndi Konwani (yesterday my child was beaten by Patuma) (one of the g.dottas of GVH) ndiye pamene ndinanipita kukufuswa agogo amuna anakwiyi. Kenako ndinabwerera kunyumba (when I went to ask about it, my grandfather was angry. Then I just went back home. Then at 8:30pm ndinawona mwana uja akubwera atanyamula zovala zake amati agogo akazi ndi amuna anithamangitsa akuti alibe chokudya chokwanira. Koma alandira ndalama kuchokera ku S.A. (Then at 8;30pm I saw my child coming with her clothes in her hands, and he explained that my grandfather and grandmother chased me. They said that they don’t have enough food, while they have received some money from S.A) (GVH received money from S.A) [J: Did she not want to share her money?].

From there I continued my journey to the borehole. Then I saw Amila + HB coming back from the field. From the borehole I saw Jasmine + HB weeding in their field. Then the same morning I went to charge my T.phone then I saw Elube applying fertilizer with her son. Then still on the way I saw Livia also applying fertilizer. Then HB of Rosemary was making ridges and planting cotton alone in the field. Then I met with mr Ntawanga kupalira (weeding) alone kenako ndinawona mfumu Mudzi A akupalira wokha (and I saw chief Mudzi A weeding in his field alone). Still on the way ndinawona Hilda akupalira, mfumu Mudzi B + ana awiri akupaliranso
chimanga. Kenaka Thokozani akupalira yekha chimanga (then I saw Holy weeding, chief Mudzi B and her 2 children weeding in there maize field, then Thokozani was also weeding alone).

Then I stopped at the old woman house (Eveles) ndipo ndinawapeza akudzala chimanga, [Bicycle maker] amapita ku Balaka kukagulitsa njinga (I found her planting some maize and [Bicycle maker] was going at Balaka to sell some bicycles). I just greeted them and continued my journey at the grocery I just found Tinenenji selling mandasi and at Dauda's house I found them weeding in their field.

On the way back I found chief Mudzi B taking nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) from her field, but I found others still in their fields. Then I saw g.son of Jasmine coming back from chigayo almost 10kgs. Esnart was passing by going to the borehole then Thokozani greeted her and Esnart answered that: Lero sindinapite kumunda chifukwa amuna anga abwera dzulo ndiye ndimawasamalira kaye (I didn't go to work in the field today, because my HB just arrived yesterday then I was taking care of him first) (laughed and shaked hands.) After lunch I started knitting but no-one else joined me. Livia was on the field and Thokozani stopped coming here because of the same thief (In-law)

At 2 oclock I saw Levison passing by but very drunk, then boys near by were saying that: kodi ndalama amazipeza kuti? Panopa kuganyu sitikumuona, komanso nyumba anamaliza kumanga. (where is he getting the money? There is no casual labour nowadays and he also completed the house that he was building (for money).

At 2:30 I saw Sofia planting maize alone in the field then Saibi was coming back from the maize mill with 25kgs.

I stayed alone knitting up to dark hours then at 7:30 I slept.

In the morning when I waked up I saw GVH + HB making ridges then later on I saw chief Mudzi B passing by with a hoe going to the field. At 9 I went to fetch some water then I saw Emra kupalira (weeding) alone in the field. Then at the borehole I found Amila talking to her friend that bola masiku ano tikudya komanso ganyu akupezeka (at least we are eating nowadays and it's not difficult to find casual labour). [Eating because of ganyu (esp at K. village, where many houses have iron sheets & HBs in SA)]. At 9:45 I went to take my phone to mr Dauda (charge) then on the way I saw chief Mudzi A kupalira on his field alone and I also met with HB of Chikondi very drunk and mr Ntawanga was laughing by saying that: m' malo mogula takukudya ndalamaya akungomwa mowa, komanso m' malo mopita kumunda akutanganidwa ndi mowa (instead of buying food with that money he is just buying beer, and instead of going to work in the field he is busy drinking).

I passed by the house of the old woman (Eveles) then I saw her making ridges alone. I just greeted her and continued my journey. At the grocery I found 1 girl selling mandasi another girl was selling matemba. I stopped 2 and greeted them and I asked them the owner of the business and they said that it was for their parents. They sent them to sell because they went to work on the fields.

My aim was to continue the journey to [nearest tradingcenter] and a certain boy stopped me and said that: ndinamva Ndaba akumuza mnzake kuti akakupenza akumenya kapena kukuphala ndiyedzino omwe. (I heard Ndaba telling his friend that when he find you he will beat you or kill you, so don't go alone. [because G is disturbing me, keeping me from moving around, sending police after me.] Just wait for 2-3 days. And I just thanked him and turned back. On the way back I also met with Levison very drunk and people were still in their fields.

At 1:40 I started knitting and Chisoni joined me and she started explaining that: the Hyena that ate the dotta of Ainessi was moving around looking for Ndaba, he went to steal somewhere else at Ch. village, then the owner went of the properties went to the T.doctor and give them the Hyena to
catch that thief. When the Hyena came where Ndaba was staying it just caught his daughter. As of now people are saying that the Hyena’s that moving around now are looking for Ndaba. At 3 Esnart departed and she told me that ndikupita kumunda kukapalira (I am going to weed my crops).

I stayed alone up to 4. then some young boys were passing by and they were discussing that HB of Esnart brought some uniform for boys who play football. Those people who are staying in S.A from this village contributed the money and bought that uniform and now they are discussing to buy some bricks and build a big mosque in Mudzi B.

I continued knitting alone up to 6:20. Then at 7:20 I slept. The saw night at 8:27pm the g.son of GVH knocked the door, then he told me that : ndabwera kudzagona kuno andiuza ndi agogo.

Dzulo sindinabwere ndinatanganidwa (my grandmother told me that I should come and spend a night here, yesterday I didn’t come because I was busy). I didn’t answer anything but I just showed him where to sleep.

28 Dec 2008

In the morning when I waked up I started preparing for my journey to Lilongwe: ICRISAT had called me to go and collect money for food. Then on the way I saw Mrs Ntawanga and her 2 children applying fertilizer in their field. Then Elube and GVH were weeding in their fields. Still on the way I saw Hilda applying fertilizer with 2 children. Then Magda was weeding alone in the field. All the way from [small crossroads market] to Lilongwe everybody was busy weeding in there field.

In Lilongwe I found Desi waiting for me. Then Desi started explaining to me that: ndilibe chakudya chokwanira ndowa K1.650.00. Ndiye ndabwereka K4.000.00 kwa Amayi ndagula chakudya. Ndiye amuna anena kuti tigulitse ma cell phone tigule otsika mtengo ndalama inayo tibweze ngongole ya amayi (I don’t have enough food, as of now a tin of maize is sold at 1650MK, then I have just borrowed 4000 from my mother and bought food, then my HB said that we should sell our expensive phones and buy the cheaper ones so that we should find some money so that we should give back what we borrowed from my mother). I just advised Desi to start a business inorder to be getting some food not just staying and she just accepted but I don’t know if she was happy with that idea.

29 Dec 2008

At 7:10 Icrisat came and picked me up at Guliva (Area 49). Then on the way everybody was busy weeding while others were going to their offices. At the office they gave me my salary for December. Then I explained to Mrs Kachale what happened about the thieves. And she told me that Jannake sent e-mail. She was asking for someone else to bring some food for you, but we didn’t because all the cars were busy. Then they gave me a cheque of seven thousand and we went together in town. (Bank) After that I went for shoppings.

At 12:01 I was at Area 25 with Desi and she started explaining to me that : 12yrs girl (std 8) is pregnant from her teacher and another 11yrs girl is in relationship with a certain man close to 27yrs. Desi continued by saying that most of the girls are very busy with dressing (it’s like a competition). They are not working but still at school with 2-3 boy friends inorder to get money to buy what they want (nice cloths).

After that I went to greet my aunt and found her charting with her friends and one of her friend started saying that I would like to get married because am just having sexual desires may be because of this ARVS! All the women laughed. The other woman also said the same thing that: ma ARV amabweretsa chilikolako chanthupi (desire) ndimamva a doctor kuchipatala (ARVs cause desire in the body, I heard from the doctor at the hospital). This is not good (said my aunt). After that some friends were coming to greet me.
30 December

In the morning I went for shopping in town then on the way people were busy working on their fields. After some shopping I went back to Desi’s house. Then after few minutes my cousin from Area 18 called me to go there.

At Area 18 my cousin asked me about the thieves and I explained to her then she just encouraged me to work hard in everything and she asked me about my plans then after explaining to her she was not happy because I told her that I want to continue school, she told me that udzikhutitsidwa ndi zomwe uli nazo (you need to be satisfied with what you have) meaning J.C.E, M.S.C.E, and fuel attendant certificate. I told her that am not satisfied. (I didn’t understand what she meant because she is working and her HB is also working, but both of them are still doing some courses including their children (Accounting).

After that I went back to Area 25 at 7:10pm my friend at Area 30 called me to go and celebrate a new year there from 31 December. Then I accepted and I told Desi and Desi allowed me to go.

31 December

In the morning I went at Area 30 then I found them waiting for me. They prepared rice, chicken and soft drinks for 1st January. (She is a police woman) After greetings she asked me about the thieves and I explained to her and she asked if the policemen from BK helped me. And she said that the policemen from Balaka didn’t help you properly. Most of them wanted some money. But it’s good because you didn’t give them. Only God will provide everything for you.

At night people were busy cooking, listening to music, celebrating that 2009 it’s another year. I made thobwa for them and they were very happy.

1 January 2009

I was still at Area 30, they told me to teach them how to make mandasi for sell then I helped them (Elida Twabi & Getrude Twabi). At lunch people were passing by with new and nice clothes for sell, then my friend bought 2 cloths for me dress and skirt and they told me to make more decorations and shoes for sell because most of the people used to go in town to buy. Then instead they can be selling for me there at Area 30.

After lunch we were just staying then we went to town by their car just moving around. And they bought some cakes and drinks at crossroads.

2 January 2009

In the morning I started preparing for my journey to Balaka. Then on the way people were busy applying fertilizer. Then I passed by Dedza to greet my mother then I gave her K3,000.00 to buy food and she was happy and she encouraged me to work hard because she is able to buy food and soap because of this job. At 12. I continued my journey to Balaka. Still on the way people were very busy in their fields.

Then at Mudzi B there was rainfall but I found GVH replanting groundnuts.

While the HB was weeding then Livia came to greet me and she started telling me that MASAF 2 has started. FIDP told people who are participating to clear the place near the borehole to plant new trees for 12 days, K2,400.00 everybody. She continued by saying that 28 people are participating but
most of them are not working in their fields because they used to be tired (only those people who are participating in tree project.) [J: People who participated in the tree projects in Mudzi A and Mudzi B (but also other villages) were now paid to plant the trees, in each village on a separate plot. Other trees were for planting on people's own field. E.g. Chenawe, Suset and Emra did not attend meetings so were excluded from project. Each chief could select 3-4 strong men/women to do road maintenance for some money, by Levison & Venesi. Mr Ntawanga did both + Ms Ntwanga planted tress = 3 X 2400 MK. Same for Mr Tulipesi. GVH registered about 13 extra names of people pretending that they participated, while not so as to receive (a lot!) of extra money. Mr Ntawanga also registered his daughter while she did not work (so he got 4x2400!). From Mudzi B II nobody could join bcoz they had not planted trees after receiving nandolo, therefore punished by GVH/chief.]

0857
0858
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0860
0861
0862
3 January 2009

SMS: MASAF (tree planting) started

0863
In the morning when I waked up I didn’t see anyone else working in the field. Then later on I went to fetch some water at the borehole then I saw a group of women from Mudzi B working near the borehole. I went near by in order to greet them, but everybody was busy. Then Chisoni told me that it’s MASAF 2, we will receive K2.400.00 for 2 weeks, it’s 200MK per day. Everybody was happy, Chisoni, Auleria, Jasmine, Innocent, Sofia, Blessings and Esnart, Lovely, Amila, Pamela, Phingi, Livia, Grace, Nola, Rosemary, Elube, Ayama, Tumanene, Fissa, Kondwani. Dorica, Tinenenji, Hilda, Molly. These women were working, Venesi said that after here we will be going to our fields. But we will not be able to work very hard because we are very tired. (another woman laughed)

0864
From there I went back home and I started weeding in the field. At 8:52 I saw all the women going back to their houses then Sofia came to beg masamba (green leaves) at our garden and chief Mudzi B. At 10.30 I saw Innocent working on her field with Trinity (g.daughter Jasmine). Then HB of Jasmine was working alone in the field. Then at 12:10 the rain started up to 2:40 and at 3. I saw Esnart going to her field alone.

0865
HB of GVH was working alone in the field. Then Innocent came and she started complaining that Fatima is back and she is the one who is keeping the cell phone of her HB and I am failing to communicate with her HB (I laughed) She [Innocent] also continued by saying that I have hired Fatima and my mother ganyu (casual labour) (200MK) ridges. I sold fertilizer and I will pay them.

0866
0867
At 3:40 I continued weeding in my field after that I worked on my garden (weeding). The chief Mudzi A came to greet me & he started telling me that: Charity quarreled with her elder Sister then she burned the roof of the house of her elder sister. Then chief Mudzi A continued by saying that: I went to explain to GVH but she refused to go and ask what happened. Then I don’t know what to do. Amfumu a Mudzi A anapitiliza ndi kunena kuti panopa ndikulima ndekha akazi anganso akulima okha ndiye ndikakolola ndikufuna banja langa lithe komanso ndisamuka (I will transfer/move) ndimanga nyumba yanga (chief Mudzi A continued by saying that, as of now I am working alone in the field and my wife is also working alone in her field, soon after harvesting I will end my marriage and I will move to another village) (he showed me the place in Mudzi B) koma nyumba yomwe ili kwu Mudzi A ndidzawasiyira (i will leave the house in Mudzi A for her) Panopa sakundilemekeza (people are not respecting me). Panopa sakundilemekeza (people are not respecting me) ndiye khalidwe limeneli ndatopa nalo (and I am tired with that kind of behavior). It was already dark. Then he continued his journey (wants to move from Mudzi A where people hate him because he came from outside to become a chief while within Mudzi A there were people who could have/wanted to be chief. When he was ill he told g he believes he is being bewitched)
In the morning I started washing my clothes, then from 8:30 I was applying fertilizer in our field. At 9:30 I went to fetch some water then I saw Chisoni, Auleria, Jasmine, Sofia, Innocent, Esnart, Blessings, Evelin, Molly, Pamela, Grace, Tumanene, Ellesi, Lovely, Amila, Phingi, Livia Nola, Venesi, Rosemary, Elube, Ayama, Fissa, Kondwani, Hilda busy working in MASAF project (only women are participating in Mudzi B) then Tumanene started telling her friends that the MASAF project have helped us to have money for food because we already bought fertilizer. Then Grace smiled and said the same words. Hilda answered by saying that I am happy with this MASAF project because I will have enough capital for zigumu (maize flour cakes) (all women laughed loudly). Amila said that my HB is working alone in the field while I am here working at MASAF. But in the late afternoon I will join him.

When I reached home I started making 2 ridges for tomatoes. Then Teleza passed by and greeted me. Then she started saying that I am coming from MASAF project in Mudzi A every woman who is participating in tree project is also participating in MASAF. As of now I am going to finish applying fertilizer in my field but it is not enough may be after receiving some money from MASAF will buy other fertilizer.

Jasmine passed by she was going to wash some blankets and she also told Teleza even in my field the fertilizer is not enough, I will be buying little by little. Then I saw GVH coming back from her field and Livia was busy making ridges in her field. Evelin and chief Mudzi B passed by with masamba (vegetables). At 11:10 I went with Innocent at the borehole then Tinenenji and Ada were busy washing cloths, then Amila was passing by and she told me that Ndaba is not coming in this village but Emra will go back to her village after harvesting. Then Hamra also greeted me and she started telling me that: sindinalandire nako nandolo akuti chifukwa ndiinali kogulitsa mchere [people are jealous, saying that I have money eg from selling salt, that I can buy everything myself], koma sindikudandaula chifukwa m’manda mwango muli masamba ambiri (I didn’t receive the pigeon peas because I am selling salt but am not complaining because I have a lot of vegetables in my field). On the way back Innocent started complaining that nowadays we’re not eating anything in the morning only lunch but maize grains (ufa wa madeya). After few minutes I saw Ndaba with Levion at the veranda + Rosemary but I don’t know what they were discussing because when they saw they stopped talking.

At 1:30 heavy rain started up to 7:10pm. Then I saw Jasmine passing by with masamba (ndiwo). I was knitting alone up to sleeping hours. Then the rain continued from 7:30pm to 9:50pm.

In the morning when I waked up I saw HB of GVH making ridges alone in the field. Later on I saw a group of women working at MASAF near the borehole (from Mudzi B). At 7:40am Esnart passed by then a certain young boy started saying that: Esnart started charging telephones, the HB bought some materials when he was coming from South Africa.

At 8:15am Sofia and Jasmine were coming back from MASAF and I helped them to carry a bucket of water then on the way Sofia said that there is a strange animal that is moving around at the graveyard. First day it chased the HB of Elube at 7:30 and yesterday around 7:10 Thokozani was coming back from her mother In-law and she just saw a strange animal with four legs chasing her, it was coming from the graveyard. She screamed but no-one else helped her because there was heavy rainfall. And Jasmine said that it is looking for Ndaba because of what he did when he was staying at Ch. village. Even hyenas are moving around in this village at 6:50-8:00. It will stop when Ndaba will be
caught. [J: Gertrude heard sound of hyena, but sounded more like people imitating hyena to scare people so that they can steal sugarcane. People said that real hyena’s start at 10-11pm not 6pm.] Then at Jasmine’s house we found her g.dotta making phala (porridge. And Sofia was also preparing phala.

After few minutes Mphatso dota of Rosemary passed by but very ill and I asked Jasmine what has happened and she told me that Mphatso was pregnant 2 months and she miscarried but instead of going to the hospital her mother came to me to take some Trad.medicine but I refused to give her. I told her to go to the hospital. After that she said that ndikupita kemunda (am going to the field) because of the heavy rainfall on 4th January my maize has been destroyed. Even the field of Lovely near the borehole the maize have been destroyed.

At 9:40 a certain woman passed by and she was explaining to HB of GVH that the heavy rainfall destroyed 3 houses and some people injured, and the lightening also killed one man and 2 women are also injured [not in Mudzi] and they are at the hospital.

Later on I saw Mrs Ntawanga passing by with cassava leaves (ndiwo) and GVH came begging nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) at my garden. (People laughed because there is a lot of nkhwani to be found everywhere now. GVH has a big field of it.) Then Ada passed with mother of Dorica and they were discussing that most of the people are just staying without eating anything in the morning and at lunch masamba (vegetables) without tomatoes and nsima. Molly passed by and she started complaining that at night because the heavy rainfall, some thieves passed by they wanted to take a bucket of water that she left outside inorder to find some water in the morning but the dogs barked loudly and the thief runned away. Then I saw Jane passing by with usipa (small dry fish)

At 10:40 one of the relatives of GVH came and he started telling me that: The owner of this house will call you at 12:30, he said that he have got a secret word that he want to tell you. Then I said that ok I will be waiting for the call, then he left. At 10:55 Chenawe came to greet me and she started saying that: ndasangalala chifukwa ndikupeza bwino, panopa ndikutha kulima bwinobwino koma ndikudandaula chifukwa andiletsa kupanga nawo chitukuko cha m’mudzi akuti ndakalamba (I am happy because am feeling better now, and I am able to work in the field, but I am getting worried because they have told me not to participate in any project work because I am very old) [they forbid me to participate in project because I am getting old]. Koma zinthu zikabwera ndi zilandira nawo (but i will be allowed to receive any free things that come in this village). (Told her she will receive handouts, but she did not receive tree planting money.) Koma panopa a MASAF akuti tidzale mitengo tilandira 2400MK, koma a chairman a polofesi akuti ineyo sindilandira nawo koma ndinayamba chitukuko chaka cha 2000. Ndine nditawauza amfumu Mudzi A palibe chomwe andiyankha panopa ndikupita kukawauza a GVH ( but as of now we have been told by MASAF to plant trees and we will receive 2400mk, but the chairman said that I will not receive the trees for planting, but I started participating in this project since 2000, but when I told chief Mudzi A about this issue he didn’t say anything as of now I am going to tell the group village headwoman ). Then she left. (Stopped greeting everybody, very angry.)

At 11:40 I went to make nsinjiro to Phingi then I found her selling tomatoes to Nola then she was telling her that: mwana wanga anakandigulira ku Lizulu ndinamupatsira ndalama (my son bought at Lizulu, I gave him some money)(Phingi gave money to grandson in Balaka to buy her tomatoes at Lizulu market. At this time she was only one selling tomatoes.) But Livia was busy cleaning a pot for nsima. On the way back I met with Venesi going to buy some tomatoes. At 12:30 the rain started up to 2:10. Then at 2:40 mother of Dorica passed by going to the field to apply fertilizer. Then GVH was also passing with Sofia (at Jasmine) and they were discussing that: Sofia: amuna anga atumiza seven hundred kwacha kuti ndigule chakudya ( my HB sent 700MK so that I should buy food), then GVH answered that bola inu mupeza chakudya koma ine amuna anga angokhola, kumangodwala. (One day Sofia’s HB came and slept at her house. She complains that she will not harvest enough bcoz child was ill, whoch kep her from working on the field. Will beg from uncles of her kids (sons of GVH) in SA 3000 or 5000MK to buy food) At 5:40 I went to fetch some water with Esnart, then she started complaining that her maize has been destroyed by heavy rainfall and at the borehole we met with Hilda cleaning her vegetables (nkhwani) (pumpkin leaves) and Blessings was also at the borehole and she was telling me that: ndayamba kuthira fertilier
koma mvula yawononga chimanga. (Applied fertilizer but the rain washed it away.) On the way back
Esnart told me that: *Tayamba ku charger ma phone utha kumabweretsa yako, amuna anga
ndi omwe akumacharger.* (we have started charging phones, then you can bring yours, my HB is the
one who is charging the phones)

The son of GVH didn’t call me as he promised.

6 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up I saw the same women working at MASAF near the borehole. Then
later on at 7:10 I saw Esnart and Tumanene going to their fields and they were complaining that: *Tatopa
kale komanso tikupita kumunda* (we are already tired but we are still going to the field (instead of
resting)), then I saw chief Mudzi B working on her field with 2 kids. And HB of GVH was working alone in
the field. Then I saw Sofia working alone in the field (weeding) Then
g.son of Jasmine passed by going to school and Sofia asked him why he is going to school and he
answered that: *achita kundikakamiza agogo ndi chifukwa chake ndikutipa* (I am going because I have been
forced by my grandparents).

At 10:20 Grace and Jane came to knit as we were knitting Grace started saying that: Dorica
aborted in October that’s why she stopped school, she used T.medicines. As of now she has also
started school but she seem not to be serious with education because she is in relationship with
someone else from [nearest tradingcenter]. She also continued by saying that: Thokozani is also participating in
MASAF, only that her dotta is suffering from malaria.

She also said that GVH was told to choose 3-4 people in her village to attend MASAF in
another village while others are preparing the place to plant trees. Then instead of choosing other
people she is the one who is working there, and she also registered in Mudzi B but there is no one
else who is working on behalf of her but she says she will receive some money from both side which
is 4800MK. She also said that *Emra anayamba nayo ndchito ya MASAF, koma a group
anamuletsa akuti ieye siwam’ mudzi muno* (she started working with MASAF project but the GVH
stopped her by saying that she is not belonging to this village) (since they are planning to chase
her after harvesting, therefore doesn’t belong to village anymore.)

At 11:10 Esnart came and she told me that: *akukufunani amuna anga (my HB is calling you)*. On the way
I asked her what was wrong and she said that I don’t know. When I reached there, her HB said
that lets go inside our house and discuss something. When I entered there he greeted me and he
introduced himself to me by saying that: *ndine Ronan, Esime ndi mkazi wanga, ndimagwira ntchito
ku South Africa, muli pa banja?* (I am Ronan, Esnart is my wife, I work in South Africa, are you
married?) Then I said no, he continued by saying that anyone else who is in S.A from this vg knows
about you [son of Elube told everyone. Also son of Venesi went to SA
last month and probably told them] and the owner of the house that you are staying sent a
text last night he said that he is coming soon and he want to get married to you (akukufunani banja)
[J: he has some goats that Gertrude may take]. I asked Ronan that: *andikwatira bwanji munthu woti
sakundiziwa inenso sindikumudziwa, komanso ali ndi ana ambiri pomwe ine yeyo sindinakwatiwepo
(how can he marry someone that he don’t know, and I also don’t know him, and apart from that he
has a lot of children and I never got married before)*. Then he answered that he has J.C.E no wife and
only 2 kids, here is his photo, akuti usunge udziziwona ndi mwamuna wabwino komanso sakonda
akazi atha kukutenga ku S.A. (He said you should keep it, he is a nice guy and he don’t like women [is
not a womanizer], and he can take you to SA[I refused to take the photo]. After that mrs Ntawanga
was coming and he stopped talking and departed. The Esnart followed me on the way, she told me
that: *ukhaile amasuka (you stay free) kuwomera kapena kukana (to accept or deny), koma khalidwe
lake ndoloipa amakonda akazi (but he has a bad behavior, he loves different women), then we
stopped talking because many people were passing by.

At home I found Grace & Jane (came to have hair braided) still waiting for me, then I asked Jane
if she will start school or not, then she answered that: *Amayi anga andiletsa akuti ndikutenganso
mimba ina (my mother said that I should not go because I will get another pregnancy)*. Then I
asked her that: *sungathe kukhala opanda chibwenzi ndikumaliza school? (can’t you manage to stay
without a boyfriend till you finish your education?)* She just laughed loudly.
Later on some boys coming back from school, then Grace asked them that: ndi chifukwa chani m'wabwera nthawi zino? (why are you coming this time) Then they answered that: Mr Chikombo amenyedwa, kunabwera m'wana wina kudzayambu sukulu, ndiye Mr Chikombo anamubweza [bcoz too young]. M'wana uja atawauza makolo ake, anakwiyana ndikupita komweko, atafika kusuku. Makolo uja anawauza Mr Chikombo kuti mwazololvera kubweza ana kusuku lero ndikumenyani (The school's headmaster has been beaten. A certain girl came to register at our school, then the headmaster sent her back. The child went to explain to her parents and the parents were very angry and went to meet the teacher. Then when they reached there they told him that you are used to send children back from school. Today I am going to fight with you), then they started fighting up to Mr Chikombo injured and sent back all the children from standard 1-8. (we all laughed)

Jane continued by saying that; tomorrow am going to Balaka to take some money from my boyfriend [J: he told her to get hair braided, gave money for extensions: 3 strings a 100 MK], then Grace asked her chibwenzii chiiti [I know only the one in SA, who is this]? Koma Jane mwamuna amene uja soli pa banja? ? (which boyfriend? But Jane, is that guy not married?) Jane answered that: ngakhale ali pa banja sivuto (although he is married but I don't care). Alisa alinso pa chibwenzii ndi mwamuna wotii ali pa banja (Alisa is in relationship with a man who is married) akuti mkazi wake amusiyi (he will leave her) chifukwa ndi wamwano (because she is rude) akwatira Alisa (then he will marry Alisa). [J: Later: Boyfriend from SA is back from for now. Said that even though his parents are against their relationship, he cannot leave Jane bcoz she was the one who helped him find money for his transport to SA by selling zitumbuwa and some of her maize. G and Sofia surprised about how fast and unexpectedly Jane got married to another one now, maybe pregnant they speculate. Had 2 boyfriends in Balaka, now married to one of them. From the way her HB looked when he came to pick her, people think this was the boyfriend who was not married. Sofia and lovely said Jane already started to have boyfriends at the age of 12, and speculated that maybe she is tired of this now and therefore got married quickly.]

Grace continued by saying that: I will not apply fertilizer in my field. I received a coupon inorder to share with my g.mother (Nola) but when I went to Mzuzu she already bought the fertilizer. Then on 5 January I gave her the money that she used to buy my fertilizer, then she answered that: ndathira kale kumunda kwanga. (I have already applied in my field). Grace added that: panopa ndikuganiza kuti ndis耶e kulima chifukwa fertilizer ndilibe, ndikadzapeza ndalama ndidzagula chimanga. M'wina akuchita zimenezi chifukwa ndine wamasiye. (as of now I think I should not stop working in the field because I don't have fertilizer, I will just buy some maize when I get money, maybe they are doing this because I am an orphan). Jane answered by saying that: ndibwino kumachita zibwenzii ndi anthu apa banja kuti azindigayira ndalama (it is good to be in relationship with someone who is married so that he can be giving me some money, and not marry myself) wasoti kukwatiwa ayi. Ngati ndingatenge mibma ndidzachotsa (if I will get pregnant I will abort). (If I got pregnant I will abort) [J: better to be pachibwenzi then you get more money, like a campaign, winning a woman. Koma pabanzu not anymore. Desi said same to G]

At 12:10 I escorted them then on the way I saw chief Mudzi B eating nsima with nandolo (vegetables). Tumanene was cleaning some masamba (vegetables). Innocdent passed by with nkhwani.

At 2:10 I saw Livia making ridges alone & she told me that ndagula mtedza dzulo K150 ku Balaka ndikufuna ndidedele (I bought ground nuts yesterday at Balaka for 150MK I want to plant). I asked her where she find the money, but she didn't mentioned.

At 3:05 a certain woman came to greet and she started saying that: ndimakhala kwa [nearest primary school], pepani ndinamva kuti akuba anabwera kudzakubera, koma musandaule mudzingopemphera [I stay at [nearest primary school] village, am sorry I just heard that thieves came to steal your things, but don't worry pepani ndinamva kuti akuba anabwera kudzakubera, koma musandaule mudzingopemphera]. After that, I saw Sofia going to apply fertilizer, but the rain started. The woman continued by saying that: ndikupita kwa Bima kukakongola (borrow) chimanga 50kg bag ndizawapatsa ndikadzakolola, dzulo sindinadze kalikonse, lero ndadza masamba okha, mango anathala! (I am going to Esnart to borrow a bag of 50kg of maize. I will give back soon after harvesting. I didn't eat anything yesterday, today I just ate vegetables. mangeso got finished)

At 4:10 I went to chat with Livia and I found her writing a letter, then the address was like: mwayi woli ali pa banja, P.o Box mpaka imfa (I found a chance to write a letter. P.O.box Till death). I asked her where the letter belong to, then she said that to the ex-HB. The letter says that: Amuna anga ndifa ndi njala, takhala masiku 4 kumongodya nandolo (my HB, I die with hunger here, we have stayed 4 days without eating any food, just eating pigeon peas) (not true happened 1 day only ("while father has money," says G)] komanso
In the morning after breakfast, I saw the same women working in MASAF project near the borehole. Then I started my journey to [nearest trading center] for some interviews with business women. Then Livia was also going to the hospital, her child was suffering from malaria and eyes, then on the way I saw HB of Jasmine making ridges alone. Then Mr Ntawanga was also weeding alone. Then I saw Florence and her HB weeding. Chikondi & Alida were also weeding. Still on the way I saw HB of Thokozani applying fertilizer alone. Then Innocent asked him where he got fertilizer, then he answered that: osandifunsira (as of now you can’t find piece work, people don’t have money, and it is also difficult to find money, then people will start stealing, we work in a big field but getting little money).

Livia complained that ndinapereka 200mk kwa Levison ganyu (ridges) koma mpaka pano sakulíma (I gave 200mk to Levison for casual labour, to make ridges but he is not working on it)[Feb: Still hasn’t done the work... He had begged her so that he could buy food. Livia thought he was serious, he even started doing some ridges. He eventually gave her back the money after receiving from MASAF].

7 January 2007
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Innocent continued by saying that: Ronan olínso ndi mkazi wina ndi mwana ku Ntchisi boma. (Ronan has another wife and a child in Nt. town)

She [Innocent] also continued by saying that: bambo anga & Levison are participating in MASAF project. When we reached at [nearest trading center], Innocent continued her journey to the hospital while I stopped at the market. At the [nearest trading center] market a lot of young girls were selling mandasi, cold water for their parents & some of them were selling cassava.

1. Market women Hawa, 1977 – A. village
2. Tomato, beans, onions, maize, mseula, selling cloths in season.
3. She started 1992 but mandasi, she discussed with her HB - ndinayamba geni chifukwa cha umphawi (I started this business because of poverty. Investment - ndíinalíma chimanga nali kugulitsa, koma geni ya tomato ndinagulitsa thonje! I grow some maize and sell, but about the business of selling tomato I sold cotton).
4. Ine ndine mzimayi, geni yi ndiyomwe ndiyomwe ndingakwatitse (not true, has no soap. Mother wonders what Livia does with the money, gives her soap sometimes) And she gave the letter to a certain boy to give him. [J: February: he hasn’t helped her though, is not taking care of her. G thinks money, gives her soap sometimes]
5. Selling at [nearest trading center], Monday-Sunday, m’mamawa kwambiri ndimapita kunyumba. Kuyambira 8 o’clock ku geni. (I go to work in the field early in the morning, from 8 oclock I go to do business)
6. Tomato 7000mk, beans 10.000mk. onions 500mk. I buy at Balaka (maize) sometimes Lizulu.
Maize profit: sindikudziwa chifukwa ndinagulira chakudya (I don’t know because I used it to buy food) - kumalitsa ganyu, soap, lotion[employed people for casual labour, bought soap and lotion]. I decide how to use thw money chifukwa ndine amene ndimakhala ku msika, ndipo ndimadziwa chotu ndigule ndikamapita kunyumba. (because I am the one who stays at the market, and I know what to buy when I am going home)

7. 4 children, 1st marriage: nthawi yomwe ndinayamba geni, mwamunayo anali wa hire (bike taxi) ndiye anandifunsira kumsika konkuno banja. Kenako anamwalira. 2nd marriage, anandifunsira
Ndimapeza zosowa zanga monga sopo, ndiwo mafuta, mchere Finca, concern, mpamba wanga ndi wokwanira ndiye sindingatenge ngongole. Chimanga - nsomba
Ambiri amachita manyazi amati amuna awo ndi omwe adzibweretsa ndalama. (Many women feel 3 children HB died, mwina ndidzakwatiwanso mwamuna wina akazapezeka kutsogolo
Disadvantage: ngati anthu sakugula ndiyoipa
Chimanga ndayamba panopa, ndalama ya nsomba
Chimanga ndayamba panopa koma nsomba 6yrs ago (for maize this is my first time , but for fish I started 6 yrs ago ). I decided to start a business chifukwa cha mavuto, bambo anga anandipatsa ndalama yoyambira (because of problems, my father is the one who gave me the money to start business).
5. Everyday at [nearest tradingcenter].
6. Chimanga ndayamba panopa, ndalama ya nsomba (for maize this is my first time, I bought it with money from fish BS), fish buying 7000mk, profit - 1500mk, ndinagula sopo, mafuta (I bought soap and lotion), I decide myself.
7. 3 children HB died, mwina ndidzakwatiwanso mwamuna wina akazapezeka kutsogolo (maybe I will get married in the future when I will find another HB)
8. 4 in the family with my children (3)
9. Std 8, I was pregnant to the same HB.
10.  Ndimapeza thandizo la zinthu zing'onozing'ono monga sopo, chakudya, sugar, mchere (I find my needs like soap, relish and lotion).
11. Palibe kuipa kopangira geni (there is no disadvantage of doing business)
Amuna anga ankadutsa kwathu, timakhala m’mbali mwa mswewu ndiyane anandifunsira banja koma tinakhala pachibwenzi for a year, ndinkafuna ndiwone ngati samamwa mowa komanso ngati angandisamale. Ndiye panthawi ya chibwenziyo ankagula sopo, ndiwo ndikukhala ndi makolo, kenako tinakhali. Good HB chifikuka timalima pamodzi(My HB was passing by where I was staying, we were staying near the road, then he proposed for marriage, we stayed in relationship for a year, I wanted to see if he don’t drink beer and if he can take care of me, when we were in relationship he was bringing soap, relish, and at that time I was staying with my parents, then we got married, he is a good HB because we work in the field together,).

2 children wife +HB now he is at teachers training college, we grow maize, g/nuts, now cotton for sale, already hired ganyu.(casual labour)

Form 4 ndimapanga za survey mu June, ntchito zikusowa (completed secondary school and I do some survey in June).

Panopa ndili ndi nyumba amuna anga amalandira ndalama zochepa, sitikanakwanitsa kumanga nyumba.(as of now I have my own house, my HB receives a little money, before we could not manage to build a house,)

No disadvantages.

Ena alibe mpamba, ena amuna awo ndi a nsanje (jealous) amaganiza kuti akukapanga zibwenzi. Finca-concern- kuvuta kubweza (to pay back) ndimawona anthu ena musika nthawi yobweza ngongole mu msika amathawa(Some don’t have capital, other HBs are jealous, they think that they are going to have boyfriends. FINCA, Concern, but difficult to pay back).

The woman whom we interviewed last time was not selling. She greeted me and said that mpamba ndilibe ndiye ndinasiya ndidzayamba ndikadzapeza ndalama zina (I don’t have capital then I stopped, I will start when I find another money) (laughed). 1 girl was selling cassava but she said it was for her parents.

On the way back home a certain woman was selling in a restaurant, I asked if I can talk to her, then she accepted but Livia was chatting with her ex-HB.

Market women Timani

Restaurant: Tea ndi nsima, they either bring mandasi, bread.

Investment- anandipatsa amuna anga (my HB is the one who told me to start this business because of some problem, my HB is the one who gave me capital,)

Ndiyomwe ndimakwanitsa chifukwa anthu amagula tsiku lililonse (this is what I manage because people buy every day).

Monday - Sunday.

200mk profit chifukwa tonse timadya konkuno, kulimitsira kemunda, kugula chakudya, sopo (200MK profit because we all eat here, hiring casual labour, buying food and soap. My HB decides. Ana 4 since 1999, tinakumana kunyumba kwathu, iwoowa amafuna mkazi wa banja, ndiyane ndinamovomera. Panthawi yomwe ndinamovomera, ankandipatsa zosowa zanga mungo sopo, lotion, ndalama. Ndiabwino chifikuka timathandizana kulima komanso kugula chakudya (I have 4 children since 1999, we met at my house, he was looking for a woman to marry, and I accepted, by the time I accepted he was providing my needs like soap, lotion, money, he is a nice man because we work together in the field, and he also buy some food).

4 children - wife + HB.

Std 4 mavuto kuchuluka [increasing problems].

Panopa ndikusangalala chifikuka ndikupaza zosowa zanga tsiku ndi tsiku. Concern - Finca - CUMO kuvuta kubweza. (I have 4 children since 1999, we met at my house, he was looking for a woman to marry, and I accepted, by the time I accepted he was providing my needs like soap, lotion, money, he is a nice man because we work together in the field, and he also buy some food)

MITENGO

Tea (price list)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tableau</th>
<th>Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wamkaka (with milk)</td>
<td>30 mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wopanda (without milk)</td>
<td>15 mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pisi ya buledi (a piece of bread)</td>
<td>40 mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banzi (small bread)</td>
<td>20 mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsimi (nsima)</td>
<td>80 mk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ya nyama (with meat)</td>
<td>100 mk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After that it was already 12:20 then I bought nsima ya mgaiwa + meat for lunch. Ex-HB of Livia bought nsima and they were eating together. On the way back Livia said that I will not stop being in relationship with my ex-HB although he is married to another wife. Koma ndili ndi chibwenzi
In the morning I continued applying fertilizer in the field then I saw some women still working at J. village (5kgs) then, on the way Livia complained that after sending the grandson to buy maize instead of 5kgs he used to buy 4 or 3kgs, he used the other money to give his girl friend but the ex-HB didn’t give her money, he just promised that ndibwera kwanu komweko. (I will come to your home)

After that Livia went direct to her field to plant g/nuts. At 4:35 Jasmine called me, she sent her g.dotta and she said that: Agogo akuti munipite mudzikacheza (my grandmother said you should go and chat), then I went there. I found Sofia cooking nsima with nandolo (pigeon peas) and Innocent was busy cleaning nkhwani for ndiwo (pumpkin leaves for relish). Sofia said that: anga akungolira ndi njala pomwe bamboo awo akudya kuyambila mamawa, masana, madzulo. (my children are just crying because of hunger, while there father are eating from morning, afternoon and dinner.) Jasmine told me that: ndikuchokera ku ganyu kwa Kima ndinatenga mbewu ya chimanga ndi mtedza ndiye ndimakapalira chimanga chawo (am coming back from casual labour at Kima I went to take maize for planting and groundnuts for planting. Then I was helping weeding in her maize field). Then Ada was buying soda for there. At 5:30 I went back home and started knitting.

Then Innocent came & she told me that: Tadya phala mam’mawa ndiye tikukamaliza ganyu kwa a Magda tinatenga mbewu ndi amayi. (and we are now going to finish ganyu at Magda because we received seeds from them).

At 10:12 Venesi & Chikondi came to greet me and they started saying that: masiku ano ntchito yachuluka mam’mawa ku MASAF, masana kumunda kwathu madzulo kuganyu nthawi yocheza osapezeka (we have a lot of work nowadays, we are working at MASAF in the morning then in the afternoon we work in our field, in the late afternoon we go for casual labour, we don’t have time to chart). Then Venesi said that HB of GVH is very ill but he is not hiring some people to help him in the field, but he has a lot of money, he sold cow + his son in S.A sent some money. After that GVH also came to greet me and she started saying that: ndikupita kukagula tomato( I am going to buy tomatoes), amuna anga akudwala anthu akungwalodza (bewitched him) chifuuka tinayambu kakelele kupita kuchipatala koma sakuchira (My HB is sick people are just bewitching him, because we started going to the hospital long time ago but he is not getting better)

Ensnart came at 12:20 & she said that the owner of the house called chief Mudzi B to tell you that: likhale banja musamalipire [you shouldn’t pay] nyumba komanso musabwerere ku Lilongwe, ndiye a fmumu amachita manyazi kubwera kuti adzakuuzeni. Komanso uncle ake akuti asangalala chifuuka ndiwe ophunzira (educated). Koma amuna anga amati usavomere chifuuka khalidwe lake ndi loipa. (it should be marriage and you will stop paying rent, and don’t go back to Lilongwe. GVH was shy to come to tell you herself, and his uncle is happy with you because you are educated, but my BH said that you should not accept because he has bad behavior). Then she left. (J: Livia has also been in relationship with him. Gertrude didn’t tell Livia, afraid that she may tell others at borehole, and those others may get scared that their husbands will also propose to her).

At 3:30 I started my journey at [small crossroads market], then on the way I met with Chikondi and she started saying that: mam’mawa tikulima kumunda kwathu, masana ku MASAF (we are working at our field in the morning then in the afternoon we work at MASAF). Then still on the way I met with Livia.
going to the kraal and she started telling me that: pa 28 January ndipita ku Balaka kuli birthday ya chibwenzi changa. (on 28 January I will go at Balaka its my boyfriends birthday). (she smiled). I continued my journey at [small crossroads market]. Then I saw 3 women selling second hand cloths, the same women whom we interviewed selling tomatoes but the other woman started selling mandasi. And the other girl who said that the HB is at Kasungu started selling mandasi. I greeted all of them, later on I went to talk to the women selling second hand cloths, the other one said that it was for the HB while the other one said that she used to sell at Balaka & it was her time to sell at [small crossroads market]. Then 1 young girl was selling mangoes but for her mother. The other young girl was selling g/nuts. All the shops were opened. After that I started my journey back home. Then Kima said that ndikudwala malungo (I am suffering from malaria) and Suset said the same thing. At home I started knitting but I was feeling pain in the joints like malaria then I just slept.

9 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up I saw Innocent making ridges then g.son and dotta of GVH were making ridges. Later on I saw GVH telling Amila + 4 young girls + 1 woman ganyu (weeding) in cotton field. Then Amila told me that panopa ndikulimanso ganyu kwa (I am also doing casual labour at) [small crossroads market] 1700mk. GVH continued by telling Amila that: Amuna anga agulitsa ng’ombe, mukatha kulima akupatsani ndalama. (my HB has sold a cow, when you finish working in this field he will give you some money). At 8:00 I went to make some nsinjiro (ground nuts flour) at Phingi’s house & I found them eating phala (porridge) while Emra was making zigumu (maize flour cakes). Then Phingi asked where Emra found the money but she just answered that: masiku ano osamafunsana (nowadays don’t bother to ask where I get money) [people commented that they didn’t see her do ganyu, so where did she find the money to buy ngaiwa? About Ndaba same, don’t see him do ganyu...]. After that I went back home. I was just sleeping up to lunch because I was not getting better (malaria). At 12 noon I saw Amila and 1 woman with young boys still doing ganyu. Then Amila came complaining to me that: a group anabwera akuti sindikupalira bwino ndiye ndisasi. koma ndikudandaula chifukwa ndayamba kulima mbali (part) yomwe ndalimayo. After this words Amila said that: ndikupita kunyumba kukaphika nsima. (GVH came complaining that I am not weeding properly, then she stopped me, but I am getting worried, because I have started working in the morning till now, I am angry then I will tell her not to pay me where I have worked , after this words Amila said that iam going home to cook some nsima)

Later on I heard Rosemary asking for ganyu to GVH then she answered that mutha kupitiliza komwe Amila anasiyila (you can continue because Amila has stopped). After that I heard GVH querelling with 1 of the ganyu workers. Simunahalime bwino, musadzibwerenso kudzalima (you didn’t work properly, don’t come a gain tomorrow). Then the woman answered that inali ngozi kudula thonje. (sorry, it was an accident to cut the cotton)

At 4pm I started getting better then I went to see Jasmine then I saw her HB working alone in the field & she told me that ine ndalephera kulima nawo chifukwa cha njala, mam’ma wa ndalisa phala, masana palibe. (I have failed to work because of hunger, I just ate porridge in the morning but no lunch, )
Then chief Mudzi B came and she started complaining that her two kids are sick (malaria). She continued by saying that: "When I receive my money from MASAF I will start a business of maize flour cakes." (She did not). Koma anthu ambiri akwa Mudzi B akutile yamba chinangwa, Jeneti wayamba kugulitsa tomatoe (but a lot of people from Mudzi B said that they will start a business of selling cassava). Jasmine answered by saying that: "I will stop selling maize flour cakes, then I will start selling fish or cassava, on 13 January we will receive money from CUMO, on Wednesday 14 January we will receive from MASAF. But when Innocent sold fertilizer she just bought some maize for 300 mk only, I don't know what she used with the other money, because at the field she just hired for 220 mk only, and yesterday she went at [small crossroads market] and when coming back she bought some biscuits, now we still have some money. [Small crossroads market] pobwera wagula skirt! Tsiku lililonse akumagula ma biscuit. Tikalandira za MASAF tisonkherana (we will each contribute) 1000–1000 kuti tigule chakudya (I will stop selling maize flour cakes, then I will start selling fish or cassava)."

Then chief Mudzi B said that "It's good if Innocent will start cooking her own food otherwise when you die she will not be able to take care of her children." 10 January 2009

In the morning when I woke up, I saw Innocent + her mother, Lovely and Chisoni coming back from MASAF. Then Jasmine laughed by saying that: "Ainessi is at the hospital, then her mother (Rosemary) went to tell Emra to go together at the hospital, instead of telling her friends to go with her. At 9:35 I went to fetch some water, then I saw Thokozani working in the field of GVH where Rosemary was working. Then still on the way I met with chief Mudzi B coming back to her field with thelere and at the borehole I met with Ada cleaning some nkhwani then, Chisoni said that: "I am tired working at MASAF because it is making me to fail to work in my field." On the way back home I met with HB of Sweetness coming back from the field. At 10:38, I saw HB of Thokozani coming back from the field. At 12:50, Venesi came to greet me and she said that: "I want to steal a chicken at home then I will bring it so that you can buy I want to use that money to buy something." Then I told her that: "I don't want a chicken." Then she [Livia] continued by saying that: "[Ex-HB] ndinamuimbira phone dzulo, ndiye tinakumana kwa [nearest trading center], mkazi wake anali kuchipatala. Ndiye wandipatsa K150 ya sopo (I gave a call to my ex-HB yesterday then we met at [nearest trading center], his wife was at the hospital, then he gave me 150 MK for soap.)" (G: probably he gave money to buy soap for Hana, but I don't think she bought soap. She likes buying mandasi for Joy. J: Joy is fat indeed! G: T says she sometimes eats 5 zigumu, crying for more. Eats with mother and then goes to grandmother to eat.) After that she continued her journey to the borehole.
Then a certain woman also came to see what I was knitting and she started saying that: bola amene ali ndi amuna awo ku S.A, koma ife tikugona ndi njala, kumangolima ganyu (it is better for those who have HBs in S.A, but we are just sleeping without eating food, just doing casual labour). After that around 4:25 Phingi came to greet me and she started saying that: ndakongola ndalama kwa mnzanga mawa ndiphika zigu. Koma ndikudandaula chifukwa Livia atha kutenganso mimba, week yonseyi akumapita kwa [nearest tradingcenter], akabwera akungogula ma biscuit, osagula sopo kapena kundipatsa ndalama pang'ono kuti ndiwojereze kugula chakudy (I have borrowed some money from my friend, then tomorrow I will make some maize flour cakes, but I am getting worried that may be Livia will get another pregnant, the whole of this week she is just going at [nearest tradingcenter], when coming back she just buy biscuits, not even buying soap or giving me alittle money so that I can add to what I have and buy food). After this words she left. And she also said that: masana tadya nandolo yekha koma ana adya phala (for lunch we just ate pigeon peas but the children has eaten porridge).

11 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I started cleaning the house, then I saw GVH + 3 g.sons weeding in g/nuts field. Then I saw Sofia carried masamba (vegetables). And I saw Livia making ridges alone. Then one of the g.son of Mudzi B told her friend who was passing by that: ndikulima ganyu m’munda mwa agogo. (I am doing casual labour in the field of my grand parents)

At 9:30, the son of GVH (the owner of our house) called me, I asked where he found my number, but he didn’t answer anything GVH once asked for it, saying a friend wanted to call her. He just started saying that: my uncle will come there and you need to go (right now) with him to your parents and arrange about marriage. [J: Gertrude thinks he even already told his parents, indeed GVH suddenly stopped being angry, even brought therere, coming to greet everyday, hoping it will help, stimulate G to get married to her son]. I will come in July, am happy that you’re my wife now. And my parents are happy. [May be HB of Esnart cheated him saying that: I accepted, trying to please this man. Since this time he hasn’t called again]. I didn’t answer anything but I just switched off the phone (but did say she doesn’t want, then just listened to all his words, tired of going against).

At 10:10 a certain woman who was selling cassava at [small crossroads market] came to greet me, with HB of Esnart. Then HB of Esnart started saying that: sindikulima kumunda, panopa kuli a ganyu, ine sindingakwanitse. Ndwabera ku Malawi kuno kudzapuma, osati kupita kumunda (I am not working in the field, I have just hired some people to work on it, I will not manage working my self) I came here in Malawi to rest,not going to work to the field. In S.A we start working from 8 morning up to 5-6pm. Sometimes including weekends (a woman laughed and complained to him that: mukamuwuze mwana wanga kuti anditumizire ndalama. (tell my son to send some money for me)

Then he continued the same story of the owner of the house, but I answered that: sindikufuna, sindingasithe maganizo (I don’t want I cant change my mind). Then Amila passed by, she said that: ndikukagula soda (I am going to buy soda). Then g.son of GVH was also passing by, then he was telling his friend that: Emra wayamba geni ya chinangwa, dzulo zigumu (Emra has started a business of selling cassava but yesterday she was selling maize flour cakes).

Later on Livia came and she started saying that: Lero sindinapite kumunda, ndikudwala maso pamodzi ndi mwana wanga. Amanyinso sanapitenso komunda akudwala maso, komanso akuphika zigumu (I didnt go to the field today, iam having some pain in my eyes even my child has the same problem, even my mother didnt go to the field because of the problem of her eyes, and she is also making some maize flour cakes).
At 3:10 I started knitting and Venesi + Jasmine joined me then started saying that: Saibi + Alida anapita ku ganyu ku D. village, m’malo mwa ndalama analandira chinangwa. (instead of money they receive cassava). Panopa kuli njala yambiri chifukwa ena ndi aulesi, kuganyu samapita, geni samapanga amangokhala (Alida went for casual labour at D, village. But instead of being paid money she was paid cassava. This year we have a lot of hunger because a lot of people are lazy, they don’t do any business, ). Then Venesi left, Jasmine continued by saying that: son of Hamra, HB of Filimona, went to a certain friend after Saibi’s house, he took some poison and added in water to feed the chickens. He wanted to kill the chickens because of jealousy but lucky enough the owner of the chickens saw him, they started querrelling but I don’t know how the story ended.

After few minutes we saw Venesi passing by with a certain man, then Livia started laughing by saying that: Amuna akumudzi ndi choncho. Amenewo ndi chibwenzi cha Venesi akufuna adye nawo chimanga cha m’manda [which Venesi cultivated alone]. Kenako banja kapena chibwenzi chithe. Venesi wakwatira amuna 5, ana onse omwe ali nawo ali ndi bamboo ake osati m’modzi (that’s how boys from the village behave, that one is the boyfriend of Venesi, they just want to eat the maize that has been planted, then they will end the relationship when they finish the harvest. Venesi got married for 5 times, all the children that she has are of different fathers). I asked why they divorced then, Livia answered that: amati akakwatira ndi mwamuna akabeleka mwana amayamba chibwenzi ndi mwamuna wina, mwamuna uja akamva amathetsa banja. Kenako Venesi amakvatirana ndi mwamuna yemwe amapanga naye chibwenzi. 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Later on Livia left, she told me that: ndikupita kukafuna ndiwo kumunda (I am going to fetch some relish in my field). Then I saw Venesi going back home alone.

12 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I started cleaning the house. Then after that, I saw Fatima going to fetch some water, then she greeted me and said that: ndabwera, akayambiranso khalidwe lokonda akazi, ndidzipsita kwathu sindikabweranso (I have come back, but if he starts moving around with other women again, I will go to my village then will not come back). I asked if she decided herself to come back and she answered that: anachita kubwera kudzakambirana ndi makolo anga. Ndiye makolowodwo ndi amene anandiuza kuti ndiwbwere (he came and discussed with my parents, then my parents are the ones who told me to come). Then she continued her journey. At 7:30 the rain started, but I saw Phingi the same morning going to sell zigumu (maize flour cakes) and tomatoes at [small crossroads market]. After that a certain woman came selling chambo (fresh) and I bought 2 (very big 100) I asked her if it was her business but she answered that: ayi amuna anga amakaba nsomba ku Dam ([large commercial estate]) ndiye inenso ndawabera amuna anga kuti ndalamayo ndigule zigumu kwa Phingi ndili ndi njala (my HB goes to the Dam at [large commercial estate] to steal this fish, then I have stolen from him so that I should sell and buy some maize flour cakes, at Phingi, I am hungry)(she laughed). The rain continued up to 11:50. Then at 12:15, Amila came to beg salt for porridge at lunch. Then I gave her and she started complaining that: amuna anga ayamba kukana kupita kumunda, komanso amati ndizwiapatsa nsima pawokha osati pamozi ndi ana. Akuti ndizwiapatsa nsima yambiri, osati pang’ono, koma kuganyu sakupita nawa (my HB has started refusing to go to the field, and he always want to eat on his own plate not eating together with his children, and he said I should be giving him a lot of nsima, not a little, but he is not helping me doing casual labour). After that I saw Sofia carried fish and Innocent carried masamba (vegetables) while chief Mudzi B was going to buy tomatoes.
At 1:20 I saw Blessings, Lovely and Livia at Fatima’s house, then I heard them discussing
that: ndiwibwino tsiyiye chitukuko cha mitengo, chifukwa a mfumu sakulankhula bwino. Dzulo momwe
timidzala mitengo timalakwitsa, ndiye m’maio moti atiuzu momwe tingadzalire, anati nonsenu ndinu
zitsiru, anakuzaniz ndani kuti timadzala chonchi? (it is good to stop doing the tree planting project,
because the chief is not talking good, when we were plantig trees yesterday we made some mistakes,
instead of telling us how to plant properly she said that you are all stupid, who told you that we plant
like this) (The chief was rude when she felt trees were not planted correctly, instead of explaining
how it should be done she called people stupid etc. This was after MASAF, just planting for
community benefit. Did not take up work for 3 days, until GVH called all chiefs to tell chief Mudzi B
that she has to address her people in polite way. Ah no, they would not have stopped if this was for
money. After being called by other chiefs, she apologized and people started to work again). After few
minutes they stopped talking because chief Mudzi B was passing by.

At 3:18 I went to charge my phone then, I saw HB of Jasmine weeding alone while Innocent was just
staying, still on the way I saw Florence weeding in cotton field and the HB of Filimona was also weeding
alone. At the grocery, I just found Jeneti selling tomatoes and cassava. On the way back I
met with Phingi coming back from [small crossroads market] and going straight to the grocery with zigumu
( maize flour cakes) and tomatoes, I went straight to greet Eveles and I found her weeding and she started
telling me that: chaka chino kuli njala, dzulo kunabwera anthu kuchokera kutali kudzalima ganyu mzire. Ndiye
ndinawalipira chinangwa, komanso ndikusangalala chifukwa chikukula mwamsanga, kusiyanana ndi
chaka chath'a ( there is a lot of hunger this year, yesterday people came from far away to do some casual
labour making ridges, and I paid them some cassava, and iam happy because it is growing big than last year).

She continued by saying that: the day you slept at F. village looking for a thief, I came at your house
very early in the morning but I found g.son of GVH slept on the same mat with Innocent [which
may explain why GVH chased Innocent, said Eveles]. I was not happy because in past we were afraid
of boys not staying together at the same mat. After that she [Eveles] gave me some mangoes. Still
on the way I met with chief Mudzi B and chief Mudzi A chatting. And chief Mudzi A took some
potato leaves (roots) giving chief Mudzi B to plant at her field and I was going back home with chief
Mudzi B, still on the way we met with all the women from Mudzi A working for MASAF and they were
saying that: lero ndi lomaliza, lachitatu tilandira ndalama (this is the last day ,but on wednesday we will
receive the money) . Then chief Mudzi B started telling me that: lero ananga anapita kuchigayo ndiye
pobwera anagula chinangwa ndi sugar, ndiye masana tadya chinangwa ndi tiyi, madzulo tiyda nsima. (my
children went to the maize mill today and when coming back they bought some cassava, and sugar, then
we ate the cassava at lunch with some tea , and for dinner we will eat nsima) After that I saw Sofia
making ridges, she said that: ndikulima mizere ya mbatata (i am making some ridges for sweet potatoes),
the GVH was also passing by going to the field. Then I saw Dorica and her brother coming back from the
field. Later on I saw Mrs Ntawanga coming back from the field. And Thokozani was in the field taking
masamba for ndiwo (vegetables for relish).

At 4:30 I went to fetch some firewood with Amila, and on the way she started complaining that:
Emra has hired some ganyu workers in her cotton field but I don’t know where she is getting the
money. And now Ainessi has got a baby girl and the HB is sleeping in the house of Emra and
GVH + chief Mudzi A said that it’s good to chase Emra right now not waiting for her to harvest
because she is keeping a thief in her house. May be he is preparing to steal maize in our fields. I met
with Grace and she started saying that: ndikudwala malungo pamodzi ndi mwana yemwe (i am
suffering from malaria together with my child).

13 January 2009

SMS: Maize already started some small cobs.

When I waked up in the morning I saw Livia, HB of GVH working on their fields (ridges).
Then I saw Thokozani going to the field alone. After that I went to fetch some water, then on the way I
saw chief Mudzi B weeding in cotton field and she was complaining that: the rain destroyed her 7
ridges for potatoes. Then at the borehole, I found Kingsley, g.son of GVH complaining that:
Jane disappeared on 7 January. She just told her g.mother that am going to see my mother at Jim
vg. And she came back at 4pm. After few minutes she also told her g.mother that: ndikupita
kukacheza kwa K. village (I am going to chart at Kh. village). From that day up to now she is not
coming back. He continued by saying that: mwina wapiti kwa mwamuna wina wake amanamamiza
(may be she went to meet with a certain man). (Because she disappeared secretly, people didn’t
belief it could be a serious relationship. Until the man came with her to fetch her cloths here, after a
week. Then they knew it was serious: says G). Koma choncho sibwino, ndibwino kunena chilungamo
[the thruth] ngati akufuna kukwatiwa. Alisa (mnzake) anali ku Blantyre ndi mkulu wake (elder sister)
amangoyendayenda ndi amuna, kenako mkulu wake munjira anaphedwa. Kuno anabwera maliro,
kenako Alisa pang’ono pang’ono wayamba kusiya kuyendayenda ndi amuna (but that is not good, it
is good to say the truth if she want to get married, Alisa (her friend) was in Blantyre with her elder
sister, and she was just moving around with men, then on the way: her elder sister got killed, we
just received the dead body. Little by little Alisa has now stopped moving around with men). Some
of the women were just laughing at the borehole. The other woman answered that:
kumangoyendayenda phindu lake ndi chiani? Doris pano wachitsa mimba akudziwa kuti
sangakwanitse kusunga mwana (what’s the benefit of just moving around, as of now Doris has
aborted, she knows that she cannot manage to take care of the child). Later on I saw Tumanene
coming back from the field.
At 2:10 I started knitting then g.dotta's of Eveles came to beg salt and beans to plant, then I gave them. After that Venesi and Innocent joined me knitting then Venesi said that: chief Mudzi B instead of accepting that she didn’t speak properly, she is still saying that: amene sakufuna chitukuko asiye Those who don’t want to work on projects should stop. Then some people were angry and told GVH for the second time to help them. Then as we were knitting, I saw chief Nduwa and chief Kam’baule with GVH then Venesi said that: akukambirana za nkhanani yomwe ija kuti awayitane (to call) a mfumu Mudzi B apepese (apologize) kwa anthu amene anawauza kuti ndi zitsiru (foolish) (they are discussing about the same issue, they want to call chief Mudzi B to apologise to those people that she called foolish). After that chief Mudzi A and Tulipesi passed by, then Venesi said that: akukambirana za Emra kuti achoke m’mudzi muno asanakolole chifukwa Ndaba akumabwera usiku. Komanso anthu ena anakumana naye manda a F. village (they are discussing about Emra, they want to chase her out of this village before harvesting her crops because Ndaba is still coming in the night, and apart from that other people saw him at F. village graveyard) akukumbumankhwala (he was digging some traditional medicine) osaopa kupita kumanda yekha (without being afraid going to graveyard alone). Venesi added by saying that: akukambiranananso za nthchito ya MASAF kuti mawa tikalandire ndalama zathu. (they are also discussing about the MASAF work that we were doing so that tomorrow we should go and receive our money). Innocent answered that: ife za CUMO mpaka lero akungotinamiza sitikulandira, then Venesi laughed by saying that: ine ndiye ndinasiya kutenja ngonqole chifukwa geni yoti ndingapangapangeni yowoo (I stopped taking loan because I don’t see the business that i can do). Komanso anthu alibe ndalama sangagule. (and a part from that people don’t have money to buy). After that Innocent begged masamba (vegetables) from our field for ndiwo (relish), then I gave her. Venesi also said that: pa 25 January ndimaliza chimanga chomwe ndinakolola, panopa ndikapanga mgaia. Koma mwana wanga mwana wake akungodwalawala, mawa apita naye kuchipatala. Innocent said that: ndagula thonje kwa mr Ntawanga, 100 mbale yaying’ono (on 25 January I will finish the maize that I harvested last season, then I will just make some maize flour, but my grandson is just getting ill often, its good to go to the hospital tomorrow, then Innocent said that I bought cotton seed from mr Ntawanga). [Only those in cotton club get seeds and mankhwala in advance, paying at harvest time. In vlub: HB = grandson of GVH, HB of Jasmine…] Then Venesi answered that: nthawi ino ndiyodzala mbatata, thonje Eveles ndi pa 10-15 January, panopa nthawi yathu [this is the time to plant potatoes, cotton planting should end Jan 10-15, that time has ended now]. Then after Innocent and Venesi, Jasmine came and she started saying that: usiku ndimasunga zigumu mnyumba mwa amuna chifukwa panopa tinakula, ndiye timagona nyumba zosiyana, koma mam’mawa ndimapeza zigumu atadya, mwina 6-8 amasungunula juice ndi kumamwa. Ife tikugona, zimenezi sizawbwo, mwina tidzipita ku ganyu (I keep the maize flour cakes in the house of my HB because we are now old, then we sleep in separate houses, but when I go to his house in the mornig, I always find that he has eaten some of the maize flour cakes, around 6 or 8 he dilutes some juices and drink, he drinks while we are sleeping, that is not good, may be we should be going for casual labour together) ndikumadya nsima yokwanira osati geni ya zigumu kapena tomato ayi [G: I have never seen Jasmine or even Innocent go for gany, only one time at Magda to get seeds. When they were getting worried about lack of food I asked them why they don't go for ganyu to at least find what they need at that time, but they say they cannot manage. Innocent went also once to Mr Chikombo to do ganyu for 55MK, very little she did]. [Jasmine:] Chaka chino kuli njala amene ali ndi chakudyu ndi wochepa. Vuto lake tikakolola chimanga timagulitsa, ndalama yake kugula nyama, zovala, nsomba, timayiwala kuti January nsima timadya pang’ono, pena phala (so that we can eat enough nsima, not just doing the business of maize flour cakes or tomatoes, we have a lot of hunger this year and only few people have got food, the only problem is that we sell a lot of food soon after harvesting, and we just use the money buying meat, clothes fish, we always forget that in January we eat alittle of nsima sometimes porridge). After that she left.
In the morning when I waked up, I went to fetch some water with Sofia, then on the way, she started telling me that: ndayamba geni ya mango, dengu limodzi akuti ndizipeza ndalama yogulira sopo ndi ufa. Ndiye ndikugulitsa limodzi 5mk-10mk, komanso atumiza mtedza kuti ndidzimuphikira mwana phala (I have started a business of selling mangoes, I have started with one busket, so that I can be able to find money for soap and maize flour am selling at 5mk each and 10mk each and he has sent some g.nuts for the baby’s porridge). At 7:52, the rain started, then I saw Elube with pumpkin leaves in her hands for ndiwo. She was coming back from the field. At 8:10, I saw Fatima grinding maize and Esnart passed by, the Fatima told Esnart that: ndikufuna ufa woyera, panopa sindinayambe kugula chimanga, ndikudya chomwe ndinakolola (I want white maize flour, as of now I have not yet started buying some maize am eating what I harvested last season). The rain was still and I saw Chisoni coming back from the field with nkhwani. Later on I saw Venesi coming back from the field with nkhwani. GVH was also coming back from the field. Then Sofia passed by, she told me that: ndikupita kwa [nearest primary school]学校 kukagulitsa mango. (I am going to [nearest primary school]学校 to sell some mangoes)

At 10:10 I started knitting and the rain continued up to 12:40. At 2:10 I went to see Innocent and I found her still on the field, then I just started chatting with Sofia, then Kondwani joined us. Then Sofia started saying that: I asked Alisa (friend of Jane) if she knows properly where Jane is staying. Then she answered that: indeed I was with Jane going to Balaka to our boyfriends, then Jane cheated me that: ndikubwera ndikupeza pa (am coming I will find at) Mz. village and it was already 5:45pm. I waited for her up to 6:10pm, then she didn’t come back and I continued my journey home. Alisa continued by saying that: zimenezi sizabwino, chifukwa chibwenzi chake cha kwa J. village, amandifunsa ine kuti: Jane alikutki? Komanso chibwenzi chake cha ku S.A anabwera ndiyi anapita kwa a gulupu kuti Jane alikutki? Komanso chibwenzi chake cha ku Mz. village (koma ali pa banja) amafunsa funso lomwelo. Then Kondwani answered that: watengana ndi wina waku Balaka, ali ndi grocery, mwina wakwatira kapena ali ndi mimba (this is not good, because her boyfriend from J. village asked me that: where is Jane? And her boyfriend from SA came then he went to ask the GVH that where is Jane? Then another boyfriend from Mz. village (he is married) asked the same question then Kondwani answered that she has gone out with someone from Balaka, he has a shop, may be she is married or she is pregnant). Sofia answered that: mwamuna wake wake wa ku S.A amadandaula kuti anagona naye popanda chishango ndiye ndibwino amukwatire osati kuchotsa mimba. (her boyfriend from SA was complaining that they had unprotected sex then it is good to marry her than to abort). Koma olo akhole ndi mimba, adzatchula ndani? (but if she get pregnant who is she going to mention?). (asked Kondwani) no-one answered [J: G thinks Jane may have opted for the boyfriend that was not married and was not going back to SA (leaving her alone).
Then I saw Trinity g.dotta of Jasmine carried ufa (maize flour). Then Jasmine said that: I gave her only 80mk for 1kg (Kondwani laughed) Sofia answered that: ndibwino kumagula chinangwa chifukwa cha 80mk ndichambiri (its good to buy some cassava because with 80mk you can buy a lot) . Then Kondwani bought some tomatoes for 20mk and left.

At 3:15 I went to borrow some decorations to a certain girl who sells mandasi near grocery, I wanted to learn. Then on the way I saw Phingi and Livia making ridges, then Rashida was weeding, mrs Ntawanga and Chikondi were making ridges for potatoes. And HB of Florence was weeding alone in the field, when I reached at Eveles’s house, I saw some ufa and maize 5 litre bucket. Then [Bicycle maker] started telling me that: ndayamba kugulitsa ufa small plastic bag 5mk, kuti ana adzipeza sopo (I have started selling maize flour am selling a small plastic bag at 50mk so that I should be able to find some soap for my children). From there I continued my journey, when I found that girl she told me to go on Sunday because Monday-Friday she goes to school. On the way back, I saw Florence taking some nkhwani from her field. Hamra also was taking some nkhwani (pumkin leaves) from her field. Then I saw Chikondi making phala (porridge) and she was telling Filimona that: ndikuphika phala la ana anga. Anayamba kudya ali ndi (am preparing some porridge for my children they started eating when they were) 3weeks old. Then mrs Ntawanga laughed by saying that: kuchipatala ananena kuti mwana ayambe kudya phala ali 6 months osati 1 month (at the hospital we were told that any child start eating porridge after 6 months not 1 month)

Filimona and Chikondi laughed. Then I saw Sofia taking masamba (vegetables) from her field.

Later on chief Mudzi B passed by, then Kondwani asked her that: kodi Malaya mwavalawo munawatenga kuti? (where did you get the clothes you are wearing?) And she answered that: mwana wanga woyamba amene anakwatira ku Lilongwe ananditumizira (my first born child who is married in Lilongwe sent to me) . Then Kondwani started laughing by saying that: ndakumbukira a gulupu akutinamiza kuti mwana wawo wa ku S.A watumiza nyama koma anali atapha ng’ombe yawo amafuna kuti tisadziwe (but had killed cow themselves) mwina amaganiza kuti tipita kukapempha (I have remembered when the GVH cheated us that her son who stays in SA sent some meat while he slaughtered her own cow she did not want us to know) mwina amaganiza kuti tipita kukapempha (may be she was thinking that we would go and beg) (they laughed and shaked hands).

In the morning when I waked up, I saw GVH + HB + g.dotta weeding in g/nuts field. Later on I saw Chisoni + Lovely coming back from their field. After breakfast, I went to make some nsinjiro at Jasmine’s house. Then I found Sofia eating phala (porridge) with her children, then she was telling Innocent that: amuna anga anditumizira paraffin (my husband sent paraffin) , and Innocent answered that: bola inu muli ndi amuna anu (I envy you because you have a husband). Innocent was also busy cooking porridged. At 9:10, I saw 2 daughters of Elube coming back from the borehole with a lot of plates in the basin. Then I saw Thokozani + HB coming back from the field. At 9:55 Tumanene passed by with some tomatoes and masamba (vegetables) . At 10:05, I started knitting, then HB of Amila started complaining that tikulima ganyu kwa [small crossroads market], koma tinamaliza ndalama sakutipatsa, kuyambira dzulo tikungokhala opanda chakudya. Ana akungolira ndi njala. (we were doing casual labour at [small crossroads market], we finished working but we have not been paid. Since yesterday we are just staying without food and children are just crying.)
Then Amila was passing by coming back from the field (ganyu) (casual labour) She was telling Rosemary that: dzulo ndadya chinangwa madzulo ndilibe ufa (yesterday I just ate cassava for dinner because I don’t have some maize flour). After lunch, I saw Mrs Ntwawanga coming back from the field. At 1:45. I continued knitting, I failed to go at [small crossroads market] because there was rainfall. At 2:42, I saw GVH hiring some women ganyu in cotton field. Kondwani, Thokozani, Rosemary, Hilda, Mphatso dotta of Rosemary were included.

Then Livia joined me knitting, then I asked Livia why Levison is just staying at home while Thokozani is doing ganyu. Then Livia answered that: Levison was telling my mother that: he bought some ufa for 800mk, but after 2 days Thokozani told her HB that there is no ufa (maize flour). But Thokozani gave some ufa to her mother without telling the HB, then he is angry that’s why he is not helping her doing ganyu.

Then Kondwani came just to greet me. And Livia started telling Pamela that: do you remember that your child was born on 1 March - mine 6 March –Sofia’s 8 March, Pamela & Livia laughed by saying that tonse tinali ndi mimba nthawi yogulitsa thonje (we all got pregnant during cotton selling season). After few minutes I saw Fatima + dotta carried cassava for food. Then Livia said that: kwathu kule he ufa, ndikupita ndikaphike chinangwa, wagula cha 100mk (we don’t have maize flour am going to cook some cassava she bought at 100mk). After few minutes, 2 boys passed by, and the other one greeted Pamela and Pamela told me that: that boy is the owner of this child. After 3 minutes the boys came back and the [very young] owner of the child called Pamela by saying that: iwe Pamela tiye kwanu ndikufuna ndikuuze nkhani ina yake (Pamela lets go to your house I want to tell you a certain story). Then Pamela followed them. Then I saw mother of Dorica coming back from the field.

16 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I saw Mphatso, dotta of Rosemary, Hilda, Rosemary, Thokozani still doing ganyu in the cotton field of GVH. Then I saw Livia making ridges, later on at 8:18, I saw chief Mudzi B, Venesi and mother of Dorica, they told me that: tikupita kwa [small crossroads market] kukatenga mankhwala a thonje (we are going to [small crossroads market] to collect pesticides for cotton) (apply every 2 weeks). At 9:05, I went to fetch some water, then I found Amila and Innocent at borehole. Then Amila started saying that: usiku sindinadye chilichonse, lero mam’mawa sindinadye, masana sindikudziwa kuti ndidya chani (I had nothing to eat for dinner, today I have had no breakfast I don’t know what I will eat during lunch time). Then Innocent answered that: ife dzulo tadya chinangwa madzulo, lero masana tidyanso chinangwa (we ate cassava for dinner, we will also eat cassava for lunch). Amila continued by saying that Elube went at Admarc yesterday to buy maize for zigumu (maize flour cakes) K1.200.00. Emra has gone today to buy maize.

At 10:05, I went to buy soda for thelere, then I found Sofia eating phala (porridge) with her children and she was telling Lovely that: nsima ndidya 2:00 (I will eat nsima at 2:00). Then Livia + her mother + HB, g.dottas were eating cassava (cooked) and nsombs. At 12:02, Fatima passed by with 15kgs of ufa (maize flour). Later on Jasmine came to borrow my bicycle, she told me that: ndikufuna ndipite kwa [nearest trading center] kukafuna munthu amene akufuna mbuzi (I want to go at [nearest trading center] to find out if there is someone who wants to buy a goat), from 3000mk - 2.500mk. Then Dorica passed by.
and she answered that: amayi anganso agulitsa dzulo nkhunda (pigeon) 2 for K250, tagula chimanga (even my mother sold 2 pigeons for 250mk and we used the money to buy maize). At 1:10, I prepared my journey to [nearest trading center], but I failed to go because of heavy rain. Then rain continued up to dark hours. At 6pm, I went to make nsinjire (g.nut flour, then I saw Innocent cooking nsima, then Sofia told Trinity that: mawa ukandigulire chimanga 2kgs (tomorrow you should buy 2kgs of maize for me). At the same time, I saw HB of Fatima on a bicycle but he carried his dotta, then I asked where he was going, then he answered that: ndikukapereka mwanayu kwa amayi ake (am going to give this child to her mother) (Fatima left to home village) paja banja linatha, ndiye ndimalola kuti mwanayu adzibwera kudzatenga ndalama ya sopo.[if there was no child I could have stopped everything, but because there is a child I still give some money]. (although we got divorced I allow the children to come and collect money for soap)

Jasmine started telling me that: amuna anga analimitsa ganyu for 220mk kupalira, koma ine ndinawauza kuti ndibwino asiyi grocery, ndalamayo tiwonjezere kugula chakudya chifukwa phindu lake sindikuliwona, nthawi yambiri chakudya ndikugula ndi ndalama ya geni yanga. Grocery adzapitiliza tikadzagulitsa thonje, koma akukana (my husband went for casual labour(weeding) and got 220mk but I told him that it is good to close the shop so that the money should be used for buying more food because I cant see any benefit most of the time I use money from my business to buy food for this season so that the shop should be re opened after selling cotton but he is refusing). (Innocent says, her father just keeps the money from his grocery, just saving, already has 5000mk).

At 06:54pm, GVH came asking if there is some leakages (there was heavy rainfall) then I told her that: yes, but only 3 places and she told me that: Kingsley will be sleeping here till Jannake came back, because last night a hyena passed by your house. Then at 8:40, I saw Kingsley coming to sleep.

17 January 2009

In the morning, when I waked up, I saw Rosemary and her daughter Mphatso doing ganyui in the field of GVH, then I saw HB of GVH making ridges alone. After that, I started cooking porridge for breakfast, then Innocent came to greet me, and she told me that: lero ndinapita ku ganyu m’manda mwa AChikombo, 30t phando, ndalandira K96. Ndikufuna ndikagule sopo (I went for casual labour in the field of Mr Chikombo 30t per planting station and I got 96mk I want to use the money to buy soap). Then Sofia passed by and she told me that: lero sindipita kumunda, ndikufuna ndichape zovala za ana (I will not go to the field today because I want to wash clothes for my children). Then I saw HB of Jasmine applying fertilizer. At 8:30, HB of Fatima came home and he told me that: ndikugulutsa nkhu (am selling a chicken at 300mk, then I told him that: pepani ndalama ndilibe.(am sorry I don’t have money)

At 9:00, I saw Amila passing by with bananas in her hands, but very small. Jasmine passed by going to the borehole and she was telling a certain woman that: my g.son, Davie has gone to J. village, he said that there is no nsima here but at J. village, morning tea, madzulo nsima.(nsima for supper)
At 10:57, I saw Rashida coming back from the maize mill, she carried 20kgs of ufa (maize flour) and she also bought chipewa (hut) for her g.son. At 11, I saw Levison passing by with 3 chambo. Then HB of GVH asked me why I am not helping him working in the field, then I answered that: pepani sindingakwanitse (sorry I will not manage). At 12:30, I saw g.dotta of Jasmine passing by with 4kgs ufa. Son of Ntawanga also passed by with 6kgs of ufa.

At 1:50, I started knitting, then I saw Chisoni going to the field. Later on at 3:30, gGVH came to greet me and she started saying that: I have hired aganyu (casual workers) in the cotton field of my HB 800mk, after selling a cow, but my HB was angry, he said that: 200mk is a lot of money, don’t hire ganyu, I will be weeding myself. Then GVH continued by saying that: I have already stolen that 800mk from his pocket and I have them. He is really sick, he starts working in the field at 5am up to 12:30, but 4-5 ridges only. He has a lot of money but failing to give me and buy sugar or fish but nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) everyday, that’s why he is just very weak anytime.

Later on, I saw Rebecca near our house chatting with Mphatsi dotta of Rosemary. They were asking one on another that: Mphatso: banja lako likuyenda (is your marriage ok)? Rebecca: eya kaya iweyo (yes, what about you)? Mphatso: pang’ono, paja mimba yanga inachoka, bola iwe si 4 months pano? (not really, because I miscarried atleast you are 4 months pregnant now) Rebecca: zimachitika. (it happens)

Then Innocent joined me knitting, after few minutes, HB of Blessings greeted me in English, then Innocent laughed by saying that: HB of Blessings was my friend, but as of now, he is looking nice and he is able to speak English because of being educated. He has got a lot of money. Am getting worried because my mother told me not to get married to the son of Fissa. And my mother yesterday said that: pepa mwana wanga, sindimadziwa zomwe ndimachita, pokuuza kuti usakwatirane ndi mnyamata uja. Panopa ukanalandira ndalama, zovala (sorry my child I did not know what I was doing when I told you not to marry that boy as of now you could have received money and clothes) from your HB in S.A like your friends.

Innocent continued by saying that: mawa amayi apita ku Balaka Admarc kukagula chimangani. Inenso ndipita kuchipatala ndi mwana, akudwala. (tomorrow my mother is going to Balaka ADMARC to buy maize am also going to the hospital with my child who is sick) She left at 6:10pm.

At 7:20pm, Sofia came. She told me that: ndabwera kudzacheza, ana anga agona kale (I have come to chat because my children are already asleep). As we were chatting, she started telling me that: dzulo Rosemary amalira, ndiye lero ndinapita (yesterday Rosemary was crying and today I went to ask her what she was crying for. Ndiye anandiuza kuti banja langa latha, amuna anga akuti sakundifuna, ndiye ndikudandaula chifuwawisalibe wina amene ndingagone naye kuchipinda. Ndipo dzulo usiku, ndinadzuka kukhala pa khonde kumalira, ndinaganiza kuti abwera, akuti akukakwatira mkazi wina (she told me that: I got divorced my husband is no longer interested in me and getting worried because there is no one to spend a night with in my bedroom then yesterday I woke up and sat on the veranda and started crying I thought he would come back but he said he had gone to marry another wife) Sofia laughed and continued that: chaka chatha, February anakwatira, mwamuna wina, koma Rosemary amabwera kunyumba kumadandaula kuti mwamuna wanga nowadays kuchipinda tikungoona osapanga chillonse olo kondiwirira mabele. (last year in February she got married to another man, but Sigere was coming home to complain that she is not having sex with her husband not even grabbing her breasts). Sofia was just laughing and added that: ine banja langa linatha, sindikudandaula, komanso sindinakalame, koma Rosemary nkhalamba akufuna chigololo [sex]. (Sofia: I didn’t complain when my marriage ended even though I am not yet old, still strong. Rosemary is old yet she still wants sex). After these words she departed because her son was crying.
In the morning, when I woke up, I started washing my cloths, then I saw HB of GVH sitting down on his field, then a certain man passed by and he asked HB of GVH that: Bwanji osapita kunyumba kukakhala? (why cant you go home and stay?) Then he answered that: Inu bwerani mundithandize kulima (just come and help me working in the field) . Then the man answered that: Inenso ndili ndi munda wanga, inuyo muli ndi ndalama, why can’t you hire ganyu (casual workers) to finish this part? HB of GVH didn’t answer anything.

After washing my cloths, I went to fetch some water, then on the way, I saw Thokozani washing nkhwani (pumpkin leaves ) and chief Mudzi B was taking nkhwani in her cotton field, then she greeted me and said that: Masiku ano tikudyा nsima pang’ono pena chinangwa, koma masamba opanda tomato, ndalama kulibe ( nowadays we just eat a little nsima sometimes cassava and vegetables without adding tomato because we don’t have money) . Then Sofia passed by with nkhwani. Florence and Hamra were also coming from the borehole and they were discussing that: Florence: Dzulo ndangodya chinangwa masana, madzulo phala. Hamra: Choncho palibe chomwe tingachite, ine ndinadaya nthochi, madzulo nsima ( yesterday I just ate some cassava for lunch, then porridge for dinner, Hawa said that:there is nothing else tha we can do, as for me I just ate bananas, and nsima for dinner).

At 11:35, Livia came and she started telling me that: Sorry I gave your phone number to a certain boy. I met with him today at J. village, he proposed me and I accepted, he stays in Blantyre doing business and he went at J. village to see his relatives. I asked Livia if it is chibwenzi olo banja? (is it relationship or marriage?) Then she answered that: Masiku ano kulibe mabanja, koma zibwenzi, bola adzindipatsa ya sopo. (there are no marriages nowadays , just relationships,as long as he is giving you some money for soap). (ah well, at least he'll provide me with soap). Then she continued her journey to the borehole.

Then at 12:05, I saw Dorica coming back from the field alone. Then 2 dottas of Elube passed by with a lot of plates going to the borehole.

After lunch, I went to a certain girl, whom we interviewed at the grocery (selling mandasi). I just heard that she know how to knit decorations, then I went there to learn and teach her mine. way, I saw Tulipesi carried matemba (dry fish ) on the bike. I saw Melina with thelere, but still selling ufa (HB). Then when I reached to that girl, she was interested with my decorations and I was also interested with her decorations. She started explaining how to make it, then I was just writing down, after that she start knitting and I was just watching the way she was doing it. After that I also started teaching her mine. As we were teaching other, her mother came to greet me, then she started saying that: Pepani ndinamva kuti anakuberani, zimachitika, ndiye panopa mukukhala ndi ndani usiku?(sorry I just heard that your things were stolen , it happens, then who is staying with you to night,) Then I told her that g.son of GVH, then she said that: why giving you that elder boy? There are a lot of girls in that vg, whom you can be staying with at night. That is not good, because I remember when I was a girl, my parents went to attend a certain funeral, then I was afraid to sleep alone in the house, then my mother told some of my elder brothers (2) cousins (3) to be with me in the house.on the bike. I saw Melina with thelere, but still selling ufa (HB). Then when I reached to that girl, she was interested with my decorations and I was also interested with her decorations. She started explaining how to make it, then I was just writing down, after that she start knitting and I was just watching the way she was doing it. After that I also started teaching her mine. As we were teaching other, her mother came to greet me, then she started saying that: Pepani ndinamva kuti anakuberani, zimachitika, ndiye panopa mukukhala ndi ndani usiku? (sorry I just heard that your things were stolen , it happens, then who is staying with you to night.) Then I told her that g.son of GVH, then she said that: why giving you that elder boy? There are a lot of girls in that vg, whom you can be staying with at night. That is not good, because I remember when I was a girl, my parents went to attend a certain funeral, then I was afraid to sleep alone in the house, then my mother told some of my elder brothers (2) cousins (3) to be with me in the house.
Then midnight, I just heard some footsteps and I saw the boys touching my breasts. I asked him why he touched my breasts, because I was her relative, but they just runned away from the house (we all laughed). After that she went to work on her field. Then the girl (Lucia) started telling me that I stopped school because it was difficult to find soap and cloths (std8) after that I started working as a house girl at a certain family, but I stopped because the owner of the house was very cruel, (Balaka) we were eating different food, washing cloths everyday for her 3 children, her HB, herself, cooking without helping me, cleaning the house even weekends, she was not helping me as if the house was mine. After that, I was employed at a near by house, but I was enjoying because she was washing the cloths for her HB, she was helping me cooking, we were eating the same food. But I stopped because a certain boy proposed me, then I accepted, but I worked there for 3 years, and after staying for 1,5 years, in relationship with that boy, he told me to stop working and he will be providing everything and I stopped. Indeed he was giving me soap, lotion, cloths, money K2000. He was working somewhere else. The relationship ended because my g.mother went where my boyfriend was staying. She told him that: don't get married to that girl she has got 2 kids (while I don't have any), her mother died with prostitution, (while my mother was still alive. But the boy didn’t end the relationship quickly, but because my g.mother was going there, everyday. My in-law became angry because my boyfriend drunk some poison inorder to die because of loving me. After that the relationship ended, but as of now he used to give me 500mk for soap although we divorced.

Then as of now, in Nov 2008 (las year), a certain boy proporsed me, he said that: ndikukwatira (he wants to marry me), he isworking as a volunteer teacher at [nearest tradingcenter]. And I accepted inorder to see if he will be loving me as my last b.friend. On 1st Jan, I was with him and he asked me what I want to do in the future, then I told him that I want to learn knitting using machine and he said if God wishes he will pay for me. As of now he is buying soap, lotion for me, and I told my mother that: ndili ndi chibwenzi, koma adzandikwatira (I have a boyfriend and he will marry me) [has her own house next to mother's now. Told her mother about him so that he can be free to visit her at her house, which he does indeed]. And he came inorder to know my parents and may be next month I will go and see his parents.

She continued by saying that: after working, in the field in the morning, I will be visiting you inorder to learn how to make shoes, chipewa and some of the things that I don’t know. At 4:25, heavy wind started, then I runned back home because I didn't go by bicycle. Still on the way, the rain started, then I met with Sofia then she started telling me that: I sent Taniya my dotta to go to her father to beg some money for ufa. The she met with him on the way he was coming to see the children. Then he gave my dotta K1000 to buy ufa. He didn't reach here but he just turned where they met and he told my mother that: if don't have ufa or soap just come quickly to take some money (Sofia smiled).

19 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I started cleaning the house, after that I washed my body and had my breakfast. Later on I saw HB of GVH weeding in cotton field then his g.son Kingsley passed by, then I sked him if Jane is back. Then he answered that: she came back yesterday with her HB, she has married with a certain boy at Balaka. Maybe she is pregnant, that’s why she just decided to get married. I asked him if it is true that her b.friend has a grocery, then he answered that: it is not true, but he used to go to his friend in the morning playing cards (they contribute 30mk per game, (8 boys), the one who wins takes the whole money. The parents accepted here but they just told the HB of Jane to come with his relatives like witness. (Feb 11: relatives have not come yet).
He [Kingsley] also continued by telling me that: my grandfather wants to build a house at Balaka this year. He already bought the place where to build the house. The house will be rented to those people who want it. Then he complained that: your friend Livia is not working hard in her field, up to now he has not yet finished weeding in maize field and cotton field. After this words, he continued his journey.

Then Sofia came to beg some nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) and she started complaining that: Innocent is jealousy because her brother sent money for me to buy food. She was talking to Suset that: chimangacho akagula adya nsima mpaka liti? (if they buy maize, for how long are they going to eat?) (sure he helped her but not very much). I didn’t anwer anything said Sofia, but one day I will just beat her inoder to stop gossiping. Her mother sent me to buy maize for 200mk, but I have refused because they will be thinking that I have stolen their money or ufa (maize flour). Then I saw Emra working on her field kubandira, then I saw Innocent coming back from the field of her mother with nkhwani in her hands. Then Lovely passed by coming back from the field. Then I saw Thokozani coming back from the field alone. Then mother of Dorica was also coming back from the field. Then Venesi passed by and she was telling Phingi that; ndikupita kwa J. village kukagula chimanga. (am going to J. village to buy maize). Phingi was coming back from the field.

At 1:20, Hamra passed by and she told me that: ndikuchokera ku chigayo 2kgs yokha, palibe chomwe tingachite koma mwezi wa mawa tiyamba kudya chakumunda (am coming back from the maize mill with just 2 kgs there is nothing we can do but next month we will start eating maize from the field) . At 1:30, the rain started.

At 3:10, I saw Tumanene coming back from the field but there was rainfall. And GVH + 4 grand children were working in a cotton field (kubandira) with heavy rain. (HB of GVH promised to buy them ndiwo) (relish). Then Lovely passed by, she was going to her mother, then I asked why everyday morning, lunch, evening used to go to her mother, then she answered that: the day that we had heavy rainfall and wind, the roof of the house went with wind and I am now staying in the house of Fatima because they divorced and her HB is staying with his brother. (cousin, nephew of Rashida).

Later on Jasmine came and she started complaining that: my son (HB of Sofia) sent 800mk to his wife but he didn’t buy even soap for me, of-course he gave me some money to start the business of selling tomatoes but am not satisfied. After this words she left.

Then at 5:30, I saw Innocent coming while she was crying and I asked her what happened and shee told me that: buy this black thread if you want! Then I told her that: I don’t want black thread and I asked her what she wanted to use with the money, then she answered that: my mother is angry because I bought paraffin for K20. Then she wants her money, I just just took K20 and gave Innocent. After few minutes, Sofia came while laughing and I asked what happened because she went with Innocent at the maize mill. And Sofia answered that; Instead of 3kgs, Innocent bought 2kgs of maize, instead of K50 oil for zigumu (maize flour cakes) she, she bought K30, instead of paraffin K20, she bought for 15mk. And she spent that money by buying mangoes, cassava, mandasi, biscuits and she was eating on the way. Then her mother is angry because, nowadays her HB is not doing any business, no money to continue the grocery.
20 January

In the morning when I woke up, I started removing unwanted weeds around our house, then I saw HB of GVH working alone in his field (kubandira) (making ridges), then I saw Sofia planting potatoes and Innocent was making ridges alone. Tumanene passed by with potato stems to plant. Then I saw Thokozani + HB coming back from their field, then I saw Chisoni coming back from her field with masamba (vegetables) in her hands. Lovely was also coming back from the field alone, then g.son of GVH passed by with cassava. Then at 11:20, I saw mother of Dorica coming back from the field.

After lunch, Livia came to knit and she started telling me that: I would like to start cooking my own food, I will be doing some ganyu (casual labour) to find food, and I have some boyfriends, they will be helping me to find money. I will start this because my mother is not happy with me. She is just becoming angry everyday. Then Kingsley and Mavuto, his young brother came to chat, then Mavuto started saying that: yesterday we were working in the field of our grandfather while the rain was coming, because we wanted some money, for ndiwo (relish) we told him that: kulibe ndiwo. Then he answered that: ngati mukufuna kudya lero tiyeni kumunda kwanga mukalime bandira (there is no relish you should go for casual labour for banding). And today, he bought the head of goat (meat) at [small crossroads market]. And he told us that: if you want to eat this meat let’s go to the field, but we refused to go. Then Kingsley answered that: I lost 100mk that he gave me to buy chemicals for cotton, I told my g.father about it, then he just told me that: let’s go to the field, you should help me 5 ridges only, After helping he gave me 100 mk and said: I Am the one who took the money, you kept in a certain trouser.

Then Livia said that: I have already started ganyu 20t phando (planting station) in the field of my father, I will buy 2kgs of maize for today. I have already worked for 55mk, but I went first to work in my field. Then Chisoni, Blessings and Lovely passed by. Then Livia said that: Chisoni told her HB in S.A that her mother in-law is mistreating her and she is chasing her to go back to her vg, but she don’t know why! Then her HB called his mother, asking what is happening, then instead of explaining what is wrong, she became angry and told Chisoni that: you are a prostitute go back to your vg, then Chisoni complained that: “I was staying with your son here and we helped each other to make a passport and now he is in S.A, and you have already started saying bad words to me, because he sent some money”. I will not go back to my vg. (Livia laughed).

Then Livia continued by saying that: son of Venesi went to S.A (the one who was building the house of Pamela). She continued by saying that: that son belongs to a certain man at Liwonde, they divorced because Venesi was in relationship wit another man from [small crossroads market], but her young sister was also pregnant from the same man and she gave birth to Chisoni (we all laughed). She [Livia] continued: from end Feb - end March Most of the girls and women used to be pregnant because there are a lot of places for them to hide. You can see that the maize is growing quickly, the trees also. They used to tell one another that: we should meet in the field of -------------- woman or at such banana trees (we laughed) then her mother called her to cook, then she left.

Then a girl, who sells mandasi, said that: had I known that you know how to knit different things I could have learned a lot also. Then I encourages her to continue coming here so that she can learn what she don’t know. Then she started saying that: the owner of this house married almost 6-7 wives and all of them have got childrens. (this is 4th yr since he left, never been back in between, she also said that, he slept with Sofia one day) Then I saw GVH going back to her field. Then Jasmine was passing by selling zigumu (maize flour cakes)

Hamra passed by and she greeted me by saying that: ndatopa kudya masamba ndi nsima ndikufuna nyama (I am tired eating vegetables but I want some meat). (I just smiled) and she continued by saying that: timadya nyama nthawi yogulitsa
thonje. Nthawi ya thonje anthu amasangalala, zibwenzi pali ponse chifukwa cha ndalama (we eat some meat after selling cotton, in cotton season people are always happy, a lot of relationships everywhere, because of the money). Said the girl who sells mandasi.

21 Jan 2009

In the morning, when I waked up, I started removing unwanted grasses around our house, then I saw HB of GVH sitting down on his field. After that, I saw Sofia making ridges in her field, then Livia was passing by and she greeted me and started saying that: have heard that Jane has married a certain man at Balaka? Then I said no! she continued by telling me that: although she has married to that man, he has another wife, but is not good because Jane is still young, she could have choosed a boy who has never married. But those women who already married and divorced, it’s good to get married to a man who already married. (she laughed). Will know what it’s like to take care of. So for women who have children it is better to marry a man who was married before

She also continued that: at home we ate nsima with nkhwani (pumpkin leaves), this morning. Then Hilda passed by she said that: ndikukagula chimanga kwa (I am going to buy at [small crossroads market] 52mk per kg.

Then I saw HB of GVH coming back from his field. Later on, Teleza passed by, she was coming back from the maize mill with 25kgs of ufa, and Lovely, Evelin and Nyamwale passed by with thelere (okra) in their hands for ndiwo. At 12:30, HB of GVH passed by and he told me that: I am running away from my wife, she told me that there is no ndiwo + ufa. (no relish and maize flour)

At 1:14, the rain started, then the HB of GVH runned away from his field and sat on our veranda, then he started telling me that: ndikufuna nsima! (I want some nsima), then I told him that: ndadya kale, mwachedwa (you are late I have already eaten my lunch). Then I saw GVH chatting with Thokozani and GVH was saying that: ndipita ku dimba kukadzala mpunga. (I will go at my garden to plant some rice)

At 2:30, Sofia came to chat, then we saw HB of Amila passing by, then Sofia started laughing and said that: yesterday Amila and her HB were fighting in their field, but I don’t know what happened. Then she [Sofia] continued by saying that: my mother in-law wanted to sell a goat from 3000 -2000mk, then the one who wanted to buy said that: I have 1000mk, then Jasmine said that: this is not good! Because it is already hunger season, then you want to buy at that price? It’s good for me to keep my goat.

Livia came to knit and she started saying that: masana tadya nkhwani popanda nsima, kulibe ufa (for lunch we just ate some pumpkin leaves without nsima, because we don’t have maize flour). (G thinks people usually tell the truth when telling what they ate). Koma amayi akana 1000mk anthu amafuna kugula mbuzi. (but my mother refused 100mk, then agreed, someone wanted to buy the goat) The rain continued and Livia went, then back quickly

At 4:40, Dorica came to knit and she started telling me that: I didn’t go to school today because I was helping my mother weeding in cotton field. Then I asked her if it is true that Jane married to the man with another wife and she answered that: may be he has another wife, but I don’t know. And I asked her why the marriage of Rosemary ended. Then she answered that: her HB is my uncle, when I asked him, he told mw that: I know how to cook, and I always manage to find food for myself, only not for the big family, that’s why I divorced. And I also asked her if he has married another wife and Dorica said no. He is staying alone in his house.

Then Rosemary passed by - still not talking to me because of the same story of a thief (Ndaba) son in-law. Then I asked Dorica why most of the boys from 10-15 years, don’t go to school in this vg. Then she answered that: most of them they just want to go to South Africa to find job.

Then Chenawe passed by, she greeted me and said that: ndukudwala m’mimba (am suffering from stomach ache). Dorica continued by saying that: most of the people are just eating masamba for lunch, then nsima or phala at supper. People are sill waiting for money that they worked for MASAF. No more ganyu nowadays
said Dorica. Most of the people borrowed some money to those women with HB in S.A, inorder to give back after receiving from MASAF. End February, people will start eating maize and maungu (pumpkins) (said Dorica). She left at 6:20pm.

22 January 2009

In the morning, when I waked up, I started making ridges for potatoes, then I saw Sofia passing by. Then she greeted me ans said that: I don’t go to the field because my son is ill. (malaria). After making phala (porridge), I will go with him at [nearest trading center] hospital. And Livia also passed by going to the borehole, then I heard her telling Lovely that: I am going at [small crossroads market] to buy maize 2kgs, my mother gave me some money. And she has gone to her son at Balaka to take some tomatoes and to beg some money for ufa (maize flour), but maize at [small crossroads market] is at 78mk 1kg. Someone else is selling from Zomba not Admarc. Then I saw GVH going to her field, then I saw Rosemary making ridges near her house. Then HB of Mphatso (dotta of Rosemary) passed by with 1kg of ufa. (mgaiwa) = hard nsima for 2-3 people.

At 9:10, Innocent came and she started saying that: I have stolen a small chicken from my mother and I sold K130. I would like to buy soap. Then Dorica came to greet me, then she told me that: today I didn’t go to school may be tomorrow. I asked her why? And she answered that: ndinangofuna kuti ndisapite (I just didn’t want to go). Then I saw Esnart coming back from the field.

After lunch, I went at [small crossroads market] just to see who is selling, then I saw 2 women who we interviewed selling mandasi 10mk each, the other one tomatoes only. Then the other woman whom I interviewed selling usipa (small dried fish). Then 2 women selling second hand cloths but their HB were near by helping each other selling. 1 woman was selling paraffin using a bottle top 10-15-30-50 kwacha but people were busy buying, then I didn’t talk to her. 2 young girls were selling mangoes for their parents, the woman who sales cassava was still selling (the one who says it’s for her dotta) but only few people were just moving around. Most of them were buying tobacco, paraffin, cassava and mangoes.

A certain girl was selling in a shop, but a lot of boys were busy playing bawo, the owner of the shop was also there (a man), then children were busy buying sweets, then I didn’t talk to her. After 40 minutes, I came back home. I just greeted the business women and some of them were saying that: we are busy working in the field and people are not buying because no enough ganyu (casual labour) now.

Then at home Sofia came to greet me and she started saying that the 1st HB of Livia came to give her some money, but he didn’t find her. Then he said that: he will come another day. Jasmine came to borrow a bicycle, the HB said that he wanted to go at Balaka to buy matches for sale. Then I borrowed them.

Then the girl who sells mandasi at grocery, came to knit, then her mother gave her chitenje (a wrapper) to give me. She said that: sorry because the thieves came to steal, this chitenje as a gift. Then I said thanks and received it. She learned how to make small shoes and chipewa (a hut). At 5:20, she left (she was just happy that she managed how to make 2 things only for a day. And she said that she is planning to open a shop to be selling zipewa (huts), shoes, decorations. She was happy because she just knew how to make decoration but not other things.

At 6:10pm, Phingi came & she told me that: sorry I will give back your bicycle tomorrow afternoon bcoz I want to send Livia at Balaka hospital, her dotta is still ill eyes. Then she [Phingi] continued that: I don’t have money to continue business even to buy food, my son said that: I should go and take tomatoes for sell on Saturday. Then I asked her why she is not going for ganyu (casual labour) with her HB, Innocent + grand dotta, only one day inorder to find money to buy food and she answered that:
sindilima ganyu, mwina ndiyamba (I don’t go for casual labour, maybe I will start) but she didn’t give me enough answer. After that she left. And HB of GVH, finished working in his field at 6:05pm for 5 ridges and a certain woman who passed by in the morning was coming back where she went at 6:00pm, and she started laughing and asked him that: why can’t you just go home! But he didn’t answer anything, and the woman laughed by saying that: maybe you will die before harvesting and you will not eat your maize, he didn’t answer anything.

23 January 2009

In the morning, I started washing my clothes, then I saw Chisoni going to the field alone, then Sofia was still making ridges for potatoes. Later on, I saw Lovely coming back from the field. After washing my clothes, I went to fetch some water at the borehole, then I found Sweetness, Elube, Hilda fetching some water. Then Elube was saying that: ndikukaphika zigumu (am going to bake maize flour cakes), then Joyce answered that: bola inu muli ndi chimanga, koma ine dzulo ndangodya nandolo nsima (lucky you! You have some maize but as for me I just ate pigeon peas) (madzulo) (in the evening). Then on the way I met with Thokozani and Mphatso (dotta of Rosemary) and they were saying that: dzulo m’mamawa sindinadye, masana ndinangodya masamba, madzulo phala. (Yesterday in the morning I did not eat anything, at lunch I just ate vegetables, in the evening I just ate porridge)

At 10, I started knitting, then GVH came to beg masamba (vegetables) from our garden, then I gave her. Then she started saying that: anthu anga m’mudzi muno akuvutika, akudya masamba okha, nandolo anatha, madzulo phala. Ganyu akuvuta kumupeza, koma chimanga ayamba kudya kuyambira 20 February. (people of my village are suffering, they eat vegetables only, they no longer have pigeon peas, in the evening porridge. Casual labour cannot be easily found, but they will start eating maize from 20 February)

After lunch, I went to greet Phingi, and I found her eating phala (porridge) and she was preparing masamba (vegetables) for dinner. And Sofia joined us, then Phingi started explaining that: last night I told my HB that: it’s good to divorce because I am the one who is searching for food, we are not helping each other. Then my HB answered that: I cannot go back because I don’t have parents, we promised each other from the beginning that: we will be staying together till death. (Sofia laughed). Then she continued that: Livia yesterday she steal my eggs and ate alone without my permission, this is bad.

Then Sofia started saying that: Chikondi was fighting with her HB yesterday but I don’t know why? And Chikondi was saying that: when Jannake will come, she will give me some money to feed my children because I gave the surname of Getrude to one of my son. Then Florence answered that: that means she will give everybody in this vg some money not only you, because she came for every women in this vg. Then Chikondi answered that: I will go and take some medicine and I kow that she will give me. Then Phingi answered that: but women of this village used to gossip. This visitors came inorder to learn and understand life in our villages not to give you money to feed your families, why can’t you just start business or ganyu (casual labour) inorder to find what you want, (Sofia laughed).

Then Sofia continued that: when I was at Balaka with my HB, we were fighting, may be because of putting a lot of salt in relish. And I was using a big stick to revenge. After five times, he stopped. Then Phingi answered that: I remember in the past with my HB, we were also fighting, and some years ago he married another wife. (we were 2 wives), the other one was 7 months pregnant, and I was 8 months pregnant. One day, I went to see my in-law, when I was coming back, I met with her going to the same in-law. Then when she saw me, she started saying that: this week is mine, mwamuna akhala akugona kwathu (the husband will be sleeping at my house). Then I didn’t answer anything. After few minutes, I saw her running with a big stick and she broked my leg with that stick. And I revenged by breaking of her foetus, everybody was afraid to stop the fighting. After 40 minutes, I went back while she was going to the hospital. Then, I went to my elder brother to explain what happened for me to beat her. Kenaka a mfumu anayitana ankhoswe onse (then the chief called all the marriage witnesses), then they said that: my HB is the one who did wrong by getting married to 2 wives. G: I think in past people did not marry several wives, therefore they said it was wrong, while now it happens (I asked why wrong, since they are muslims?). The same day, I
heard that the other wife miscarried and the marriage ended with the other wife. After a week, I gave birth to a baby girl, and my HB was happy and went to South Africa to start working, while in S.A, he sent some money but I was still angry and I gave that money to his parents. One day I went to the market and a certain boy proposed me by saying that: muli pa banja? (are you married?) Then I said ayi. Ndikukufunani banja (No. [Then he said] I want to marry you.). Then I accepted the same time. I didn’t even tell anybody that there is a certain man who proposing me. “Ndinabwezera” = I was taking revenge. [J: revenge, was angry, G explained further]

But they just saw him in the morning when he waked up, [J: G says it was "marriage", meaning that/so they were staying together] my relatives asked me why I decided to get married before divorcing. Then I answered that: osandifunsa ndikudziwa zomwe ndikuchita (don’t ask me I know what am doing). The same day the HB in S.A sent money and I didn’t receive it, I just gave to his parents. After 8 months the new HB told me that: your relatives are not happy with me and they said that your HB will come soon, then it’s good to divorce because I am afraid. Then I told him that: chabwino palibe! Koma chikhale chibwenzi (its OK, no problem! It should just be a relationship) and he accepted. After 2 weeks I went to take all the money that my HB sent to buy food and his relatives gave me, they ewer just keeping the money without using. After a month, I saw my HB coming back from S.A with a lot of things like: a bed, new cloths, a nice lamp, blankets but I was just angry, I stayed almost 2 hours without talking to him. Later on, he told me that: please undikhululukire (forgive me) sindizakwatariranso mkazi wina ndiwe wekha (I will never get marri to another woman again you are the only one). Then I accepted but I told him not to talk or greet any woman from other vgs. Then he accepted. (Ndinali ndi nsanje ndichifukwa ndimawauza mawu amenewa) (I said these words because I was jealous)

After that she [Phingi] started saying that: the first HB of Livia came yesterday, he said that: he wanted to take the child, but I was not here, I went to some friends. But I cannot accept because he has another another wife. I remember when he divorced with Innocent, he wanted to kill the child inorder to be rich. And after divorcing, Innocent was in relationship with a boy from [nearest tradingcenter] and she was pregnant. When Livia was 2 months pregnant, she went back to her ex-HB up to 8 months, but when she was there, the HB told her that: this pregnant is not mine, then when you will give birth to a child just kill him/her and cheat your parents that you miscarried. (She got married with the 2nd HB when the child was born). Then they divorced for the second time because he was beating her, sometimes not giving her some food. And now he came to take the child, I cannot accept.

At 3, the rain started, then I went back home to knit. When the rain stopped, I saw HB of GVH going to the field, then Rosemary passed by and she started telling HB of GVH that: Njala, masana ndadya masamba opanda nsima ndiye mphamvu ndilibe, sindinapite kumunda (hunger, at lunch I just ate some vegetables without nsima that’s why am not strong).

Pamela and Tinenenji came to greet me, then they were saying that: someone else at Jim vg has got maize and he told people that they can take 1 bag and after harvesting, they should give back 3bags, but people in Mudzi B didn’t go to take. Pamela said that: some people are just eating masamba, nandolo, mseula (vegetables, pigeon peas, nseula) but without nsima. Then Kingsley passed by telling people to go at [small crossroads market] to receive money for MASAF tomorrow. And people were happy.

When I waked up at 6, the rain started, I saw Innocent coming back from the maize mill with 3kgs of ufa, she came home inorder to wait for the rain and she started saying that: [Innocent:] my brother at Balaka said that he will be helping my mother by giving her some money to buy ufa for nsimu and zigumu (maize flour for nsima and maize flour cakes) because most of the people are not buying tomatoes.

At 9, there was still rainfall, then Kondwani and Sofia came to greetme. As we were chating, they
started saying that: HB of Amila divorced because of hunger, he went back to his mother with 1 child and left the wife with 3 kids. Sofia also said that: Mavuto g.son of GVH, has gone to receive money for orphans and a blanket. Kondwani answered that: mother in-law came to take the g.son because they are just staying without eating nsima, but phala and masamba (Porridge and vegetables). Sofia also said that: I saw Livia one day with mr Chikombo in his field chatting, when she came home, she cheated me that: he wanted chipewa, but I think ali pa chibwenzini.(they are in a relationship)

Kondwani said that: mwina tiyamba kudya chimanga pa (maybe we will start eating maize on) 16 February. She also said that: Thokozani amadandaula kuti akungodya phala, ndiye mwana amafunsa kuti: kodi tinasiya kudya nsima? (Thokozani was complaining that they just eat porridge then the child asked that: did we stop eating nsima?) But Thokozani failed to answer.

After lunch, the rain stopped and Sofia came and told me that: people are going to receive some money for MASAF at [small crossroads market] and I cannot manage to go because my son is sick, and I would like to beg you that: if possible go and receive for me. Then I went there on behalf of her. Then I met with Pamela and I asked her about the HB that she told me. Then Pamela answered that:I got married, we only stayed for 3 weeks and divorced. I tried to ask her why she decided to divorce, and she said that: I worked alone in the field and he helped me only for a week. Then I just told him basi banja latha, dzipitani (we are divorced just go), then he just packed and left. Then Kondwani joined us and she started saying that: I sent my dotta in the morning to go to my ex-HB to beg some ufa and she came back with almost 10kgs of ufa. (She smiled).

Then I heard Florence and Chikondi saying that: if Jannake will come and ask some questions, we will not give her correct answers because she already asked us a lot of questions. Then Chikondi said that: when she will come, she will give me some money to feed my children, and Chenawe answered that: she will give me some medicine. Then Teleza said that: when she came here at the beginning, she said that: she just came here on order to understand our daily life, not to give you some money or medicine, and she said that: if you don’t want to be asked any question palibe vuto. (there no problem) [J: Teleza said to G: you can see now that I am buying soap and lotion and after this I will be buying ufa. So you remember! So that when Janneke comes you don’t have to come and ask me bcoz you already know!]. Everybody from Mudzi B was saying that: ndikalandira ndalama za MASAF, ndikagula chimanga ku Admarc ku Balaka 52mk 1kg osati kwa ma vendor (when we receive money from MASAF we will buy maize from ADMARC at Balaka 52mk 1 kg not from venders). Except Blessings, Lovely, Esnart and Nola. Then Filimona passed by with 5kgs of ufa, we waited up to 4pm but no-one else came to give them some money. People were still waiting and others slept on the floor, then Pamela told me that: let’s back home, we will come tomorrow, I would like to cook some nsima with nandolo (pigeon peas). Then on the way, she [Pamela] started saying that: most of the people didn’t understand that you came here only for a research that’s why Chikondi with her friends were saying that: when Jannake will come, she will give them some money. But if she will give her, we will also come to beg.

When I reached home, I started cooking nsima then Thokozani and a certain woman were passing by and heard Thokozani telling her friend that: mundigale ufa, ndikaphike nsima (give me some maize flour I should cook nsima). Then her friend answered that: I just have 1kg only and I cannot manage to give you.

25 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I started removing unwanted plants around our house. Then I saw Livia making ridges and HB of GVH was also making ridges. Then I saw Phingi coming back from the field, then mother of Dorica was also coming back from the field. Then Sofia came to tell me that: my son is still ill, go and receive my money for MASAF. Then I accepted. On the way, I was with Amila and I asked her about her HB and she started saying that: we divorced because I
was working alone in the field, going for ganyu in order to find food, then I told him that: it's good for me to be staying alone. And he accepted, but we have stayed almost 14yrs in marriage. She continued by saying that: he gave a radio to his son. I went to my uncle and his uncle to explain what is happening in our family and I told them that I would like to end the marriage and they agreed, but one of my son is staying with my uncle. Then Jasmine joined us and she started saying that: Suset went to her ex-HB (my son) at J. village to beg some money to buy ufa (maize flour), but the ex-HB chased her by saying that: ndili ndi mkazi, iwenso uli ndi mwamuna (I have a wife and you have a husband). Amila continued by saying that: my cousin Emra, when she heard that her friend Ainessi has got a child, she went with ufa full basin, 2 pieces of zitenje and a dress. And now she came home to beg some ufa, but I didn’t give her because she had 2 bags of maize and she gave 1 bag to Ndaba her boyfriend (Jasmine laughed). Jasmine also said that: am getting worried because I cooked zigumu (maize flour cakes) for 520mk but at night my HB ate zigumu for 150mk. I don’t know it will make profits in this business, when we reached at [small crossroads market] some vgs were receiving some money, but Mudzi A and Mudzi B were the last villages. Grace started saying that: Innocent have got my 50mk, she borrowed mandasi and Elube said that: Innocent also came home and borrowed zigumu for 70mk, cheating that her mother is the one who sent her. Then mother of Dorica started complaining that: Headmaster was telling Dorica that: don’t go at [small crossroads market] school come at [nearest primary school], then Dorica answered that: you chased me and I cannot come back there. Then the headmaster answered that: mwina uli ndi chibwenzi kumeneko (maybe you have a boyfriend there), but Dorica didn’t answer anything. After 35 minutes (11:50) people from Mudzi B started receiving their money and I received for Sofia 2400mk. People from Mudzi A 2 received. Naima’s HB received, but both Thokozani and HB received, Tulipesi and wife received. On the way back home, everybody was at [small crossroads market] market buying tomato - usipa (small dried fish), mangoes, biscuits and mandasi, body lotion. Then Jasmine told me to tell Innocent that: they need to contribute and buy maize tomorrow at [nearest tradingcenter] Admarc 52mk pe kg, but when I told Innocent she didn’t answer anything, when I reached home I gave direct the money to Sofia and she said thanks a lot and she started telling me that my Grand Mother GVH will receive money from 13 people including her self she sent some young boys in other vgs to be working on behalf of her.

At [small crossroads market] I saw her going 4 times but with different names only that I didn’t realize what was happening at home I found a big snake on the window then mwanyakli is the one who runned and killed it with a big stick. Grace said that I hired ganyu (Amila) and I gave her the money but up to now she has not yet finished at 1:30 heavy rain and wind started.

I started knitting then the girl who sells mandasi joined me and she was just complaining the most of the people in her vilage are just sleeping eating masamba (vegetables) sometimes phala (porridge) only. Then Venesi came to greet me and she told me that ngagula ma unit’s ndikufuna ndi yimbe nawo (I have bought airtime I want to use your) phone then I gave her the cell phone then she was talking to a certain man and they were discussing that Kodi ubwera?Ndikukudikira chifukwa mawa ndikuchokapo ndikupita ku ADMARC. Dzulo unandinamiza kuti ubwera ndiyi usalephere (are you coming? Am waiting for you because tomorrow am going to ADMARC. yesterday you cheated me you said that you are coming, so don’t fail) after that she left (I didn’t ask her anything so that I can hear a lot of stories then GVH came to beg masamba then I gave her. The rain continued up to dark hours.

26th January

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning in the house then mawanyakali came to borrow a
bicycle, then I saw HB of GVH making ridges alone. Then Sofia came and she told me that ndikupita kuchipatala ndi mwana (am going to the hospital with my child). After Livia came and she told me that amai apita kukagula chimanaga ku Balaka ADMARC tasonkhelana ndalama (my mother has gone to buy maize at Balaka ADMARC we have contributed some money) but up to 7:00am I didn’t see any one going to the field and I just guessed that most of them went to buy maize at ADMARC.

Then Innocent came and she told me that “I have came back! I wanted to escort Sofia to the hospital the GVH told me that Tikupita kwa asing’anga ndiye ubelere kunyumba (we are going to the traditional doctor therefore you should go back home) two men were passing by and I heard them saying that Amuna awo HB of Elube went to work in Balaka: Amuna awo a Elube anayamba ntchito ku Balaka. (the husband of Elube found work in Balaka)

Then HB of Fatima passed by and Pamela was coming home then I asked her about the marriage of Fatima and she told me that everyday HB of Fatima used to go and pick the child because Fatima said that- Unandipeza ndilebe mwana ndiye ngakhale banja linatha udizibwera tsiku lililonse kudzatenga mwana. (you found me without a child although we divorced you should be coming every day to collect the child)

Ata 12:50 Sofia came back from the t. Doctor and I went there to see the child. Then I just told Sofia that its good to go to the hospital because the doctor is the one who can know what kind of medicine to give the child then Sofia accepted to go to the hospital as we were charting she started telling me that the money that she received for MASAF, she already hired ganyu 500mk, 500mk bought an umbrella, 1000mk maize, 50mk paraffin 100mk paid to the T. Doctor.

Then Venesi came saying that she is already bought 3 plates at nsawali airtime, 1 decoration (from me 100) [J: to make the bedroom look nice, maybe for new boyfriend, speculates G] lotion & she will go to buy maize on Thursday at ADMARC. Livia said that I gave my mother 1000mk to buy food and she said she will buy 50kgs at Balaka ADMARC 500mk I borrowed to my g mother and I have paid back 70mk I ate zigumu (maize flour cakes) to Elube 50mk Grace I ate mandasi 50mk I bought cassava 30mk mangoes and 600mk I have kept in order to buy an umbrella.

Then I saw Esnart going to the maize, then Thokozani was coming back from the maize mill, then Sofia started saying that Charity burned the roof of the house of her sister after quarreling with her brother. Then Saibi is now staying in the house of her mother but as of now her child is ill and she is admitted at Balaka hospital but Charity has married at Balaka with a certain boy but she, didn’t tell her mother she just departed. The Sofia started eating phala (porridge) [J: Gertrude explains: maybe lazy, or tired of only having nkhwani for ndiwo] while Livia was eating rice and in the morning Livia said she ate cassava

Then Venesi bought 50 cents time and borrowed my phone then she was talking to the same man saying that Wasowa zikuyenda uli kuti ( I miss you , are you ok, where are you?) (while smiling) Grace also borrowed my phone she bought air time and she was talking to some one else saying that ndikufuna ndalama ya sopo. Komanso chakudya ndilibe ( I need money for soap and I don’t have food) Grace said that she wanted to knit and we went home together, Ada, Ellesi, Dorica, Tinenenji joined me and they were saying that as of now they are not very busy they are just making ridges for potatoes in the morning.

Then I stopped knitting and started braiding the hair of Grace and everybody was very interested after Grace I braided the hair of Ada. Then Tinenenji started saying that Lero tadya nsima ndi nsomba (today we ate nsima with fish) and Ada said that ife tigula mawa masamba tidzadya tikamaliza ndalama (we will buy vegetables tomorrow we will eat until we finish the money) (all girls laughed) then zione said she will pay school fees half of the money.

Then GVH came and she told me that my HB sent me here he said that you must cook this egg plants for him (she brought onions, oil, 3 tomatoes and 6 egg pants) he said that you are the one who can know now to prepare this with rice not me. Then I received and cooked for him after that all girls
deported it was already 5:40pm. After cooking I went to give him and he said that Zikomo kwambiri ndakumbukira kale - kale ndili mnyamata ndimkakonda kudya ndiwo zimenezi (thank you very much I have remembered those days - those days when I was still a youth, I liked eating this type of relish) then I went back home.

At 7:20pm Jasmine came to tell me that Tomorrow there will be a meeting for CUMO at Nkhumba then she [Jasmine] also said that ndina kagula chimanga kubalaka 16kgs for 1120mk ku ADMARC chimanga chinatha (thank you very much I have remembered those days - those days when I was still a youth, I liked eating this type of relish) then she also bought airtime she did she wanted to talk with her dotta at Zomba then I gave her.

27 January

In the morning when I waked up ida came to borrow my bicycle she said that she wante[d] to go at [large commercial estate] to do something else the I gave her. Then I saw HB of GVH weeding alone later on I saw Thokozani + HB coming back from the field with nkhwani in her hands Livia passed by with there’re then Teleza was going to fetch some water then she started telling me that sindinapite kumunda ndikudwala malungo and she [Teleza] continued by saying that tell Jannake that I have received money for MASAF and I bought maize don’t come to ask me what I have done with that money (she laughed).

Then I went to tell Jasmine that am ready to go at nkhumba (CUMO) and I found her [Jasmine] eating phala (porridge) and Sofia was also eating phala. On the way to nkhumba I met with Auleria coming back from the maize mail with 30kg of Ufa (maize flour) that ndasangalala chifukwa lero ndikadya nsima masana (I am happy because I have eaten nsima at lunch). Suset started saying that last week Thursday I went to Balaka market then I met with my exe boy and he bought some potatoes for me (she smiled)

At [nearest primary school] we found people already gathered in there groups then alangazi (extension worker) started talking to the Group of Jasmine. Alangizi told the group of Jasmine that you will not take loan today because on the computer it shows that there is still balance of 2100mk while it is not like that then you need to wait ever they will correct that mistake you will be able to take loan everybody was angry and said that: muwauze kuti sitidzatengaso ngongole mungotipatsa ndalama zomwe tinasonkha (tell them that we will never take the loan again, just give us the money that we contributed) then alangizi encouraged them that musadandaule mudzalandira (don’t worry you will receive) (we just spent 10 minutes) on the way back Jasmine said that its good to stop taking loan because we failed to work in our fields thinking that they will give us money while not.

I saw children of Elube cleaning a lot of plates at the borehole. Then I saw Chisoni and her in-law going at the maize mill with full baskets of maize.

After lunch I went to take my bicycle then I found Suset and Jasmine complaining that Mr Ntawanga received money for MASAF 5 times with different names and now after selling cotton he is planning to go to south Africa and Jasmine answered that he already sold one bicycle preparing for the journey and Suset didn’t work in MASAF because she was ill but they didn’t write down her name so that she can receive money chief of K. village received almost 22 thousand with different names and GVH more than 30 thousand with different names this is not good only God wiil deal with them said Jasmine.

When Suset left Innocent started laughing and said that. The one who gave 2nd Child to Suset [father of first child is brother of Innocent] has got another wife and he used to come to Suset just to eat nsima then going back to another wife she was in std 8 she had a lot of boyfriends (elders) that’s why she is not looking healthy. Then Pamela called me saying that Molly has come she wants you to braid
her hair and Tinenenji then accepted as we were chatting anatenga started saying that Amila & HB were fighting in the field using stones sticks and hoes people were failing to stop them.

Molly answered that we are about to start eating green maize and during harvesting most of the women used to steal some maize from their HB putting in a tin with clothes on top cheating the HB that I am going to wash my cloths or blanket at the borehole, while going some where else to sell (we all laughed) and with the money they just buy biscuits, mandasi but not relish because the HB can ask where you got the money and the HB also steal some maize to sell and with the money they go to buy Kachasu (traditionally distilled beer) some times relish. They all forget that they were sleeping without eating any food.

1275 Then I saw HB of Sofia from Balaka. I greeted him and he said that ndikupita kukamuona mwana ndamva kuti akudwala. (am going to see my child who is sick)

1277

28th January

In the morning when I waked up I saw Jasmine coming home and she told me to go and help her to make Zigumu, then I accepted then she started telling me that ndayamba geni yogulitsa fodya (I have started a business of selling tobacco) [she showed me and it was full basket] [Jasmine bought from farmers, dries it herself. Hamra likes to smoke, came to buy]. then I greeted Sofia and she started telling me that Amuna anga anabwera anagona kunkun koma sanandipatse ndalama akuti alibe ndipo amanena kuti akandimangira nyumba basi banja litha. Koma ine sindinayankhe chilichonse (my husband came he spent a night here but he did not give me any money he said he does not have and he was saying that he is going to construct a house for me then we should get divorced but I did not answer any thing) then she started eating porridge even Jasmine was also eating porridge as we were making zigumu people were not coming to buy and Jasmine said that anhutu sakugula chifukwa ali nsima ndikagulitsa mawa kwa [small crossroads market] [People are not buying (maizeflour cakes) because they have maize (for making nsima) I will sell tomorrow at [small crossroads market]].

1281 Then I saw GVH coming and she brought thelere (okra) for me she said that amuna anga anandiuza kuti ndikupatseni thelere (my husband told me to give you this okla) I received and I said thanks. Then Lovelly joined us and she started saying that Emra and Ainessi and HB has gone to Ch. village to see her mother in - law (we all laughed) but last week she [Lovely] was not eating nsima But nadolo (pigeon peas) and masamba (vegetables) only and she came home with a small plate to beg some ufa and I gave her. Then Jasmine cooked nsima with nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) and Sofia cooked nsima with usipa (small dried fish) GVH passed by with 7 chambo.

1283 At Lunch I went back home the Sofia told me that this women is in relation ship with HB of Magret Wasi (a woman with black sports on her face) at 2pm I went at mbella to see who is selling. Then at the grocery only one man selling cassava

1285 Then at [nearest tradingcenter] only one woman was selling tomatoe. Two young girls selling mandasi and I woman selling usipa. Only few people were buying I greated the woman who was selling tomatoes (fat woman) and she told me that sizikuyenda chifukwa anhutu alibe ndalama kuli njala (business is not very good because a lot of people do not have money because of the hunger). The other woman who aws selling usipa said the same words. The woman who was selling in a shop was not there it was closed. The sign of the rain started and I runned back home.

1287 A certain woman from [nearest primary school] came to greet me and she started complaining that thieves came to her house and they took 4 chickens and 2 basins while she was sleeping and she realized in the morning when she worked up at 5:55pm I saw Venesi moving a could with the same man on the way back she started saying that ndinapita ku Balaka ADMARC kukagula chimanga koma sindinachipeze ndiye ndagula kwa ma (I went to Balaka ADMARC to buy maize but I did not find it then I bought from ) vendor ½ kg (25 kgs at K1,880 and soap I also bought shoes, trouser blouse for my dotta then she left. Then Elube passed by with a mortar and she was telling Sofia, that I would like to pound my maize tomorrow at 8:20 G. Son of GVH came to sleep.
29th January

In the morning when I waked up I started washing my cloths then GVH came to greet me and she told me that my HB is ill that’s why he is not working in the field since yesterday. But I am going to plant rice at dambo (the garden). Sofia also came and she started saying that at least my son is getting better today. Then I saw Livia making ridges alone in the field.

At 10 I went to greet Jasmine I found her eating phala. Then I told her that its good to be drying masamba (vegetables) in order to eat in December and she accepted. Then Sofia was busy cooking nsima and masamba Pamela came to buy tomatoes. Then Jasmine said that I will eat nsima plus nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) but at dinner I will my chicken.

At 10:40 I went back home to prepare the journey to [small crossroads market]. At 11:20 Innocent came home and she started telling me that the friend of my mother from K. village came home and she started telling my mother that There is a certain boy who is looking for a wife and she choosed me to be the wife of that boy. And my mother accepted she told me at night that may be I can die soon and it’s good for you to get married while I am still alive. Then my mother continued that the boy will come to see you and indeed he came but I didn’t like his body structure, even his face is not nice. But still more I will accept may be he is the one that God kept for me (she laughed) and he said that he will marry me soon after harvesting. But I told him that I have a child and he said no problem I will be ready to take care of the child. She continued that Aunt Gertrude ndidzikwuzani chilichonse momwe zikuyendera (I will be informing you how everything is going on). I will keep you informed.

At 2:10 I prepared my journey at [small crossroads market] then Livia came and said that I would like to go and buy cooking oil just wait for me and we departed at 2:30 on the way Livia said that I will go there to buy thread on the way she [Livia] was saying that ndasangalala ndili ndi mwamuna wofuna kundikwatira.

At [small crossroads market] only 2 young girls selling zigumu 1 woman tomatoes I woman sugar cane (not new faces) 2 men selling second hand cloths I didn’t see any one coming to buy but it was already 3:05 I stayed up to 3:45 but no changes 1 girl was also selling matemba (vegetables) Livia bought sugar cane (10mk) zigumu 20mk oil 20mk. On the way we met with a man whom I saw with Venesi then Livia said that this man is in relationship with Venesi may be she want to get married we will see.

She laughed and said that we are close to cotton season a lot of marriages now. She also said that Evelin with black sports is in relationship with HB of Elube and HB of Nola but she used to go to the hospital and receive ARVS she also said that Suset has got a lot of boyfriends that’s why she is not healthy Teleza used to go to the hospital for family planning (injection) that’s why she is not becoming pregnant but she has a lot of zibwenzi (boyfriend). At 4:40pm heavy rain and heavy wind started up to 9:40pm

30th January

In the morning when I walked up on bicycle I prepared my journey to Balaka to buy thread and Innocent was going to buy maize for zigumu. on the way I saw Magda and HB weeding in groundnuts field and Teleza also was weeding in her maize field. Then on the way Innocent started complaining that her father has got 5000mk that he kept from his grocery but he is saying that he cannot by maize for food her will be eating what my mother is buying my mother is not happy but the problem is that he started the life of not buying anything at home since when my mother gave birth to the 2nd child up to now and it is difficult for him to stop. Still more we don’t know what he used to buy with his money. Without nsima he used to be angry.
At Balaka Innocent bought tomatoes for sale 200MK, she didn’t find the maize then she didn’t buy. I went at the bank to withdrawal 2000MK then I bought 12 balls for 1020MK of thread blue, green, white, with soap 1 bar for washing my body at 80MK & lotion 200MK (=500 ml, app 5 months], hair oil 150MK. [Jasmine was happy that G went with Innocent to Balaka, bcoz Innocent may be afraid to steal if G is with her].

On the way back Innocent said that: When I will get married to that man soon after harvesting, maybe we will be staying in Balaka & I will give my mother the maize that I will harvest (she smiled). Then we met with Fatima in her vlg, I greeted her & she said that "banja litha. Sindizabweranso (we divorced and I will not come back)." I failed to ask her a lot bcoz I was with Innocent, but she promised that she will come to chat. Still on the way Innocent sais that: Maybe Fatima has got another man who wants to marry her, that’s why she is not coming back at Mudzi B.

At [small crossroads market] I just found 3 young girls selling mandasi, another one matemba, another mangoes & tomatoes for their parents.

I reached home at 1.25pm.I found Jasmine eating phala and Sofia was eating nsima. And I found Sofia already kept some nsima for me in a container with thelere. Sofia said: This is your first time cycling at the way to balaka and back, I thought you would be tired so kept some nsima for you.

At 3 pm I went at [nearest tradingcenter] just to see if the women were still selling. Then I found 5 women one selling tomatoes, 3 women selling cassava and another one still saving maize for nsima. I greeted them and asked how the business was going on. And they said that bola lero mwina chifukwa anthu alandira ndalama za MASAF (At least today, maybe because people have received money for MASAF) (they laughed then I saw two women still selling matemba, I greeted them and they said that sizikuyenda chifukwa anthu akudya masamba akumunda (it is not ok, because people are now eating vegetables from there field). 3 young girls were selling mangoes, 2 men selling usipa, and other woman selling kanyenya (goat meat) the HB was there with 3 friends then I failed to talk to her. 3 men were selling second hand cloths. People were coming at the market especially buying mangoes and sugarcane for a certain young girl. I moved around almost 40 minutes but only few customers buying. Most of them were just moving around.

At 4.20 I started my journey back home. at 5.30 g.son of GVH came to chat then he started saying that I gave [Bicycle maker] my bicycle to repair but he failed because at that time he was taking loan at Madef and he had a machine for making shoes buy he was not paying back the loan. Then people from Madef came to take his machine, that’s why he stopped making shoes. He know how to make bicycles, shoes, but the problem is that he is lazy sometimes he used to cheat the customers that mubwele mawa mudzatenge njinga, nsapato zanu (come tomorrow to collect your bicycle, and your shoes) while no. then nowadays most of the people stopped going there to repair their bicycles. At 6.05 pm he left and he said that I will come later.

At 6.30 I receive a call from Mangochi mission they told me that 1 of the Italian sisters has died but the burial will take place in Italy and dead body will depart on Monday no Italian sister now everybody died. And they just encouraged me to work hard in everything & pray for those Italian sisters who died some years ago. And the one who died on 30th January 2009. Because they are the one’s who gave me the name Gertrude and my elder sister’s name & they were taking care of our family. Then I accepted and promised that every Wednesday I will be raying for them. At 8 grandson of I Mudzi B came to sleep.

31 January 2009

In the morning when I waked up I saw 3 dottas of GVH weeding in cotton field. Then Sofia
came to greet me and she started saying that HB of Esnart was complaining that Esnart is rude after waking up in the morning she don't know how the clean at the bedroom and she don't know how to cook nice food. After asking her why she is not cleaning at the bedroom she used to answer that ndatopa (I am tired) all the time but in the field I hired ganyu she is just staying and since I came on 24th December up to now 31st January its now 4 times fighting and its good for me to marry another wife who will be listening to my words, who knows how to clean in the house, cooking, not rude like this when I will be back to S.A I will send some money for her to build her own house and it will be the end of the marriage. Comment from Sofia: Those women who don’t know how to take care of the HB have got marriages but those women who knows how to take care of the HB we don’t have marriages.

On the way to church I saw Auleria selling zigumu at [small crossroads market] at the church they forced me to preach and I preached mark 4 v 1 - 24 and everybody was happy on the way back I met with dotta of Venesi Tenge and she told me that ndikugulitsa zigumu za (I am selling maize) Grace and Ada was also selling zigumu for her mother.

After lunch at 2:40 Sofia, Pamela and Evelin came to chart and Sofia said that Livia has hired ganyu in her cotton field almost 150mk weeding (and indeed I saw 2 young boys weeding) others were making ridges for potatoes (250mk) all the women laughed but I don’t why.

Sofia continued by saying that I saw Chenawe with full basket of msewula from her field and she was telling zione that: amuna anga agula nsoma za 100mk (my HB bought some fish for 100mk). Then I saw Doris passing by with acertain boy (looked big than her) then ana laughed and said that chibwenzi cha Doris koma ali std 6 zimuthandiza (is it going to help her, having boyfriends while still in school?) Sofia answered that mwina akufuna kukwatira (that one is the boyfriend of Doris but imagine she is in std 6, is it going to help her?) we all laughed. Blessings came she started telling me that my HB sent 8 pieces of zitenje and 13 blankets for sale. And I am selling 1 chitenje for 800mk (in Lilongwe its 500mk the chitenje that Blessings sells) but the blanklets I will ask my HB about the price but may be 9,000 per blankets (in Lilongwe about 2000mk says G, but in villages people don't know this) and people will paying in cotton season when she left ana said that the problem of people in this vg is that. They used to take a lot of things now! Then after selling cotton they remain empty handed. then GVH came to borrow my bicycle she said that ndikupita kwambera kukagula chimanga (I am going to [nearest tradingcenter] to buy some maize) then when coming back I saw her with 50kgs or maize.

Then I heard Livia telling Hamra that ndagalitsa 100mk [tomatoes bought in Balaka] lero (today) and her mother was also making zigumu. Livia continued that masana tadya phala tilibe ufa wokwanila (we ate porridge for lunch because we don't have enough maize flour). Ndala za amayi (MASAF) abwezera kwa aniyake [give back money to its owner = Phingi had to pay back some loans with the money she received from MASAF] (the money that was supposed to be given to my mother has been given to the owner) . At 7:50pm G. Son of GVH came to sleep (bringing always 2 pieces of zitenje)

1st February, 2008

In the morning when I waked up I saw Sofia weeding in her field then HB of GVH was also weeding alone in her field. Later on I saw chief Mudzi B coming back from the field. At 10:20 Sofia told me that chief Mudzi A is ill (stomach) then I went there to see him with Sofia when I graeted him he started saying that ndinapita kwa sing'anga kukatenga mankhwal ndiye anandiuza kuti munthu wina wandilodza (I went to the traditional doctor to take some medicine and they told me that someone has bewitched me). I asked him if he went to the hospital then his wife answered that in the past he went at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital and he was told to go at Balaka hospital. But instead of going to Balaka he went to the Traditional Doctor and payed 500mk but he is still not getting better. As of now he teared off the page where the doctor wrote about the medicine that he will receive at Balaka and he also went at [nearest tradingcenter] for the second time. Then the doctor told him to go at Balaka. When he reached home he also teared
off the page and went to the Traditional Doctor and he has paid 100mk + 1 chicken I asked chief Mudzi A why he don’t want to go to Balaka! Then he answered that ndipita mawa ( will go tomorrow). We continued that

am’mudzi muno amandida [hate me] sakufuna kuti ndikhale mfumu yawo (people of my vg don’t want me to be their chief) (he didn’t mention them)

1333

At 11:40 I went back home then after lunch Sofia came and she told me that kuli msonkhano kwa gulupu 2:30 masana ( we have a meeting at 2:30 pm) and I answered that chabwino ndipita at 2 ( ok I will go at 2 ) she came and we went together then on the way she started saying that [Sofia] when we recived money for MASAF Jasmine bought 5kgs of maize and today she told me that ndilibe ufa. Amaphika nsima yambiri komanso phala lambiri m’mao moti azidiza pang’ono basi, ndiye ine sindinawapatse. (I don’t have maize flour, you always cook a lot of nsima and a lot of porridge, instead of eating a little, then I didn’t give them)

1334

Instead of 2.30 the meeting started a 4.10 only few men but a lot of women gathered from the 7 villages of group Mudzi B. then GVH started saying that ndakuitanani kuti tisankhe ( I have invited you so that we should select a chairman) chairman wa VDC [Village Development Committee] (people clapped hands) then she asked everybody to mention the name that he/she want and some people raised up their hands and chased Mr Dauda and Mr Wilo every body was happy. Afer that GVH said that a headmaster a kwa [small crossroads market] and [nearest primary school] akuti akudandaula chifuwuka ana athu akaweruka kusukulu akumakhala awiri awiri mchimanga makamaka atsikana 13 - 15 years ( was complaining that when children knock off from school they always walk in pairs, in maize field especially girls Of 13 – 15 years) ndiye akuti ( so they said that) every family must tell his /her kids that kuli edzi komanso mibwa zosayembekezera [unplanned/unexpected pregnancies], kuchipatala ma ARV ndiwochepa ( there is AIDS and unwanted pregnancies and there are not enough ARVS at hospitals). Koma chonde azimayi tidzisesa ku toile (we must sweep the toilet) kuli metenda a cholera ( and we should also remember to clean our toilets to avoid cholera) (some people clapped hands). [Had meeting at [nearest primary school] and all chiefs were told to inform their people about this.] The chief of K. village said that nowadays most of the women have got problems In the family if there is a dotta and the father is telling her that usapange izi ndi zoyipa ( don’t do this because it is bad) her mother used to say that kodii inu amuna nga mwanayu walakwa chani? mukufuna mudzigonza naye? (my HB, what is wrong with my data? do you want to start sleeping with her?) even neighbours they like saying the same words [when a father tries to advise his daughter, others may think that he wants to sleep with her, yet we fathers should continue to advise our daughters]. Tiyeni twigirane manja (join hands) kuti ana athu asatenge matenda. Tiyeni tiwauze kuti mukagona ndi mwamuna mutenga mimba kapena matenda ( let us join hands, so that our children should not be infected with AIDS, let us tell them that if you sleep with a man you will get pregnant or AIDS,) people claped hands. Then the women were discussing that they will start eating maize on 10-15 February. At 5.20 we all departed.

1335

2nd February

1340

When waked up in the morning went to fetch some water then near the bore hole I met with mother of Dorica going at [nearest tradingcenter] to sell tomatoes full bucket, she greeted me and said that ndilibe mwamuna to buy 1ky of maize in order to eat nsima but not ingredients for kanyenya, I will not manage.

1341

Then Rosemary was passing by with Emra, then Emra started saying that people were saying that I will not have enough food to eat this hunger season but am drinking tea every morning and nsima every lunch and every dinner (no -one answered). On the way back I met with Sofia and she started telling me that your friend Innocent wants to start a business of selling kanyenya she has gone to buy the ingredients. After few minutes we saw Innocent coming back and she said that I decided to buy 1ky of maize in order to eat nsima but not ingredients for kanyenya, I will not manage.

1342

At 9.10 I saw Evelin coming back from the maize mill with 5 kgs of maize. And Sofia was going to the maize mill with 8kgs of maize on the way back Sofia passed by and she started laughing and said that wamuona chibwenzi cha Venesi Comatu mwamunayo panopa akumwa ma ARV [J: Sofia says she knows him well, also told Gertrude that he is married] kaya mwina Venesi akufuna ndalama (have you seen the boyfriend of Venesi? but that man is taking ARVs, any way may be Venesi wants some money) (He passed by at 10.40) but Sofia continued that amachoka madzulo kubwelaera kwao. Venesi anayamba kubwela ali
ndi zaka 15 komanso Grace ali ndi ana atatu awiri ali kwa Bambo awo. Banja linatha chifukwa m’mene mwamuna ambawera kuchoka ku Zomba anamupeza Grace ali ndi mwamunan. (he goes back to his house in the evening, Venesi started bearing children when she was 15yrs, and Grace has 3 children, 2 of them are staying with their father, they divorced because when her HB come back from Zomba, he found that Grace with another man)

At 11.40 Livia passed by and she started telling Esnart: Njala ndadya nsima mam’mawa masana kulibe ufa. Amayi apita ku balaka kukagula chimanga (am feeling hungry, I ate nsima in the morning, I don’t have maize flour for lunch, my mother has gone to Balaka to buy maize,). Then Sofia came to beg masamba (vegetables) from our garden.

At lunch I cooked Pumpkin from our garden and I also gave the old woman (Eveles) 2 pumpkins and she was very happy. Then I saw Thokozani selling small sugarcanes and Grace was passing by the she started saying that Thokozani wayamba geni ya mzimbe anapita ku Liwawadzi (Thokozani has started selling sugar cane she bought at Liwawadzi).

At 05.25 pm I saw boyfriend of Venesi going back to [small crossroads market] since 9.10am at 8.10pm g.son of GVH came to sleep.

3 February

Early in the morning at 1.45 we heard people screaming wakuba (a thief) when we listened it I indeed heard some footsteps at midnight and I didn’t switch off my torch. At 4.55am I went to ask what happened and she explained that. The thief entered in the house through a window and took a sewing machine but I slept in the bedroom while Ellesi slept at the sitting room where I left a sewing machine and a bicycle but at that window I left a bucket full of water and when he was going out abasket that I left on top of the roof felled down and we heard a noise that’s when we started screaming.

The Rosemary passed by saying my son in-law is at Ch. village he is not the one who came to steal people became angry because of that words and went to the chief to explain what she was saying because last night people met with him going out of the house of Emra then the chiefs told Rosemary that we didn’t know that Ndaba is a chief but you are the one who explained to us and if it is like that we will also chase you from this village.

At the same time I went to featch some water then at the borehole some women started complaining that HB of Chikondi has also started stealing some people met with him midnight at acertain in maize field with his friend and we need to ake care. The women continued that Ronan HB of Esnart said that he has money we can go and borrow but we will pay back the maize soon after harvesting a 500mk ½ bag 25kgs 1000/50kgs.

On the way back I saw Sofia weeding alone in the field and he of GVH was also weeding in cotton field. At 11.34 I saw Elube carried 25kg of maize and she started telling me that ndikuchokera kwa ADMARC ku Balaka ndinapita dzulo koma chimanga kulibe ndiye ndagula kea ma vendor 70kg komanso Livia ndi amayi ake ali komweko (I am coming back from Balaka ADMARC I went yesterday but there is no maize, then I just bought from vendors, 70kg, but Livia and her mother are still there).

After lunch Venesi, Evelin, Sofia came to chat then they started saying that Elube has already started eating the maize from her field then Venesi said that. Ine ndiyamba week yamawa (will start next week,). Evelin laughed and said that HB of Amila came to apologis but Amila refused to forgive him and he went back where he is staying. later on I saw Jasmine and Innocent coming back from Balaka and Venesi started saying that its good to buy maize from venders 75kg at [nearest tradingcenter] than going to Balaka because on the way you will need food and you will use the same money

Jasmine come back from Balaka empty handed and I heard the HB asking her that why didn’t you
came back the same day? but you spent anight at Balaka and today you have been there up to now 3.20 but coming back without maize and your friends went to buy at J. village others at [nearest tradingcenter] then she answered that sindizapitanso ( I will not go again) . Evelin continued that at K. village people have already started stealing maize on the field. At 4.30 they all departed at 5.20 g. son of GVH came to sleep.

4th February

In the morning when I waked up I saw Sofia going to the field then I went to fetch some water at the bolehole I met with Amila + HB going to the field. I greeted them then HB of Amila started saying that ndikupita kumunda ngakhale banja linatha koma tinadzala limodzi chimanga komanso tidzakoloka limodzi( I am going to work in the field although we divorced, but we planted the maize together, and we will harvest together)Then Amila started saying that I will started the business of selling sugarcane. I will go at Liwawadzi today with Emra and we will sell tomorrow at the grocery. On the way back I saw HB of GVH weeding in his field.

At 8:20 I went also to fetch some water because I was washing my blanket then at the borehole I met with Chisoni and she started saying that pa 11february tipitanso kukayezetsa magazi ndi (on 11th February, we will go for blood testing again, I will go with Lovely and Blessings. Lovely and Blessings. I asked her why she decided to fo for the second time and she answered mwina amuna anga sakuyenda bwino ku SA ndiye ndibwino ineyo ndidziwe ngati ndili ndi Aids kapena ayi. Iyenso akadzabwera ndidzamuwuza kuti akayezetse. ( maybe my HB in SA is not abainting, it is good for me to know if I am infected with AIDS or not and when he comes back I will tell him to go for blood testing,) Then I told her that when you will be going I will escort you. On the way back I was with Jasmine and she started saying that I don'tkhow why Innocent and Sofia are just querelling may be you Getrude you need to ask them because they are your friends [J: fighting bcoz son of Sofia told his mother that innocent has gone to buy some sugarcane at [nearest primary school] --> but only day, also tomatoes at grocery only one day.

At 10:30 I went to make nsinjiro (groundnut flour)to Phingi then I found Venesi chatting there then she told me that mundibweleke phone ndagula maunits (borrow me your phone I bought some air time)then I gave her. Then she started saying that ubwera nthawi yanji. (what time are you coming?) Then Venesi started explaining to Phingi that akuti sabwera akupita ku maliro agogo ake a mwalira. When Venesi left, Phingi started laughing and said that: mamuona Venesi! sakusangalala akuganiza za mwamuna wake kuti ali ku maliro (you see, Venesi is not happy she is thinking of her HB who has gone to attend the funeral)(we all laughed)

At 11:30 HB of Amila came and he started saying that ndibweletsa nkhungi mundipatse 50mk ndikugule ma battery a wailesi (I will bring some firewood so that you can give me 50mk to buy batteries for my radio) later on he came with the bundle of firewood as he promised and I gave 40mk and he started saying that ndikukhala kwathu [his home vlg] panopa ndikudikira akazi anga apita ku kaoda mizimbe ku Liwawadzi akabwera ine ndidzipita kwathu. ( I am staying at home, as of now I am waiting for my wife, she has gone to buy some sugarcane for sell, when she comes back I will be going back home)

Then Sofia, Ellesi, Pamela came to knit and Innocent passed by with out greeting any one else as usual then Pamela said that she is angry because we are still coming here to knit. The Jasmine came, then Ellesi told her that mumuwuze Innocent kuti ife sitikudandula ngakhale sanatipatse moni koma sitisya kubwera kuti kubwera (tell Innocent that we are not worried although she stopped greeting us , but we will not stop coming there,) at 3 I cooked 2 maize from our field because I saw 2 maize cob missing. When I moved around I found it at a cerain ridge in the same field then Ellesi said that they want to steal but they failed. Sofia begged nkhwani (pumpkin leaves) then I gave her they departed earlier because there was heavy wind but no rainfall. Then Thokozani went for the third time to buy sugarcane for sell. At 8.10 g.son of GVH came to sleep.

5th February.

In the morning when I waked u I saw HB of GVH weeding in his cotton field later on I went to fetch some water then I met with 2 women carried maize from their field inorder to cook when I reached home I found Trinity g.dotta of Jasmine at home and she told me that Innocent sent me to
give you this letter then I received if after reading Trinity said that you need to reply right now! then I said: that just tell her to come when she will have time. [Letter said that she will come to chat, had not been coming bcoz she was angry with Sofia, sorry...]

Then one of the Health survey passed by and he greeted me and said that I would like to give the women this chloride, so that they should be adding in drinking water to avoid cholera. But although I am doing this most of the women they don’t use, they just drink unsafe water it is difficult for them to understand how chloride is important. Then he continued that I sent Suset to tell the women to gather at one place and Suset told Innocent only, but Innocent didn’t tell anyone even her in-law Sofia. (people gathered and received) When they were coming back I called Innocent and she came then I started telling her that: It is not good to be angry with your in-law you need to call her and apologise for what you did (because Sofia complained to me that Innocent + her mother are just being angry with her but she don’t know why)

After few minutes I saw Sofia passing by (crying ) I asked her with GVH what was wrong but she just answered that you are the one who want me to be staying there, but everybody is angry with me. GVH went there to ask Jasmine what was wrong ( I don’t know what she answered but I just saw GVH coming back. Then she started telling me that HB of Sofia is very lazy since he got married to Sofia he has never worked in the field. As of now they divorced and a child is ill but no single tambala to help Sofia. That’s why I told Sofia to be staying there with the aim that they will be helping her with food. because Sofia gave birth to 5 children but 1 died and I have been helping Sofia since she was 5 years old and even her children this is not good (said GVH)

Then GVH continued by saying that I have started eating today my maize. GVH continued: Jasmine has got dimba but I don’t know why she is not planting rice like what others are doing even in her field the HB is the one who is working very hard.

At 02;30 I prepared my journey to go at the Grocery and [small crossroads market] (market day) Then I failed because Tinenenji, Esnart and Pamela came to knit as we were chatting Esnart started asking Tinenenji that: kodi amuna ako anabwera kudzakuwona ( did your HB came to see you) then she answered that ayi Esnart continued ndamva kuti ukumapita kwawo! ukumapita kukatani kwa mamuna woti wakwatira mkazi wina ( I heard that you started going to his house, what are you doing there, you already heard that he is married to wife) . Then she answered that ayi sindikupita koma anthu akumapita ( no, I stopped going there but people are just saying that i still go there) . [I heard you are still going to his place. What are you doing there? He already married another wife. J: HB already had child with other woman, maybe he went back to her, Gertrude suggests when I comment that he found a new wife quickly. G first thought that they may have divorced because they are not getting children. Tinenenji says she is not going to ex-HB anymore, but Gertrude doesn’t know whether this is true.] Then Esnart went to fetch some water, when coming back she told marry to follow her but I don’t know what they were discussing when she came back Pamela also said the same words that akumapita chifukwa banja litatha, anakwatira mkazi wina patatha i week ( I don’t go there because we divorced when we just married for 1 week) (it . (it was difficult for me to ask why they divorces but I will ask later. Then I saw Rashida coming balck from the maize mill 6-7kgs of Ufa. (maize flour)}
one day, then when coming back he bought rice and he cooked himself without telling the wife to cook for him as usual. Then Thokozani also cooked Nsima for herself. Then Hilda (his mother) gave him some pots, plates and ufa instead of telling her son that zimenezi sizabwino . (that is not good). That means she is happy with what is happening, that's why Thokozani started the BS of selling mzimbe. Then I saw Florence coming back from the borehole then Levison told Florence that: undipatse madziwo nkasambe (give me some water for a bath) while all the days he was washing his body using the water that was fetched by his wife. Then Florence gave him. Pamela continued that have you seen Getrude what is happening there? Florence has got a HB and if he can see what is happening there! Do you think that he can be happy? [J: first Florence refused, but then Levison just took the from her head. Thokozani was just there too. Pamela meant: If Florence’s HB would have seen that she gave her water to Levison he could have thought that they are in relationship] Then I said no: Levison came home yesterday and he started telling me that: ndapeza mkazi wokongola osati Thokozani ( I have found a beautiful woman not Thokozani) (said Pamela). She [Pamela] continued by saying that it is good not to get married now because during cotton season it is not difficult to start a BS because most of the people used to buy. She continued that after harvesting I will no sell my maize like what so many people used to do! Because I would like to go and take my children at Zomba, I will manage to take care of them because I will have enough food to feed them. At 6:20pm she [Pamela] said that: ndikupita ndikaphike nsima chifukwa asi kulibe (Venesi) apita kumaliro kupitilira kwa [small crossroads market] (I am going to cook some nsima because my mother is not at home, (Venesi) she has gone to attend the funeral beyond [small crossroads market]) (I just guessed that she has followed her boy friend because I heard on the telephone that: sindibwera ndikupita kumaliro) (I will not come because I am going to attend the funeral).

At 7pm Sofia came and she started explaining to me what made her to start crying she took a bottle in order to receive chloride, then her child was just crying then she gave the bottle to a certain girl in order to go and receive chloride for her. When the girl was coming back instead of going to give Sofia the bottle, she gave it to Innocent. Then she told Sofia that I gave your chloride to Innocent while Jasmine was there! Then Sofia answered that: Innocent stopped talking to me, then you have done wrong by giving her my chloride. Then Jasmine became angry because of that words then she started saying that, ngati siukufuna kakhala kuno upite ukakhale komwe ukufuna, ndiwe wa mwano, ndimwawoza mwamuna wako, ukumakangana ndi Innocent chifukwa chiyani (if you don’t want to stay here then choose where you want to stay, you are rude, I will tell your HB, why are you just quarrelling with Innocent?) (that’s why I started crying, said Sofia). Then I went to tell the chief in order to go and tell Jasmine to tell her son to build a house for me, and it will be the end of the marriage, because he is not giving me enough money to feed the children. After that she left.

6th February

In the morning when I waked up I heard wife of Mr Ntawanga telling her friend that pa 18th February anthu ayamba kudya ufa wachimanga cha m’manda (on 18th February people will start eating maize flour from there field). Then dotta in-law of GVH from K. village came, and she asked me to teach her how to write a message using a telephone she wanted to send a text to her HB who is in SA. Then I taught her and she was very happy because she managed.
At 10 I went to greet Phingi but I found her coming back from the field with Livia and they carried mseula and maize as we were chatting she started complaining that thieves passed by at night with a big dog but he just runned away because he didn’t find anything in the kitchen. Livia answered that even last year the HB of Nyamwale went steal maize in a certain field and the wife started telling her HB that bwanji simunathawe kuti asakugwireni? ( why did you not run away so that they could not catch you?) But instead of taking him to police they just gave a punishment of making ridges in the field of Kima, then the woman who complained that she just have 7 plates started saying that my mother has gone to charge her telephone at [nearest tradingcenter] (but I failed to ask where she got it) Phingi continued that masana sitidya chimanga kulibe ufa Livia apita kwa [nearest tradingcenter] kukagula chimanga 4kgs. ( we will not eat nsima at lunch, no maize flour, Livia will go at [nearby tradingcenter] to buy 4kgs of maize)

At 12:30 I started my journey to [nearest tradingcenter] just to check who was selling then I found the same woman who I interviewed. Emily M still be selling maize and the same woman selling beans, nandolo ( pigeon peas), g/nuts, mseula inside the market. But the woman who was selling mandasi and masamba ( vegetables) were not there. 2 girls selling tomatoes and 1 woman was selling (nkhaka) (curcumber) I greeted her and asked who is the owner of the business and she answered that its mine but I just took from my field inorder to find money for soap, I bought 2 for 20mk. Then I saw a new face selling in a restaurant I waited for almost 30 mins inorder to talk to her but she was busy with customers (4) they wanted nsima. And Kondwani T was still selling in a restaurant, in total they were 5 women. Only few people were at the market selling and few people buying. One young girl was selling zigumu ( maize flour cakes)near new restaurant and she said that it was for her mother, she went back home to cook nsima. On the way back at the grocery I found 1 woman Grace whom I interviewed selling eggplants, instead of usipa. And 1 young girl selling tomato.

When I reached home I found Sofia, Tinenenji waiting for me. As we were chating Livia and Venesi joined us. Then Venesi called me separately she said that ndagula airtime 50 cents ndikufuna ndiyimbe nawo phone ( I bought air time 50cents, I want to make a call) then I gave her. Then on the call they were discussing that Venesi: mwana akudwala mawa ndipita naye ku chipatala kwa [clinic] village. Komanso ndalama zomwe umafuna kubwereka ndapeza 2000mk wina wake ( my child is sick then I will go at the hospital tomorrow and I found the 2000MK that you wanted to borrow). Then he answered that ndibwera mawa (I will come tomorrow) then she left. Tinenenji started laughing and said that: Venesi wants to get married now! But after cotton season they will divorce that is what most of the men used to do [knowing that she will soon have a lot of money from cotton, he may just want to eat all that money and then leave).

Sofia was happy because she managed to make some shoes and Tinenenji learned how to make decorations.

All the women left because there was heavy wind and Innocent joined me. Then she started saying that Elube and my mother [=Jasmine] have gone to Balaka AdmArc to buy maize. They will be back tomorrow. Then I had a chance of asking her [Innocent] how it is going on with the one who wants to marry her.(via friend of Jasmine). Then she answered that
7 February

In the morning when I woke up, I saw HB of GVH weeding in cotton field with his g.son. Later on I went to fetch some water at the borehole, then I found Esnart washing 5 blankets and she was telling her friend that: kunyumba ndasiya mablanket 3, ndichapa mawa. (I have left 3 blankets at home and I will wash tomorrow). Still at the borehole I met with Naima, only then she was discussing with her friend (friend said that she wants to marry again now that her HB left her and she is failing to take care of her children alone) that if I will divorce with my HB I will not accept to get married to another man because it will be a big problem for the new HB to take care of my children (they all laughed). The other woman answered that: in our village there is a certain woman who gave birth in 2007 Dec and another child 2008 Dec when her HB advised her to go to the hospital to take some pills she refused and now the HB has gone to marry another wife. Esnart answered that the main problem is that a lot of women think that most of the HB likes sex, that’s why most of the men used to have 2-3 wives then they think of giving birth often (we all laughed at the borehole).

At 9:40 Suset passed by, she was coming back from the maize mill, she greeted me and said that: I would like to buy some shoes for my dotta then I charged her 40mk. Then she continued that: I went to the maize mill I just bought 5 kgs at J. village 75/kg. then Sofia joined us then Suset said that I will not give birth to another child because I will not manage to take care of them, my HB used to come just to eat nsima and going back but not buying food or soap for me.

When Suset left Sofia started saying that the man who wanted to get married to Innocent went to explain the issue at J. village to the elder brother of Innocent but the brother of Innocent refused because the man likes women. And Innocent also accepted not to get married to that man. Sofia continued that Mr Chikombo came this morning to apply chemicals in his cotton field then he asked Livia to help him and as of now they are together in the cotton field (Sofia laughed). Komatu kunja kuno (here in the world) kuli matenda koma Livia ali ndi zibwenzi zambiri. Sakuwopa (we have diseases in this world, but Livia has a lot of boyfriends, she is not afraid), when we went to [nearest trading center] she was with boyfriend, when we went to [small crossroads market] was with another, she is not afraid... Her child started crying then she said that: ndapita ndikaphike nsima mwana akulira ndi njala (I am going to cook some nsima, my child is crying with hunger). Then she left. Later on I saw Ada
and GVH passing by with mseula.

At 12:30 GVH came to greet me then she started saying that am very busy planting rice because last year I harvested almost 10 bags and this year I wish it will be more than that. After lunch I saw new HB of Venesi passing by [J: Gertrude call him HB now!] then at 2 Sofia, Livia and Innocent joined me knitting. Sofia started saying that Lovely was saying that when her HB went to SA she went to a traditional doctor to take some medicine so that he could not propose another wife there. When he came back here, he went to somewhere else to meet with his girlfriend but when he came back home at night he started saying that: ndagona ndi mkazi wina koma sindidzachitanso undikhululukire (I have slept with another woman, but forgive me, I will not do it again) (because of the Traditional medicine that she used). Livia said that I think I will go and meet with that Traditional doctor to take some medicine (we all laughed). The g.dotta of Jasmine came then she started telling that: we have failed to buy maize at Admarc, only vendors were buying. The one who was selling maize told everybody who wanted to buy that: we don’t have maize here, but later on we saw a car coming at night with 3 men and they bought a lot of maize, and in the morning we went to buy to vendors at 75mk/kg (10kgs) and Innocent answered that I gave my mother 500mk to buy maize and my father also contributed 1000mk. G.dotta continued telling Sofia that you don’t want to tell your HB that you don’t have enough food and your HB said that he don’t have money, then he borrowed 500mk to Jasmine and we have bought 6kgs for you. But your HB said that he will send 500mk for you to buy food but after that he will not be sending anything because you will be eating what you have planted in your field. Sofia was angry and answered that he didn’t help me working in the field and I have got 4 children for him then where am I going to get money for soap? Sofia cried. Later on I saw chief Mudzi B passing by with full basin of maize from her field. Then Tinenenji joined us and she started saying that 5 women have gathered at the old woman’s kitchen, they are cooking maize to eat, they want to eat together because it is their first day to eat what they planted and they are very happy (my aim was to go and see but I failed, because to leave the women knitting without me. Then a certain woman came from Nd. village to buy shoes and chipewa (hut) I charged her 120mk. All the women departed at 6:10pm.

8 February 2009

In the morning when I waked up I saw Sofia going to the field then when she was coming back, she came to greet me, and and I asked her if HB of Esnart has gone to SA then she answered that he has gone to Zomba to another wife, he just cheated Esnart that I am going to sell these blankets, bed, and video set so that I can find money for transport going back to Zomba. Sofia continued that as of now they have divorced because Esnart is still not respecting the HB, she used to say that I am tired all the time, after telling her to clean at the bedroom. And he said that he will just send some money for her to build her house in her village, because of the way she is behaving it seems that she don’t want marriage.

Then later on I saw a certain man passing by and asked Sofia about the wife of that man because I saw him one day planting cotton with Malita. Then Sofia answered that he is
the new HB of Malita and he is working somewhere else at [small crossroads market] at night as a security guard. At 9:30 I went to fetch some water at the borehole then I saw a dotta of chief Mudzi B carried 2kgs of ufa and Ada said that: ndatopa ndikuchokera kumunda, ndikupalira thonje, ndimaliza after 2 days. (I am tired, I am coming back from the field, I am weeding cotton, I will finish after 2 days). Then Innocent came to chat, and I asked her why Tinenenji divorced and she answered that one night her HB told her that I am going somewhere else to take some money! But I will not be back today because it is very far, I will be back tomorrow morning. (not knowing that he was cheating her) Later on midnight her HB came back and knocked at the door then he found Tinenenji with HB of Fatima at the bedroom and HB of Tinenenji said that zikomo kwambiri, banja latha. (thanks a lot, our marriage is over).

Innocent continued as of now Tineneji stoped talking to me because she heard that I was in relationship with HB of Fatima. As of now Fatima sent a message that she will never come back because her HB is also in relationship with Dorica, and mother of Dorica is not happy because she is thinking that may be Dorica will be pregnant and stop school.

Phingi came also to greet me and she started saying that mother of Jane is not happy because her dotta went to get married very far in town. Instead of getting married to a man who stays in a village so that they can be helping one another working in the field. Later on I saw Levison passing with a pumpkin then wife of chief Mudzi A also passed by with more than 15 maize from her field. Then wife of chief Mudzi A came to greet me, then she started saying that ndikuchokera kuganyu! Ndimaliza lero, ndimalima mizere ya mbatata kwina kwake 1500Mk(I am coming back from casual labour, I will finish today, I was making some ridges for sweet potatoes somewhere, for 1500Mk). Then she continued her journey to borehole. At 11:05 I saw Chisoni passing by with maize more than 10 from her field and she greeted me and said that ndasangalala chifukwa ndayamba kudya chimanga cha kumunda kwanga. (I am happy becoz I have started eating maize from my field.).

Innocent started saying that I have got malaria then I am going back home then I told her that why cant you go and test your blood at [clinic] village hospital, then she started saying that I went for blood testing before I gave birth to child! But when I got married to the second HB the owner of the child, up to now! I didn’t go for blood testing. Ndirukhita mantha chifukwa kuti akandipeze ndi kachilombo nditha kumwa poison. (I am afraid because if I they will find me with the virus, I will take poison) Then I told her that if you will found positive that means you will be going to the hospital for ARVs. Then she answered that sindingakwanitse kupita ndekha! (I cannot manage to go alone) Then I told her that that no problem I will escort you. Then at 11:20 she said that ndikupita kukaphika nsima (I am going to cook some maize) but at home a friend of my mother came to make zigumu and she came with 5 children and including 5 of our family! That means I will cook nsima for 10 people like in the morning I also cooked porridge for 10 people. Then Sofia passed by with matemba (dry fish) in her hands and she said that bought for 20Mk only because I am very tired eating masamba (vegetables) everyday. Lovely passed by with 10 maize from her field then she gave me 2 maize. Then Sofia came and she gave me 3 egg plants.

9 February

In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water then I saw Auleria going to sell
some tomatoes full pail at [nearest tradingcenter], she said that ndayamba kugulitsa za ku munda kwanga (I have started selling from my field). Then I saw Fissa going to sell, sugarcane at the grocery. Then Hamra was telling Florence that: ndikupita kwa [small crossroads market] kukagula mankhwala a thonje (I am going at [small crossroads market] to buy pesticides for cotton) K350 per bottle.

10 febr. - 6 march: see P3 Fieldnotes Janneke

7 March 2009

At 9:30 I went to Evelin to check what she was writing then I found her eating maungu (pumpkins). After greeting me I asked her to show me what she was writing then I just reminded her what we already explained. Then on the way back home Molly gave me green maize 2. Then I found Grace cooking nandolo (pigeon peas) I stopped and greeted her (she was knitting). Then I asked her about the old woman who is staying in the house of Auleria + her mother. Then she said that she is related to mother of Auleria, as of now she is staying there because her marriage ended. Grace continued that she is the same as Rosemary she likes sex then the HB used to run away. As of now she is very old but soon after divorcing she used to go and marry another HB. After that Grace started saying that soon after harvesting I will start buying maize then I asked her where she will found the money and she said that: panopa sindikudziwa koma kuti ndipeza. (as of now I don’t know where I will find it) After that I went back home.

At lunch Ellesi came to greet me then I asked her about Dorica then she said that: I saw the boy going to her mother they were meeting there, but as of now he stopped going there and I don’t know whether Dorica agreed about marriage or not. Then I saw Sofia crying when I asked her she said that ndikudwala malungo, komanso mwana wanga malungo. (I am suffering from malaria, and my child is also suffering from malaria). Then a lot of women from Mudzi B went to watch a netball and football match at [nearest primary school].

At 3:15 a certain woman, Wisikesi (dotta-in-law of GVH) came and asked me to braid her hair, then Kondwani, Evelin, Tumanene, Esnart joined me, and they started saying that: Joyce Banda came for campaign and a lot of people went there but the only problem was that most of the boys were fighting.

And Kondwani said that: do you remember Evelin that you were very fat with long hair when you were staying with the HB? Then Evelin answered that zimachitika (it happens): then Evelin said that ndikupita ku grocery ndagula nsalu ndikufuna ndikasokete uniform ya mwana (I am going to the grocery, I bought a piece of cloth, then I want to make a school uniform for my child.). Then Kondwani said that mukandigulire matemba a (buy some dry fish for me for) 30mk.

Then Evelin told Wisikesi that “I want to flash someone else.” Then when she flashed, a certain man called her, then Evelin answered that ndikudwala, chifuwa (I am suffering from coughing) and he said that ndilibe, ma units (no air time). Then the women started laughing and shooked hands. At 4:20 Evelin, Tumanene and dotta of Mudzi B left. Then Kondwani said that ndikupita kukamuona (I am going to see her) Sofia
akudwala. Then I was knitting with Esnart. And I asked her that zikuyenda ndi amuna anu? (how are you doing with your HB?) And she answered that zikuyenda panopa akuti atumiza ndalama kuti ndigule chimanga chambiri anuntu akamakolola (everything is fine, he said that he will send some money so that I should buy some a lot of maize soon after harvesting) and I asked her about the fighting and she said that: tinakambirana (problems are over now) zinatha (we discussed, problems are over now). Then her child started crying saying that tiyeni kunyumba (let’s go home) then she left.

8 March

When I waked up in the morning I started washing my clothes. Then Livia came to greet me and she said that: ndikupita kumunda kwanga kukatenga chimanga, ufa watha. (I am going to my field to take some maize because my maize flour got finished). After washing cloths I went to fetch some water from there I went to wash my body. At 7:40 I had my breakfast g/nuts tea. At 11:10 I went to greet Sofia because she was still not getting better then I found GVH, chief Mudzi B, Chisoni, chief Mudzi A chatting with Sofia and chief Mudzi B was complaining because Innocent being her in-law didn’t go to fetch some water for Sofia to wash her body or sweeping in her house, even making porridge. Then GVH sent her g.daughter to fetch some water for Sofia and dotta of chief Mudzi B started making porridge for Sofia. Chief Mudzi A, GVH were complaining that they are not getting better.

After lunch Esnart came to knit and HB of Elube passed by and Esnart said that bola amuna awo akugwira ntchito (at least her HB is working) and I asked how much money does he receive and she said 5000mk. Then Livia was going to fetch some water and Esnart said that Livia came with a cellphone on Wednesday for me to charge for her and she said that her ex-HB at [nearest tradingcenter] gave her and I asked her about her boyfriend at K. (but he is married) and she answered that zikuyenda. (how is it going). Esnart continued that Livia ndi hule amalola mwamuna aliyense, mwamuna woyamba (Livia is a prostitute, she just accepts any man, the first HB is) father of Joy they divorced because he wanted to kill the child then she married a second HB at Balaka but she just stayed for few months but divorced because when the HB gave her some money to buy maize, relish, cooking oil, lotion and salt, she was just buying oil at K10, salt 10MK and matemba (dry fish) but instead of buying maize she was just moving around to neighbours begging ufa sometime borrowing ufa not buying but the money for maize she was just buying biscuits, mandasi and the HB was angry and divorced, after that she married a boy from [nearest tradingcenter] and divorced as of now she is in relationship with a man from K. but married. In std 5 (Livia) but she already started zibwenzi (boyfriends) at that time. But I started relationship with Ronan when I was in std 6, when I was going to school I found him on the road waiting for me, and she started proposing me. That time he was staying in Zomba but he came to see his parents. When I went back to Zomba to continue school, he was writing letters and sending pictures to me. Later on he sent zitenje 2 and I was happy. After few months I stopped school and got married. As of now he [HB] told me [Esnart] that he will build a house at home next year, he want to buy a lot of maize to put cement on the floor buying doors for the bedrooms.

Then Konwani and Rosa joined us, then we saw a certain man passing by on the bike and
Kondwani said that: that one is the HB of Jane he is looking for her because since the day of the funeral she didn’t go back to Balaka but she is staying somewhere else at [clinic] village. I think this man loved Jane that’s why he is trying to find out where she is, said Esnart.

Later on, I asked Rosa about her cotton field then she answered that ndimalima ndekha (I work alone in the field) no-one else helped me but I don’t know how much money am going to have but I will not pay school fees because my sister who is staying at Ntcheu is the one who is paying for me. but I will see what to use that money after selling, but as of now I don’t know.

Kondwani, Rosa departed and Vanessa joined. Then I asked them about Tinenenji and HB of Fatima, then they said that mwina akufuna akwatirane chifukwa anthu amati Tinenenji ali ndi mimba ya mwamuna wa Fatima. (maybe they want to marry each other, because people are saying that Tinenenji is pregnant from the HB of Fatima) They all left at 5:45pm.

March 16, Monday

Elube passed by with a new chitini (a bucket) to borehole.

March 18 Wednesday

When coming back from Balaka, Jeneti came to take her pictures, she came with Sofia & Elube. Then Jeneti started telling me that: ndikuchokera ku maliro (I am coming back from the funeral) & Elube continued when the dead body was coming I saw the owner of the child, she carried a bag for her cloths, combed her hair nicely and her fingers were painted with red colour, she came with Charity, even Charity painted her fingers, they are friends. But the problem is that she was not going to church, therefore she went to the sheik of the mosque in Mudzi B (to find people to pray for the deceased) as if she was a muslim but he refused she also went to C.C.A.P and African continent but they all said that: “we don’t know you”. Then Elube and Jeneti left. And Sofia continued that: its good to be working hard in the field than moving around. Then I asked her if Jeneti is pregnant but Sofia answered that no but she is taking ARVs that’s why she seem to be pregnant. After these words she left.

March 19 Thursday

Early in the morning there was rainfall but some men were working at the graveyard and women were busy cooking. Then around 9am I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I met with Sofia. And on the way back she started telling me that her HB sent beans and cloths for her children (through Innocent) but he told Innocent to tell Sofia that don’t worry he is still remembering you, but Sofia continued that: I received what he sent because I have his children and I cannot manage to take care of them without support from anyone.
Later on Livia came and she started telling me that: last Saturday my boyfriend didn’t come to meet with parents as he promised but he just told me that he didn’t come because he is still getting prepared for marriage, he wants to buy plates and pots. Then I joined Elube when she was going to the funeral, when we reached there I met with Malita and I gave her 1000mk and she said thanks a lot for the help. A lot of women were very busy chatting saying that: the owner of the child was just moving around with different men that’s why her child died. But there was no prayers even a song because she was not going to church said some women. Then the rain started and we went back home because there was no enough place for everybody. When I was at home around 11:30 I just saw few men with the dead body going to the graveyard.

At 1:50 Sofia, Kondwani, Ellesi, Ada came to knit. Kondwani started saying that Esnart is not getting better because of the fighting and she is failing even to go and fetch some water. Then Ada said that: am going back home to make porridge for my dotta.

And Ellesi started laughing and said that Ada you are now busy taking care of your child, does it mean that you didn’t know that if you sleep with a boy without condoms you can get pregnant? Then Kondwani answered that: Ellesi you need to respect Ada because you are not of the same age. Later on Jane came and she started saying that: the one who lost her child was fighting with her ex-HB + a new of her HB at the funeral. They started fighting because a new wife of her HB was saying that: Darling tiyeni kunyumba kunyumba (lets go home darling) after the burial, kodi mukudikira chiyani? (what are you waiting for?) When the owner of the child heard these words she was angry and told her 2 sisters and they started beating her ex-HB + a new wife said Jane.

Jane continued that my g.mother asked that are you going to have a child or not because I have started menstruating but when I got married I misses my periods and its 2 months now, all the women laughed. At 3:40 Livia came and she called me separately and she started saying that I have missed my periods for 2 and half months but I don’t know what is wrong. Then I told her that: if you slept with your boyfriend without any protection that means you are pregnant and Livia said that a-a-a- I didn’t but at the hospital when I went for injection they told me to go back after 3 months but I didn’t. Then Livia left with a sad face. Then Sofia said that aunt Gertrude ndapita tiyeni mundiperekeze (I am going, can you escort me), then I escorted her while Ellesi, Kondwani, Lovely, Grace were still knitting, then Sofia told me that Livia seem to be pregnant because she told me that she has missed her periods for 2 months and she told me that she doesn’t know what to do (we just laughed) and Sofia said to me that ticheza mawa (we will chart tomorrow) then she left. Then I asked Grace about what people used to cook when there is a funeral (where they get food). Then Grace answered that since we harvested from our fields we contributed maize and nandolo (pigeon peas), , that’s what we are still using right now. Then Tumanene said that: am going back home because my 2 dottas are ill (malaria). Then Kondwani started saying that: am going to beg some ndiwo (relish)(beans that Sofia had received from HB. Sofia gave full cup of cooked beans for free).
Then Kondwani started saying that when Tumanene’s HB went to SA Elessi was going to sleep in the house of Tumanene she was told by her uncle. Then Ellesi answered that we started fighting one day then I stopped sleeping there. I asked Ellesi what made them to fight and she answered that ndayiwala. Then after few minutes Tumanene came back and she wanted me to braid her hair with thread then I told her that go to Evelin to beg thread because she is the one who have that colour. Then Tumanene answered that: Evelin can not give me that thread because she don’t like chatting with friends and Kondwani answered that yes its true she can not give you.

Then Kondwani started saying that only 12 days now to do the last ceremony of the HB of Mudzi B. Sofia came back and she started laughing by telling Tumanene that: please you need to tell your HB in SA to be buying nice cloths for you because he sent some cloths as if they don’t sell nice cloths in SA if not! He must sent some money for you to buy what you want! Because everybody at the borehole was laughing at you. And Tumanene was angry and didn’t answer anything.

20 March Friday

In the morning I went to give some pictures to Chisoni. And I found Jeneti and Fissa chatting then they told me that Chisoni has gone to fetch some water, then I waited for her. And Fissa asked me that where is Janneke then I told her that she is in Lilongwe, how many children does she have then I said she don’t have any. Then Jeneti said how old is she then I said 30. And she continued that, the one who is 30yrs in this village has got 4 children because they didn’t even go to school. Its good for my dotta to continue school and get married later.

Then Chisoni came and I gave her the picture and I saw Amila giving thobwa (gruel) to Fissa, Blessings, Chisoni and me. She told me that she made that thobwa with the maize from her field inorder to help the ceremony after 3 days (death of mother of Auleria). Chisoni said that; I am still suffering from malaria. Then I went back home, on the way I met with Kingsley and he told me that: ndagula (I bought) phone K1.500, I sold my goat yesterday.

Then I saw Sofia going to the hospital with her son. At lunch I saw Evelin coming, she showed me what she was writing and I told her that it is good you can continue and I just reminded her to write what she received from Janneke. Around 2:30pm Sofia + Ada came to knit then Sofia started saying that: on the way to the hospital she met with a certain man and he proposed her by saying that ndikukufunani banja, (I want to marry you), and Sofia said sindikufuna (I don’t want). The man continued that: I have got money I can manage to go with your child at Andiamo hospital and he showed the money to Sofia. Sofia continued that: mwinila ali ndi matenda (may be she has a disease) that’s why he showed me the money. Although I don’t have any money but I refused (most men don’t show money at that time, only after accepting relationship).
Then Ada started saying that Levison is just coming home to beg maize for nsima to my mother and my mother is just giving him. But his wife Thokozani is the one who encouraged her HB to grow cotton not maize, as of now they don’t have ufa (maize flour). Ada continued that my ex-HB sent a certain girl to beg some tomatoes but I didn’t give her and I told her to tell him that I worked alone in the field. After that the rain started and Sofia said ndapita ndikukaphika phala la mwana (I am going to make some porridge for my child) and Ada said I am going to play netball. I stayed alone up to dark hours.

21 March Saturday

In the morning there was rainfall from 6:30 then I saw GVH with her 4 grandchildren going to harvest. But they came back after 10 minutes because of heavy rain. Only Tumanene came to show me what she has been knitting but she went back quickly because of the rain. After lunch I was knitting alone no-one else joined me. the rain continued up to 7:30pm. I listened from the radio and they explained that there is a certain wind from South Africa that will bring rain part of Malawi.

22 March Sunday

In the morning when I waked up I saw GVH + 4 grandchildren going to the field and they told me that tikupita kukakolola chimanga (we are going to harvest some maize). Later on I saw mother of chief Mudzi B harvesting maize alone in her field.

At 10 I went to interview Vanessa then on the way I met with chief Mudzi B + her 3 children we greeted each other and she told me that ndikukakolola (I am going to harvest) hybrid maize after that I will start harvesting local maize.

1. Vanessa (Mudzi B)

2. born in 1987 - in Nsanje hospital

3. Blantyre (Lirangwe) 2007 in this village following HB. I followed him because he is from this village - parents told me to follow (lowoka = custom called - wife follows HB after marriage) like what other tribes do following HB. My parents discussed with the parents of my HB that after staying here for some yrs I will go back with him to stay in my village (so from Blantyre moved to Mudzi B why not stayed there? He has field here) and we will not come back here. I asked her when will this happen. Then Vanessa answered that I don’t know.
4. Ngoni - Islam, but at first I was going to C.C.A.P church but now I followed mu HB.

5. Tinakumana ku mpira,(we met at foot ball match), it was not the first time to go there to watch football and netball match. He was staying in Blantyre to his mother (elder sister of chief Mudzi B) he proposed me by saying that: ndikukufunani chibwenzi (I want you to be my girl friend) and we stayed almost a month before I accepted, I wanted him to know my parents first to show that he was serious. But at this time he was giving me sopo (soap) - money - lotion but I was not begging. After 5 weeks he went to my parents to explain that we wanted to marry me. Then after nywere relatives and his relatives met where I was staying and discussed about marriage and everybody was happy. We married 2004 at that time I went to stay with him where he was staying. He is a good HB because he provides what I want like buying ndiwo, soap, cloths, lotion.

6. Mudzi B - Yao - Islamic

7. first marriage

8. 2 children 2005 - 2008 all alive. 4 people staying in the family HB + wife + 2 children.

9. Left school std 7 chifukwa cha ulesi (because of laziness).

10. Through ganyu (casual labour) - HB geni selling masamba (vegetables) wife = geni (business) selling potatoes - mzimbe (sugar cane) with the money we buy sopo, salt, lotion, paraffin now HB is working at Liwonde catching fish to men who have boats. I used to do business when I have got money. After doing ganyu, that's when I start BS. We all decided, we discuss together how to use the money that we have. Now I stopped bcoz I don't have money. We also grow cotton for sale since last year.

11. 1 acre HB, given by chief Mudzi B = his young mother. I don't have field. Timalima tonse.

12. Ndimalima cotton, nandolo, tomatoes, mtedza, maize, pumpkin. Last yr harvested 6 bags maize, nandolo 2 basins, didn't grow cotton. 1 basin nandolo sold at 550 mk to vendors (month forgotten).


making bricks.

15. No problem.

16. Finished Nov.

17. 2 blankets, mat, 1 bicycle (received from his uncle in SA, 1 radio (HB decided after ganyu), 1 phone through geni selling masamba, no livestock, no uniform (child still young). House: grassroof.

18. Mitengo, kulima mumsewu. There is a benefit becoz I planted in my field for fertility & firewood.

19. Ndalama...

20. Malungo, chifuwa after a month.

Met with Innocent who said that: my mother is still harvesting with HB, but I will start on Thursday. After lunch went to fetch water, met with Sofia & we saw Dorica passing by, the Sofia told me: Have you heard that HB of Esnart is now proposing Dorica? I said I didn't know. Sofia continued that: I heard this from Lovely, who heard this story from her HB, but Dorica is refusing.

Later on I went to Suset to check HH boekje, found 2 men + 1 woman drinking beer. Her mother started saying: Have you seen these men? One of them came to drink beer and he don't have money to buy and he decided to leave this trousers, a shirt & a jacket (she showed me). When he will have money he will come and take this.

After checking what Suset is writing her mother [Kima] started telling me that I have got a knitting machine, I was using this when I was married, it was my business, my HB had a car but we were able to buy fuel the whole month with the money that I was making through knitting (she showed me the knitting machine) I was learning how to knit in Blantyre and I was taking position 1 everyday. As of now I am failing to knit because I cannot see properly am old. Am just keeping this knitting machine so that Suset can use in future but she seem not to be interested in knitting. And am happy with you Getrude, after repairing this I will tell you to come and learn how to knit using a machine and later on you can just buy it and continue your business. And I said no problem I can come to learn. On the way back I saw HB of Naima making new nkhokwe (maize storage) - and Alida was harvesting, still on the way back I met with Aisha carried a plate of nsima and she told me that I want to give this to my HB we have started harvesting and I went back to
At home Evelin came with her dotta to braid hair. Then she said that all the women are busy watching football match that’s why they are not coming to knit then I said no problem. Later on I saw Suset coming back to fetch some water then she called me and she started saying that: my young mother came and she said that she heard from Chikondi that you employed her and you bought some 2 baby blankets for her. Then she said that go to Getrude to ask for a job when I told my young mother that: I cannot manage, but I knew that it is the same job that I am doing. But just wanted to let you know because you said it must be secret. Then I said no problem just listen to what they will be saying but don’t pay attention.

Then after few minutes Sofia said ndapita ndikukaphika (I am going to cook. Then I stated aline knitting up to dark hours. And GVH came to give me thelere (okra), and Evelin sent green maize 4.

23 March Monday

In the morning when I waked up, I started sweeping then I washed plates. After that I saw a lot of women and men from Mudzi B + Mudzi A weeding at the graveyard. Later on I saw some women eg Lovely, Alida, Chenawe, Chisoni, Amila, Jasmine, Phingi carried some nsima and ndiwo (relish) going to the graveyard. At 10 they all finished working and started eating nsima. When coming back Lovely came to greet me and she started saying that every woman from Mudzi B and Mudzi A cooked nsima + ndiwo, nyemba (beans), chicken, masamba (vegetables), maungu (pumpkins) and some thobwa (gruel) and we gathered all the food and shared ½ to men and ½ to women.

People have now started harvesting you will see a lot of ceremonies, my 2 children will go for initiation ceremony. Kondwani + chief Mudzi B’s children will go for initiation, Sofia will go. After that she left, then around 10:30 I went to see what Grace was knitting then Evelin called me and she said that I should check what she is writing if it was still good or not and I told her that everything is ok.

Then I greeted Pamela and she said that mwana akudwala malungo (my child is suffering from malaria). I found her drying maize, then I went to Molly to buy tomatoes and she started saying that; I have now started selling at Ulongwe, my HB is the one who sells there he goes by bike. And still some women from this village and other villages came to buy. From there I went to Grace then I found her drying maize. As we were chatting she started saying that my HB has started calling me. yesterday I talked with him through the cellphone of Molly and he told me that I should go and start staying there at Mangochi where he is doing the business. But I refused because the other wife is staying there at Mangochi. And when he was staying here, he was not giving me enough money to buy soap, ndiwo (relish), lotion and clothes.
And it's good for me to be staying with my child. I asked her if she will get married again, and she said that yes I will, but not now, indeed to make a right choice not Yao because they like having several wives. And she [Grace] continued by saying that I didn't work hard in the field because I knew that I will not apply fertilizer because of what my g'mother did.

After that a certain man came selling fish then Grace took hundred kwacha and bought for 40mk her grandmother told her that please buy for me and Grace bought for 20mk for her. Then she started complaining that: she don't know where I got the money but she is asking me to buy for her. I asked her where she found the money and she answered that kwina kwake (some where else). Then she continued that it's good for me to continue business either making zigumu (maize flour cakes) or selling mandasi. On the way back home I saw Ada + her mother and HB eating maungu. (pumpkins).

After lunch Kondwani and Kingsley came to play bawo and they started saying that most of women want to play netball today, they will not come to knit then I said no problem. Then Kingsley started saying that yesterday Jane borrowed my cellphone she was talking to her boyfriend then Kondwani answered that: have you seen now! Because of that phone since morning we don't know where she is up to now, 3:00 then Kingsley answered that I will not give her again my cellphone. Kondwani continued why can't she just go back to her HB not just moving around.

Later on Amila told me to go and fetch some firewood. Her HB told her that he wanted some money for batteries. On the way we met with dottas of Rosemary and they said that we have started harvesting and we will finish on Thursday. Still on the way Amila said that I want to go and sell this firewood at [nearest tradingcenter] because my HB said he wants money to buy batteries then I asked her who is the owner of these trees and she said that it's mine my parents who died gave these trees to me, and she continued that I will start harvesting on Thursday because I heard that thieves have already started stealing and I want my son and dotta to go for initiation ceremony. She continued that soon after divorcing we will now share the harvest but my HB said that he will not go back where he is coming from he want to continue marriage with me, but I don't want because I worked hard alone in the field.

Then we saw her HB coming where we were fetching the firewood and he told me that please just take these firewood and give me 50mk for batteries then I said ok. And Amila said that although he wants to buy batteries we don't have salt, lotion, soap, and paraffin at home. At home I gave Amila 70mk and I saw her giving HB 50mk. After few minutes Kondwani, Lovely, Tumanene, came to knit + Ada, and they started laughing saying that we ate nsima around 10am at the graveyard and Lovely said that we want to play bawo not knitting because it's already 4:25pm, and I gave them bawo. Lovely continued that I have decided to tell you Getrude that please you need to teach me how to write because I don't know, I will continue going to adult school but it is difficult for me to understand
clearly and failing even to ask questions because most of the women used to laugh and chatting. I asked her why she didn’t even finish her primary school and she answered that at that time I was staying with my grandmother and I was just fetching some water for her and when I started std 1 it was very difficult to find school fees. And one time I found a letter on the table that a certain girl wrote to my HB and I just took that letter and runned to Blessings to read for me and she told me that it was his girlfriend, I found another letter and I did the same but Blessings told me that it was from his uncle (we all laughed). And I told her that no problem I can try to teach you. Lovely continued that if in the afternoon my HB went to meet or sleep with his girlfriend at night: in dreams he used to say everything that he did from morning to evening loudly. Then Kondwani answered that that means you have got some Traditional medicines that you gave him inorder to reveal what he has been doing and Lovely said that yes but I cannot tell you where I found that Trad medicine (we all laughed). It was already 5:40 and they all left.

Later on around around 7:10 GVH came and she told me that Sofia went to the hospital with her son at Balaka and she is now admitted there then I wanted to tell you because she did tell you that she is going to the hospital.

24 March Tuesday

In the morning when I waked up I saw chief Mudzi B going to harvest alone, then later on I saw GVH going to harvest with 1 grandson. On the way to the borehole I met with Hilda + her children carried maize on their heads and they told me that we have started harvesting. On the way back I met with Kingsley he greeted me and he said that: up to now Jane is not coming back and we don’t know where she is staying. At 9:40 I saw Tumanene paasing by and she greeted me and said that: ndayamba kukolola . (I have started harvesting) . And she gave me a phone number to flash her HB in SA, then she said that I want to beg him some money to buy soap, sugar. And I asked her if all the men from this village who went to SA stay together and she answered that no, but everybody is renting his own house, others near each other (others stay together) but it depends where they are working, others very far.

At 10:28 Lovely came and she told me that today I am going back to my house, I have now finished putting a new roof, and I [Lovely] will now start harvesting this coming Saturday because I have not yet finished maintaining my nkhowe (maize storage. Kingsley came to greet Lovely and she asked when the HB of Lovely will come back from SA and she answered that: he will come early April (didn’t) and he will not go back to SA he want to start a BS somewhere at Balaka. And Kingsley continued that Phingi came to take 2000mk at home she said that she will pay back 2 bags 50 kgs of maize. Then Lovely asked Kingsley when are you going to see your girlfriend at Kh. village and he answered that: I don’t know Lovely continued when you go there to see her do you go direct where she is staying with her parents or not? Then he answered that: it is difficult to go directly because other parents they think that: that means you want to marry her at that time
At 2pm I saw Elube + Lovely going to adult school. Then Lovely told me to go there and see what they learn. Indeed I followed them, then chief Mudzi B, Grace, Sweetness, Hilda, Kondwani, Fissa, Tinenenji and Vanessa was there then everybody complained that: we are tired because we have started harvesting, and Dorica passed by she was going to the maize mill. Then Sweetness started saying that Dorica is enjoying the bike for her father for the last time. All the women started laughing and Kondwani said that he is now going back on Friday. I heard him talking on the cellphone to his friend saying that I will be there because of the funeral that happened here for my mother-in-law. Lovely said that definitely he will not come back (back to Mangochi). Sweetness said that: may be there is another wife there. Then Venesi said that: it’s good to start our topic for today we should not wait for others because this is 3pm now. Then she started teaching ulimi wa ziweto (animal farming). She was asking some questions to the learners, but others were just laughing shaking hands, looking for some people moving around.

At the end of the lesson chief Mudzi B announced that on Thursday all the women should meet at GVH’s house to help her pounding maize for 40 days ceremony after the death of her HB. After that Jeneti called me to see her sweet potatoes. She told me that: I have started selling at [nearest primary school] school, I want to find 850mk for examination fee of my dotta. Then she told me that she is selling at 20mk (3 p) and 50mk (5 p) per heap. My brother who is in SA promised that he will pay but he didn’t, he is just sending some money only for his wife (who? Other village) and children. I asked her [Jeneti] why she is not making manure and she said that, everybody in this village stopped because it was difficult to carry manure on their head going to apply in the fields and as of now fertilizer its cheaper that’s why everybody is not interested to make manure (more manure then fertilizer. If making at field still have to carry goat dung, water etc to field. Only if they would have wheelbarrel).

On the way back I was with Lovely, Chisoni, Tumanene, Kondwani they said that we want to play bawo although it is already 4:45 pm, then on the way back everybody was complaining that Jeneti used to sell her things at expensive price (selling small potatoes for same price as others sell big one. But was first one to plant and thus harvest and thus sell). Kondwani said that at [nearest tradingcenter] you will find that the heap that she is selling at 50mk it’s 20mk. At 5:20 pm we saw GVH coming back from the field since morning. And she stopped and GVH told the women that Sofia is still at the hospital with her.
son and those who are willing to go, we can go together tomorrow morning and Kondwani said that I will go with you. The women stopped knitting and they said that we like bawo but not knitting. It was very cold and everybody left.

**25 March Wednesday**

In the morning I went to fetch some water at the borehole. I found Ada and Kingsley and they were discussing that Emra followed her HB at Ch. village and now thieves have already harvested her maize, still at the borehole I saw Mrs Ntawanga and Rashida coming back from the maizemill. Then chief Mudzi A passed by he greeted me and said that: I am going to GVH to give her maize, I have contributed for the ceremony that will be done next week. Then at 9:30 I saw Tumanene and Lovely coming back from the field, they greeted me and said that we are busy harvesting. We want to finish by Saturday.

After that Makuta from B. village (who came to learn how to send a message) came to greet me and she started saying that: my HB sent 4000mk for ndiwo and he said he will come next year. And she continued that the wife of the owner of this house was in relationship with son son of Venesi who went to SA. He was coming to sleep here every night. Then the son of Venesi started saying that: all women whose HB are in SA are now tired staying alone in the house, that’s why a certain woman is just calling me at night. Then Lovely came and she answered that one night he came even at home and told me that he wanted to stay in my house the whole night, but I chased him because he is still young but he is not afraid of elder women (we all laughed).

Lovely continued her journey she said that: I am still harvesting but in the afternoon I will be at adult school then Makuta left. After lunch I started knitting then I saw women going for adult school and no-one else came to knit when Kingsley came to sleep he said that most of the women were busy at adult school, others went at Balaka to see Sofia and her son at the hospital, while other women were busy making thobwa. For those women who will be pounding maize at GVH’s house.

**26 March 2009, Thursday.**

In the morning after breakfast I went to fetch some water and after that I started knitting, then I saw Kima, Naima carried a plate of maize and they greeted me and said that we are going to help GVH pounding maize for the 40 days ceremony, Mrs Musitafa came and bought a jersey for her dotta at 350mkl.

Later on I saw Livia coming back to help GVH pounding maize. I called her [Livia] inorder to ask if she started menstruating or not but firstly I asked her how the
relationship is going on and she said that zikuyenda and this coming Sunday he promised that he will come to meet with my parents, and I asked her about menstruation and she said that up to now I have not yet started (she started crying) I asked her that: why are you crying because you told me that you didn’t sleep with your boyfriend? she didn’t answer. I asked again that, did you go for blood testing with your boyfriend as you promised? She said no. later on she started saying that: indeed I slept with my boyfriend without protection and my child is very weak these days [J: which G later said that she saw as proof that Livia had indeed slept with a man that was not the father of her child] and I told her that its good then to go for check up so that you can know if you are pregnant or not at Banja la mtsogolo (family planning clinic).Livia said that I will go but if I am pregnant then I will abort, because I cannot manage to take care of the children. And may be my mother will not accept for me to go and stay in Balaka Town with my new HB, because of the behaviour that father of Joy was doing (she cried). Then she told me that please don’t tell my mother because she will be angry (then she left).

Then Makuta came to greet me and she started saying that: I am happy because am able to send a massage to my HB [in SA] and he is also happy because he didn’t expect that I can manage. Then Teleza passed by going to the borehole Makuta said that Teleza was in relationship with my HB and I told my HB that: although you are doing this but I have got your 4 children while Teleza has got children but of different HBs then you will have a big responsibility of taking care of all those children and my children here. When I told him these words my HB said that: please forgive me I will not do it again (she laughed)

Around 2 Rashida + Chenawe passed by they greeted me and said that we are going to attend the funeral at [nearest primary school], a certain woman died. Then later on Esnart, Innocent and Kondwani came to play bawo, they said that: we are now tired harvesting that’s why we are not knitting. They were busy with Bawo (no stories) then GVH called me in her field and gave me some g/nuts. Amila came and she called me separately, she said that give me 20mk I want to buy matemba (dry fish), I will give you maize after harvesting. Then I gave her. All the women left and Livia came separately she said that I am selling a 50kg bag of maize at K1200 then I gave her. Then she said that: I have decided to go for check up tomorrow at Andiamo hospital (private hospital at Balaka) then maybe they will need some money there! That’s why I have decided to sell the maize. Anything else I will tell you when I will be back. But there is a certain Trad. doctor at [nearest primary school] who knows some medicine for abortion may be when coming back from Andiamo hospital I will go there because I have already tried Alluvela [aloe vera] full bottle but I failed (she cried) am afraid because my mother will be angry (she left).

27 March Friday 2009

In the morning when I waked up, I saw chief Mudzi B, Naima + HB, Tumanene going
to harvest their maize. Later on I prepared my journey to [nearest trading center] to give a picture, then on the way I saw Tumanene still harvesting alone and Filimona + HB harvesting. I stopped and greeted Eveles and said that I am not getting better still pain in the body and I like thobwa (gruel) now not nsima and I am trying to find some medicine to put in my rice field to protect from thieves I asked my son to go and take for me some where else because I know and he knows the tree but he refused to go he said he is busy. But if I can die today please! Go and harvest all the rice and eat. Then I continued my journey. At the grocery I didn’t find anyone selling, at [nearest trading center] almost 6 women (new faces) selling g/nuts 1 woman tomatoes, all the 4 restaurants were opened, 2 women selling mandasi, 4 women selling dried fish but few men selling cloths. After greeting the business women they said that; at least now people have started buying fish for ndiwo (relish) because they are selling maize and they have got money. On the way back no-one else was at the grocery selling. When I reached home GVH came and give me goat meat she said that; I slaughtered a goat at home and I have decided to share with some friends. Then I said thanks a lot.

After lunch Julia came and she said that I have decided to come and knit today because my HB has gone to sell some fish, then I am free to move around, you know its difficult to be moving around to chat with friends while the HB is nearby! May be he will need some drinking water, even to wash his body. Then she continued that my HB bought some salt and he is exchanging with maize. 1 very small plate salt and 2 big cups full of maize and a lot of women in Mudzi A and other villages are coming with maize. Later on Esnart joined us and Livia. Everybody was happy saying that: we are now eating pumpkin, either porridge - nsima a lot or leaves for ndiwo than some months ago.

Later on Rosemary passed by and she called me separately and said that: I will come at night to sell some maize because I want to find money for salt and soap. I decided to come in the morning but my ex-HB saw me with maize and he said that don’t go and sell (because may be worked together on maize field. Also after divorce he still went to her when she was ill one day to chat, so he is still concerned about her) here is 50mk for you to buy what you want. After this Julia said that: I am going because my HB is on the way back now. Ada passed by and the women said that have you seen Ada now! She is able to wash her body properly than in the past, then Esnart said that: that’s why her HB wants to come back. But during hunger season everybody was tall and thin Livia laughed and answered that: as of now we are eating nsima full plate we have forgotten. Then we saw Sofia coming back from the hospital (after 5 days) and she said that at least my son is getting better now and she was happy.

All the women left they just stayed almost 45 mins they said that they are busy harvesting and they are tired all the time. Then I decided to go and greet Sofia to ask if the HB was going to see her at the hospital. When I reached there I found Ada + GVH chatting and Ada told me that the women whom you saw at adult school chatting with me is the ex-wife of my brother Levison, she came to pick her dotta back to Lilongwe and she
stayed almost 4 days. I asked her if Levison was going there to chat. And Ada said that: yes! He was coming and they were chatting, but I don’t know what they were discussing. Signs of sleeping together? Were only chatting at Ada’s veranda, ex-wife stayed there with Ada so probably they had no chance, unless Ada gave them the opportunity deliberately by going somewhere else.

Ada left and Sofia started explaining that: at the hospital the doctor said that my son doesn’t have enough blood. And my HB is the one who came and brought some. And he was coming at the hospital three times a day and he bought a new chitenje for me, 3 shirts and 2 shorts for my son, 1 plate and 3 containers and he gave me some money to hire a bike when coming back today. He was also bringing some soft drinks at the hospital. And he said that he will come to see the child after few days. I didn’t ask her a lot of questions because her mother (GVH was there). After that I went back home and Livia followed me, and she said that I failed to go today at the hospital because my father said that today its Friday no tailoring what do you want to do there? Then I cheated him that I want to see Sofia at the hospital but he said don’t worry I will go on the bike. Then I failed. After that she left, then I met with Kondwani at the borehole and she said that its now 4-5 days since Jane left, and her g.mother said that: Jane is a grown up girl she know what she is doing.

28 March Saturday

At night around 9pm Rosemary knocked the door. I went out and greeted her then she said that: I will come midnight and put some maize in the kitchen for sell, I am afraid to bring it right now because my children will see that I have started selling maize then in hunger season that means they will not give me some food. I want to buy some soap and salt that’s why I decided to sell.

Early in the morning when I waked up I found some maize in the kitchen and it was for 90mk because I was using a small plate at 1mk and scale 25mk per kg. Venesi, Innocent, Sofia, Esnart are the ones who told me the price. Later on I went to fetch some water then at the borehole Innocent + GVH and chief Mudzi B + Kondwani were there fetching some water and they were discussing that: at night Jasmine didn’t sleep well her mother who died came in a dream and she told her to send her g.son Davie at Zomba to be staying with mother of Fatima. And apart from that she must prepare some nsima + ndiwo to eat with some people in the village as ceremony. Then Kondwani said that: I don’t understand! Because these dreams used to happen soon after or when people are harvesting (she compared with what happened to Lovely) [J: insinuating that people are cheating about these kind of dreams].

Then at 9:45 am chief Mudzi B came home and she asked me to flash her brother who is
staying in SA. I did it and after few minutes her brother called and she started explaining that I want to beg some money for soap and paraffin and some money to contribute during the ceremony of the death of GVH’s HB because we’re related and if something happens to us she is the one who used to help and her brother said I will see, what to do. Then chief Mudzi B said that thanks a lot Getrude for your help. Later on Tumanene also came to flash her HB she said that I want to beg some money. I flashed but her HB didn’t call, Tumanene complained that: its now 2 ½ weeks since he called me and almost 3 months without sending some money for soap and paraffin, even sugar. Then my mother is not getting better I wanted transport to go and see her, but I cannot go there without soap or salt. And its good for me to sell 1 bag of maize and buy what I want. But if I can sell the maize and find some money most of the women who have got HB in SA will ask me where I found the money and they can easily tell my HB that: I have got money (after seeing what I bought). But it will good for him to send some money and I can sell my maize with that money I can go to Balaka and buy soap, salt, paraffin, juice, sugar. I asked her why she is not doing business and she answered that: my HB said that he will stop sending money and it will be the end of marriage because when I will be doing BS that means I will find another man (Tumanene was angry).

After that I went to see Phingi (ill) and I found her relatives and sons gathered discussing about the ceremony (dreams). Then I turned back and told Livia that I will come later.

After lunch I started knitting then GVH sent a message to dotta of Sofia to tell me tha I should go there and help her cook some nsima for some women who went to maizemill to make ufa for the ceremony. Within few minutes I went there to help her and I found Rosemary, Vanessa and chief Mudzi B helping her cooking. Then the women told me to go and fetch some water because I cannot manage to cook some nsima with a very big tin + big cooking stick. I found them already started cooking and they said that sorry for disturbing you knitting but we saw that you were alone and we decided to call you to chat here not cooking. After few minutes we saw those women who went to the maize mill coming back Tinenenji, Pamela, Hilda, 2 dotta-in-laws of GVH, Emra and 2 grand dottas of group. The women cooked some nsima with beans and themere. As they were eating Hilda asked Emra where she went for the last 3 wks, and she answered that I went to Ch. village to see my uncle (thinking rather that she went to see Ndaba) all the women laughed.

After eating some women left but chief Mudzi B, Sofia, Kondwani, Rosemary and 2 dotta-in-laws were still there chatting. As we were chatting chief Mudzi A + 1 brother of chief Mudzi B came and they were chatting at the fence. Then Rosemary followed the men to chat with them. And GVH started laughing and said that nowadays Rosemary started chatting with Hamra Austen. [J: Hamra apparently stopped being angry with Rosemary, so Rosemary felt free again (to beg for ufa, chat with chief Mudzi A)]. During hunger season Rosemary was going there to beg
some ufa. Have you seen now! Rosemary + 2 men are chatting, reminding one another about the past. Then Kondwani said: Rosemary likes men & she knows a lot of traditional medicines to attract men, maybe she is trying to be back with chief Mudzi A bcoz she is not married (all the women laughed). I tried to listen to what they were discussing but failed bcoz the women were just laughing. Later on Rosemary came out of the fence and said that I have finished chatting, going home now, but chief and GVH you need to go inside the ironsheet house, there are some discussions there, I have been sent by chief Mudzi A.

Then I started my journey to fetch some water with Sofia. After this I went back home. On the way home Sofia told me that I must flash one of her brothers in SA. I flashed and they called then Sofia answered & explained that: I want to beg you some money to buy maize bcoz my marriage ended. When the finished talking, Sofia said that: have you heard what they have answered and I said no. They have answered that as of now they can not manage to send some money because I am married and I am just giving birth to a lot of children, while marriage is not just giving birth only! But love and taking care of each other (said brothers). Sofia continued that: I know that they can not send some money to me because we are not belonging to the same family? Someone else told me that: my parents died when I was still young and GVH is the one who took the responsibility of taking care of me up to getting married and gave birth to these children. But I know that: these brothers in SA are angry because I started querelling with my HB after giving birth to 2 children (that’s when HB started moving around with other women, quarrels started) and now I have got 4. (Sofia was not happy) but I just encouraged her to work hard in the field this year. So that she can manage to take care of her children and Sofia accepted.

At 6 Livia came she greeted me and said that: my HB will come tomorrow to meet with my parents but I will send Trinity to wait for him at Mz. village because my mother is ill and I will be busy cooking some food for him (g/nuts). I asked her what she is planning to cook and she answered that g/nuts and pumpkins. I asked her why not nsima and Livia laughed and answered that: maybe he will not marry me then I will just spent my ufa for nothing and she continued that I failed to go to the hospital because my mother is ill. I asked her if she explained to the HB that she has missed 2 months period and she said no I didn’t because I want to abort am not ready to be pregnant because Hana is very young, but if the medicine will not work that means I will tell him because I am still planning to go too a certain Traditional doctor but one of them is a friend of my mother and even Suset knows the medicine, but am afraid that she will tell my mother (she cried and continued her journey to the borehole).

29 March Sunday

In the morning after breakfast I went to see Phingi and when I reached there I greeted her and she said that: I am still not getting better because the one who came in a dream started beating me in the limbs and told me to tell Livia to buy sugar and make some tea
(ceremony) and drink with Lovely, the real and best friend of my dotta who died. Later on I saw Livia giving her mother a big pot with boiled water and some Traditional medicine in the pot and her mother took 2 blankets covered the whole body and she said that the steam will help her to get better not at the hospital. Then Rosemary came to greet her and said that I will give you some Trad. medicine different from what you have now. And Phingi accepted, then as there were discussing about the Trad. medicines Livia called me separately and asked me to flash her HB to ask if he will indeed come but it was switched off. And Livia started getting worried and said that: have you seen Getrude! I have already told my mother that her son-in-law is coming but up to now he is not coming. Then I saw grandson’s and granddotta’s of GVH going to harvest.

Then I saw Tumanene, Lovely and Elube carried maize in their heads (in bags or dengu). Then I continued my journey to see what Suset is writing. I found her cooking pumpkins and her mother was busy preparing to go to church. I checked everything but there were few mistakes and I tried to remind her. On the way back I saw Aisha carried maize on her head with the HB and Mr Ntawanga + wife carried maize on the bicycle. Still on the way I met with Esnart and Nelia carried maize I greeted them and Esnart said that: I hired Nelia to help me harvesting and I will give her some money. I asked her how much and she said that I will see because I have not yet finished harvesting. When I reached home I started cooking my nsima. Then after lunch Tumanene and Livia came to chat. As we were knitting Tumanene said that most of the women have stopped working hard in knitting they are just chatting but not adult school I asked them why but they just laughed. And Livia answered that: most of the women likes gossiping then may be when they are here they are not free to talk (afraid gissips will be heard by someone in group and gossiper will be told on). Then Tumanene started saying that when I got married to my HB who went to South Africa they were saying that my HB likes women. He married for several times, but when I asked him he said that he married for 3 times with women from other villages not here but the problem was that: all the 3 women were talkative (kulongolola) just querelling every time, that’s why he decided to marry me because I stay very far from this village. And Livia answered that your HB loves you because he was buying some hair extensions for you, he had a grocery and now he is in SA and he sent some money for you. And Tumanene smiled and said that it’s true. Tumanene’s dotta started crying and she said that have you seen now if my HB was nearby I could have told him to buy some biscuits for her (Livia laughed). She continued that: I know how to cook, how to wash some cloths properly that’s why he is still staying with me but not going to other wives.

At 4 she left, and Livia said that I sold maize to you I bought some extensions for 300mk for you to braid my hair, I want to be like you Getrude, I laughed and said that no problem I can do as I started braiding her hair, I asked her that is it true that your new HB doesn’t have a wife and she said no but he told me that he married twice but his wife was
just aborting when she was pregnant and he was angry and divorced but he didn’t tell me
whether he has children or not (am still trying different Traditional medicine to abort but am failing).
You tried Getrude to tell me not to sleep with him without protection but I didn’t listen.
As of now am regretting and am trying to be very far with my mother, not staying near by
am afraid that she will know before my HB comes to see her. The Livia continued that:
I am going to cook for my mother now! I will come to chat tomorrow.

Then Sofia passed by she asked me to go with her to see her g.mother. When I reached
home her grandmother told me that I am not getting better but stomach. I asked her if she
went to the hospital but she said that: no but I went some where else to take some
Traditional medicine. I don’t want to go to the hospital am tired. I went there last yr as of now I
cannot go. It was already 6:05pm then we went back home and Sofia continued her
journey.

Then Kingsley came, he greeted me and said that my g.friend from Kh. village will come
to attend the ceremony at home then she will come here to greet you! Then I said no
problem she can come to greet me and he continued that: she will come on Friday.

30 March Monday

In the morning when I waked up I saw Tumanene going to harvest alone in her field. Then
Sofia was also going to harvest alone. Then I saw GVH and her grand children carried
maize on their heads while Kingsley used a bicycle. Later on I went to see what Venesi and
Sofia are writing about their expenses but I didn’t find them, all the doors were closed.
Then the children told me that their parents have gone to attend a meeting at [clinic] village.

On the way back I went direct to greet Phingi and she told me that: at least am getting
better now. But I have got a question I want to ask you! Then I said no problem you can
en then she asked me that: is it true Getrude that you are the one who gave a cellphone to
Livia? And where is it now? Because Livia said that the c.phone is with her brother! But
when I went to Balaka I asked my son why he is keeping the cell
phone of Livia! And he said that I don’t know anything about a cellphone may be
someone else gave her but not me and not Getrude. And I answered that: Livia have
got a boyfriend and he is the one who gave her that phone. Phingi said that: this is true
because Livia told me that she don’t want to get married with the one whom my friend
found for her. But she want men from town, and now she cheated me that
some-one else will come but up to now he is not coming. Have you seen Suset now! She
was just moving around with different men and now she is just becoming thin and thin.
And I was happy when I heard that Livia is HIV negative, and I was expecting that:
when she will have a new HB they will go for blood testing but have you seen now even
my g.dotta who is staying here , came from J. village village her mother chased her
because she has a lot of boyfriends and she is keeping different letters from boys while she
is 13yrs now. And yesterday my g.dotta went to J. village to the maize mill but when coming
back she bought potatoes, matemba, soap, lotion! Saying that: Livia sent her to father of
Hana to beg money, but I liked the one whom my friend found for Livia because he
works hard in the field. But who is going to be the HB of Livia now because yesterday
her new HB failed to come. Later on she sent my g.dotta to beg money to the ex-HB.

As of now I sent maize to my brother to sell, so that I can find some money to buy
medicine. I asked her (Phingi) why she didn’t send the maize to me, so that I can buy
and she said that sorry I forgot that you are also buying. Then we saw Livia
coming back from the field, she was harvest in the field of her mother. Then I told her
mother that: I am going back home. Then Livia followed me and asked what Iwas
asking me about the cellphone and I told her the truth that your new husband is the one
who gave you (Livia was not happy). Then I told Livia to flash her HB and ask why
he failed to come last Sunday Livia flashed her HB called and asked that who is
flashing me and Livia said that its me Livia! And he said I don’t know you, I am
calling from Lilongwe, then he switched off his telephone. Livia cried and said that I
know his voice and he is the one who answered the call and he knows your number but I
don’t know why he is answering like this. Then I encouraged Livia to go to the hospital
for check up and meet with her HB and ask why he failed to come and why he said I don’t
know you.

Livia accepted. Later on I went back home and Sofia called me and said that lets go
and fetch some water then I accepted. On the way Sofia said that have you seen Getrude!
The brother of Jasmine came to take the maize because Jasmine went there in hunger
season to take some money for 2 bags of maize (2000mk) and now he came to take the
maize and GVH wants the maize now becoz she took money for 2 bags while her HB
didn’t know. Even her friend borrowed almost 6 thousand for 6 bags of maize. On the
way back I met with chief Mudzi B coming back from the field alone.

After lunch Kondwani, Ada, Vanessa, Livia, Tumanene came to knit and play bawo
everybody liked bawo except Livia, I was braiding her hair and she was knitting then
Vanessa + Kondwani started laughing and said that Ada your HB is still coming why can’t
you just accept marriage so that he can help you to take care of the child. You have got
cotton and he has cotton! (Both have money, will be helping each other). Ada laughed
and she said that: I don’t want becoz when I will be with him, that means I will have
another child. All the women laughed.

Later on we saw HB of Sofia passing by and Livia said that: he is going to
see his children, and Kondwani said that at list Sofia has got 4 children from the same father
while others have got children but with different fathers.
Then Tumanene flashed her HB using my phone and he called and talked with Tumanene. Tumanene was very happy then Vanessa said that its good for those women who have got HB in SA to be chatting together and those who don’t have HB must be chatting themselves because one day I talked to a certain woman at the borehole who has a HB in SA that, give me some soap I want to wash my cloths (I was joking) but she answered that you don’t want soap but you want my HB, I explained this to my HB and he told me to stop chatting with women who have HB in SA. Kondwani answered that: those women who has HB in SA are happy because they are able to find what they want like soap, lotion, cloths. It is now different with the time when their HB’s were staying here just depending on farming. Kondwani continued: a certain woman from this village called a HB of someone else from this village who is in SA, cheating that his wife has a boyfriend, but the HB answered that I will kill the one who is gossiping about my wife, I trust her and I know that she can not do anything. But most of the people in Mudzi B and Mudzi A likes gossiping because they don’t have HB but children from different HB’s. even the owner of this house people were saying that he married several times he likes women. While those women who are not married were coming knocking at the door at night asking to sleep with him, either to fetch some water for him inorder to find money, later on people said that he likes women. It’s just a matter of jealousy, said Kondwani.

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Tumanene answered that: when my HB will be back from SA I don’t want to see a woman who is not married coming to chat with my HB, because later on they will be friends and start proposing each other (every body laughed). Livia answered that to say the truth those women who have HB in SA are enjoying although they miss each other but at list their children are growing up 3-4 years without another child.

Vanessa and Ada answered that: it’s good to come and knit or play bawo than staying at a big tree gossiping, some lightneings started and everybody said that this rain will destroy our maize and cotton because we have not yet finished harvesting. Indeed the rain started and everybody runned away. Then Sofia sent a messenger that she wanted to talk to me. I went there and she said that: have you seen this bag? My HB brought sobo, sugar 200mk, cloths for all the 4 children kamba snack, matemba (vegetables), tomatoe and he told me that: don’t worry I will start making new bricks next month to build a house for you. Sofia continued that ndasangalala (I am happy) because he said that his wife is spending a lot of money than me. And he said he will buy Irish potatoes for my children. Sofia said we will chat tomorrow because the heavy rain started.

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning plates and Livia said that I am going to Balaka to the hospital with my child and my mother told me at night that: if you want to get married no problem. Just go and tell your HB to come and meet with me. then I will
Then Kondwani and Vanessa came to show me what they were knitting, then Kondwani said that I will not go and help GVH cooking today at M. village, but tomorrow because my son is ill (malaria) and it’s good for me not to get married because I will not manage to take care of the children (new HB will want children of his own). Have you seen now am busy with my child alone here while my HB went to marry someone else. And anyone else who will propose me I will not accept then Vanessa said that: at list you are working hard in the field and now you have planted tomatoes at dambo (garden) field. You will sell and buy what you want and since your HB left I have never heard that you are somewhere else with men. Then Kondwani said that let’s go now because some people will start gossiping thinking that we came this morning inorder to eat breakfast. (Then they left). Then Sofia came and she said that: I am going at M. village to cook for the ceremony I will be back tomorrow, then HB of Gettie passed (volunteer teacher), and Sofia said that have you seen that boy he is in relationship with Pamela and his friend, an in-law of Esnart is in relationship with Grace. Most of the women who are not married in this villages likes men in order to find money for soap.

I am going! We will chat later! Said Sofia. After breakfast I went to Evelin to see what she has been writing then on the way I went to greet Grace and told her to knit what Julia wants for her child and she accepted and told her to say the price to Julia. Then Grace was happy. I found her eating maungu (pumpkins) and she said that yesterday I went at Zomba for campaign and tomorrow we will go at Mangochi. Then I told Grace that am coming we will chat later.

Then I went to Pamela, I found her sitting on the veranda with her child and she said that I am not getting better with my child (malaria) I went at [nearest tradingcenter] and they said that no medicine for malaria, then later I decided that may be its HIV positive and went for blood testing with my son and we are all negative. I started thinking for blood testing because I have seen that Jeneti is now fat as if she is not positive and at the hospital they said that as of now they will be moving around in villages so that every body should be tested. And they will be coming everyday at the big tree for 2-3 weeks so that those who wanted to be tested [J: did they? No, G didn’t hear anything else about it. Pamela meant compulsory testing, maybe to scare other people] should go near by. But I know that a lot of people from this village will not go because they are afraid but we can have an example through Jeneti. She continued that even Haliday (her in-law) was there at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital but she didn’t think of going for blood testing, she asked me what I was doing in that room and I told her that I went for blood testing in order to know either I am Positive-Negative.

After this I went to greet Sofia and checked what she has been writing and everything was ok. And she said that sorry Getrude we will not chat because I am at the field harvesting and I said no problem. From there I greeted Molly and I found her eating maungu with the
HB, then I continued my journey to Venesi.

I didn’t find her but her dotta said that she is still harvesting. Then I went straight to Grace, but I found her chatting with in-law of Esnart the one whom Sofia said that he is her boyfriend. I didn’t hear her properly what they were discussing and I decided to go back home. And I told Grace that we will chat later. Then Tumanene passed by and said that my HB said that he will be back soon (has never come (end May now). For a month people have been saying that the HBs of Lovely and Haliday will come, without them showing up) and sa of now he just sent 2000mk to buy soap.

After lunch I saw mother of Dorica and her HB coming back from the field they carried maize on their heads. Then a certain woman came with Kondwani to play bawo and Kondwani said that this is Makuta and now her HB called from SA telling her to take a bicycle and money that the HB sent. The woman laughed and introduced herself to me, she said that: I married with my cousin and now its almost 4yrs since he left, he left me when my youngest dotta was 9 months old. And when I asked him to come back because I missed him he says that: I will just cut my penis and sent it to you. And am lucky because I work hard in the field but imagine 4yrs without sleeping with my HB. Kondwani laughed and said that it is the same as the one who is not married.

The woman continued that: I left school when I was in form 2 after writing examination, the one who was paying school fees for me died and when I was in relationship with him he was growing cotton and paying school fees for me. Later on he failed and we got married. Then granddotta of GVH joined bawo then Kondwani told the granddotta’s of Mudzi B that mwayamba zibwenzi (you have started having boyfriends) and the 2 girls laughed and said that: we are following what Jane is doing. Kondwani continued that: when we were coming back from chigayo for the ceremony, you stayed some where else eating sugarcanes with boys, you will have children and fail to take care of them. The girls laughed and said that tikufuna tizolowere (we want to get used to chatting with boys boys like other girls do) (one of them was indeed caught having sex with a boy in bush at M. village around 6pm, is only 13 yrs old.) because all the women who are married now started relationship and ended into marriage and we didn’t expect that Ada can have a child and now she is managing to take care of her.

Kondwani continued that: please when you are cooking relish don’t add some salt because you will make your g.mother is ill (why? Traditional belief. Kondwani thinks g.mother is ill because girls added salt to relish). The girls laughed and shaked hands. Kondwani: and now you are rude after telling you to clean plates, even to cook before 1 o’clock to fetch some water. You used to refuse, meaning that you have known that in marriage people used to have sex [J: because the girls are growing up and having boyfriends, they know people have sex, therefore can’t respect them anymore like before when they were still young], as you are doing with your
Then Kondwani said that I saw Livia chatting with Mr Chikombo that means the relationship is still there, Livia has a lot of boyfriends she likes money, have you seen now she is braiding her hair with extensions, instead of buying something else for her children [J: extensions were bought with money from selling 50 kg of maize to Getrude for 1200mk]. Dotta-in-law of GVH laughed and said that she will die with AIDS like her sister. Later on all the 2 women and 2 girls left they said that they were going to cook some nsima before the rain because there was lightnings (but no rain).

In the morning when I waked up I started washing plates then I saw Tumanene, Thokozani going to harvest. Later on I saw Kondwani coming she greeted me and said that: GVH told me yesterday to come and tell you to go with me today at M. village to attend the 40 days ceremony of her HB because he was your friend and you should see what happens at the ceremony because you said you will be attending everything that people in the village do and I said no problem I will go with you. And I saw Kondwani and Vanessa coming to tell me that we should go and Livia joined us. On the way Livia started saying that: Getrude, ine sizikuyenda (I am not doing well) , someone else gave me some tablets (2) she didn’t mention the name, I tried those tablets yesterday at night but up to now I don’t see changes in the body. But still more I will not stop, I will try to continue different medicines.

Then Kondwani said that: what are you discussing about? Then we said nothing and Kondwani continued that: Livia you told me that you will start the business of selling beans where are you going to get the money: because you told me that you gave 500mk to your mother when she was ill in order to buy medicine but your mother didn’t ask you where you got the money. But I want to know where you find the money so that I can go and have mine. Livia smiled and said that I will not tell you because you will tell my mother. When we reached at M. village a lot of men, boys, women and few girls were there, but only men were praying but all the women were busy cooking. They slaughtered a big goat and a lot of chickens with a lot of nsima and thobwa (gruel), 3 big clay pots and 1 big tin. I started helping the women washing plates and fetching some water with Jane, Livia.

On the way to borehole at M. village I asked Jane why she is back from the HB then she answered that: I just decided to choose to go back there but now am back because of the ceremony but also because Sofia my friend told my new HB that I married last months ago with another HB and now he sent me back but on the way back I met with my ex-boyfriend and he started asking to sleep with him in the bush but I refused because a lot of people were just passing by and Livia asked her that why are you just exchanging men and B answered that I’m following what you are doing because you think that there is no-
one else who always see what you are doing, I met with you oneday with a certain man but you didn’t recognise that it was Jane (Livia laughed). After fetching some water we started cooking and everybody was busy.

At lunch a lot of plates of nsima went where men and boys gathered, with chicken, goat meat and beans [J: women don’t sit together to eat? All women were busy cooking, meanwhile some groups would eat and exchange turns to eat and cook. G’s mother told her not to attend those muslim ceremonies is sin, as if cerebrating that someone died. When the person was ill and wanted meat they don’t give, but now suddenly they can prepare enough for everybody] HB of Malita is the one who was asking the women to send a lot of nsima to men and he said that nowadays a lot of boys are ashamed to eat with a group of people because they have got girlfriends and when they meet at home or somewhere else the girls used to say that: I was ashamed because of the way you eat. You eat a lot of nsima or ndiwo (all the women laughed) after helping them cooking chief Mudzi B gave me some nsima to eat. Soon after lunch everybody departed and on the way people started discussing that: very soon we will also cerebrate for Thandizo who died.

When we reached home, Kondwani and Wisikesi came to play bawo. Then Kondwani started saying that my marriage ended because the HB was beating me (1st HB) but the (2nd HB) we divorced because he was just moving around with different women and I was afraid of AIDS. But at the beginning he was jealousy as if he was loving me, when I was at the borehole he was, telling me to spent 3-5 minutes only, going and coming back if not he was calling me loudly - saying Kondwani! Come back please! I want to go somewhere else and when coming back he was saying that I told you to spent 3-5 min and now its 10 mins, then don’t go out of the fence because when you will be chatting with your friends they will be cheating you to end the marriage, you will be gossiping and everybody will be laughing at me saying that am jealousy. Wisikesi asked that may be he wanted to sleep with you often, Kondwani laughed and said that: not at all. After these words Kondwani said that: lets go we will continue chatting tomorrow! Then they left.

2 April 2009 Thursday

In the morning there was rainfall for 10-15 minutes. After the rain I went to fetch some water then I met with Kondwani harvesting with chief Mudzi B. On the way back I found Julia at the veranda with 25kgs of maize and she said that am selling these maize I discussed with my HB to sell because he don’t have enough money to continue his BS then I said ok I will buy.

Then Innocent passed by with angry face I greeted her but she didn’t respond as usual.
Then Tumanene passed by I greeted her and she said that ndikudwala malungo (I am suffering from malaria) and am going to buy pain killers because at [nearest trading center] no medicine. Around 11 Jane came and she said that I want to knit for 10-15 minutes and she started saying that my g. mother is now back! But I don’t know whether they (all his wives) will share the money that the HB left for cows when he died but I just heard that the ceremony will continue here on 5th April and my g. mother bought a big goat, beans and chickens and 2 bags of ufa (maize flour). Then Sofia passed by and said Jane I want to talk to you! Then B left and followed her, then I saw Naima passing by with the HB carried the maize on their heads. Soon after lunch Kondwani, Makuta and Tumanene came to knit, then Kondwani started saying that: I have stopped playing bawo and I have decided to continue knitting and I said no problem. Then Tumanene said that Gertrude teach me how to send a text then Makuta laughed and said that at least G you are helping a lot of women in this village.

But a lot of women or men didn’t go for with education, only 4 sons of GVH went to secondary school including HB of Blessings, then the woman said that she left school in std 6 and now her HB sent blankets and zitenje for sale but after selling she is sending the money back to SA and she has radio but I have never heard her listening to that radio even a screen (said Makuta) but I don’t understand why she is just keeping those things. I have got mine that my HB sent and I watch TV even listening to music that I like. But I also don’t understand why she came back when she was pregnant in SA instead of giving birth there and continue the job. May be she was failing to speak English, because my HB told me to practice speaking English so that I can be able to work there and he said that when I will be pregnant I can give birth there.

Then Tumanene said that: I have remembered that Grace had her 1st born dotta at Mzuzu when she went to visit her uncle. A man from Mzuzu but I don’t know why her marriage ended. Makuta said that: please listen to me I have missed my HB and Tumanene answered that even myself, every night I used to see his pictures and some tears come out after remembering his face and the way that he was loving me buying everything that I wanted and working together in the field.

Then Jane joined us and she said that Gertrude I have got maize 50kg and am selling at 1300mk and I said if you are serious I can buy and she said its true because I want to buy a cellphone (did she sell her maize? No, but bought cellphone from mother that boyfriend gave her, may be she sold the maize to her grandmother) for easy communication with my boyfriend.

Then Tumanene and Kondwani said that: please lets go and greet GVH and ask if they have shared the property that the HB left, we all agree but Jane said that I will not go with you. May be someone else will come to knit and I will tell her to wait for you when we reached there we greeted her and she started explaining that am back now but as we were
discussing about what my HB left everybody said that lets leave every thing to the one who was taking care of the one who died but they don’t know that he left 4 cows they are thinking that all died. They also said that about robes for mosque. My 2 g.sons must share with some nice trousers because they were helping me to take care of him. As she was explaining this some women came to talk to her and Tumanene said that “we are going we will come later to chat with you” then GVH said that no problem.

On the way back all the women said that: we can not continue knitting but we will come tomorrow and I said no problem. At home Jane said that am going home we will meet tomorrow and I said no problem. I continued knitting alone up to dark hours.

3 April Friday 2009

In the morning when I waked up I started preparing my breakfast then I saw chief Mudzi B carried maize with her 3 children. They were coming back from the field. Later on I saw Chisoni also carried maize on her head with her sister. After breakfast Kingsley came to borrow a bicycle and he said that I am going to Kh. village to my girlfriend and I will be back with her. Then I said no problem. Still in the morning I went to pay rent to GVH, then on the way I saw Rosemary drying her maize and when I reached to GVH’s house she greeted me and said that I’m not getting better! Am just feeling pain in the stomach and some one else gave me some medicine.

Later on I went to fetch some water then I met with Tumanene going to harvest alone, she greeted me and said that: ndikudwala malungo (I am suffering from malaria) and I said sorry. Near the borehole I saw Jane harvesting and she said to me that: I will sell this maize to you and I said ok.

Soon after lunch I saw Kingsley + ex-HB of Fatima + a girl they came home and I greeted them. Then Kingsley said that this one is my girlfriend whom I was talking about, Kingsley left and I was chatting with the girl. I asked her where they met and she said that girlfriend of son of Venesi is from Kh. village. HB of Fatima married to Kh. village and my friend who is in relationship with Garison (son of Venesi who left for SA (he left primary school early, but girlfriend is in form 3) is the one who told me that there is a certain boy who wants a girlfriend and I said I should meet with him and after meeting with him I accepted. I asked her if she is going to school and she said yes am in form 2 and Catholic, and she continued that we will get married after finishing my education (so big difference in education level. Girlfriend of Garison told Kingsley that she saw his girlfriend moving around with another boy for some weeks. G doesn’t think these relationships will work, maybe will only last until his cotton money finishes]. Kondwani and Wisikesi came to knit and to chat with a visitor. As we were chatting Kondwani said that, all the blankets that the HB of Blessings sent her in-law is the one who is selling it Balaka everyday and the money is sent back to the HB in SA.
Wisikesi laughed and said that I cannot accept to do it but do you remember that Blessings’s HB when coming back from SA he was bringing a girlfriend at his house while Blessings was still there. Blessings was sleeping at the veranda with her first born child and the HB was sleeping in the house with a girlfriend but Blessings was quite. Kondwani answered that even all the time when the HB of Lovely and Blessings and Esnart came back from South Africa they used to stay at Balaka, spending their time in a hotel coming back to the village at night, they don’t have time to chat with their wives but only to sleep with them. Wisikesi answered that I can just follow him everywhere. And imagine now my HB said that I should learn to put on mini-skirts, treating my hair like what other women are doing in SA (everybody laughed) and Sofia said that because you married to your cousin that’s why he is loving you.

Later on son of Ntawanga came and he said that my father and mother sent me to sell maize and he sold 10kgs = 250mk. Then he said that Chikondi told me to tell you that [newborn son] is just coughing and I said ok I will come to greet him. Then Tumanene said that you should braid my hair and I said no problem. The rain started and everybody left except Tumanene.

As we were chatting Tumanene said that may be my HB will be back soon from SA. He wants to come and see his children. Am happy because I miss him (I failed to use a voice recorder because of rain and the women wanted to listen from a radio. Soon after braiding her hair she left and said that I will come tomorrow. I continued knitting alone up to dark hours.

April 4 2009, Saturday

In the morning when I waked up I saw son of Chikondi coming to sell maize 7kgs for 175mk, I asked him why his mother decided to sell & he said that I don’t know but the twins are not getting better they have gone at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital & she told me sell this maize to you. Still in the morning I saw Chisoni & her sister carried maize on their heads coming back from the field. Later on around 11am I saw some women from Mudzi A passed by! I greeted them & they said that we are going to help GVH making some thobwa (gruel) for the ceremony tomorrow. Then Chikondi passed by she greeted me and said that: am coming back from the hospital. And I sent my child to sell some maize bcoz I don’t have money to buy soap, may be my HB will come and ask you if I sold some maize but just tell him that I don’t know. He is now in the field [J: why not tell her HB she sold maize to G? G: wanted to use the money secretly so that he will give her some money too], he is harvesting and wants to sell here. Then Naima passed by with a c-phone then Chikondi asked that; do you have a cellphone & she answered that no! but it’s for my mother. My uncle sent from SA, then I saw Hamra going to make thobwa [at GVH for ceremony].

Soon after lunch I decided to go and chat with the women making thobwa, when I reached
there the rain started and GVH said that any-one else who knows that she/he is a last born in the family must take a stick but wet and take an axe. Make a small hole and put a stick with some stones and axe on top so that the rain must stop. And Rashida said that: the one who will do this should not drink some water. I told them that I will do it and g.son of GVH said that I will help you Getrude. Indeed the rain stopped but later on the g.son of GVH forgot the rules and drunk some water, then the heavy rain started and disturbed the cooking (all women laughed and said that: someone else didn’t follow the instructions then g.son laughed and said that it’s me I was thirsty and I went to drink water in secret (everybody laughed). When the rain stopped I went back home.

1567 Around 3:30pm Kondwani and dotta in-law of GVH (Wisikesi) came to knit. They told me that: feel free to come and help us cooking tomorrow, and I said no problem I will come, as we were chatting Wisikesi started saying that GVH told me that if you have got airtime you should call this number and tell the one who will answer that the ceremony will be tomorrow. Kondwani asked who is he? Then she answered that; my uncle is in relationship with her (GVH) and she went there one day to take some materials to make nkholwe (maize storage) (he is married). Then at lunch the wife of my uncle said that am going to search some ndiwo (masamba) but my uncle said that please prepare some eggs (4) and later on GVH wanted some Trad. medicine & instead of going with the wife of my uncle at the bush, my uncle said that I will go with you. But it seems as if the wife don’t know anything about the relationship and now my uncle said that he will just give her (GVH) some money to hire someone else to make nkholwe. That’s why she said that I must call him to come tomorrow as if he wants to attend the ceremony, while to discuss something with him. Kondwani laughed and said that I know about this relationship, it started before her HB died and now she has a better chance to chat and he said that this year he will hire some men to work in GVH’s field and he will pay. D.in-law continued: but Phingi one day came to my mother and said that: GVH is HIV positive that’s why the HB died and please tell your brother to stop relationship with her. Kondwani said that Phingi is always jealousy and gossiping. One day she was saying that: I wish I could get married to one man from Mudzi B village but they don’t propose me bcoz I can be able to have money through ganyu (casual labour) or sons from SA. And my uncle divorced from his wife and Phingi said that why can’t he just marry my dotta but my uncle refused and he is now in SA. We didn’t tell GVH about her gossiping bcoz she can be angry and sent her back to her village said d-in-law.

1568 Then Sofia said that son of Jasmine said that he has maize but 35mk per kg and you can give him the money now for 3-4 bags but he will come with the maize tomorrow. Then I said no bcoz people are buying at 25mk or 30mk per kg. and I want to ex-change maize with money but not money without maize. Then he came with a 50 kgs bag of maize but I bought at 1500mk (30mk per kg). Phingi and Livia complained to me that we borrowed 1000mk in hunger season we promised to pay 50 kg of maize and now he wanted the maize that’s why he said it’s 35mk per kg bcoz he wanted profit. When Livia and Phingi left, Sofia laughed and said that my mother wants her 2 bags of maize, Gertrude 1 bag. Kondwani answered that; at D.
village she also borrowed money for 2 bags but they don’t have a lot of maize to pay back. Sofia continued that; she is doing this while her HB is at Balaka to buy some parts for his bike. Sofia said chief Mudzi A came to sell maize to me (500mk ½ bag of 50kg). I borrowed some money from my g.mother and bought.

Sofia: As of now he [chief Mudzi A] is still chatting with Rosemary, maybe the relationship is still there. Kondwani said that my HB sent 200mk thropugh Ellesi and he said that I should buy soap. My brother from SA sent 4000mk to share with my sister (chief Mudzi B) the money that we begged for the ceremony and soap.

Then rain started but not heavy and everbody left. I didn’t use a voice recorder bcoz everybody wanted to listen to the radio about elections and campaign.

5 April 2009 Sunday

Early in the morning some one else knocked at the door when I went out I found Esnart with a basin of maize to sell and it was 11kgs = 275mk. And she said that I want to go to Balaka to buy something. My HB didn’t sent money up to now. That’s why I decided to sell the maize, later on Lovely and dotta-in-law of GVH passed they greeted me and said that we have seen Esnart with a basin of maize coming here to sell, why is she selling maize while her HB stays in SA and she said that he used to send a lot of money than everybody in the village. then I said I don’t know, the women laughed and shaked hands.

Still in the morning dotta in-law of GVH (Wisikesi) called me and said that; GVH sent me to tell you that you should go and help her cooking for the ceremony. A lot of women will go to help but she want you to go and cook for that special visitor. Rice and goat meat + veg + chicken. And I said no problem just wait for me to have my breakfast. I went there to help her, then on the way I asked her who is that special visitor, she smiled and said that; her new HB that I told you yesterday (we all laughed) and she said GVH is very happy but don’t tell her that I told tou that he is her new HB becoz it’s a secret story. Then I said no problem I will just do what she asked me to when we reached there. GVH called me separately and said that please cook this for me I want to give my visitor to eat. Other women were also busy cooking goat meat, thobwa, nsima and beans. Women from M. village, Mudzi B, Mudzi A (others I don’t know) a lot of people gathered, there was some clouds and I woman said that please lets do what we did yesterday for the rain not to come becoz it will disturb and they asked the one who will not manage to stay without drinking water then I said I can manage. Everybody was busy cooking and I called separately the dotta-in-law of GVH to show me the new HB of GVH and she showed me, (with nice clothes). I asked her whether he is a business man or anything else that he is doing for GVH to accept and she said that: he has a lot of livestock like cows, goats, pigeons, chickens, a big field with a lot of harvest and now at the beginning my uncle was sending some milk to her cheating his wife that GVH bought.
I continued cooking and Livia joined me, I asked about her boyfriend and she answered that he said he will come today and my mother is at home waiting for him, but I didn’t prepare anything bcoz am not sure that he will come. About pregnancy Livia answered that: I have managed to abort and now am having my periods (it was difficult for me to believe bcoz she likes cheating). Then I met with Dorica I asked her about her father and she answered that he is back to Mangochi and I don’t know if he will be back soon. He said he wanted to continue his BS, I continued asked her about the one who proposed her and she said that: I refused bcoz I want to continue going to school but not getting married. And it’s true that he proposed me.

After cooking I told GVH that: I have finished cooking and she said that thanks a lot but wait for few minutes so that you can just have your lunch here then I accepted. Soon after eating a certain girl sat near me, I greeted her and she started introduced herself to me that: am the wife of Boris (in-law of Esnart the one who speaks English). He impregnated me in 2006 when I was in form 1 while he was in form 3. and now he is failing to marry( live together? After impregnation she first stayed at home village, she would only visit her give money for soap but not tell her to come stay with him. But from this time G saw her in this village fetching water) me I asked her if he helps her to take care of the child and she said yes and now everyday he comes home to chat. But he don’t talk about marriage. And I used to regret bcoz I didn’t go far with education. D-in-law of GVH joined and the girl stopped talking.

Then d-in-law started telling me that: I was with Pamela, Grace and I asked Pamela if she is married now and she answered that no but I have got a boyfriend in Mudzi B but she didn’t mention his name. About Grace she answered that there is a certain boy who used to come at night at her house (she laughed).About Evelin, Ana told me that she is in relationship with HB of Elube, continued d-in-law of GVH. I asked her why she asked this question to Pamela and she answered that there are my relatives and I wanted to know. The wife of Boris left, then Vanessa came and said that Boris is now married to this girl, the one whom he impregnated and its good bcoz the girl was going to school and he is the one who stopped her.

Around 3pm I went back home to knit but I didn’t see any one else harvesting or carrying maize, may be bcoz everybody was busy helping cooking and eating at ceremony. When I reached home I started knitting no one else joined me, up to dark hours. After eating super I slept, that was the end of the day.

6 April 2009 Monday

In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water and it was the first time for Thokozani to start talking to me. She greeted me and I greeted back then I started thinking of giving a picture to her HB. On the way to the borehole I saw Lovely, Tumanene, Chisoni and Amila
going to harvest. On the way back I met with son of GVH (father of Jane) he stopped me and said that: please flash my brothers in SA this is the phone number. I want to talk to them bcoz we have now finished the ceremony. I flashed and didn’t call and he told me that tell them to call me on Saturday so that I can talk to them.

On the way back from the borehole I met with Livia and she said that my mother has gone to the hospital. She is still not getting better (malaria) and I [Livia] wanted to steal some maize to start giving you but I have failed bcoz Fatima and Davie are near by. I asked her [Livia] if the boyfriend came to meet with her parents and she said he didn’t and I don’t know why. But I have sent one of his friend to ask him why he failed, bcoz am busy and I cannot have chance to go to Balaka. Then Livia continued her journey. Then I saw Sofia harvestin near Mudzi B’s house. Later on Jane, Kondwani and dotta-in-law of GVH came to knit, then dotta-in-law of GVH asked Jane why she is having a lot of boyfriends and she answered that I want to find money for soap and lotion bcoz my g.mother told me that they cannot manage to give me money. But when I was at Salima to the elder sister of my mother, she was buying soap and lotion and I didn’t have time to have a boyfriend. After few minutes Kondwani and Jane left, they promised to come back soon after lunch.

Then dotta-in-law of GVH remained and she asked me to flash her HB in SA inorder to tell him to talk to father of Jane. And I told her that: he came to flash and they said that they will discuss on Saturday, and I asked her what they wanted to discuss and she said that the boys from SA wants to talk to their mother according to the behaviour that GVH used to do. She has extra boyfriends apart from my uncle and she used to choose those men who are chiefs, group vg headman, or someone else whom she know that he has money. And her children knows the behaviour that’s why they came to flash inorder to discuss what to do or say to their mother. After this she went for lunch and she asked me to help her harvesting one day and I said no problem.

Later on Chikondi came to sell maize 4kgs = 100mk and I failed to ask her what she wanted to use the money bcoz she said that: I cheated my HB that am going to fetch some water in order to sell maize here. (we all laughed and shook hands) and she told me that I will start selling cotton next week and make 2 baby suits for my kids and I said no problem I will. After lunch Amila came to give me firewood in order for me give her 50mk for her HB to buy batteries while her 2 children have got malaria. I asked her why she didn’t buy painkillers for the kids, and she answered that I am afraid that he can be angry and now he plans to start working at [large commercial estate] although he don’t want. son of Elube is the one who came to tell him to start working there and it will be 5000mk and she continued that HB of Elube started now receiving 6000mk at [large commercial estate]? He works at Alma feeding goats, but told HB of Amila that he can help him to find a job at [large commercial estate]. HB liked the thought of the money but didn’t think he could manage to do the work. G say it is sometimes difficult to follow what Amila is saying. Starting a new story before the first one is over, mixing stories. Her eldest son (14yrs)
works at [large commercial estate] stays with uncle..]. Then Amila left.

Later on I saw Hamra carried a tin as if she was going to fetch somewater while coming to sell some maize and it was 8kgs 200 MK (his maize, she secretly took more of his maize to sell). She told me that: My HB is the one who told me to sell the maize in order to buy pain killers bcuz he is not getting better, but please tell him that it was 100MK not 200MK. Tomorrow I will come to sell for 500MK, I want to buy chitenje, but please don't tell him. And I said don't worry, I will not.

Later on Jane came, she asked me to borrow her my phone to flash her boyfriend to tell him that she wanted to go there on Saturday to chat. After flashing the boy called and discussed to meet on Friday. Then I asked Jane if he was not married and she said Yes! He is married with 2 kids and he is the one whom I said that he is in from 3 & he gives me a lot of money to buy what I want. Then she asked me to braid her hair and I did it.

Later on dotta in-law of GVH (Wisikesi) and Kondwani joined me knitting and Doris passed by she was going to fetch some water and the women said that; have you seen Jane, your friend Doris is now married [J: true? Yes was married shortly (6-8 weeks) but HB left] Jane laughed. And Jane continued that on Christmas day my boyfriend gave me money to buy soft drinks and he promised to come at night to spend a night with me and I accepted. Then around 6pm my boyfriend came and we met at Alisa’s house and Alisa her boyfriend came, then Alisa + her boyfriend spent a night at the bedroom while I and my boyfriend spent a night at the sitting room. But the problem was that we didn’t have blankets, I asked her if they use condoms and she said that we don’t. I asked her why and she answered that most of my bf don’t like condoms and they have never asked me about condom (the women laughed).

The women left and went to watch football match. Jane remained and some 2 boys called her and started chatting, from there Jane started explaining that one of the 2 boys proposed me and I refused. I told him that I have a boyfriend who wants to marry me, and he said that no problem we will see who will be the first to marry you. I met with this boy one day at [nearest tradingcenter] but I don’t like him bcuz he don’t know how to wash his body properly (we all laughed). Jane continued later on the other boy told me to accept and I said I will give you my phone number bcuz it is difficult to accept relationship for the first time, still the other boy said that just accept and kiss each other. I just laughed and runned away coming here (said Jane). Jane continued that I told you Getrude that I runned away from my HB bcoz he was just sleeping with me often like what happened to Pamela. She told Lovely that she chased her HB (new HB) bcuz he was just sleeping with her often almost 3 times a day and 2-3 times at night [J: when? The one who helped her in the field during hunger season. The one before HB of Getrude, was married for only few weeks. She told G that she chased him bcuz he wasn’t helping her in field, but Jasmine said he did help. G can’t believe about story bcuz of the porno magazine story - she must liking sex!], (we all laughed loudly) and Jane said that I am
going I will come again to chat tomorrow. I continued knitting alone up to darkness. (that was the end of the day).

7 April 2009 Tuesday

In the morning when I waked up I saw Makuta coming to borrow my cellphone. She said that please G I want to flash someone else and I gave her. The man called her and discussed to meet somewhere else so that her mother-in-law should not know. She told me that I’m coming, I want to meet with someone else. When coming back there she told me that; I went to meet with a certain friend, I begged money 140 for airtime and he gave me 500mk (smiled) he is my real friend. And I said that ok. I think that he was her boyfriend bcoz I met with them one day together. She explained to me that; I don’t understand why Esnart put on a trouser when going to Balaka, may be she wanted to meet with someone else or a boyfriend, bcoz I don’t understand why she didn’t participate the ceremony for the HB of GVH. after this she continued her journey to the field.

After breakfast Jane came to greet me as we were chatting she started flashing her boyfriend using my phone and Jane said that I like this man bcoz he gives me a lot of money but the only problem is that: he don’t have time to chat with me, like telling me any story to make me happy. But he used to chat with me when he wants to sleep with me (she laughed) and Jane continued that: At night yesterday my 2 young sisters were chatting with boys at the tap up to 11:30 pm but imagine they were chatting with boys but my g.mother was not angry and she didn’t ask anything.

Then later on we saw g.son of GVH + a son of Rosemary and Kondwani picking cotton in GVH’s field (ganyu) and Jane said that they are doing ganyu, they have started earlier bcoz they are afraid of thieves then Vanessa came to sell maize 8kgs, she said that she wanted to buy chemical to treat her hair. Then dotta of Lovely came to sell 4kgs at 100mk. Mr Ntawanga 5 kgs = 125mk dotta of Ntawanga 6kgs = 150mk. Dotta of Blessings 2kgs = 50mk the other dotta of Tumanene 1kg = 25mk, 2 dottas of Elube 1kg = 25mk the other one 1kg = 25mk they told me that they wanted to buy what they want like mandasi, biscuits.

Then Jane said that my g.mother has gone to [small crossroads market] to receive her salary (for being GVH). I asked her how much and she said I don’t know, and I saw Kondwani + her 3 children carried 3kgs bags of cotton and Kondwani said that; am afraid of thieves that’s why I harvested earlier but not yet matured bcoz of the light of the moon its easy for thieves to steal, said Kondwani.

Then Jane left, soon after lunch I continued knitting and Wisikesi + Ellesi joined me. Sofia called me and started laughing that have you seen Livia! She has started relationship with a certain boy (rasta) who sells beans, she cheated that she wanted to start a BS
of selling beans not knowing that the rasta man wants to give her some beans to sell (she laughed loudly).

Then the women started asking how much they have harvested, Lovely came for me to braid her hair and Wisikesi asked Lovely how much she harvested and she said 1 full nkhokwe (maize storage) but last yr ½ nkhokwe but this yr bcoz of running water and about Blessings, Lovely answered that 1 full nkhokwe and 2 baskets but last yr it was 2 full nkhokwe. Then Kingsley passed by and Wisikesi said that: Ellesi, why did the relationship with Kingsley ended? And she answered that nothing! Then Lovely said that: its good bcoz you belong to the same village and you can not respect each other. Wisikesi laughed loudly and said that you were having sex in a certain cotton field last yr, have you remembered? Ellesi didn’t answer but Lovely said that please don’t remind them about the past.

Lovely continued that my HB will come soon and we discussed that I must go for injection (child spacing) and am happy. Then Wisikesi said that that’s good bcoz most of the women don’t use condoms even myself. And you Lovely, you can’t cheat me that you used condom before or even in marriage. I was born in this village and no-one else can cheat me. Kondwani joined and Chikondo said that: I met with your ex-HB and he gave me 100mk to give you inorder to buy soap for the children. Then Kondwani said that thanks a lot.

Lovely continued that Sofia and Venesi went for ganyu (casual labour) in the field of dotta of Alma inorder to receive chitenje or soap or lotion (harvesting and kutonola (shelling)) that’s what they do all the yrs. Later on Charity and her mother came to take K1250 for 1 bag of maize (50kg) and promised to bring the maize on 9th April. At 5:49 everybody left, but I didn’t use a v. recorder bcoz the women liked to seat near the tree, I continued knitting up to dark hours.

8 April 2009 Wednesday. [doorgekrast]

Early in the morning when I waked up Livia came to sell 3kgs = 75mk of maize and she said that I borrowed 100mk to Sofia and I want to give back. Then I asked her about my 50kg bag and she said that I will give you later. Then she asked me to buy thread for her and she will give the maize but I refused I said that already have my maize and you are failing to give me and how I can not give you thread unless you give me the maize. Kingsley laughed and said that Livia! You liked borrowing a lot of money but I don’t know what you use bcoz you are still staying with parents. And Livia didn’t answer anything.

8 April 2009

In the morning when I waked up, Monya and her sister (dottas of Rashida) came to sell maize, Monya 3kgs = 75mk, her sister 4kgs = 100mk and they told me that we want to buy
mandasi with that money bcoz Tumanene said that she will start that BS today.

Then I started clearing the house and washing plates. Later on I went to fetch some water then I saw Chisoni going to harvest. And I also met with GVH + 3 grandchildren going to harvest their maize. Then at the borehole I met Hilda and Lovely going to their fields to harvest. Soon after breakfast, Makuta came to borrow my bike and she told me that: sorry G but I want to meet with the same man who gave me 500mk. He is my boyfriend, you know G I cannot manage to stay without sex since 2005 and I know that my HB is not just staying without girlfriend. But I will try to keep it secret but even yourself don’t tell my mother-in-law. This man used to give me some money and now am arranging for a birthday party on 28 April and I will come to pick you on my bike so that we can cerebrate together and that bf is the one who will buy some food. But no-one else from mgwir a will come bcoz they like gossiping. Imagine G, even XXX has a boyfriend, one day some one else found her doing sex in a kitchen (she laughed) and said that I will come later.

After lunch I continued knitting and Isaw HB of Sofia passing by, then Tumanene came and told me that please G give me 500mk and I will bring maize anyday! I want to start a BS of selling mandasi. Then I gave her 500mk. Then I started my journey to Suset to check what she has been writing, then Sofia stopped me and she said that my HB came and gave me 500mk to buy soap for the children and am happy. Then I told her that just continue loving your HB then Sofia laughed.

Still on the way I saw HB of Naima packing maize full nkhokwe (maize storage) I greeted him and his wife said that G this is not my maize but for the one with iron sheet house (Aisha) then we all laughed and I said that I didn’t ask you but I just greeted you. [“When Janneke will come she will ask a lot of questions about how much we harvested...” But is was their own maize]. When I reached at Suset’s house I didn't find anyone else then I turned back home. I continued knitting alone then at 4.00pm I saw Makuta coming back with my bike and she said that: thanks a lot I met him and he gave me 1000mk.

Later on I continued my journey to see my children at M. village and now am back. And bcoz she said that she is from Mudzi B then I asked her questions on (vragen Feb 2009 Mudzi B and Mudzi A paper)

Q1. she answered that when women suspect or know that their HB’s are not unfaithfull, most of them they just stay without asking the HB, they say that: if I will ask that means they will be angry and go to get married to another wife, later on it will be difficult to take care of the children vice-versa. According to a HB most of them they just divorce and get married to another wife without discussions.

Q2. She said that men and women do not stay together for their entire lives but often have
multiple partners throughout bcoz, they don’t love each other. Most of the men or women they only love each other soon after marriage or before giving birth, but after the first born child that’s when men go to other wives and women goes to another man but especially the one who is married bcoz he knows the responsibility - 2: they don’t trust each other for example a man can be chatting with a lot of women and a woman can be chatting with a lot of men. And it is difficult to trust each other they don’t believe that: either they are just friends or not and they think of having other partners instead of asking each other. I didn’t use a question paper then it was difficult to remember everything but Q5 she said that:

1606 Concept of chikondi (love) means doing everything that your partner ask you to do for him/her. But if it is not necessary try to tell each other that: this is not true/bad/good but lets do this. But if you don’t do what your friend ask that means you don’t love each other and if you don’t want to do it be free to say it to avoid quarrels (that’s chikondi). But I didn’t understand shapes doesn’t have/how it is valued then I didn’t continue.

1607 Q11 land tenure system she said that is handed over when you want to get married or else when you are still young inorder to teach you how to work in the field so that you can grow crops for sale and buy what you want e.g growing tomatoes, cotton, maize. And children move out to live independently soon after puberty stage bcoz it’s the time when you are able to wash yourself even going for ganyu (casual labour) to buy soap or else you move out when you are about to get married inorder to prepare by buying plates, tins, cups etc.

1608 Soon after this question Makuta said that: I am going back home now see you tomorrow and feel free to ask me anything, you are my friend (she left and promised to come the other day). Then no-one else came.

1609 9 April Thursday.

1610 In the morning when I waked up I saw Esnart going to harvest alone. Then son of Lovely came to sell maize 7kgs = 175mk. Then from there I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I met with Grace and Evelin they greeted me and said that: we are going to harvest (ganyu) in the field of dotta of Alma. And she has started buying maize at 30mk/kg but after that ganyu (casual labour) we will choose ourself. We always come back home around 11am but we have not yet finished harvesting in our fields. I asked Sofia separately if it is working about what she is writing and she told me that don’t worry everything is ok. If I will have a question I will come and ask, bcoz soon after ganyu I go back to my field and you cannot find me at home.

1611 On the way back I saw Sofia harvesting and she told me that: I hope I will have only 2 ½ or 3 bags of maize and today I have bought ½ bag the money that my HB gave me yesterday. Then HB of Vanessa came to sell 9kg = 270 he said that please buy at 30mk per kg
bcoz dotta of Alma has started buying at 30mk bcoz you are buying at 25mk and she wants a lot of people to sell there and I said no problem bcoz now I have finished buying. Then chief Mudzi A came to sell 12kg = 370 at 30mk/kg, then he told me that now I am getting better I cheated my wife that I am not getting better bcoz I didn’t want to help her harvesting and I wanted to have a chance of coming to sell maize here, he laughed and continued her journey to see GVH.

Then Innocent sent Trinity to borrow scale then I went there to ask what she wanted to use it for and she answered that: my mother is the one who wanted it. Jasmine answered that: G we took 1000mk to GVH with Innocent & we promised to pay back a 50kg bag of maize. Livia 25kgs and I 25kgs and now she came saying that she wants her maize. Then Sofia called me separately and said that my HB will come to give me a bag of beans to ex-change with maize but Jasmine is not happy [bcoz her son is taking care of Sofia again. End may the son come to spent a night at Sofia’s house here in Mudzi B and Jasmine asked him how her daughter-in-law in Balaka is doing, that he should tell her to come and chat with Jasmine here, and even gave a basin of maize to be eating with his new wife. This shows that Jasmine likes his new wife says Getrude]. And yesterday Innocent went to S. village and her ex-HB gave her 1000mk to buy 50kg bag and she came back on a hired bike. She explained this to her parents and her father was not happy he asked Innocent why she is still in relationship with the man who gave a child but failing to take care. And now going at S. village secretely and received money for maize. Then her mother said that don’t buy the maize but buy food for the child. Sofia stopped talking bcoz Innocent was coming near by.

Then Tumanene came selling mandasi then Esnart was going to fetch some water then she asked Tumanene why she decided to start a BS and she said that I want to buy lotion and soap, then Esnart said that have you forgotten that your HB was angry when he heard that you have started a BS? She said that the problem is that most of women or boys who have cellphones used to tell HB’s in SA that your wife has started a BS that’s why most of the women used to be afraid e.g my HB (Tumanene) when he heard last yr that I have started a BS he was angry and told me to go back to my parents bcoz his friends were laughing saying that you are in SA, and if your wife is selling mandasi that means her friends or your friends will be laughing saying that you don’t send enough money.

Esnart and Tumanene laughed and then continued their journey. Then Tumanene, Kondwani joined me knitting and Amila came and she started saying that I have seen a new HB of Emra, she has now married to a certain man from Mangochi (everybody laughed) and said that she has seen that Ndaba will not help her.

Then Mr Langmwale came to give me the book that you asked and he told me in brief especially the head lines and he told me to go at Br. village to see what some women will do. They wanted to start learning how to cook different foods using a charcoal burner (mud stove)
but with less firewood and they chose only 10 women per village and I promised to go and see.

Then HB of Julia came to sell 30kgs of maize and I told him that I have finished buying and he continued to dotta of Alma and Kondwani said that: this family works hard in the field and they have harvested a lot of maize that’s why they are selling. Then Jane came and Kondwani asked her why she was chatting with HB of Vanessa alone at night and Jane answered that: his wife told me to ask him why nowadays he is not saying bye when he wants to go somewhere else. But soon after their marriage he was telling her where he was going, but the HB didn’t answer anything and I told him to start telling her wife where he is going (everybody laughed). Jane continued that even when my father and mother querell I used to tell them that its bad and they stop (the women were just laughing).

Then Tumanene started saying that am still afraid bcoz I didn’t tell my HB that I have started a BS bcoz last time he was angry, and in hunger season he sent only 4000mk for me to buy 1 bag of maize and when I asked extra money to buy 2 bags, he was angry and told me to go back to my parents and get married to a rich person who can manage to buy 2 bags at 8000mk. And all the women in Mudzi B were happy and laugh bcoz my HB chased mw. I know that they were laughing bcoz of jealousy, but later on he apologised and said that please my wife don’t go back to your parents. Then Kondwani answered that: my brother in SA is the one who used to tell the boys from this village not to querell with their wives here and even Esnart, my brother in SA is the one who told Ronan that forgive your wife and don’t chase her. But the best thing is that: you Tumanene tell your HB that: you have started a BS and Tumanene accepted.

Kondwani continued that: I have remembered that my HB was beating me bcoz I was just following him where he was going with his friends, I was jealousy that’s why I was following him everywhere (Tumanene laughed and said that: even my I was just following him everywhere and when he asked me this I said that I want to see what you will be doing bcoz we loved each other and there is no need for you to leave me alone here. (even Lovely said Kondwani) And bcoz of this sometimes failing to go where he was supposed to go (we all laughed) and Kondwani continued that my HB was giving me the whole money that he was keeping but the problem was that he was telling me to give him the money often but when coming back he was coming empty handed and that’s how I heard from my friends that he has a girlfriend, I was angry and stopped keeping the money and divorced. And Tumanene continued that even myself I was keeping the money that my HB was telling me to keep while other HBs they don’t give their wives money to keep bcoz they don’t trust each other even Lovely or Blessings they were saying that their HB were just buying anything on their own. And sometimes failing to eat bcoz of waiting for the HB to bring ndiwo (relish) (when coming back where they have gone).

Then dotta of Venesi came and Blessings to knit. Then Kondwani laughed and said that can you tell me the owner of this child? I am from this village but I don’t know where you got your child (she just laughed) and Blessings answered that: he is from this village and she told me herself that he gave her some money for soap (500mk) and he stays near her house. But I
cannot manage to mention him bcoz you can’t believe (everybody laughed).

Tumanene continued that other women after querelling with their HB they don’t go and sleep at the same bedroom but separately bcoz they know that at night a man can not manage to sleep alone (but that’s not a good idea! Said Tumanene) but with their wives and after querelling inorder to forgive each other quickly its good not to sleep separately bcoz after being angry that means the HB can go to another wife (we all laughed). Then Esnart came to sell maize 10kgs = 300mk then the women laughed and said that she is selling maize as if her HB doesn’t send enough money then Blessings answered that may be she just cheat her friend that my HB sent 10 thousand instead of 4 or 5 thousand (all women laughed). It was already 5:48 pm and every body went back home. GVH sent her dotta to beg sailt and I gave her.

10 April 2009, Friday.

In the morning when I waked up Isaw chief Mudzi B + 3 children going to the field. When I went to the borehole I met with Emra and she told me that I want chipewa (hat) and will come with 3kgs of maize and said no problem. Then later on I saw chief Mudzi B carried full basket of g/nuts and her children full basin everybody, then Kondwani said that she has finished harvesting maize. Then now she is harvesting g/nuts. Then Elube passed by then Kondwani said that: she is going to attend a certain ceremony for the one who died at [nearest primary school] village. then Hamra was going to fetch some water, she greeted me and told me that I will come with 20kgs of maize to sell and I answered that sorry I stopped buying and she said ok, I will go and sell to the dota of Alma. Around 10 I went to check what Suset was writing and I passed Chikondi harvesting and she greeted me and said that: I’m still busy but I will tell you when I will be free and I said no problem.

When I reached at Suset’s house I found her sleeping and she said that I am not getting better since that time and I have not yet started harvesting. I checked what she has been writing and I tried to remind her what she forget to write especially where she bought, but at least it was nice and I just encouraged her to work hard. Then her g.mother [Kima] called me and said that I have heard that you are buying maize and I said yes its true. And she continued that that’s good, but have you seen now! People have already forgotten the time that they were buying maize at 80-85/kg when they will sell cotton that means they will fail to buy maize bcoz it will be 50-60mk/kg and she continued that I am still harvesting may be I will finish next week (Suset looked ill and coughing). She continued that: are you going to continue moving around asking how much we have harvested? And I said no! she laughed and said that: Iwas thinking that you will start asking questions so that we can have extra soap and salt (we all laughed). Some 4 boys are also buying maize at [small crossroads market] 25mk per kg and at J. village 25mk/kg even at [nearest tradingcenter] people are buying and sell at Ntcheu, Dedza where they have not yet started harvesting from there I went back home and prepared my lunch.
Soon after lunch I started knitting then Kondwani and Wisikesi and Tumanene came to knit, as we were chatting new HB of Malita passed by then Kondwani said that G do you know that this man was the HB of mother of Naima and I said no! and she continued that the wife is the one who chased the HB when she started receiving some money from her son who is in SA bcoz that son belong to another HB and now he is married to Malita. But God cannot bless Mother of Naima bcoz they were staying together even in hunger season going for ganyu and now you can see that he is working in growing tomatoes.

Then Wisikesi said that am having my periods now and Kondwani answered that if your HB was here that means you could have put a piece of Red cloth or red mkanda (kind of cloth) to show him that you are menstruating bcoz most of the women are shy (not free to talk to their HB about this, that’s why old women came with this idea. And soon after finishing you put a white piece of cloth.

Then Sofia called me separately & she said that: Have you seen G, my grandmother gave 2000MK to Jane, and 2000MK to Kingsley, and the other 2 girls 1000 each, but she didn't give me anything. [J: Maybe received some money from SA? All these kids’parents are in SA...] And I just told Sofia that don’t worry it happens. It was already 5:30 pm and everybody left.

11 April Saturday

In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water then GVH called me, when I went there she sais that: have you seen Getrude, I have harvested full nkhokwe (maize storage) and now am waiting for g/nuts, I have not yet started harvesting then. I just told her that continue working hard. Then she continued that everybody in the village will go to attend a campaign meeting at [small crossroads market] and I will go there bcoz I heard that group villages will receive a bicycle.

After this I continued my journey to the borehole. Then at the borehole I found some women (chitukuko) clearing at the place where they planted trees, then a certain man (fat) passed by. Then Pamela said that; this man was the second HB of chief Mudzi B he is going to see his child, they divorced but he used to come to stay 2-3 weeks only especially when he hears that: the brother of chief Mudzi B sent some money from SA, but now chief Mudzi B told him to stop coming. Any child that chief Mudzi B has belongs to different fathers. Then HB of Fatima passed by and Pamela said that this boy likes women, he is now in relationship with someone else from Kh. village he used to go there with Kingsley. Some women started coming to fetch some water and she stopped talking.

After breakfast I started knitting then Kingsley came to buy chipewa at 80mk then later on son of Kondwani came to buy chipewa 70mk (different pattern). Around 11am a certain
woman came to buy a small jersey at 300mk. And she said that she was from [nearest primary school]. I was happy bcoz people started buying.

Then dotta of Venesi came with a latter saying that: I must pay 300mk for the scale that I borrowed to use when buying maize then I gave her and said thanks a lot for borrowing me. [Scale was from concern universal to measure firewood to see fuel efficiency of mud stove. Mr Langmwale had told Getrude that she can be using it, but now Venesi asked 300mk for it]. Then Eveles sent some g/nuts in a big plate through her grand dotta and I said thanks a lot.

After lunch I started knitting and Esnart and Vanessa came and greeted me, and they said that: we are going to watch football but all the women from Mudzi B went to attend the campaign meeting at [small crossroads market]. I stayed alone up to dark hours, then GVH passed by around 7pm coming back from campaign with Lovely they greeted me and said that: the meeting started at 3:30pm but they cheated them to go at 9 am. I didn't receive a bike said GVH. Then Lovely said that: we will receive money tomorrow that president Bakili sent. And they continued their journey, but I failed to go at Sawli bcoz I heard on the radio that “be carefull this time! Don't force yourself to go and attend the meetings bcoz people used to querell and others fighting”.

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1632

12 April Sunday.

In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water at the borehole. I met with Amila and a certain woman fetching some water, then the woman asked Amila that: where is your first born child? Then Amila answered that: he is still working at [large commercial estate] farm, I asked her what he is doing and she said that feeding sheeps. I asked how old is he? And he said I have forgotten but less than 15. when I reached home Tumanene came and she said that: I brought this potatoes but give me 20mk I want to buy painkillers for my dotta. Then I gave her and took the potatoes.

Later on Vanessa came she greeted me and said that: the money that I sold maize I bought this hair chemical and I want you to treat my hair but don’t tell anyone keep it secret bcoz up to now my HB didn’t know that I sold maize. Later on Lovely, Pamela passed by they greeted me and said that we are going to Chiyendausiku market to buy cloths and matemba, cloths for children. This is not hunger season said Pamela and laughed. I was still with Vanessa then Makuta came to greet me, she asked me to flash her HB in SA, I did it and the HB called after few minutes. After their discussions I asked her what her HB is doing in SA and she answered that: I have never asked him may be one day I will ask him, but just heard that HB of Chisoni works at a certain family cooking and Ronan at first he was just cleaning at the mosque but now he has stopped (we all laughed). He started another job now.

When Vanessa left, Blessings passed by then Makuta said that can you flash this
number please, I want to talk to my boyfriend when she talked to him she started saying that I wanted to meet with him today, but am afraid to go alone. Afraid of what? People will know that I am in relationship with that man. Can you go with me G in the afternoon? I said no problem (my aim was to find out what they always discuss). Then she started saying that: do you know that second born of Blessings was mixed? And I said no. Makuta continued that: the HB of Blessings was in relationship with a certain woman and she has 2 kids from him and now when he came here in Malawi he went there and spent almost a week. She is now in Lilongwe and up to now he used to send some money to that woman. When Blessings heard this she started relationship with a certain man in Balaka, then on 24 Dec 2007 the man came at midnight and spent a night with Blessings and instead of going back earlier he went around 5am and some women saw him coming out of the house. That’s why she is now staying with her brother in the same house (her HB decided this). Then after that day 24 Dec her HB came on 28 Dec from SA, he just spent one night and went to Lilongwe to another wife and stayed a week there. After that week he now came back to Blessings and stayed 2 nights and went back to SA. After 2 months some women realised that Blessings was pregnant and people started gossiping that we will see the owner of the child, but lucky enough the child was similar to her HB and even the days were not different according to the time that he slept with her boyfriend and her HB (she laughed) and continued up to now the relationship is there.

Then Evelin came with the book to show me what she is writing and she said that: sorry I decided to come and show you bcoz when some women saw you coming at home they say that: you come to inorder to give me some money. I checked everything and it was nice then I encouraged her to work hard. Then she told me that I’m going for ganyu to the dotta of Alma (selecting maize, small and big interms of size) they want to make mgaiwa with small sized maize then she left and continued her journey, it was around 1:22pm.

At 2:30pm Kondwani came to knit then chief Mudzi B passed by then she greeted me. And I asked Kondwani why she didn’t greet her sister? Then Kondwani answered that: we querelled yesterday her ex-HB came yesterday and he spent a night with her. Then I told her that: have you forgotten that this man left when your child was few months old? And now you accepted when he asked to spend a night here? Why didn’t you chase him? May be you want another child, and bcoz of these words she stoppe but talking to me. Then a lot of children passed by and Kondwani said that: these kids are going to sell maize to dotta of Alma bcoz you G stopped buying.

Later on Rosemary passed by with a big stick in her hands and her 2 girls were infront of her. We asked her what was wrong, and she answered that these girls are stealing my maize that I harvested (the 2 girls carried everybody a small pot full of maize going to sell). Later on people will think that I am the one who is sending these young girls to sell maize, which is not good said Rosemary. Then Rosemary started beating her children and all the children cried loudly.

Then Lizzie passed by she greeted me and said that: sorry am busy that’s why I didn’t
Come to knit last month and now am doing ganyu to the dotta of Alma, kutonola chimanga komanso kupeta chimanga (shelling and winnowing maize). Am with Sofia and Grace even Hilda. But my HB is still here, he said that he will not go back to SA [J: good relationship? G doesn't know why he now sells second hand cloths at [nearest tradingcenter]] and I told her that I will come one day to chat. Then Kondwani said that I am failing to go and sell my cotton bcoz vendors are buying at 35mk per kg and others 45mk per kg but when we planted the cotton they cheated us that they will buying at 100mk-150mk/kg. May be next month, that’s when people from Balaka will come to buy at a better price.

Then Makuta came for the second time and she told me that: sorry we will not go where I told you but may be on Tuesday and I said no problem. Then she started asking Kondwani that: is Evelin married now? And she said no. and I asked Makuta why she asked that question and she answered that: at the beginning she was in relationship with a certain boy and she was pregnant, and stopped school but the boy refused to marry her and later on after giving birth she married to a certain man from Mangochi but that man was married to a certain woman at Mangochi and it was difficult for Sofia to stay with him in Mangochi and Evelin was staying alone with her child [J: ooooh, no, and I kept on asking why she never lived with the man she called HB… And G did not ‘protect’ Evelin and me by suggesting to me that he may have been married…]. Later on Evelin had a child from that HB and the HB stopped coming to see her. Then she started relationship with certain man and gave birth to a third child. When HB from Mangochi heard this, he was angry and stopped coming to see her. But the man didn’t marry her, then after a year, the ex-HB from Mangochi divorced with his wife there and he decided to go back to Evelin then he told Evelin to go and stay with him at Mangochi and Evelin accepted. The HB was working somewhere else but he liked women and later on he died then it was difficult now bcoz his relatives came to take all the properties and when she went to complain to the court that’s when they decided to give her 35 thousand bcoz she also have a child from him and with that money she built a house that she has and some livestock at that time and bought a blanket and cloths for herself and child. Kondwani laughed and said that: as of now she is still in relationship with HB of Elube..

Then Makuta asked Kondwani to escort her to buy tomatoes at the grocery then I continued knitting alone. At 4:50 pm I decided to go and see what Venesi was knitting, I found her chatting with her children. She greeted me and said that: am not getting better! Coughing and I saw that her maize was full nkhokwe. After few minutes I went back home.

Then Charity came to give the maize that she sold to me 1 bag = 1250 and Vanessa came she said that G please, I cheated my HB that I went somewhere else for ganyu and I found 200mk and bought chemical to treat my hair and Gertrude is my witness. And if he will come and ask you here just accept. I did this bcoz he now stopped giving me some money but just coming with matemba sometimes soap. That’s why I decided to sell maize and cheat him. We all laughed)
and she left, I continued knitting up to dark hours.

1644  **13 April Monday.**

1645  In the morning when I waked up, I saw Vanessa going to the field with Kondwani, she greeted me and said that: I am going to pick cotton part of my field am afraid of the thieves, I asked her if she will start selling now and she said no! we will wait till the price will be higher. Then she continued her journey, when I started cleaning plates the ex-HB of Livia came. I greeted him and he started telling me that: I sent 1000mk to Livia to buy maize. I am also buying at [nearest trading center] but I decided to also send money to Livia inorder to help me bcoz she is my wife and we used to discuss about building a house now and I wanted to give her some money to start a BS of selling beans but before giving some money to start a BS I decided to give her money to buy 1 bag of maize inorder to see if she will manage to run a BS but now she just received the money but not buying maize, she is saying that: she gave you that 1000mk that’s why I am here I want my money and I told that sorry I don’t know anything about this story but I know that Livia took my money for a bag of maize but up to now she is not giving me. And lets go together and asked. I went with him to talk to Phingi (mother of Livia). When I asked about that 1000MK Livia said that sorry abambo a Hana that money is not with G but my brother at J. village. Father of Hana was angry and said that: I know Livia that you havealot of HBs> I have seen you several times with a certain boy at Balaka and even my friends used to tell me about your behaviour, then I will come tomorrow with my uncle to take my money or a bag of maize then am ready to divorce. Livia was just quite and her mother said that: I did’nt know that Livia came to you G to take some money for maize. Then I told Livia that, please just give me my maize later on you will not give me. And her mother said that please G cool down she will give you later and I said no! Then after few minutes her father came and asked what was wrong then his wife explained to him and he said that : Livia please take maize and give to G because we don’t know what you used the money, then Livia gave me 40Kgs and she said that: I will come later with 10Kgs.

1646  On the way back I met with GVH and she asked me where I found the maize and I said I am coming back from Phingi. Then GVH said that: I don’t understand her bcoz she is also keeping my 2 bags of maize and to Esnart 2 bags. Are they going to have food in hunger season? But the big problem is that: Phingi used to accept everything that Livia do, and do you know that she was in relationship with a certain man from [large commercial estate] and gave birth to Livia when the HB was away and I said I don’t know. She continued that by 1949 I was 9-10 years old before Phingi was born and it was in hunger season at that time our parents were making a big pit at a bedroom, then they were putting a very big clay pot in that pit and soon after harvesting they were filling that clay pot with a lot of maize. And in hunger season 1949 we were eating that food while parents of Phingi were going somewhere else very far to buy maize. Please take care don’t chat with them.

1647  Then she continued going to her field to harvest g/nuts. Then Wisikesi came
to greet me, she asked me what I was discussing with her mother-in-law and I answered that we were just chatting. Then she continued that I am going to M. village, GVH send me to tell her HB that she will go this week Friday. She laughed and said that I have remembered one day before her HB died she stayed with me in my house but at night she went to mosque having sex there and now she told me to tell her new HB that: he need to find a place where to spend the night on Friday. We all laughed and she continued her journey.

Then I saw Esnart coming back from the field and she told me that she is now harvesting g/nuts. I asked her how much she harvested almost full nkhokwe (maize storage) and she used nkhokwe for Blessings. most of the yrs Esnart used to harvest almost 2 full nkhokwe and this year she has harvested 1 full nkhokwe and she gave me the other nkhokwe to keep my maize and its full now, you know that I have started cooking my own food and I bought a plastic basin, even new plates she smiled and continued her journey.

Later on Sofia called me, she asked me to escort her to make nsinjiro to chief Mudzi B, when we reached there we found chief Mudzi B cooking nsima and her dotta was making nsinjiro, (g.nuts flour), she greeted us and said that [chief Mudzi B:] I saw ex-HB of Livia near the borehole and Sofia said that yes! He wanted his money from Livia. Then chief Mudzi B said that Livia came one day here then she told me that: I will come one day with a visitor, I found a new HB now who want to marry me and now he wanted to pay 750mk but I don’t know what to do bcoz up to now my ex-HB is not telling me that we divorced then I told Livia that (said chief Mudzi B) if your new HB is serious then tell your ex-HB that lets go to the chief with your uncle to show everybody that we have now divorced. She accepted at that time but up to now its 2 ½ months, she is not telling me anything but the problem is that her mother used to help her to take care of her children that’s why she is having a lot of boyfriends.

Sofia added that as of now Phingi gave 20kgs of maize to her g.son to sell and find money for transport for him to go and start staying at Mangochi. And now Livia sent 5kgs for him to sell for her. On the way back GVH gave me 1500mk she told me to buy a bag of maize for her (why not buy herself? Was busy, wanted to go to son at J. village village, but people had already become used that they could sell maize at her house, so may still come to sell. didn’t want to give money to Kingsley bcoz he may steal some of it). When I reached home son of Chikondi came to sell 12 kgs = 300MK & he said that: my father is the one who sent me to sell the maize. Then Venesi also came to sell 8kgs = 200mk. She said that she wanted to buy painkillers. Then I started knitting alone no-one else joined me, I didn’t know why they failed to come.

14 April Tuesday 2009.

In the morning when I waked up g.son of GVH Came to call me, he said that GVH is the one who sent him. When I reached there GVH said that this is my first born son.
Father of Jane he is a very ill. I have tried some trad med but not helping. I have now decided to send him at Liwonde clinic [J: private hospital, thus perceived better. Why there, I asked G. Maybe bcoz he has money, she guessed] for check up and blood testing if he is positive, then its good for him to start ARVs, then I said that its a good idea & she continued that I want some money that I gave you to buy maize so that I can give him money for transport because he can not manage to go alone but Kingsley and Jane will go with him, and if he is positive then I will tell him to stay here so that I can be taking care of him. Then on the way back I saw Sofia harvesting G.nuts. she was chatting with Vanessa and Vanessa said that I am still picking cotton then HB of Thokozani passed by and Vanessa laughed and told Sofia that have you heard that he is now in relationship with Charity. I saw them yesterday going at [small crossroads market] together. He is saying that he want to marry her because Rosemary (his M. in-law) is bewitched her daughter that why he sent her back to her mother. Sofia laughed and said that I think Charity likes men, she is beautiful but being in relationship with that boy? And here its just near by! Why are they doing this. Then chief Mudzi B passed by she greeted me and said that I am going to start picking cotton at a certain field and [chief Mudzi B:] Livia came home yesterday and she told me to write a letter to her ex-HB to show that they must divorce now and I told her to come with her ex-HB and their uncles, ankhoswe (wit ness) as as witness to show that they are serious to divorce, Iam doing this because the HB came last year to pay 500Mk and he came with his ankhoswe (witness for marriage) then now I cannot accept to give her that letter alone. Then she continued her journey to the field. Then Davie and Fatima came to sell maize they told me that they have been sent by g Mudzi B 30Kgs -240Mk Davie then 180Mk Fatima. Then a Daughter of Sofia came to sell 1 ½ and young sister of Dorica came to 2Kgs. Then around 11.20am I saw Vanessa and her HB carried a 50Kgs of cotton coming back from the field and Kondwani came back with 2 bags of 50Kgs of cotton with her first born son.

At 12.20 I saw son of GVH who went to the hospital coming back he came here to beg drinking water. I asked him if the doctors at Liwonde helped him and he said that they helped me I have paid 1500Mk. But they have given me a letter to go at Balaka and those doctors at Balaka will know what to do with me. And they also gave me some pain killers and injection but after testing my blood that’s when they asked me about a near by hospital and I said Balaka [probably HIV positive, bcoz letter for Balaka hospital, was treated for TB and received medicine to store at [nearest tradingcenter] and get them from there in stead of all the way to Balaka]. Then they told me to go there before Friday. After drinking water he went straight to GVH. Soon after lunch I saw Doris coming to sell maize 6Kgs -180Mk and found a chance of asking her what made her to get married then she said that I met with that boy at Mw. village but firstly I was staying with (Rashida young mother) and my mother died when I was only 7 months and Rashida is the one who was taking care of me up to October 2008 and her marriage ended. Later on she married a certain man who was bulding the house with mud only not bricks. and with her dota Monya we told her not to get married to that man bcoz he liked beer. Then after getting married to him, Rashida told me to start cooking my own food with my brother and she was saying that: you are rude, I have stopped taking care of you. Then bcoz of these words I told Rashida not to stay in the house that my father + mother built. From there I started moving around with men even boys inorder to find money for ndiwo, soap, lotion,
I started this last year Feb and later on I now decided to get married to one of my boyfriend so that he can be helping me in some of the things like soap and working in the field. I asked Doris how old is she and she said 17. I failed to ask her a lot of questions bcoz tears started coming out of her eyes. But she just continued that: Rashida stayed with that HB 2 months and he went back to his wife. After these words she continued her journey to the borehole.

Later on HB of Filimona came to sell maize 10kgs =300mk - 30mk per kg. then on the radio I heard Bingu wa Mutharika saying that fertilizer will be sold at 500mk and he will try to make a lot of coupons.

At 3:50pm Kondwani and Wisikesi joined me knitting then Wisikesi said that: my mother-in-law (GVH) is receiving 3500mk now (salary for group village headship). Then Wisikesi continued that am just feeling cold often nowadays and I said that why can’t you just go for blood testing and she answered that I will go with my HB and Kondwani answered that I have never gone for blood testing and I asked her why? And she said that I don’t want to know either am Pos or Neg, but if I am HIV N that means I will just be staying but not going for blood testing. If I will know that am Positive then I will be thin bcoz of thinking. And I encouraged her that you can start ARVs and she answered that how can I start ARVs while I don’t want to go for blood testing. I will be just staying waiting for death.

Dotta of Venesi joined us, as we were chatting I asked her who is the owner of her child then she answered that: Boris (in-law of Esnart) I was in relationship with him when I was at [nearest primary school] school, she didn’t continue explaining may be she was shy with dotta-in-law of GVH. but she just said that I am going home and I said that sorry may be I didn’t ask you a good question. When she left Wisikesi (DIL of GVH) said that the face of the son is not similar with Boris but I heard that she was in relationship with the one who is a thief (related to Sweetness) but the problem is that Just soon when she started menstrual she was in relationship with a lot of boys and it was difficult for her to mention the one who impregnated her. Latter on I saw wife of Boris passing by going to the bore hole and the women said that at least Boris is married rather than just moving around with different girls. Then three boys passed by and Chikondi said that : these are the boys who are in relationship with g.dotta’s of g. Mudzi B std 4 girls yesterday when I was coming back from the grocery I met with these boys together with the girls and Kondwani answered that I tried to tell GVH about the behaviour that these girls are doing but she was just quite she didn’t even say that she will talk to them. Even in the morning GVH is the one who wakes up earlier sweeping every where but not those girls sweeping.

After few minutes at 5:10 pm all the women left they said that its cold now, its good to go home and cook earlier and Kondwani said that atleast in the morning we are eating sweet potatoes or pumpkins or porridge but lunch and dinner we are now eating nsima with either pumpkin leaves, nseula, thelere (okra). I failed to use a voice recorder because the women liked to sit at the
In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water then I found Hilda fetching some water, but the other women were clearing at the tree field at while they were clearing they were discussing that they must share the potatoes (planted at woodlot, own initiative, not part of projects) now because people can start stealing. Like what happened last year. But Kondwani complained that yesterday we discussed with Chief Mudzi B about the potatoes and she accepted but when she went to explain this to Venesi she said, why sharing this time? Just do what you want but if Mr Langmwale ask me, that means I will tell him to ask you. Kondwani continued saying that this is not good, she is talking like this because she is the one who is looking after these trees. Some women said that let’s go and complain to GVH about what Venesi is saying and everybody accepted.

On the way back I met with Mr Ntawanga and his wife going to harvest g/nuts. I started knitting alone alone then Sofia passed by and she said that today there is a campaign meeting under the big tree, someone else will come from Balaka.

Then I saw Esnart coming back from the field with a basin full of g/nuts. Later on some two girls passed by with ½ bag everybody to sell at [small crossroads market]. After lunch I was knitting alone then I heard the sound of a car, then some women from Mudzi B and other villages started singing and dancing. Then I runned to see what was happening then it was a woman for campaign under Bakili Muluzi, then at the meeting she encouraged people to vote for Bakili and while talking she distributed salt (what did people say about this? just accept the salt, we didn’t ask for it. Can just receive it and we will think for ourselves who to vote for. Bingu distributed T-shirts others zitenje. Some chiefs in other villages received bicycles from Bingu), to everybody about 250gr & I also received & I heard Sofia telling Kondwani that Kingsley has already harvested 10 bags of cotton (50kg). Wisikesi & Kondwani were discussing that Friday GVH will go at M. village to see her HB but she wish she could spend a night there (they laughed and shaked hands). Two women (K + W) continued that I think GVH accepted the relationship bcoz she wanted money from him, you know that man has a lot of livestock, you can also see that her HB who died left a lot of money, her children from SA sent a lot of money but she still want a HB. She has her own grandchildren who can make a toilet, a fence than me (said Kondwani) I don’t have a toilet now even a bathroom there is no-one else who can do it for me unless if I have money to pay. Then Wisikesi told her that: why can’t you just get married and she answered that sindikufuna (I dont want) (doesn’t want bcoz first HB was just moving around with different women), at 4.00 pm I went back home bcoz at [small crossroads market], Lovely said that after the meeting people started fighting. At 4:30 am I saw the car going and people continued dancing. I continued knitting alone and no-one else joined me I hope they were tired singing and dancing.
16 April 2009 Thursday.

In the morning when I waked up I saw 2 boys coming to sell maize (new faces) 10kgs = 300mk and 9kgs = 270mk, then Hamra came and she told me that she will come to sell 25kgs and I said no problem.

At 8:00am I prepared my journey to Balaka standard Bank to withdraw some money. At Balaka I withdrawed 24 thousand because I used money for research (borrowed) and I wanted to pay back then at Balaka I bought actellic 1 bottle 400mk at Agora, and 10 empty bags at 800mk, then I went at the filling station to buy paraffin. Then Teleza gave me 1500mk to buy TNM cellphone, I tried to move around everywhere but I didn’t find. When I reached home I gave back Teleza her money and she said that I will send anyone else any day to check. I failed to ask her where she got the money ( she was just angry I don’t know what was wrong). I reached home at 1:10 pm then Sofia came to greet me and she said that let’s go home and see what my HB gave me, he came yesterday.When I reached there I saw a big basin full of beans and she said that the HB told her to exchange those beans with maize. 1 medium plate beans and 3 medium plates full of maize. He also gave her soap 10 bars, salt and 200MK. Then Livia greeted she was making kanyenya with matemba (dried fish fried in wheat flour coating) and asked her if she has started a BS and she said that it was for her mother.

When I went back home I found Tumanene sitting on the veranda she asked me to teach her how to make bread and I explained everything to her. An she said that I don’t know what BS I can do because I started kanyenya and Livia’s mother has started the same BS. Jane has started zitumbuwa (maize flour pan cakes). Then I saw son of Ntawanga coming to sell maize I asked him, who is the owner of the maize and he said that my parents sent me 19kgs=570MK. Later on I saw a group of young boys and girls coming to sell maize, Kondwani was passing by and said that a lot of girls are still coming to sell maize just stop knitting for today so that you can buy maize properly.

Doricia came with 14 kgs =420MK she said that she is just keeping the money inorder to buy clothes and soap. Litta 7 yrs girl 3 kgs=90MK, Dorica’s young sister 6kgs=180MK, dotta of Evelin 4kgs=120MK, Stella 8yrs girl 2kg=60MK, Victoria 8kgs=240MK, dotta of Venesi 5kgs=150MK, son of Haliday 6kgs=180MK, 10kgs (new face)=300MK, Chikondi 15kgs=450MK, g. dotta of GVH 6kgs=180MK, son of Amila 3kgs=90MK, dotta of Tumanene 1kg=30MK [Son of Amila later passed by with sweets. These were probably the kids collecting maize that was left behind fields].

Then Lovely came to see what I was knitting and she said that it’s good to have a toilet I asked her why she said these words and she answered that I saw Kondwani going in the bush to help herself because she don’t have a toilet (we all laughed) the she said that I will come to see
you later I want to see Elube. Then around 5 pm Wisikesi and Kondwani + Sofia came to greet me. Then Kondwani said that Gertrude, we were angry today we didn’t want to come and knit because this one (pointing at Wisikesi) was saying that women from Mudzi B don’t know how to wash their bodies properly and we were angry because she added that we produce a bad smell. When we are knitting but you know G it’s difficult to find soap while this woman has HB in SA. Then Wisikesi said that I say the truth only? You can wash your bodies even without soap if you don’t have, or just go for ganyu to find what you want (Kondwani, Vanessa, Sofia were angry and said that ) we will come to knit when we will wash our bodies. Whe the women left Wisikesi came separately and said to me that sorry G But I was saying the truth, I want to teach these women to take care of their bodies, because may be some HB used to run away because of bad smell.

After these words she went back. At knight I started calculating how much money I spent to buy maize and it was

G/nuts 1500 (from Wisikesi)

Maize 9 bags (13,155 MK)

Empty bags 10=800MK (80MK each)

Actellic 1 bottle 400MK

Lent scale 300 MK

Second hand cloth 3,800 MK (Balaka)

Total 18,455 MK

My aim was to sell some of the maize at a high price in December -January in Lilongwe not for food only. 4 bags of maize for food and extra for sale.

17 April 2009 Friday

In the morning when I waked up, I went to fetch some water then I met with Grace coming back from the field carried 3 pumpkins and she gave me 1 pumpkin. Still at the bore hole I
found Emra, Sofia, Blessings, Rashida washing their clothes, they said that we are preparing for the mosque.

Then I met with Kingsley coming back from the field and he was talking to his friend that I have already picked 9 ½ bags of cotton but this is just the beginning. On the way back I met with Sofia she greeted me and said that I have remained with 3 pages I need another book and I said no problem. The at home Phingi and Livia came with a bag of maize and they told me that we want to borrow a scale to see if it is 50kgs, we want to give back to GVH, then I helped them and Sofia came she said that I want to go at [nearest trading center] to buy a mat, I begged the money to my HB! Can you go with me and I said no problem I can go with you. And she said that he gave me 500MK. Then she continued that people have already started coming to exchange beans with maize. I asked whom? And she answered me that mother of Dorica brought 6 plates of maize and she gave her 3 small plates of beans, GVH 8 plates of maize then 4 small plates of beans.

Later on Fatima passed by going to fetch some water, I asked her why she is in this village and she answered that I came to see my mother in law (she just laughed) and I failed to ask her a lot of questions because I was with Sofia. Then Sofia said that I am going to cook pumpkins first, I escorted her and it was around 10:05 am but I found Jasmine and her family eating msima.

Then GVH came, she greeted me and said that today Friday around 4 pm I will go at M. village to my daughter in law’s uncle. I want to find some traditional medicines but I will come tomorrow morning. Then I said no problem I am still here (I knew that she was going to meet with her new HB).

Later on I saw chief Mudzi B passing by she greeted me and said that ndinapita ku dimba (I went to the garden) and I am coming back now, I want to grow tomatoes there in order to sell in June. She carried a plate full of beans and she said that I bought to Sofia and I asked her that you didn’t exchange with maize? And said yes but I gave her 500mk and that money she will buy maize. Then I started escorting chief Mudzi B and at the tap I saw Ada, Modesta, Tinenenji, Dorica, Ellesi, playing cards. I stopped inorder to see the way they do it. And they were contributing maize, but the one who won was taking the maize that was contributed. Sofia didn’t go at [nearest trading center] then I went alone by bike. And Livia told me to buy underwears she gave me 200mk and she said that: please don’t tell my mother that I sent you to buy underwears for me. I sold my maize to someone else. Then she continued that my father is buying maize and now Emra is selling ½ bag at 700mk and my father told me to go and buy for him.

On the way to [nearest trading center] I met with a lot of young girls and boys going at [nearest trading center] (why?). when I
reached there, I saw a lot of people buying and selling especially second hand cloths, almost 30 young women selling zigumu (maize flour cakes), mandasi, bananas, g/nuts, (no-one selling dried maize). I went direct to greet women selling fish, and they told me that at least now it is working a lot of people buying matemba and usipa (dry fish and small dry fish). Then young girls aged 11-12 almost 8 were selling mandasi in total they were 38 women including those 8 young girls but all the restaurant were closed I don’t know why. Young girls and boys buying cloths, underwears, mandasi, kanyenya. No woman selling tomatoes I asked a certain woman who was selling g/nuts and she said that it was now difficult to find tomatoes and no woman selling vegetables. Indeed a lot of people gathered around 4:45pm and at 5:25 I started my journey back home. On the way back I met with Ntawanga carried matemba (dry fish), Tulipesi carried matemba. All the women whom we interviewed were still selling matemba but women selling other merchandise were new faces to me. All the women selling tomatoes were not there. Only one man was buying cotton at 55mk per kg, and I bought 3 underwears for Livia at 60 each (new not second hand). For second hand they were selling at 25 each.

1686 18 April Saturday

In the morning when I waked up, I saw Livia going to fetch some water then she came to greet me. Then as we were chatting I asked her how it is going on with her new HB and Livia said that: I went to Balaka one day and his friends told me that he has another wife and not yet divorced that’s why he is failing to marry me. Then its good for me to stop thinking about him when I asked him, if it id true that he is married he answered am not married, if someone else told you! That means he is jealousy of our love affair. And now I have told him that am no longer his girlfriend andhe is saying that, he will not stop loving me but his aim is to marry me.

Then Tumanene came, and Livia continued her journey to the borehole. Then Tumanene said that when I sold kanyenya I went to buy hair chemical at [nearest trading center] and I applied myself but now I want you to give me the oil that you apply in your hair only for today. Then I gave her her (20mk hair chemical). Then she continued that, am now selling potatoes if you want you can buy! Then I said sorry I will buy later as of now I have some. Then Hamra came to sell maize for 200mk ½ pail and I said that sorry I hav stopped buying and she answered that ok I will just go and exchange with beans to Sofia. then later on a certain man not from this 2 villages came to sell full bags 50kgs and I said sorry I have stopped buying.

At 8:30 I prepared my journey to church and at 9:30 I departed. On the way I saw Florence + her HB harvesting cotton. Then I saw Chikondi + her son harvesting cotton. Alida was still harvesting maize, then I met with Doris, she greeted me and asked if I am still buying maize and I said no I have stopped and she continued that I wanted to find transport, I want to go at Mw. village with my HB to see his parents. Then I will just go and sell at J. village but they are buying at 20mk the other one 24mk per kg but we wanted you bcoz you were buying at 30mk. (I passed by Jasmine cooking nsima around 9:35am) when I reached at church they asked me
to take part in singing and I did it.

Then at the end chief of B. village congratulated some people at the church that they are now coming in time. And they contributed a lot of money almost 18omk to see someone else who was ill and one of the women said that: this is not hunger season and we are happy.

After lunch I started knitting then Kondwani, Vanessa and Wiskesi who came to learn how to send a text to her HB joined me as we were chatting. Ada + Tinenenji + mother of Dorica passed by going to sell maize to HB of Jasmine for himself (Innocence bought for brother) full medium pot everybody. Florence was passing by going to fetch some water, she stopped and greeted the women then a certain man came to sell maize and I said sorry I have stopped then Florence said that after selling cotton am planning to buy [maize] but the problem is that the price will be higher at that time, as of now people have not yet started selling but next month. Then Kondwani started saying that Holy is buying at 25mk per kg that’s why a lot of people are bringing their maize here.

Then Wisikesi said that a certain boy 14yrs from catholic church has now started going to muslim he said that he has done this because he want circumcision he heard on the radio that it helps to prevent HIV AIDS and she continued that but I am getting worried my dotta who is now 13yrs is in relationship with him, when I told her that: its bad she answered that inunso munayamba chonco musanakwaturane ndi bamboo anga (meaning you also started with this before getting married with my father, meaning you also started with this before getting married with my father, then Kondwani answered that: even g.dotta’s of GVH have got their boyfriend and they answer the same words. But they have started this bcoz young boys have got money after selling maize.

Then Livia called me separately and showed me the letter that her boyfriend wrote and it said that Livia: ine ndilibe mkazi, iweyo ndimakukonda ndipo ndidzakukwatira (I don’t have a wife, I love you and I want to marry you) . I am failing to marry you now bcoz am busy with something (I love you more than a cup of milk (these words were written in English and laughed). Then Livia said that aunt G we will discuss later bcoz you are busy with these women. Then the women started saying that as of now from 20th April they will open a youth club (Edzi Toto) at [clinic] village hospital and young boys and girls will be going there to play football, netball and a lot of girls are happy and Kondwani said that which girls? Because in this village only few girls are not married but may be from other villages. (the day that I went to Balaka, I saw some boys and girls gathered, but I didn’t know what was happening. Then Livia went to fetch some water and she said that its for my house, I have hired someone to build a house for me and I have already paid 200 MK. I failed to ask a lot of questions because the women were still knitting.

Then Jane passed by with the HB of Vanessa and Kondwani said that this is not good I saw them around 2 pm sitting together on the same mat while Vanessa was at the bore hole. When Vanessa came here to knit, they were still chatting and now Vanessa has gone
back home and Jane + HB of Vanesa are together going to the cotton field, everybody was quite

Pamela came to greet me around 5:30 pm and Kondwani said that I saw your ex-HB (the owner of the child coming there) and Pamela said that he went to my sister but I don’t know what he is looking for (all the women laughed) at 5:40 pm everybody left. Then Makuta from B. village came to greet me and she said that I am coming back from [small crossroads market] my boyfriend called me and we met in a certain house for his friend because his friend went to Mangochi and we were free to chat. My HB from SA called me and he said he will come back from SA now and it’s good for me to be chatting with my b.f. for the last time. When I will be pregnant that means it will be like my HB is the one who impregnated me. Then I saw Grace passing by with in law of Esnart but he is now married. After few minutes d. in law of g left. I failed to use a voice recorder because all the women said that we want to sit here not there so that we can see people passing by.

19 April, 2009

In the morning when I woke up I went to borrow a big mat to Jasmine to dry my maize ready to apply actellic then I found them eating porridge while Sofia was cooking sweet potatoes. Later on Chikondi came to give me sweet potatoes. Then Makuta came to greet me and I asked her if she use a condom when she went to meet with her boyfriend and she said that no! we didn’t, and no one else asked about it. And about blood testing she also answered that I will go with my HB.

Later on at 11 am I went to see if Evelin has finished writing the first note book then on the way I saw Ada cooking nsima and Tinenenji, Evelin, Dorica playing cards by contributing maize (njuga) (gambling). Then I called Evelin separately and asked if she has finished and she said no! but on 21st April then I asked how much she harvested and she said come and see, [Evelin:] I have decided to make a simple nkhouwe in one of the bed rooms and it was full then after few minutes Boris came with a scale, I asked him what was happening and he said that: I am going to everybody who took some money last year for a 50kg bag. And Evelin is included( indeed I saw a bag of maize separately at the corner of her house. Boris continued that : Jasmine 2000MK/bag I was thinking that they will just bring the maize on their own but they didn’t, thus why I decided to move around. From there he said that I am going to Pamela. Then I continued my journey back home. Then Livia came and she told me that Aunt G. I bring that letter this afternoon so that you can translate for me, there is a certain sentence written in English and I said no problem. Then I asked her [Livia] how much money is she going to get the money and then, answered that: I will tell you later, as of now I am busy fetching some
Later on I went to Suset to give her another note book and I found 4 women drinking beer & then Suset gave me the notebook & I gave her a new note book (but she was still ill). On the way back I met with GVH She greeted me and said that: I am coming back now since that day. But my son (father of Jane) is still ill and I asked her if he went at Balaka hospital as the doctor from Liwonde said. And she said no! he refused to go. Then she continued her journey. No one else came to knit, I don’t know what happened. The around 4 I started packing the maize, then Kingsley came to help me and he said that: tomorrow morning I will help you applying actellic. (I waited for Livia to bring the letter but she didn’t).

20 April 2009 Monday

In the morning when I waked up Livia came to greet me and she said that: I want you Aunt G to translate the words that my boyfriend wrote, then I translated for her and Sofia started laughing and Livia was happy and she said that OK! That means he loves me! And I said that’s what the letter says. Then Livia burned it and she said that maybe my mother can find it and start reading. Then I asked Livia where she is going to get the money to pay the one who is building a house for her and she said I will pay them soon after selling cotton. Then Sofia said that I am going to the maize mill to make ufa woyera (white maize flour). Then Livia went to the bore hole to fetch some water for building her house with Fatima. Then I saw Teleza and Elube going at the bore hole to wash their cloths. Later on Livia came to give me some thobwa (gruel).

After breakfast I started knitting then I saw Julia coming back from the bore hole to wash her cloths. Then after lunch Kondwani joined me knitting and she said that: sorry aunt G I didn’t come earlier because I was busy pounding maize you know that this is not hunger season to eat mgaïwa (maize flour), but everybody is now eating ufa woyera (white maize flour), but this lunch I just ate potatoes because I didn’t want to eat mgaïwa, but in the morning I ate porridge. [J: but just said everybody is now eating ufa woyera instead of mgaïwa - previous page? Was now used to ufa woyera but now finished]. [Kondwani: ] Aunt G did you hear that your friend Livia was preg? She went at K. village to a certain woman to ask Traditional medicine to abort, then the T-d told her that she doesn’t have that medicine but she had some medicine to make the foetus grow. Then Kondwani continued that Pamela is in relationship with HB of Esnart and I asked her why she is doing this! And she answered that: he proposed me that’s I am in relationship with him. I want to use soap from SA now. And now she bought new slippers at 350 MK (Balaka) said Kondwani. That’s why she is failing to get married. [Pamela doesn’t do anything, no BS, but can buy very expensive slippers definitely has some boy friends giving her money.] The Livia joined us for few minutes and Kondwani asked her if the ex HB father of Hana is still coming and she said no! he stopped coming, but do you know that am the fourth wife and we all said no! We don’t know. Livia continued that as of now he is still saying that I am his wife but I don’t want because he cheated me that he will
give me beans for sale (Kondwani laughed) and Livia said that I am busy fetching water for my house, I will come later to continue chatting.

The Florence passed by and she told Kondwani that I bought hair chemical yesterday I want to have long hair like G and I will come tomorrow here and I said no problem you can. Then Kondwani said that Hamra has now started selling tomatoes even HB of Julia he is now selling tomatoes, salt and dried fish. Built small counter in front of their house. Then around 5 pm I escorted Kondwani to buy tomatoes to Julia and she bought for 20MK and I saw that Julia harvested full big nkholwe and extra 50kg bag of maize in her house.

On the way back I asked Kondwani how much she harvested and she just said that pang'ono. The we passed by Sofia busy selling and exchanging beans with maize and she said that Aunt G I have found 1 ½ 50kg bag of maize but the beans are still ¼ basin and those who bought beans with money not maize are few and I am buying maize a very small plate at 20MK. And I am happy! Then Sofia said that at lease my HB is now loving me: Masiku ano bola amuna anga akundikonda komanso akundipatsa zomwe ndikufuna, and providing everything that I want( we laughed and shaked hands). It was already 6 pm and I went back home.

21 April 2009 Tuesday

Early in the morning I went to fetch some water then I met with dotta-in-law of GVH (Wisikesi) and she greeted me and said that: GVH wants to send Jane to buy a new cellphone for her!, her new HB gave her some money the day that she spent a night there we all laughed and stopped talking because some women came near by and she just told me that: I will come later and we will talk more. Indeed at 8:45 she came and she said that: my HB in SA called me this morning. He said that: he sent 25 thousand last Sunday for transport and he said that I must go as soon as possible in SA before 28 April and I am happy bcoz its now close to 2yrs since he left. But I will not tell my mother-in-law right now because am afraid that she can bewitch me and I can fail to go, but will just tell her that I am going in Blantyre and when I will be in SA that’s the time that I will tell her the truth.

And she continued that some women are busy pounding maize for the 40 days ceremony of the mother of Auleria. Then Eliseli passed by and Wisikesi said that Gertrude do you know that this girl has a boyfriend in SA and I said I don’t know and she continued that her mother is the one who told her to end the relationship with Kingsley because they belong at the same village. then Julia passed by carried a 50kg bag with maize cobs I asked her where she was going and she answered that: at the mosque we used to contribute what we have harvested either maize or nandolo or mney. Everybody in the village will contribute, when there will be a funeral that means they will just use that maize. Then she continued her journey.

At 10am Jane came and she told me that dotta-in-law of Hamra has died (Filimona) she
just said that I am just having fevers then she went at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital then now she has died. But the ceremony (burial) will be tomorrow. Later on I asked Grace who has died and she said that not Filimona but dotta-in-law of Hamra who was staying at J. village and the burial will be at [nearest primary school]. Then I asked her [Grace] if she has finished harvesting and she said yes. How many bags? She just laughed and said that aunt G I will tell you later.

Then Naima came selling tomatoes I asked her who is the owner of the business and she said that I just discussed with my HB to start this BS its for me and my HB. I bought for 20mk and she continued her journey moving around selling.

Later on Jane came for the second time with a certain boy. I asked her who is the boy? And she answered that he is my boyfriend we met yesterday at Mudzi B playground, and he proposed me then I accepted and she answered that he is a radio repair and it will not be difficult for him to provide money for soap. (Jane laughed) he stays at M. village and he comes in this village to play football with his friends. Then they continued their journey to the grocery. Then Innocence came and I started asking her if people at the maize mill leave madea, and she said that some of them they take when going home while others, they decide to leave at the maize mill. Then Innocence continued that did you heard aunt G that yesterday Emra was querrelling with Fissa because of goats and I said no! the goats of Fissa were destroying cotton in the field of Emra (4 goats) then Esnart told Fissa that please! Take your goats out of my field if not that means you will pay 500mk per goat (that’s what the chief said) and Fissa said that I can't do that, if you want some money just sell one of your goats and Esnart started crying and went direct to chief Mudzi B to explain what was happening. Then GVH said that don’t cry we will talk tomorrow (then she left) in the afternoon I just saw Chikondi going to wash her clothes at the borehole. No-one else came to knit, I hope they went at the funeral.

22 April 2009 Wednesday

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning the plates then Amila came and she said that I am selling firewood and I told her that sorry I don’t have money and she continued that I started a BS of selling zitumbuwa (maize flour pan cakes). I asked her where she got the money and she answered that I borrowed to L oveness 200mk and I made zitumbuwa with bananas and sold 420mk and now Lovely came asking for her money that’s why I decided to come and sell firewood.

Then chief Mudzi B came and said that Aunt G I want to borrow a bicycle my son wants to go at Balaka to buy cloths he sold maize and he has money and I said no problem he can take it. Then Amila + chief Mudzi B continued their journey. Later on Jane came and she started saying that I met with Grace she was with a certain big man, she said that he want to marry her although he has another wife, but Grace accepted.
Later on a certain boy came by bicycle with a certain man. They greeted me and asked the house of GVH and I showed them. Then I saw Wisikesi coming saying that HB of Blessings has sent a big radio, extra blankets, zitenje, bicycle. Then GVH started saying that my sons in SA are the ones who sent these things but not for Blessings. Then GVH hired a bicycle running to Mz. village to ask the driver who brought those things. Then people started laughing saying that GVH was told not to go there but its for Blessings [what happened exactly? Items were for Blessings, but GVH didn’t want to believe, was told not to go because was for Blessings, but went anyway. Everybody laughed at her] then the rain started from 1-2pm, some women went to attend the funeral at [nearest primary school] but failed to go because of the rain. No-one else came to knit but at 4pm. I just saw GVH coming complaining to me that; have you seen G people in this village hate me they are saying that I am a thief and they even said that I have got sons who are staying in SA and they have wives here, but am the one who run to receive some of the things that they send and I told her that don’t worry just forgive them. Some women didn’t come to knit because of the rain and some went to the funeral.

**23 April 2009 Thursday**

In the morning when I waked up Kingsley told me that he want to start selling his sweet potatoes and indeed I saw Venesi buying for 30mk. Chief Mudzi B 50mk. At 8pm I saw Jane coming with a plate of nsima and I asked her why she is eating nsima in the morning and she answered that this is not hunger season that’s why I am eating nsima. Then after breakfast I prepared my journey to go to Sofia to take a note book that she finished writing.

On the way I met GVH and she started saying that the rain that came yesterday will destroy cotton but it will help the pigeon pea to grow properly and she continued that ndikudwara m’mimba and iam going to buy painkillers. Then I continued my journey to Evelin. Then I saw chief Mudzi B eating potatoes with their children. Then Ada was also eating potatoes with her father, I found Evelin cleaning plates I greeted her she said thanks a lot for your visit I have finished that note book. Then I continued my journey to greet Pamela and I asked her if her brother gives her enough support and she that: not really, but he just sent that money for ffertiliser up to now,and as of now I find money through ganyu (casual labour). Then I asked her that: as of now ther is no ganyu wher do get some money? She just laughed and said that, aunt G. I cannot manage to answ. Still on the way I saw Livia sitting on veranda of the house of Grace with acertain boy (Rasta man) he was selling beans while Grace was chatting with Pamela, on the way back, I met with Livia coming from Grace house, we greeted each other and I asked her about that Rasta man and she answered that he is my friend. I laughed and said that Livia your cheating me this man came when I was knitting one day and he told that he is your HB (I was cheating her) and Livia answered that its true he wants to marry me and he stays at [nearest tradingcenter], he has a grocery there! And another grocery at Zomba and he is the one who wants to give me money to start a BS of selling beans, I told mother and she said no problem.
I asked her if he was the man that the friend of her mother searched for her and she said that no! this is another new man and he is a real brother of that woman and he says I will be selling at 1 of his shop in Zomba. Then I continued my journey back home. At home my phone started ringing (new number) I answered and I heard a voice of a certain man saying I want to talk to Livia, I would like to know if she will come today at Balaka and I said that must call after 5-10 minutes so that you can talk to her. Then I runned and gave a cell phone to Livia. I found Livia harvesting groundnuts, I flashed then a boy called and Livia started asking him that: when are you going to bring those fish, so that I can start exchanging with maize. I am waiting for you. After talking I asked them who is that boy and she said that some one else at Balaka but not China, I laughed and I said that Livia After aborting you said you have stopped and now you are just having more boy-friends than before and Livia answered that Aunt G we will talk later. Then I went back home. Then Enart passed by I greeted her and she said that I am going to borrow a mortar I want to make ufa woyera, I am now staying with my youngest in-law in the house my HB is the one who said. Then GVH came to beg sugar then I just gave her half cup.

Then I saw Livia bringing a plate of g/nuts and I said thanks a lot, then I escorted her, on the way she started telling met that: on Monday I want to start picking cotton then Wednesday my new HB (Rasta has a lot of cotton, stays at K. village) told me to go and help him picking his cotton. He has almost 2 acres of cotton. Then I found Phingi coughing and I greeted her and said that are you still ill? And she said yes! Even my grand-son told me the words that you said. He told me to go for blood testing and I said that: when are you going to go? Am free to go with you and she said I will tell you! Then Livia laughed and said that: Maybe you are afraid? And she answered that: Am coughing often and I think its Tuberculosis or Aids because am the one who helps everybody in this village when she wants to give birth apart from that: am also included in the women who wash dead bodies we all laughed and I found Suset there! And Livia continued that Aunt tell even Suset and Sofia to go for blood testing and Suset said that: I already went at [clinic] hospital and am negative I can not go there. Jasmine looked at me (She probably knows/suspects Suset is actually positive. She is the one who said Suset (and Teleza) moved around with a lot of men (also teachers) when still at school) and we all laughed. I left them cooking nsima (ufa woyera).

Then HB of Naima came to buy chipewa 70mk and he [HB of Naima] said that: I am going to buy tomatoes at Nk. village for sale and I asked him [HB of Naima] why he is not thinking of going to South Africa and he said that: I planned to go last year but my wife was pregnant and am planning to go in October and he continued that some people in Mudzi A fail to go there because they don’t have brothers, cousins or friends in South Africa and some men in Mudzi B are in South Africa becuae they are relatives and for transport or passport its easy they help each other but in Chisakiko they wait to grow cotton to have passport, then second year growing cotton to find money for transport that’s why it take long. Then he continued his journey to buy tomatoes for...
sale. Then Emra passed by with a big basin full of groundnuts she went to harvest.

1721 At 3:45 pm I went at [small crossroads market] (Market Day) then I just found 1 woman selling tomatoes and 2 women selling sweet potatoes and only one man selling second hand cloths. And a lot of young boys and girls were just moving around. Then I saw Maria selling at the shop and she said that the owner of the shop at [nearest trading center] he has also another shop at [small crossroads market]. Then 1 woman was also selling paraffin, a young girl was also selling matemba. After few minutes I just went back home.

1722

24 April 2009 Friday

1723 At night around 8 pm HB of Sofia called and he said that: go and tell my wife that am coming and I will spend a night there! Then I said no problem I will go. When I reached there: I told Sofia that: you HB is coming and Sofia said that Aunt G you are cheating me! Then I said no! Its true then I went back home. Early in the morning Kingsley told me that I am going to the hospital with my young father who is ill. At first he refused to go, but now he told me himself that: I must escort him there. Sofia came and she started laughing and said that Aunt G, You didn’t cheat me” he came and he has gone this morning. He gave me 500mk to buy soap. Then I saw Elube going at the borehole to wash her clothes. Later I saw Fatima fetching water’ I asked her why she is here and she said that: Aunt G I will tell you later but I just came this morning and I will go back in the afternoon. At lunch Sofia passed by she greeted me and said that: I am going to Thokozani she sent her daughter to tell me that she is selling maize 100mk and I am going to buy. Then Jane came to chat and started saying that Aunt G a certain boy came today selling masamba and he gave for 70mk and he said that he want to marry me. I just accepted so that I can be eating vegetables often and tomorrow he will come. My grand mother told me to send some vegetables to my father at J. village. But yesterday they were saying that I must go back to my HB at Balaka but I don’t like him because he likes beer and smoking. And as of now my cloths are still there. Kondwani joined us and Jane started saying that: I was chatting with Ellesi I was telling her that: I want to go back to my HB and she answered that: It’s good indeed for you to get married. Even myself I am lucky, a certain boy who is staying in SA proposed Dorica and she refused as of now he proposed me through HB of Lovely and I told my mother! Then my mother accepted and am happy! As of now he will send some money for school fees and a cell phone. Kondwani laughed and said that: indeed I heard this story but we don’t know where he has a wife or not, Ellesi did not ask about this but she just accepted (Jane laughed). Tinenenji passed by then Kondwani I said that this girl is pregnant she was in relationship with HB of Fatima and now. I heard Lovely yesterday that Fatima will come back, but they will be staying at [clinic] not here. That means Tinenenji will be staying alone the problem is that she married a man who was not able to give birth but not Tinenenji. (Jane laughed) Livia came she greeted everybody and said that: I am coming I want to take my money to Emra then I said that: why did you stop coming to knit? And she answered that: Am busy that’s why.

1725 When Livia left Kondwani continued that: she is going to chat with Emra, Emr is now married to a certain man from Ch. village and now that HB of Emra has got his friend that friend is the one who want to marry Livia. He promised that he will come today to give her some fish to be exchanging with maize and she is going to Emra in order to wait for that new HB.
We all laughed) and Jane said that Livia has got a lot of best friends and I do not know who is going to marry her (Among those boy-friends she has, which will Livia choose?) Later on I saw Livia coming back from Emra with angry face, she didn’t even say good-bye.

25 APRIL 2009 SATURDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I saw Kingsley selling potatoes, then Sofia bought for 20 mk, Venesi for 40 mk. Then I saw some women Emra, Livia, Elube, Venesi, buying vegetables a certain man was passing by selling. At 8:00 am I saw some women carried hoes going at the bore hole to share sweet potatoes that they planted. Then I saw grand children (5) of GVH picking cotton at a near by field in front of our house then Jane complained that Sofia is not helping them picking but after selling she will strat complaining that GVH is not giving her some money. Then I heard Venesi saying that: Blessings wants to start charging telephones. (Did she? No, got a generator, but fuel is too expensive. People had gone to watch films there, but only for 3-4 days, then she stopped. People paid 10 MK).

At 8:00 am I saw those women who went to share their sweet potatoes coming back without potatoes. I asked that what happened! Then Elube answered that, Venesi came and said we must share tomorrow not today. Maybe she said this words because she already bought her breakfast. At 10 am Tumanene came and she said that I bought yesterday a hair chemical for 20 MK after selling my maize for 100 MK and I want you aunt G to treat my hair an I said no problem. Then I did it, after that she said that please aunt G apply my hair the oil that you use and I said no problem. After that I told her to be combing her hair properly then she started laughing and said that I will try and I will be more than you (we all laughed) Kondwani came and said that: this coming Friday I will buy mine and I will come here and I said no problem.

Then Jane came while laughing then Tumanene asked her what she was laughing and she answered that the boy who was selling vegetables yesterday has come he is chatting with GVH he said he wants to marry me and now I want you Sofia to go there like my witness to show him that I am serious about marriage (we all laughed) Jane mentioned that Sofia! When you will go there try to tell the boy that wait for four months Jane wants to make bricks for her own house, I am just joking out I want him to be giving me some money for soap an lotion. And of those four months I know that I will be at Dedza to my HB (the one who plays cards) me said that we should be staying there not Balaka Jane and Sofia runned in order to talk to the boy selling vegetables.

Then we saw Livia bringing tomatoes. For Tumanene and Kondwani when Livia left The women complained that we bought vegetables and now we gave Livia to buy tomatoes at [small crossroads market] for 100 MK. For Tumanene, Kondwani, Sofia and Vanessa but she brought only 8 tomatoes. Then Tumanene said that Livia is a thief may be she just bought for 50 MK not 100 MK. Then all the women left to cook for lunch.

At 12:20 noon I saw Livia passing by then I greeted her and she said that I am going to give these
tomatoes to Emra. Then when coming back I saw Livia with a big plate full of big dried fish, I asked her where she got the fish (because I knew already from the women yesterday that she has found a new HB, and she already talked on the cell phone about fish.

Then Livia answered that: it’s for my mother, Emra is the one who told me to give this fish to my mother! I don’t know if she is buying or not, then Sofia was passing by and she said that Livia why are you cheating your friend? Instead of telling her the truth? [J: Not ashamed because she was lying? G: Apparently not, just laughed which was meant to show that really lying, I thought she may come later to explain, but she didn’t]. Livia laughed and she continued her journey with Sofia. Then I saw dota of Amila coming. I greeted her and she said that: My father sent me here he said that you must give me 20 MK he wants to buy Fodya and I said that: sorry tell him that I don’t have money.

At 2 pm I started translating what Suset and Sofia has been writing and checking some mistakes. At 3 pm Sofia came, she started laughing and said that: Aunt G, Phingi was happy when she saw Livia coming with fish instead of asking her where she found them.

Then we stopped talking because Vanessa came and she said that aunt G I bought this hair chemical (American look) I bought at [small crossroads market] 100 MK I sold maize then I will come any day so that you can treat my hair, don’t tell my HB then she continued her journey to the grocery! She said she was going to buy tomatoes. Then I asked Sofia if she used a condom when her HB came, and she said no I didn’t and I said that: have you seen that your child is still young why can’t you go for family planning at [nearest trading center] you can either choose injection or pills, and Sofia said that Aunt G it’s true. But I cannot manage to go alone. And I said no problem I can go with you. Then Sofia was happy and said that please don’t tell any one we will go in secret. [J: Why? He is her HB... ] But it should be this coming Friday and I said Ok. Then she said, I am going to GVH to chat and I said Ok. I want to continue knitting. Jane came (laughing) and she said that Aunt G the boy is still there and my grand mother cooked some nsima for him and she said that I must marry this man but I don’t want! Then she continued her journey to grocery she said that she was going to buy paraffin. I continued knitting alone up to 6:00 pm (some women went for compaign at [nearest primary school] said Kingsley at night.

In the morning when I waked up I started washing my cloths then I saw Tineneji she was coming back from the field she went to harvest ground nuts then she gave me a plate full of ground nuts. Later on I saw ex-HB of Rosemary, I greeted him and I said that I have now started picking my cotton, may be Wednesday. We will start selling (He was alone) Then Sofia came to greet me and she started saying that: Chief Mudzi A borrowed my money 375 MK and he said that he will give me maize but up to now he is not giving me. And as of now he is cooking his own food not eating with the wife I don’t know why and Aunt G I forgot to tell you that: my HB said that he wants to open a shop for me here. And he added that by next week he will transfer his cloths from Balaka to Mudzi B he wants to start staying with me here [J: True? beginning of June: his clothes are still at Balaka, he now says he wants to start living together at Liwonde]. I asked about my house and he said he know himself what he is doing then she continued her journey to the bore hole to share some sweet
potatoes they planted, when coming back Sofia said that they harvested 2 /5 kgs bags) and shared a basin everybody.

After breakfast I started knitting then Sofia came for the second time and she said that Aunt G I am gong to g Mudzi B to tell her what I have been dreaming this last 2 days. I asked Sofia what she has been dreaming and she said that: she has been dreaming about HB of GVH who died, asking about: another ceremony but people should eat a cow that she left. And GVH should share some of the cloths that her HB left to a son of Sofia. Then she continued her journey to GVH. Then I saw boyfriend of Venesi passing by carried potatoes, he greeted me and said that I must make Chipewa for him. Venesi will pay. (She didn’t pay and I sold to another boy who was passing by. Venesi said she had not told him to get one and she’ll pay, didn’t know anything about it. May be he was just joking). Then wife of Mr Ntawanga passed by coming back from the maize mill! She greeted me and said that: I went to the maize mill to make ufa woyera, I pounded the maize alone (First pound, dry and take to maize mill). Then Jane came to chat and she said that Livia has started a BS of selling tomatoes (kuoda for only 2 days) then I saw Livia coming with tomatoes and I bought for 20mk and she said that my father is ill (malaria) and I will chat later. And Jane continued that my grandmother is still saying that I should get married to the boy who sells vegetables because he grows a lot of rice, potatoes even tomatoes. But I don’t like him (she laughed).

Later on some boys passed by then Jane greeted them and the boys told Jane to escort them. Then she accepted and she didn’t even come back. No-one else came to continued knitting, I stayed alone up to dark At night I asked Kingsley to apply actelic in the morning (why not applying yourself? Sofia told G to just ask Kingsley to do it for her, since he is just staying anyway. Usually done by men). And he accepted.

27TH APRIL 2009 MONDAY:

In the morning when Kingsley waked up he started applying actelic. He finished after 1 hour. Then Jane came to greet me and she started saying that Aunt G have you heard that Ellesi wants to stop going to school. Her mother told her that: she cannot manage to pay school fees for her and its good to get married to the man in SA (Jane laughed) and she continued that yesterday at night a boyfriend of my grand mother came and he spent a night with him but I am not happy because my father died a month ago. And her sons in S.A. heard the story and they said that: if it is like that, then they will stop supporting her. She cooked some eggs and fish for him but he went back early in the morning. I think he was a shamed to be seen by people. Then we saw a certain boy coming with a big plastic bag full of leaves and tomatoes, and big dried fish Jane laughed and said that this is the boy who wants to marry me, he sells leaves. Then Jane told her boy friend to go to her grand mother then the boy went there then Jane told me that: I don’t like him, borrow me your bike I want to go at J. village to see my father who is ill, then I gave her (without knowing that she was running away, she didn’t want to talk with her new boy-friend.

Then when Jane left I saw GVH with her dotta-in-law coming. I greeted them and they asked me where Jane is then I said at J. village and they laughed and said that: she has runned away she don’t want to get married to that boy. But he is good because he grows a lot of rice, tomatoes, leaves,
maize, cotton, and when coming today he brought, ndiwo, dried fish, leaves, tomatoes and oil. Then I have told him that my grand daughter said that she don’t like you, she has another boy friend but the boy started going while some tears were coming out of his eyes. And I gave him his tomatoes, fish and oil, vegetables. I told him that: go and eat this with your relatives and he left. (we all laughed). Then Sofia came she told me that there is a 40 days ceremony for the mother of Tinenenji lets go and give them some water they want to make thobwa today. Then I went with Sofia to the bore hole from there we went direct to give the water to Auleria and she said that people will start making thobwa at 3 pm then we went back home. On the way back some people from Mudzi B gathered at Mudzi B big tree. I stopped and listened that they were discussing and heard chief Mudzi B explaining Levison has stolen the maize from his mother in-law with HB of Vanessa and Thokozani is the one who saw the maize in her house, and she told Rosemary that: My HB came there to steal but Levison and HB of Vanessa said that they don’t know. But Livia called me separately and said that Levison told me that must give me some maize but I refused I told him that: I don’t have money but I am afraid to tell this people. Then Levison told the group that: I didn’t steal, and this is the shameful story, from today on wards Thokozani is not my wife. I will be staying with my mother. Then Kingsley told me that: Rosemary likes selling the maize, later on she is cheating same people that Levison went to steal. Then chief Mudzi B told everybody to go home and everybody was just laughing it took almost (30 minutes discussions) Then I saw Mr Tembo Health Survey coming, and he stopped everybody and he told me to read a certain passage to the people and explain to them what it means In Chichewa and it was about Vitamin A those women who has 8-10 months children to receive some Vitamin A for their children and women who gave birth a month ago must receive. And everybody went to wash their bodies ready to receive Vitamin A Mr Tembo brought those out from the hospital.

1746 In the afternoon I knitted alone because some women were busy helping to make thobwa because I was busy packing the maize, cleaning, in the house because of the actelic that Kingsley applied.

1747

28th APRIL 2009 TUESDAY:

1748 In the morning I saw a big car passing by! And it went directly to GVH. I runned to see what was happening then two of the men from the car dropped from the car asked me if I was from this village and I said yes but am doing a research. And they asked 6 villages surrounded by GVH then I told them. (What did they ask? The number and names of villages in GVH) and I asked them what they were looking for and they told me that they are doing a research for Moyo Wathanzi (organization Healthy Life) for women against HIV/AIDS. Just to understand how they prevent HIV/AIDS before and after giving birth. I asked them to show me some of the questions that they wanted to ask and they refused and said that its secret but we came from Balaka DC (They were 18 girls and 10 boys and 3 men). They separated others Nd. Village, J. village, Mudzi A. When I went to the borehole I met with Livia and I asked her to come home and she accepted my aim was to ask her what she has been asked) when I reached home Livia came and she told me that she has been asked about this how old are you? How many people stay in your family, how old is your father, do you have an iron sheet house, how many bags do you have this year, and how many bags did you harvest last year, how many acres do you have. (Did she tell you about her answers? Told them she harvested only 3 bags
(while to G she had said 7 bags - which may also be a lie ......). At last they wrote down a number on the door. [What did people say about this survey? Complaining that many people are now coming to ask questions without benefit. Why don't they go to other villages? We will just cheat them...] What language do you like to speak, Then asked them why they asked me this questions and they said that: they want to find 2-3 women who know how to speak properly and able to answers some questions to go at the DC to answer some questions about HIV/AIDS.

Then I asked Livia how she managed to abort and she answered that I went at Jim Village to a certain woman, Suset is the one who told me about that woman and she gave me a big dried root and told me to boil for 3 days and drink for 3 days and I paid 500 MK and it worked. Then I asked her [Livia] about the boy who wants to marry her (related to Emra) then she said that: he is a cousin of Emra and she is the one who told me to accept and I accepted because the boy from Balaka China shop has a wife (she laughed) Jane joined them Livia said we will talk later I am going. Then B started saying that at night we have started watching Television at Blessings we are paying 10 MK an she is using a generator that her HB sent. Then her grandmother called her then Jane said that Aunt G am coming, may be she want to give me some money becuase the people who came to ask some questions gave her 5 000 MK then she left.

Then B started saying that at night we have started watching Television at Blessings we are paying 10 MK an she is using a generator that her HB sent. Then her grandmother called her then Jane said that Aunt G am coming, may be she want to give me some money becuase the people who came to ask some questions gave her 5 000 MK then she left.

I continued knitting alone then Jane came around 5:30 and she told me that Aunt G I will come and spend a night here [decided herself, not happy with relationship of grandmother], the boy friend of GVH will spend a night with GVH, as of now she is very busy making thobwa, cooking relish dried fish and nsima for him we will chat later I am going to eat nsima. Then she left.

**29th APRIL 2009 WEDNESDAY:**

The night of 28th April 2009 Jane indeed came to spend a night with the then she complained that: I am not happy with what my grand mother is doing. And everybody in the village know the story about new HB. That’s why she is forcing me to get married so that she can be free to chat with her new HB as soon as Jane was talking at 8 pm night of 28th GVH answered and she said that Mayi Getrude, I have got a visitor this night, he is the uncle of my dotta In-law.. He just came to see me, and as of now he is going I was escorting him but now I told him to back home with me because this is already 8 pm he cannot manage to go alone he will go tomorrow. And I decided to tell you, and I said Ok no problem then she continued her journey.

Jane laughed and said that: she is thinking that: You don’t know about their relationship. Early in the morning Jane left and she said that: I want to see if he is still there. After few minutes I saw Jane coming while laughing and she said that: Have you seen what she did this morning (grand mother) when I reached home I found mat, a lamp, a pillow in the kitchen but without a blanket and in the lamp there was no paraffin. Our grand mother cheated Kingsley and Me (Jane) and the people as if the man slept alone in the kitchen by putting a mat etc. while not (she laughed) As of now they have already washed bodies and they are escorting each other.

The same morning Pamela came, she told me to braid her hair and I accepted as I was braiding her
hair, she started saying that I have harvested 5 ½ bags of maize (50 kg) but I am not getting worried because I have got a new HB who is taking care of me and we discussed to go for blood testing so that we can be able to trust each other, and we discussed not to give birth soon but after 2-3 years, I will be going for injection we are waiting for my child to grow, I asked who is he? Where they met and she said that Aunt G I will tell you later. Then Livia came she was going to Balaka she came to ask if I wanted something there! And I said no. When she left Pamela started saying that: Livia came to me one day asking for some traditional medicine to abort and I told her that I don't know, why can't you just leave the child to grow and she said that: I don't like the man because he has a wife. As of now A Rasta man who wants to marry her is my cousin but I want to tell him not to marry her because I hear that she wants to get married to a certain boy from Ch. village.

Then I asked Pamela why Suset stopped breast feeding and she answered that: I think she is HIV positive and she was told at the hospital to stop breast feeding her child. And I saw her one day eating lampe nut. [J: ? G: Fortified groundnut paste to get strong, distributed at hospital to people with AIDS and ARVS to become strong again], that nowadays at the hospital they only give those who are HIV positive. And when we went to receive Vitamin A that day. Her child was just crying we asked her why she is not giving her milk? And she said, she wants to sleep that's why the child was just crying and everybody was just looking at her because her child is still young and herself is very young. When I finished braiding her hair she said that: Aunt G we will talk later, I am going to wash my cloths at the borehole then she left. Then Makuta from B. village came. she smiled and said that Aunt G I brought this gift for you (a battery for a motor cycle) she said that you will use this with your radio (I said Zikomo) I have done this because you are keeping my secrets and my HB sent 2 batteries from SA. I am happy because yesterday I went to spent a night with my boy friend at Balaka at a certain rest house and I didn’t use a condom because when I will be pregnant it will be for my HB in SA She stopped talking because Kondwani came to greet me and she said that: some people at [nearest tradingcenter] are buying cotton at 40 MK/kg but I will not sell now I will wait till the price will be high.

After few minutes Kondwani and daughter in-law of group left. Then I continued translating what Suset and Sofia has been writing. "HB of Jasmine and Jasmine still ill" said mayi Ntawanga and Elube at the bore hole and they still complained that they can not sell cotton at 40 MK but they will wait till the price will be high. Sofia came to flash her HB to tell him that his father and mother are ill.

Then Tumanene came to give me sweet potatoes full plate (not cooked) I greeted her and I said thanks a lot for the gift. And she started saying that Esnart has lost her cell phone. She went to the toilet with it and when she wanted to come out of the toilet it felled down in the toilet, some boys tried to take it out but it was just going dipper and dipper. She said that I am going to fetch some water and I just came here to give you potatoes. Then I went with her to fetch some water.

On the way I saw chief Mudzi B her 2 children picking cotton. At the borehole I found Blessings, Emra and HB of Fatima washing their clothes. Then Dorica was fetching some water and HB of Fatima asked Dorica to help him washing his cloths then Dorica accepted and started helping him, then Kingsley started laughing and said that: Dorica practice makes perfect work hard! Then HB of Fatima laughed. On the way back I found Thokozani eating potatoes with Levison [but he just stated publicly that Thokozani will not be his wife any more? Maybe was just cheating, ashamed that he still
stays with her after she called him a thief. Afraid people will laugh at him] Then Sofia was passing by and she said that: have you seen aunt G, Levison is back now but his aim is to get married to Charity. When I reached home I saw ex-HB of Rosemary passing by with a 50 kgs bag of cotton, he was coming back from his cotton field alone. Later on Kondwani came and she said that I want to knit 2 lines only because yesterday I didn’t knit I was pounding my maize.

Then Esnart came for me to braid her hair. Then Kondwani asked her why she is not pregnant because her HB came December. Then Esnart laughed and answered that I discussed with my HB to go for family planning (injection) I will get pregnant when my child will be 4 years I will go there in SA. Then Kondwani said that it’s good to go for family planning as I was doing when I was married. Sofia joined us. Then Sofia started complaining that Vanessa harvested only 3 ½ bags but she used to go with Tumanene to play cards, the one who won takes the maize. And even the HB is selling maize in secret like what Chief and Hamra (Mudzi A) are doing.

The women laughed then Charity +her mother was passing by going to fetch some water! Then Charity said that: I have started selling tomatoes if you want you can come to buy. On the way back Kondwani I said that Aunt G can you ask her how much is it, then I said that I have forgotten her name (I was joking) and they said Charity or Daina: then I started calling her Daina X 5. She didn’t respond. I ran thinking that she didn’t hear me calling. Then she answered me that: You are stupid, you need to bear your child and call her Daina not me. All the women were surprised and I said that: Please forgive me because these women told me that you are Charity or Daina.

And the women continued that don’t worry aunt G. It is her real name, only that she didn’t want to answer you properly she don’t even have a child. (All the women laughed) And I told her mother that: please tell Charity to forgive me, and she said no problem I will tell her. Jane came and she started saying that: GVH gave Sofia maize ½ bag because she didn’t harvest enough maize. Esnart called me then she said that: I am selling a chicken if you want it, you can buy at 250 MK I want to find money for soap my HB is not sending money he said he don’t have. And I said sorry I don’t have money. Some women didn’t come to knit in the afternoon because they went to play net ball at M. village, said Jane.

30th APRIL 2009 THURSDAY:

At night GVH came, she said that I decided to chat with you a bit because Kingsley is waiting to eat. [J: ? G:Kingsley eats together with younger brother separately from girls who eat with GVH nsima.] Then she (GVH) started saying that: nowadays because people in my village have got enough food. They are eating nsima in the morning, lunch, supper (3 times a day) I asked her about their names and she said Thokozani+ her HB, Rosemary, Jasmine. But these days we have got potatoes why they can’t eat potatoes in morning then nsima for lunch? (she laughed) I asked her about cotton selling and she (GVH) said that: as of now only vendors are buying at 40 MK/kg and people are not selling but other people are saying that soon after presidential election buyers will start buying at 75 MK/kg. But we will hear everything on Saturday there will be a meeting at [small crossroads market]. Then I said ok I want to be there, so that I can here the truth and she said no problem it will be around 9:30 am At 7:10 am I went to fetch some water, then I met with Saibi going at [nearest primary school] school to sell sweet
potatoes then at the borehole I found dotta of Venesi washing her clothes. When I reached home, I saw Esnart going to wash her cloths at the borehole. Then Livia passed by she was coming back from a certain village to buy tomatoes for sell then I bought for 40 MK and I asked her how much she bought and she said 2 buckets at 800 Mk. Then Tumanene passed by coming back from the field she carried a basin full of Msewula. Later on that’s when Jannake sent a text for me to go at Balaka to pay 1 000 MK for entrance examination. When reached there, they told me that I must call Mr Tambala - education co-ordinator, I talked to him and he said I must go at Mangochi.

On the way back I found Kondwani at home waiting for me. I greeted her! Then she said that I want to beg you aunt G there is something else that I want to discuss with Kingsley, Tayali and Jane but we want to discuss here because we don’t want GVH to know. Then I accepted Jane, Kingsley came. Then Kondwani started saying that: B I heard that you went at J. village to tell your father that: GVH is having a new HB now? Then Jane said that yes! I told him because I am not happy with that story. Her HB died few months ago. And this man who is in relationship with her is her In-law. Then Kingsley said that: Jane do you know that you are still young and you don’t have chance to tell your grand mother that she is not doing good? Jane answered that: you are saying this because you are happy with the death of our grand father. Kondwani said that: we are not happy but she is free to get married and B said that is true! But not with her in-law. Kingsley answered that: when GVH will hear this story, you know what she used to do. She will cry all the day going to the graveyard. And when her sons from SA will hear what she is doing they will be angry and stop sending money. Jane answered that: I am not afraid but I want her to stop the relationship with her in-law because it is a shameful story. And I will indeed tell her sons in SA Jane continued. That means all of you, you are happy with this because you are prostitutes [J: ?] Kondwani and chief Mudzi B have children from different men so they find this kind of behavior normal accuses B. Kingsley was angry and he took a big stick in order to beat Jane, Then Jane runned away. Then the story ended there. Everybody departed. Later on at 6:40 pm GVH came! She asked me where Jane has gone? And I said I don’t know then she left. At night Kingsley came to sleep and he said Jane has gone to Jin village to encourage her father to tell sons of GVH in SA that GVH is in relationship with her In-law. I am not happy said Kingsley because group Mudzi B will chase all the grand children to go back to our village but our parents died. Then he slept.

1 MAY 2009 FRIDAY:

In the morning Evelin and chief Mudzi B passed by. They carried big fish (chambo) in their hands they said they went to buy at J. village. Then Amila passed by. She greeted me and she said that: I am still doing the BS of selling zitumbuwa (maize flour cakes with banana) and after selling my HB told me that he wants some batteries and am going to buy for him. I asked her if he gave her some money and she said no! I have used my money. And after selling fire wood today, I will find extra money to buy ingredients for zitumbuwa (bananas, soda, salt, oil) (others they don’t add bananas when making zitumbuwa but maize, soda and oil) asked her how much she [Amila] harvested then she said nkholoke and after selling cotton I will buy extra maize HB of Vanessa passed by with ½ bag of cotton he was coming back from his field.

Later on I saw Thokozani carried ¼ bag of cotton and her mother Rosemary carried full bag (50 kg) of cotton, I greet Rosemary and she said that I went to help my daughter picking cotton. Then Kingsley passed by
with 2 bags of cotton, he was coming back from his field. The GVH and her 2 grand
daughters were also picking cotton they came out with 2 bags (50 kgs).

After lunch Kondwani came to knit and she started saying that Aunt G all women stopped knitting
why? And I said I don’t know Then she continued that: they are not busy in the field but just
chatting at the big tree and I said that; May be they are not interested now. Then daughter of
Kondwani came (10 years) I greeted her and she said I am going back now, I was thinking that you
have gone some where else. When her daughter left Kondwani started laughing and said that Aunt G
do you know why she came here? And I said no my children told me that: I should not get married
again because all the HB used to leave me alone and they even said that: if I will have another child!
They will kill him/her. As of now we all sleep at the same mat. I told my children that: I will be
sleeping alone at the bed room or at the sitting room but they said that: No! lets use the same mat
either at the bedroom or sitting room because when you will be alone, that means you want some
men to stay with you at night, but when we will use the same mat you can not do it and they
encouraged me to come here and knit but not moving around with men, or going very far with some
women. And now she is happy that I am here

Kondwani continued that Aunt G! Have you heard that daughter of Alma (big woman) want to divorce?
She has a HB in Blantyre and he is very rich, he has nice houses in Blantyre that people are renting he has a
car and he is the one who built the house that she stays in this village and now he told his wife to be
going in SA to buy different things to sell here in Malawi. She went there in SA twice. And now she
told her HB that: I don’t want marriage! Let’s divorce. Then the HB is just crying because his wife
started moving around with different men in SA and she has a friend who goes to SA to buy things for
sell and now she also told her HB that: she don’t want marriage and may be he is the one who is
encouraging daughter of Alma to end her marriage. This is not good behavior said Kondwani. Later
on Tumanene passed by selling mandasi and Amila also passed by selling zitumbuwa (maize flour cakes). Then
Grace came to braid my hair I tried chatting with her asking how much she harvested and she said I don’t know
then she sent Tumanene to buy some fish 180 MK at the grocery. Then Kondwani asked that: Grace why
are you buying a lot of fish? Are you going to have a visitor this night an she said no. Kondwani
continued that: Your boy friend from [small crossroads market] is still coming to see you and she said yes. Then
Kondwani said that aunt G go and take a radio we want to listen about campaign and some music. We all
received T shirts for Bingu when we went to the meeting last week at [nearest primary school] and everybody in
the village has got a DPP t.shirt said Kondwani.

At 5:15 pm everybody left. (Only Grace and Kondwani came).

2 MAY 2009 SATURDAY:

In the morning when I waked up Innocence came, she greeted me and said that: I am selling maize ½
bag 600 MK and I asked her how much she harvested and she said 7 bags. How many bags remaining
she said 4 ½ bags now ½ bag am selling that means I have got 4 bags - 3 bags sold. I asked her why
she is just selling maize and she said I want to buy cloths, then Hamra passed by she was coming back
from the borehole Innocence greeted her and said that my brother will come today! He wants his
maize and Hamra said ok I will bring today. Then Innocence told me that Hamra took 500 MK to his
brother in order to pay back maize. Hamra continued that am busy harvesting groundnuts five days now but I will finish tomorrow. Dorica and her mother passed by Dorica greeted me and said that Aunt G lets go to the field we are going to harvest cotton and I said I will come later. Innocence left.

Later on I went to fetch some water then I found Venesi washing her cloths when I reached home I saw GVH and her 2 grand daughters picking cotton.

Later on Sofia came to greet me and she said that: My son is not getting better then I went early in the morning to a certain traditional doctor to take some medicine and now I am back, but I did not pay anything he said I will pay a chicken when my son will get better. Then she continued her journey to her grand mother.

At 11:30 grand mother of Livia passed by. She greeted me and said that: I am going to help HB of Jasmine picking cotton, he is getting better now and he decided to start today! Then she continued her journey.

At 2 pm I went to see what Sofia has been writing and everything was ok then Molly and Venesi passed by! They greeted me and said that: we are going at M. village for DPP campaign then Vanessa and Hilda passed by. They greeted me an said that tikupita kuganyu at [small crossroads market], selecting maize by removing unwanted things. On the way back I passed by Ada cooking nsima chief Mudzi B was drying groundnuts.

At home I started translating what Suset has been writing. At 3 pm I went to see what Suset has been writing then on the way I saw Rashida picking cotton alone then I found Suset and her daughter just coughing. I greeted her and she said ndikudwala ( I am sick) then I told her to give me the notebook and check at home because I stayed a days without going to check - on the way I saw Ellen and HB eating nsima with masamba [vegetables] then I met with Chikondi I greeted her and asked if she is ready to start writing and she said no am busy picking cotton on Monday people will start selling cotton but the price not known will see on Monday at sub/TA when I reached home I started knitting alone no-one joined me up to 6:30 pm.

3 MAY 2009 SUNDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I saw GVH her 2 grand daughter’s harvesting. In-law of Esnart passed by when he greeted me and said that this girl is my wife I have married now and I have 1 child. But I am still doing BS of charging T phones. I am staying in the house of Esnart in another bedroom with my wife. Then they continued their journey. Then later on Esnart came and asked me to flash her HB in SA in order to tell him that she lost her cell- phone. I flashed then he called and discussed what they wanted.

After lunch sons of Jasmine from Zomba and Blantyre flashed, I went to Jasmine to tell her then Jasmine flashed again and they called. Jasmine flashed again and they called. Jasmine said that they wanted to know if their father is getting better.

On my way back home I greeted Phingi and Livia who were sitting pa kkhonde. After few minutes a certain young girl came and said that Livia Emra is calling you.
She said that man from Mangochi has come he wants to talk to you! Then Livia runned. Phingi said that who is that man? Then I said I don't know, Phingi continued that: may be he is the one who brought fish, because Livia one day came with fish she said that she bought to Emra then we saw Livia coming back with leaves, fish and a big cup full of thobwa, but Phingi didn’t ask her anything she just received. Then I went back home no-one else came to knit, but Sofia came to chat, she said that Aunt I went to my grand mother at lunch. Then I told her that Jane went to J. Village because she is not happy with the behavior that you are doing, she said that why didn’t you wait for a year? Then GVH started crying I failed to talk a lot to my grand mother she was just crying. Kondwani and Sofia say that they new about this relationship even before the death of her HB, but out of respect to older woman can’t tell her to stop, that she is setting bad example to them. [Sofia:] But my HB has not yet started making bricks for my house, I don’t know what he is thinking (her son started crying and she said that: I am going to make porridge for him) I stayed alone up to 5:40 pm But at 5:20 pm a certain man passed by with a chair he was selling and I bought it at 300 MK because I liked it to use when knitting in Lilongwe I was tired knitting then I slept earlier than all the days.

4 MAY 2009 MONDAY:

In the morning I started my journey to Mangochi to take a form for Limbe University. On the way I passed by Rashida harvesting cotton alone. Hamra harvesting cotton alone, Florence harvesting cotton with her HB when I reached at Mangochi Depot I called Mr Tambala education co-ordinator to ask how to get at the office and he came and picked me by diocese car. When I reached at the office he gave me the form and told me how to fill the gaps. I paid 1 400 MK to and from (transport on the way back I found Hamra still harvesting I stopped at Jasmine’s house to greet her, then I found Jasmine, Innocence, Sofia, Thokozani grandmother of Tum, and Fatima Playing cards with money and maize [Levison and brother of Livia bought cards at Balaka for 50 MK. G saw Jasmine & HB, Innocence and son from J. village play together. Also other men and women together. But now HB of Jasmine burnt the cards bcoz the women delayed in fetching water, cooking etc]. They were contributing 5 MK per game or a cup of maize per game everybody was happy and Livia said that: Aunt G most of the women stopped knitting because of playing under the big tree. Jasmine said that: my HB is still not getting better coughing and some sores in lungs. May be he will go tomorrow at the hospital I was tired and I went home quickly no-one else came to knit.

5 MAY 2009 TUESDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I saw Vanessa and her HB going to harvest cotton, GVH and her 2 grand children were also harvesting cotton. At 8 am I went to charge my phone the on the way I saw Rashida harvesting cotton alone, Florence and her HB were also harvesting cotton. At the grocery no woman selling. On the way back I passed by house of the one who planted groundnuts but she was not there.

At 9 am I saw women from Mudzi B and Mudzi A going at the big tree with their children (scale)

After lunch I started knitting then Tumanene and Kondwani joined me (Thokozani and Emra and
Vanessa passed by, they told me that: they were going to play cards at Jasmine’s house (with pots of maize in their heads) then Kondwani said that: I don’t like this game because it causes stealing. (Eg After harvesting people now contribute maize, and later find they have no maize anymore, and may be tempted to steal. Eg Rosemary’s children stole maize to contribute to card game). Then Tumanene said that its true and I have now decided to stop. Even GVH is angry with that game, she went in the morning where some women gathered playing cards and teared into pieces and all the women were angry but gull said that if you continue, I will tell the police to come [J: Forbidden to play cards? G: Yes, they don’t allow people to play cards. G saw in Mangochi people moving around to see if people play cards and bring them to police. HB of Jane plays cards secretly, hiding from police]. And everybody stopped. As of now others are playing at Musitafa’s & Jasmine’s house.

A certain man passed by then Tumanene said that: he is the HB of old woman mother of Elube (I have forgotten the name) But he has 4 wives the fourth one, is that old woman. Then Kondwani laughed and said that: why can’t she chase him? He is coming because people have already harvested if my HB will come back I will not accept and even my children cannot accept.

Tumanene answered that yesterday I was querreling with Jeneti and Ellesi, I went there looking for my plate and Jeneti said that: do you think that I am a thief? If you are tired why can’t you go and stay with your mother in your village. I was angry and I flashed my HB in reminding him to build a house in my village. And imagine aunt G, Ellesi saying that she can beat me she is not even respecting me I don’t know why? I was staying with her in my house, but I chased her because she is rude. Livia passed by going to the borehole, then Kondwani laughed and said that: the boy who wanted to marry Livia from Ch. village stopped coming! Some one told him that Livia is a prostitute Tumanene laughed. And Kondwani said that why can’t she just choose one boy. She stopped with a boy form Balaka shop because all the shops were closed waiting for elections. [J?: G: Because he did not get some money as usually. Only the shops with foreign owners were closed, who were afraid something may happen during elections. Closed for about 3 weeks]. Then son of GVH in SA called saying that: I want to talk to my mother if possible then I runned to give her. I didn’t hear properly what they were discussing, but GVH told me that: My son (father of Jane) is admitted at balaka hospital he will be back after 40 days he has TB said the doctor and I will be their waiting for him to get better. Then I said sorry for that. When I reached home Sofia came to flasher HB> He called then Sofia said that: Although you are my HB but your are stupid because, you just gave me 250 MK since last week, don’t come here again just build my house then we must divorce. You are just eating nice food there with your stupid wife leaving your 4 kids here. We all laughed and her HB switched off his telephone Kondwani said that very good Sofia, that means he will come soon to give you extra money. [J: Did he indeed? G: It helped indeed, even up till now (May 31) he sends more money, eg 500MK “bcoz of those words that I told him,” Sofia told G later]. Sofia laughed and she continued her journey to GVH Kondwani left and said that I am going to prepare sweet potatoes for dinner my children are refusing to eat nsima with thelele. [ It seems that Kondwani’s children are in-charge instead of her! boy 13, girl 12, boy 9/10, boy 6/7.]

Tumanene went to buy matches I stayed alone knitting then I saw Esnart, Vanessa. Thokozani coming back from playing cards.
6 MAY 2009 WEDNESDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I saw Elube with her HB in the field, she was talking to Jasmine that: we are now harvesting mawere for thobwa, and Jasmine said that: I will start on Saturday as of now am busy harvesting cotton and my HB is still ill. Then Livia passed by and greeted her and she said that: I am going to the maize mill, I want to start cooking my own food now, from today on wards. [J: why from then on wards, had there been a fight, what triggered her decision? Had now harvested her own maize + zie verderop = ouders ziek. But only did it for 1 day, since then eating with parents again]

Then GVH came and she said that: keep these 2 blankets for me, (to prevent mice from eating, no one to chase them. Stayed at hospital for 2 weeks, but came home sometimes) I am going to the hospital and I will come back after 2-3 weeks when she left, chief Mudzi A came, he greeted me and said that I want to escort GVH to the hospital am late because I was busy cooking my food. I asked him why he didn’t tell his wife to cook and he said that: since last week am cooking alone because my wife is just moving around and I want to start making bricks for my house. Then he left. Later on Esnart same, she gave me Tea leaves and said that: My HB sent a lot from SA and I decided to share with you and I said Zikomo Kwambiri (thanks a lot) then she left.

Doris passed by going to the maize mill and she was telling her friend that my HB started a business of hiring a bike from Balaka to [nearest tradingcenter] and am happy because we are able to buy what we want in our new family. When coming back he used to buy matemba (dry fish), sopo, lotion and sometimes cooking oil. Then I saw Livia coming back from the maize mill, I stopped her and asked where she will be getting some money to buy ndiwo (relish), and she said that: I will start the Business of selling zitumbuwa today, and on Friday I will go at Liwonde to buy matemba for sell. I have decided to start cooking my own food because my mother and father are not getting better (ill often nowadays) then its good for me to practice ["so that I can take care of myself if they die". She cooked for parents when they were ill, one meal for all to share, not separately]. Then Sofia came she asked me to escort her at the maize mill to make ufa woyera (white maize flour) and I said no problem am free to go on the way to the maize mill HB of Sofia called and he told Sofia that I will send a certain man this afternoon to give you sugar, soap, and some money for ndiwo. Sofia smiled, then we found mem at the borehole washing her clothes.

Still on the way we met with Kingsley carried 50 kg bag of cotton he was coming back from the field. Sweetness was on the field harvesting cotton alone. At [nearest primary school] school I saw Saibi selling guavas, at the maize mill I found 2 men vendors buying cotton, I asked them how much per kg and they said they are buying at 30mk/kg.

Sofia paid 50 mK and she bought matemba 30 MK, tomatoes 10 MK. And she told me that: I have bought this because my HB will sent some money. On the way back we met with wife of Tulipesi going to the maize mill she carried 45 Kgs of maize. Sofia asked why she didn’t ask her HB to go on the bike and she said that: I told him but he refused to go he said he is tired (Sofia laughed) and said that Aunt G most of the men are lazy, instead of going by bike quickly but he is sending a wife.

Sofia continued that: tomorrow I will go at Balaka hospital to see GVH and her son. (She went to the maize mill with full basin - to make ufa-woyera). I asked her [Sofia] how many bags remaining
including the maize that she was exchanging with beans, and she said 3 bags remaining now. I wish I could buy extra maize but I don’t have money, the problem is that: My HB has got 2 wives an it is difficult for him to buy enough food for me.

After lunch Haliday, in-law of Pamela, came and asked me to treat her hair with Soft and free chemical. I asked how much she bought and she said my HB sent from SA and I am happy because I could have not managed to buy myself. Chief Mudzi B came and she said that: Aunt G I want you to braid my hair because tomorrow I will go at the hospital in Balaka to see GVH and I said that: most of the women in this village has treated their hair, but I don’t have money and after selling cotton I will buy mine. (We all laughed) Kondwani passed by with 2 women (new faces and chief Mudzi B started saying that: do you know Aunt G that Kondwani is my young sister? And I said yes I know. Have you seen those 2 women with Kondwani? And I said yes! Then she continued that: she has rented her field to those women (2 000 MK) instead of waiting in September or October so that she can use the money in hunger season! Or else she could thought of planting a lot of maize and sell, but instead she is renting to others. Lovely, Fissa, Thokozani, Vanessa, Elube passed by and chief said that: Instead of knitting they are going to play cards. And yesterday Levison, son of Elube, and HB of Vanessa stopped playing cards at 12:30 pm, which is not good. And they are free, to play card because GVH is at the hospital. After braiding her hair he left. I stayed alone up to evening.

7 MAY 2009: THURSDAY:

In the morning when I waked up. I went to fetch some water, then I saw chief Mudzi B harvesting cotton with her 2 daughters. Then prepared my journey to take my certificate at Zomba.

On the way I met with Sofia, Kondwani, Evelin, Vanessa going at Balaka hospital to see group Mudzi B and her son. Still on the way I saw Hamra harvesting cotton alone and HB of Chenawe was also harvesting cotton alone.

When I reached at Zomba Maneb they greeted me and said that: sorry we failed to send it because of other problems. But we received a call yesterday from Janneke asking about your certificate. After his words he gave me the certificate. And on the way back, I stopped at Balaka and made some photocopies. It was already 3:30 and I found the post office closed. On the way back I stopped to Chief Brusi to ask the house of the Pastor of our church and he said that he stays at Balaka but as of now he was found at a certain resthouse with the wife of his friend. [The pastor was caught and since then not allowed to continue as a priest, because he set a bad example. So now there is no pastor.] And I can just sign for you. And I gave her to sign. Still on the way back I found Innocence making zitumbuwa for sell. She said that she bought oil for 400 MK, her own mgaiwa, bananas from her field. When I reached home, Mr Ntawanga passed by. He greeted me and said that he was going to attend a meeting at Mudzi B big tree, they wanted to choose 60 members of CBO I followed him just to listen. But chief Mudzi A complained that a lot of people didn’t go to attend but they finished harvesting in Mudzi B – Kondwani, Lovely, Grace, Venesi, Vanessa, (others forgotten and in Mudzi A: Victoria, Serena, friend of Jasmine (K. village) were chosen to be members of CBO and they discussed to contribute 100 MK per head. And they said because most of the people didn’t come to
attend its good to arrange another day so that all the 60 members should be there. In order to be told their responsibilities. After 40 Min everybody departed. At 7:15 pm Innocence came to greet me, we sat on the veranda because it was very hot then within few minutes we saw Pamela and HB of Gettie passing by. Innocence laughed and said that: Have you seen Aunt G Pamela is with her boyfriend they were waiting for the darkness but that boy is very young and he has his first born child now. While Pamela has 4 children Innocence laughed and her mother sent Trinity to call her. After 10 minutes Sofia came to greet me and she started saying that: I went to see GVH at the hospital and on the way back I met with my HB and he gave me 400 MK, beans and 4 cabbages. But he is very thin now than before. I don't know what is wrong. [New wife is not taking well care of him, Sofia said. But Innocence said that his child there is also very thin and often ill - without mentioning the disease. But G guessed she meant to insinuate disease, but wasn't open to say explicitly. “I know my brother likes a lot of women” ]

1812 Sofia continued that: Have you heard Aunt G that: Tumanene was fighting with Ellesi and her mother. Last night? and I said I don’t know anything. Sofia continued that: I think Tumanene will tell you tomorrow what happened. It was already 8 pm and Sofia left.

8 MAY 2009 FRIDAY:

1813 In the morning when I asked up I saw Sofia and 2 grand daughters of group village headman harvesting cotton. Later on I saw Innocence going at [nearest primary school] school to sell zitumbuwa (maize flour pan cakes) . She was selling at 5 MK each and she said she made 600 MK.

1814 Then Pamela came for me to braid her hair then she started saying that: Tumanene explained to her HB what Jeneti and Ellesi did. Then her HB answer that: Tumanene must go to her village and when the HB will be back from SA that means he will follow her there. He was angry with what Jeneti did. I asked Pamela what happened and she said that I don’t know. But I have just seen Tumanene washing her cloths today and some blankets, she said that she is preparing for her journey. Then we saw HB of Fatima passing by an Pamela said that: Fatima wanted to come back to her HB but when she heard that Tinenenji’s pregnant is for her HB she changed her decision. Her HB is the one who told her to come back. Pamela continued that: Am happy because my new HB is buying everything for me, ndiwo (relish) , soap, lotion.

1815 When Pamela left I saw Livia coming back from [nearest primary school]. Then she said that: I am back because a lot of people are selling zitumbuwa including Amila and Saibi with 3 women are selling potatoes while other women ar selling Kanyenga and sugarcane and I just sold 50 MK.

1816 After lunch I went to Sofia to tell her that: we must go and fetch some firewood then Jasmine said that: lets go. Before going there I saw Emra going to sell maize to Brother of Innocence It was for 175 MK she told me that: She wanted to buy shoes for her son because on Sunday as she wanted to go at Ch. village to see her mother in-law and she asked me to braid her hair on Saturday 9th May.

1817 On the way to fetch some firewood Jasmine complained that G Your friend (Innocence) sold maize yesterday to her brother 25 Kg-750 MK but I don’t know what she wants to buy. She went to the maize mill to make her own ufa (maize flour), she said she wants to start eating her own food but she is failing to
find ndiwo (relish) she just cooked matemba (dry fish) one day later own she was just staying without eating nsima but potatoes lunch. She is lazy failing to dind ndiwo in the field even firewood, I am the one who is doing it.

Sofia started laughing on the way we met with GVH and she said that: she came back from Balaka hospital in order to attend a meeting at [nearest primary school] then Sofia said that: I have heard that Jeneti wants to get married! Then GVH said that, its true I heard last Monday, But it is not good for her to get married because she is taking ARV’s. If she will indeed get married! That means she will die soon. [G thinks she just said this because she does not know much about the working of HIV in the body]. Then she continued her journey back home when we reached at the bush we didn’t find dried firewood then we started cutting down a tree and shared. Jasmine laughed and said that G you have managed to cut down a tree alone while some women in our village they just beg firewood to their friends because they are just lazy. On the way back we met with Aisha and her HB harvesting tomatoes. Then Jasmine bought for 20 MK Sofia 20 MK. Then Jasmine stopped somewhere else and said that: I will come one day to take some clay I want to start making clay pots now.

When I reached home Chikondi came and said that: I have seen that Janneke is about to come and I have decided to take that note-book and continue writing what I have found everyday and I said no problem but we will calculate from today up to the day that you will be tired and she said no problem. Then I reminded her what to write then she left.

No-one else came to knit I stayed alone up to darkness.

9 May 2009: Saturday:

In the morning when I waked up HB of Vanessa [J: Now not working at Liwonde, but (in June) busy making bricks for son of Sibil] came to borrow my bike, he said that: I am going to sell cotton at J. village although they are buying at 35 MK< but I want money for soapl. Then I gave him abike.

Then at 8 am Livia came for me to braid her hair. Then she started saying that: I have stopped the BS of zitumbuwa (maize flour pan cakes) because a lot of women at [nearest primary school] were selling zitumbuwa. Then I asked her who is going to marry her now because her house is about to be finished now.

Meaning: who helped you to build that house? Then she said that: I don’t know because the Rasta man who sells beans said he want to marry me but as off now my father and mother said they don’t want a Rasta man because he likes smoking. But at first they encouraged me to marry with him because he works hard in the field, and he married a certain wife but she died after a year I don’t know what happened. As of now my parents are encouraging me to get married with a man that Emra searched for me because he brings fish when coming. But I don’t want him now because after telling him to go for blood testing he refused he said sindikufuna (I don’t want¬) (I was not sure because I heard Livia talking to Emra that: tell him that I am waiting for him to come and see my parents. Emra was going at Ch. village.) Livia continued that: By the end of this month I will go at Mangochi to see my sister. And I know that: When I will be there some else will propose me and I will accept, then I will just tell my mother that: Ndakwatira (I am married). Am saying this because most of the time she said: Its good for you my daughter to get married before I die. But when I found a HB she says no! don’t
get married with this boy.

1826 And I asked her Livia how Emra found a new HB, and she said that: Emra has a father at Ch. village, then she went there for 3 weeks just to chat, then a certain boy proposed her for marriage and she accepted but the boy never married, Emra is the first wife. And on 10 May Emra will now meet with her mother-in-law at Ch. village. That why she wanted to braid her hair with extension. Still in the morning we saw new HB of Pamela [= HB of Gettie, G had heard gossips already, but now saw with her own eyes] passing by then Livia said that: This man spent a night with Pamela, I saw him coming out her house. (She laughed)

1827 Then we saw a lot of girls carried pots, fire-wood, cooking-sticks, ufa from Mudzi B only. I asked Livia what was happening and she said that: After harvesting every year. All the young girls used to gather and cook nsima and ndiwo (masanje) to east with their friends, and I said that: After braiding your hair I want to go and see. At 10;20 am I went to see Tumanene [married to brother of Jeneti] and I found her cooking nsima. I greeted her and asked what happened for them to fight. Then she said that: I was looking for my plate, then I went to ask Ellesi if she borrowed. Then instead of answering that I didn’t borrow she started saying that: You are stupid! Do you think that I am a thief? And Jeneti also said that do you think that: I can borrow your plate? I was angry then started fighting with Ellesi, her mother joined Ellesi and I was alone. But I maganed beating them up to the point that Ellesi started crying. No-one stopped us, then Jeneti went into her house and closed the door (Tumanene laughed) I told my HB and he said that, its good for me to go at Mw. villagee, to start staying with my mother, when he will back from SA he will follow me there. And I accepted as of now I have already hired a bike to carry my maize, and everything in my house that what my HB told me. But I will take the knitting needles, I want to continue knitting and I said no problem you can.

1828 Then at 11:10 am I continued my journey to see what children were cooking. And I found chief Mudzi B, Kondwani, Vanessa, Blessings, Sofia, Grace, Emra and Chisoni chatting there, I joined them chatting. Then Emra started saying that: I sent a certain boy to sell cotton 1 bag 50 kg for me at J. village and I paid him 100 MK and he sold for 750 MK - 30 per Kg. I want to use it transport to go at Ch. village to my mother-In-law. My HB gave me money for transport, but I bought new chitenje. Kondwani laughed and said that: you are now serious about marriage and she said yes! Because I have seen that Ndaba will not help me. Then Vanessa and Kondwani said that: Aunt G we are thinking that HB of Tumanene is chasing her because the child that Ayami is taking care, belongs to the 1st wife of HB of Tumanene and when he was going to SA he bought new chitenje for her. (After Tumanene left, the ex-wife came to answer a call from the man from SA). And Jeneti was happy with that woman not Tumanene, they say because Tumanene is not beautiful. And sometimes Jeneti used to call that ex-wife to come and chat, which is not good. And may be HB of Tumanene wants to continue marriage with that ex-wife. If not! That means he will have 2 wives.

1829 Children were busy cooking Dorica, Ellesi, Modesta, Daughter of Venesi, daughter of Sofia call the children from Mudzi B] and after cooking we all ate there at the big tree, and all the children were busy and happy dancing while cooking. After eating the children collected all the remaining nsima and ndiwo to throw at the graveyard, they said that all the dead people must eat the remaining food. They came back while singing and dancing. Mother of Dorica and Jeneti, Lovely were also
participating in dancing while other women were just laughing, others clapping hands. Then Kondwani said that Aunt G do you know that mother of Dorica married father of Jane at the beginning and I said I don’t know and she continued that: she has a child from him (her eldest son).

At 2:30 most of the women were now tired dancing and Jeneti said that when we were young girls we were also cooking and dancing with our friends but girls of nowadays, they don’t like dancing in the afternoon because they are ashamed of their boyfriends. Mother of Dorica answered that: But they like dancing at night when they can hide from their boyfriends. (Boy friends won’t see them then, because they are at home). (We all laughed). Most of them departed and only Kondwani, Vanessa, Chief Mudzi B remained and Tumanene, then they said that Aunt G you need to chat here the whole day, you will go at 5 pm and I said no problem but I must go and take something to knit. I runned to write short notes because I was using my phone and the battery was low.

After few minutes I went back to chat with the women and they were happy. Then Tumanene said that Aunt G is it true that, at the hospital they now give condoms like underwear? And I said no! but female condoms not under wears everybody laughed and said that: who told you Tumanene? And she said that some one else from this village told me that: Are you from this village who don’t know how to use condoms like under wear (in appearance) Kondwani said that: this is my fist time to hear about condoms and I have never used since I was born and chief Mudzi B said that even my self. But I just saw young boys making a ball and I asked them and they told me that it’s a condom amai a Vanessa laughed. Tumanene said that I knew about male condoms when my HB was working at a certain organization. One day he came with 60 condoms he said he received. And he explained to me that: Its female condoms. It protects from unwanted pregnancy and HIV, but were not using them. Instead he was giving to young boys to make balls. But when he left to SA I sold 50 remaining condoms to son of Elube at 50 MK he said he wanted to use them and share with his elder brothers (everybody laughed) Then Vanessa started complaining to chief Mudzi B that: second born son of mother of Dorica started proposing me last year, he says he want to marry me and he is ready to take care of my children. I was not happy with this and I told my HB and My HB was angry and wanted to beat him. I told him that you are still young you can not marry me and he said that: do you think that I cannot produce children? I already sold my cotton and am ready take care of you (we all laughed) Ada joined us and she answered that: He is also proposing Grace but Grace refused: Then chief Mudzi B answered that: I think its good for me to go and tell his mother what he is doing and his mother will ask him why he is doing this. Ada answered that: he is doing this because all the girls from this village refuse relationship with him they say that he is not nice even his dressing is not nice (we all laughed)

Vanessa answered that Ada! I saw your ex-HB twice! Coming to chat with you, what are you discussing? Then she answered that: nothing but he was coming to see his child, and he gave me 200 MK, Levison borrowed 100 MK and the remaining 100mk I bought under wear for my daughter at [nearest tradingcenter]. Kondwani answered that: you need to take care because later on he will give you a baby boy now and Ada said that, yes! I cannot accept to sleep with him. It was around 4:30 pm and I told the women that: Thank a lot I am going home now and Tumanene said Ok! But can you escort me to GVH and I said no problem. When we went there, Tumanene told GVH that: I am going at Mw. village on Monday to stay with my mother. My HB told me that, he will find me there! Then GVH said that Ok! But don’t worry because this is not the end of marriage, Jeneti is a thief she even took my pot
and a plate, when I went there she refused to give me. And she is not happy with you. Later on she can put poison in your food and its good to go back to your parents have a nice journey. Then we left and I continued my journey home.

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It was very cold and no-one else joined me knitting.
**11 MAY 2009 MONDAY:**

Mid night Doris came to ask for the place for her to sleep. I asked her what is wrong and she said that: my brother chased me, I married and my HB came with his relatives to show that he is serious about marriage. Then later on my relatives (Rashida) said that she don’t know about my marriage but she want my HB to come with his elder brother and uncle. (Not believing that the ones who came were the real or the right). And my HB said that: I am going but I will not come. And it’s 3 days since he left. Then today I went direct to my HB to tell him to come back and he refused when I went back home it was already 7 pm and I found my brother cooking nsima, but I just went direct to sleep. Then as I was sleeping a certain boy opened the door and wanted to sleep with me and I refused and called my brother, my brother was angry and said that I told that boy to come while not. But I know that boy he is from [small crossroads market]. my brother is angry and he has chased me and I wanted to ask for a place for me to spent this night, so that tomorrow morning I must go to my grand mother at [nearest tradingcenter].[J: G thinks the boy and Doris agreed that he would come, when other are sleeping. Because she told G that the boy had followed her all the way from [nearest tradingcenter]. Then definitely they must have agreed, he wouldn’t come to her house otherwise. But could have had sex in the bush? May be because she has her own house]. I told Kingsley what Doris was saying and Kingsley said that don’t spend a night here but let us escort her to chief Mudzi B and the chief will see what to do. When we reached there, the chief said that G is renting and if some of your relatives will hear that you spent night there, they can be angry with G. And it’s good for you to go to the chief of your village (Mudzi A). Then Doris went back.

In the morning I saw again Doris coming, I asked her if she went to the chief and she said I didn’t. I just slept in my house and my brother didn’t chase me, As of now I [Doris] want to see if you are still buying maize, I want to sell my 2 bags it 1,500 Mk each so that I can find transport, I want to go to my brother in Lilongwe. [J: But Gertrude didn’t buy.] I asked her how many bags she harvested, and she said 10 bags but I worked together with my brother and we want to share. I asked Doris that: You seen to be pregnant, and what are you going to do? And she answered that: Its true but I will just abort. I asked her how she will manage, and she said that: I know the traditional medicine and I have that tree in my field and it helps me a lot because this is not my first time. I asked her to tell me who showed her that tree and she said my friends, I asked her to show me the tree and she answered that: I will show you some days coming. Then Doris started saying that even Awetu K is pregnant but her HB [the one with whom she stayed in Balaka] chased her he went back to his ex-wife! Then I saw Kingsley - Sofia harvesting cotton in the field of GVH. Then Doris said that, I am going to ask at [small crossroads market] if some one is buying maize, Sofia came to beg salt.

At 10:20 am I heard people singing clapping hands, then Sofia was still harvesting cotton and I asked her what was happening then she said that: Some women from this village gathered at Nyamwale’s house they are telling daughter of Nyamwale how to give birth because its now 8 ½ months and you are not supposed to go there because you don’t have a child. That’s why they are singing and after that they will eat food there. (Sofia laughed and said that Aunt G you like asking).

After lunch I saw women from Mudzi B passing by! They greeted me and said that: Aunt G we are now going at M. village mosque to attend a meeting for all mosques around Mudzi but
it’s only muslims and Kondwani stopped and said that: Aunt G Aunt G my ex-HB came in the morning and he gave me 1000 MK and I want to buy a jersey for my son. And I said no problem then she continued her journey.

1848 At 2:30 pm I went to see what Sofia has been writing, I checked and just encouraged her to work extra hard although she is failing to say exactly thing. I passed by the house of Venesi but she was not there, her daughter told me that she went to fetch some water. Then I passed by Dorica and Modesta, Tinenenji playing cards. Then I continued my journey to Chikondi to see how she has started writing. On the way I met with Saibi going fetch some water. I greeted her and she said that I am fetching some water for bricks, son of Hamra is making new bricks (the one whose wife died) I asked her if it is ganyu and she said no! but when I will be making my bricks, that means Hamra will help me, because I want to build a new house after selling cotton.

1849 Then I continued my journey to Chikondi when I reached there I didn’t find her, her son told me that she went to [small crossroads market].

1850 When I reached home, I continued knitting alone and the woman came from the meeting around 6pm. Meeting at M. village mosque: about elections people didn’t tell others about the meeting or said that only muslims could go, thinking that they would receive something like chitenje (wrapper), but only received sweets.

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12 MAY 2009 TUESDAY

1852 In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water then on the way I saw Rosemary and her ex- HB sitting on the veranda. I greeted them and Rosemary told me that: ndikudwala malungo (I am suffering from malaria) since last week and I said sorry muchile msanga. Still on the way I saw chief Mudzi B harvesting cotton with her 2 children. Then at the borehole I found Tumanene washing her cloths, I greeted her and she said that I will go on Thursday to Mw. village. I have already started harvesting cotton and am waiting to sell but I think I will just come back after p elections.

1853 Then Lovely passed by on the bike, I greeted her and she said that: I am going at the hospital with my children, they are not getting better (eye problem while the other one malaria). I met with Melina. I greeted her and she laughed and said that: go and help your grandmother clearing in the field. She has already started yesterday then Tumanene laughed.

1854 Later on I started my journey to Chikondi then on the way I met with Chikondi coming back from her mother she carried a plate of leaves (dried), I greeted her and she said that: I went to beg to my mother and I asked her why she has started eating earlier dried leaves, and she said that: it is difficult to buy ndiwo nowadays because we have not yet started selling cotton, and it is also difficult to sell maize because we were selling soon after harvesting before keeping in maize storage (nkhokwe) or in bags, when we have kept the maize in nkhokwe we don’t sell because we think of hunger season of knowing how long will the maize be eaten, is it 2-3 months. When people will be selling cotton that means the price of maize will be higher. This year there will be a lot of hunger because a lot of people were growing cotton 2 acres while maize 1 acre thinking that the price of cotton will be high
and they will be able to buy extra maize while not (said Chikondi).

I checked what she was writing and I found a lot of mistakes and I tried to help her by giving her some examples (but I knew that she was busy taking care of the twins) at that time children were just crying and I told her that I will come after 2 days to see if it is clear.

From there I went to the woman who planted ICRISAT g'nuts. Then on the way I found Kondwani and Sofia buying matemba, Aisha was selling tomatoes and she said that it was from her field.

Woman who planted ICRISAT g'nuts: born in 1977, she has 5 children, it is her first marriage since 1993 up to now. She grows crops like maize, cotton, pepper and g/nuts. She sell all the crops except g/nuts.

I started myself with my HB growing our own g/nuts and its 3yrs now, I was just buying g/nuts for planting with my HB. Then last year November Mr Chikombo came and told me about ICRISAT variety and he asked me if I am free to plant, I was happy because, I already knew that there is benefit in g/nuts. In J. village only 4 people are participating and every body planted in her field not together, and I planted with my HB. At Mudzi A 4 families planted at K. village the same. I planted ¼ acre because they brought the seeds very late. Mr Chikombo looked for people who works hard in farming (in their fields) and he just chose 4 people whom he knew already. I harvested 5 ½ bags (50 kgs) but I have not yet finished harvesting, I was busy harvesting tsabola (pepper) because the price of cotton is low and may be pepper will be high, but I don’t know why a lot of people doesn’t grow pepper.

And I have seen that, I have harvested a lot of g/nuts that before. This variety is good.

No ganyu (casual labour) hired I worked with my HB. Then I told her to work extra hard in farming. Then I [Gertrude] continued my journey to charge my phone, and I asked Daudaa if GVH is in VDC and he said no. Then he continued that he is not participating in VDC but the one who was not working hard was told to continue. Then I went back home.

After lunch I started knitting alone no-one joined me, but Grace passed by and said that the women has gone to attend a meeting (campaign) at [small crossroads market].

13 MAY 2009 WEDNESDAY:

In the morning when I worked up I started washing my blanket. Later on I went to fetch water & found chief Mudzi B washing her clothes. Then Kondwani was telling chief Mudzi B that my HB sent a packet of sugar today and soap. He came early in the morning to see his child chief Mudzi B laughed and said that why is he coming often now, then she said that I don’t know.

On the way back I saw Innocent passing by selling tomatoes. She greeted me and continued her journey - After washing cloths I started reading what I have been writing, checking some mistakes, and writing what I forgot to write. Then a certain boy passed by selling different things, like, jersey, zitenje second hand cloths. According to the weather I stopped him and bought 2 at 700 MK after selling a baby suit at 800 MK to a certain woman from Misomali village I decided to buy.

After lunch I started knitting Livia passed by with a Rasta man, but she failed to talk to Livia me, maybe she was ashamed because she cheated me that the relationship ended. Then I saw
Emra with her new HB coming back from Ch. village. Then HB of Sofia called and I runned to give her the telephone after talking to each other Sofia said that Aunt G zikomo akuti abwera mawa (thanks a lot he said he will come tomorrow) Then I asked Sofia that: Why are you not going for family planning and she said that Aunt G I will see. I laughed and said that: you seem to be pregnant and Sofia said that: no! no! and I continued that: you slept with him almost four or three times now without any protection how come! May be you are using medicines? And she said no! but when I will have time, you will escort me, and I said that: you always cheat me Sofia you are not serious but you just want another child from him (then she laughed) and I left her washing her cloths and for her children. I found Jasmine, Thokozani, brother of Innocent and mother of Jasmine, playing cards with money. Then Tumanene passed by and said that Aunt G ndapita tidzaonana (I am going, we will meet). And I said that: have a nice journey. Then I received a call from my Aunt in Lilongwe saying that, I am with your mother in Lilongwe I asked her to come for ganyu (casual labour) (kutonola chimanga (shelling maize)). Instead of giving some one, else a bag of maize I decided to give it to your mother, Then I said thanks a lot for helping her, although you failed to give her freely not ganyu (because she is not strong after staying along time at the hospital) Then my aunt didn’t answer anything. I continued knitting alone.

1867

1868

14th MAY 2009: THURSDAY:

1869

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning my plates, cooking potatoes and sweeping. Then later on I went to fetch some water on the way I saw 3 grand children of GVH harvesting cotton. Then I saw chief Mudzi B with her 2 children harvesting cotton. At the borehole I met with Innocent and Jasmine washing their clothes. I greeted them.

1870

Then Jasmine said that: Aunt G am happy because I bought 6 bags at 750 MK. (How did Jasmine find money for this? HB of Jasmine borrowed money from Sofia’s HB [his son]. Maybe the other money from the grocery?) I harvested a lot of maize but you know that hunger season I was just borrowing money and paid back maize that’s why I remained with 3 bags only. After washing these clothes I want to continue harvesting cotton, and I am planning to buy iron sheets, zitenje, clothes for me and my 2 grandchildren then I will be happy.

1871

Then Innocent answered that: even myself I want to buy clothes. Then Evelin came to draw some water, when she left Jasmine said that: Aunt G this girl is looking nice now, but at the beginning of 2007 before she started taking ARVs she was very thin and weak, but as of now zikuyenda (Innocent laughed) then I went back home. On the way I met with Esnart going to wash her clothes. Sophia came to greet me then she said that I am not feeling good (stomach) and I don’t know what is wrong and am planning to go to the hospital. [Sofia:] On the telephone my HB said that I should go somewhere else at M. village to his friend to ask if he is still selling maize, he want to buy 2 bags for the preparation of initiation ceremony of my dotta , then I said ok, have a nice journey.

1872

At 10am I went to see what Suset has been writing then I found her eating porridge with her dotta. Then I just took the notebook in order to check at home. Then on the way back I met with chief Mudzi B and all the women from Mudzi A and Mudzi B going for campaign meeting at [nearest primary school]. Chief Mudzi B greeted me and said that: we are busy because next week Tuesday 19th we will be voting. Then its good to go and attend the meetings, may be we will receive Zitenje now, because we
already received T shirts, Kondwani laughed.

After lunch I started translating what Suset has been writing and checking some mistakes. Then Livia passed by and I asked her where she was going and she said that: to chief Mudzi B. I want to divorce, so that I can be free to get married to a new HB. Asked her who is going to marry you? And she said that: Maybe a Rasta man because he is the one who is serious about marriage! But I will see. Then Julia passed by and said that Aunt G I will come and continue learning how to knit and I said no problem. Then Livia said that do you know that her [Julia’s] father-in-law is a traditional doctor? He was staying at the place where my mother built a house. she married [her current HB] then after giving birth to a first child they divorced I asked why? And she said I don’t know but after few months she married to another man and gave birth to 1 child. Later on they divorced and went back to [her current HB] up to now. After this words Livia continued her journey.

At 4:30 pm that’s when the women were coming back from campaign. Jasmine said that everybody is busy. And we just received some sweets not zitenje. And everybody now wants to vote for Bingu wa Mutharika because fertilizer will be 500 MK everybody stopped and greeted me. They told me that: we will vote for Bingu but Sofia? And Kingsley said that: we will vote for Doctor Tembo. (Why? Because when Muluzi was president, Group Village Headmen used to go to meetings and receive cooking oil, ufa, money, sugar, milk. Now they miss these kind of handouts. G thinks GVH also voted for Tembo, because once said that at that time she found lot of money. Chief Mudzi B same, but Kondwani voted Bingu bcoz of cheaper fertilizer.] Then Sofia said that: Tomorrow I will go at Balaka to meet with my HB. He said that he wants to give me the money for maize and I will go at the hospital to see my grand mother and I said that: just greet her (Sofia went back home).

15 MAY 2009 FRIDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I started washing the plates, sweeping and cooking breakfast, later on I went to fetch some water then I saw chief Mudzi B harvesting cotton, Emra was also harvesting cotton. At the borehole I found Tinenenji, Ada and Jeneti washing clothes.

On the way back I met with Chisoni selling oranges, I greeted her and asked where she bought the oranges, and she said that it’s from my mother’s field. She gave me a lot and I decided to sell some. Then I bought for 20 MK Esnart was with Chikondi and Amila they were selling sugar cane and they told me that: we are going sell at [nearest primary school].

Around 10 am Livia came to greet me, then we saw new HB of Pamela passing by with his wife Gettie. Then Livia laughed said that: have you seen now Pamela was saying that: I have found a nice HB who is buying what ever I want, and I stopped pounding the maize by hand but he gives me some money to go to the maize mill to grind. And he said he has a lot of cotton and after selling we will buy maize. Livia continued laughing and said that: Maybe [J: maybe?? G: Mwina... If he would not have had cotton she could have thought he was poor. Other possible reasons according to G: helping in the field, dong A BS... Thinks not for just liking him (laughs when I suggest). First HB took well care of her (= fat, nice clothes), but still she looked for other men. G: Don’t know whether she likes men or money. If it is money, she could have stayed with first HB = son of Jasmine at Zomba] she accepted because he has a lot of cotton. Then boyfriend of Livia passed by (Rasta man) and
Livia said that: Aunt G ndikubwera then she followed him

After lunch Venesi came I greeted her and said that: sorry Aunt G am busy attending seminar at Balaka, gong to fetch some firewood, that’s why you didn’t find me at home for several times. Then I said no problem I just wanted to see what you have been writing.

Venesi said that: I will just send the notebook because [Venesi:] tomorrow I will be busy I am going to attend engagement ceremony then on Sunday, I will go at the same place to attend a wedding ceremony. And I came here to invite you, (Did you go to wedding? No, Jasmine said it’s very far, many have gone so thieves may come, better stay at home). It will be at Chikwere village near [nearest tradingcenter] and everybody in this village will go. It’s for my uncle’s daughter. Then I said OK. If I will have time I will come.

Then she continued that [Venesi]: I wanted to borrow your phone in order to put my sim card mine the battery is low. Then I gave her and she started talking to her boy friend saying that: please come today around 6 pm, its 2 weeks now since you came. And I want to tell you something (I don’t know what the boy friend answered). Then Venesi said “I am gong to beg groundnuts to Elube I want to make nsinjiro, then she continued that: When are you going to start eating your sweet potatoes and I said that: I am waiting for January she laughed and said that: most of the people in this village finished eating their sweet potatoes because they didn’t plant a lot compared to last year. Then she went to Elube. chief Mudzi B came to beg salt.

Then Livia came again! I greeted her and she said that: I was free to chat with my boy friend because my mother and father are not there! They have gone to attend a 40 days ceremony at J. village. And he was telling me that: he want to marry me, and any day he will come with his relatives to talk to my parents, and I told him to cut his hair if he is serious and he said no problem. But he told me that: Venesi told him not to marry me because I am a prostitute and he said that, he can not listen to her. Then Kondwani joined us and Livia stopped talking. Ex-HB of Rosemary passed by. Kondwani greeted him and he said that: I am going to see my ex-wife she is still not getting better, Kondwani laughed and he said that: why are you laughing? Don’t you know that this cold weather is bad? If a man has 4 blankets it is not enough unless the wife must be near by (Is he insinuating that they still sleep together sometimes? Was drunk. May be afraid people will laugh at him for going back to wife after divorcing. G hasn’t seen or heard him go to her house more often).

(We all laughed) Then new HB of Pamela passed by going to Pamela. Then Kondwani laughed and said that: this boy is in relationship with Pamela because his wife has got a 2 months baby boy and he cannot manage to sleep with her that why he proposed Pamela.

At 4 pm it was very cold then Kondwani and Livia left.

Then Mr Ntawanga passed by he greeted me and said that: why are you knitting alone? And I said that women are busy with campaign then he laughed and continued his journey.

Chief Mudzi B passed by I greeted her, and she said that: I went to Balaka with Sofia to see group Village Headwoman and she sent a greeting to you, and I said thanks a lot, then she continued that: she will be back on Monday from the hospital then she left.
At 5:30 pm Sofia came! She greeted me and said that: I am back from Balaka and my HB gave me K3,000.00 to buy maize for initiation ceremony of my dotta, and he bought, soap, matemba, paraffin, and salt and he said he will come on Sunday to spend a night here so that we can discuss about a house that we want to build. Am happy because he is taking care of me and I asked again about family planning and she said that aunt G you like asking me the same question Why? And I laughed and said that: Sorry but I wanted to know if either you are using Traditional medicine or else you want another child! Because you cheated me to escort you at [nearest tradingcenter] hospital for injection. Sofia laughed and said that ndapita. (I am going)

16 MAY 2009 SATURDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I saw grand daughter’s of GVH harvesting cotton.
Then Haliday came, she said that: Aunt G I want you to comb my hair because I am going to see my mother and I want to look nice then I did it.

Livia came, I greeted her and she said that: Aunt G I forgot one thing to tell you! My boy friend said that after selling cotton he will buy 1 bag of cement for my house. And he said that we will go together at Kampepuza (Ntcheu) to buy new cloths for me, I am happy because I didn’t expect him to say these words. Sofia passed by I greeted her and she said that: Livia what are you doing there this morning? Your daughter is just crying then Livia left. Later on I went to fetch some water then I saw Kondwani washing her clothes (Kingsley came to borrow a bicycle to go and see GVH [in Balaka hospital to care for son])

Then Chisoni came she told me that. I am selling oranges and potatoes may be you want some and I said yes! Then I bought oranges 50 mk and sweet p 50 MK then she said the potatoes was from her field.

After lunch Kondwani and Esnart came to knit then after few minutes the car passed by for campaign then the women said that: lets go aunt G to attend the meeting (at the big tree). When we reached there we found women already gathered dancing and singing. It was about Muluzi just encouraging people to vote for him. At last the women complained that he just came (Mpaeweni) without giving money to people who gathered. Then I went back home to continue knitting Esnart and Kondwani joined me alone.

Then Esnart started saying that Nola was complaining that all the girls [living around her] likes exchanging boy-friend except Molly, but Venesi is in relationship with a man from [small crossroads market] who has a wife Grace is in relationship with a certain man who has a wife from [small crossroads market] and he is between 29-30 years, Pamela is in relationship with a volunteer teacher and she says she is happy because she is now drinking tea, while Grace was just giving her 50 MK while a man from [small crossroads market] is giving her 200 MK for ndiwo. (relish). Evelin is in relationship with HB of Elube and she is just eating fish nowadays.
Kondwani answered that: I heard HB of Elube one day saying to chief Mudzi B that Evelin is nice, Mzungu (white person) like Janneke (we all laughed) and nowadays I buy Matemba for 200 MK ½ Evelin ½ Elube. I like having sex with Evelin than Elube because my wife is old now. Esnart said that: But I don’t know why Elube is not angry with the story, Kondwani answered that: but they don’t greet each other. But Molly is just quite and I have never heard that she has a boy friend and one day Pamela was saying that if you say no to a man it’s a sin to God and Evelin used to say that “its good to be in relationship with old men because
they give a lot of money than young boys. They have got the means to find lot of money."

1894 [J: Pamela serious? “Man is born to propose to anyone he wants, only belongs to his mother, not to any wife. And women are free to accept anyone who proposes. Gertrude thinks serious because this is indeed like Pamela’s behavior. Pamela said this at borehole to other women.]

1895 Kondwani continued that: Gettie heard that her HB is in relationship with Pamela! And she said at the borehole that: when she will get better she will come to Pamela to tell her to end the relationship with her HB if not she will beat her. But HB of Elube is just spending his salary to Evelin because she is a new wife. [J: How long has relationship between them been going on? G thinks long time, before we arrived]. Rasta man passed by and Kondwani started laughing and said that: Aunt G have you seen the HB of your friend Livia? At least today he combed his hair (we all laughed) It was already 5 pm then the women left.

1896 HB of Amila came to beg 10 MK for fodya and I said sorry I don’t have then he left.

1897 17th MAY 2009 SUNDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I started cleaning plates, sweeping and cooking my break-fast. Then I went to Livia to tell her that: we should go to fetch some firewood then I found her eating porridge and Sofia was eating potatoes, Livia refused, she said that nowadays a lot of snakes are just moving around there. Then I just went to Amila to buy. Then I found her HB only gone at Liwawadzi to buy sugarcane for sell. And he said that lets, go, ‘I want money for batteries so that I can hear how a elections will be going on, then on the way I met with women from Mudzi B going to attend the wedding at Chikwe village.

1899 Then I bought for 300 MK on the way back I met with Sofia and Innocent playing cards with money. Then Sofia stopped me and said that Aunt G I heard yesterday that Pamela will beat you! Because you are telling people that her new HB went back to his wife and I told Sofia that: sorry I don’t know anything but I will just go to ask. Then Kondwani said that don’t go! But I will go and ask for you. But at the borehole I heard then the Rasta man wants to beat Livia because yesterday they promised each other to meet some where else at night but Livia didn’t go and he is angry.

2000 After lunch Esnart came to knit and she said that: I was thinking that you went to attend the wedding and I said no! I failed because it is very far. Then Chikondi came to give me a plate of sweet potatoes when she was going to the borehole. Then I saw Kondwani coming, then HB of Pamela passed by coming back from Pamela, then Esnart said that this is 3:30 pm he went there at 8:00 am that’s why Pamela didn’t go to attend the wedding.

2001 After 30 min we saw Pamela coming then Kondwani said that I was looking for you Pamela! I heard that you want to beat Aunt G what is wrong? Then Pamela said that I don’t know anything but yesterday at the borehole Jeneti, Vanessa and Ada were saying that Gettie from [tiny crossroads market] is angry. She wants to come and beat me because I am in relationship with her HB. Then Kondwani said that OK! I asked you because I have never heard that Gertrude was qurelling with someone else. Then Pamela said that: People are just jealousy with my new HB but he just came himself at home and proposed me and I accepted because I wanted someone else who can help me to take care of my child and indeed I am enjoying because he
is providing what I want. (No-one answered). Then Pamela and Kondwani left. Then Esnart said that: Pamela is my enemy I don’t talk to her because she was in relationship with my HB. Even Grace was trying to come to greet my HB in order to attract him. But my HB was just quite. As of now he said he will send some money for me to go in my home village to make bricks and build my house.

Her child started crying and she said that I am going make porridge I will come to continue knitting tomorrow. Then she left. I stayed alone up to darkness, I was just listening from the radio.

18th MAY 2009: MONDAY:

Early in the morning around 5 am Sofia knocked the door, I greeted her and she said that: Please aunt G my child is not getting better, even at night we failed to sleep then I want you to escort me at a traditional doctor where I used to go and I said no problem. On the way Sofia said that my HB didn’t come last night may be he is busy. Then we passed by Rashida and Hamra harvesting cotton.

Still on the way going to Mudzi A II we saw Elube and HB and 4 sons harvesting cotton. Still on the way Sofia said that: Elube doesn’t know that Evelin is HIV positive and you will see her HB after selling cotton he will spend a lot of money to Evelin. Sofia continued that I want to ask the traditional doctor to give me some medicine for my HB to divorce with his new wife.

When we reached there (Almost 1 hour 10 mins) The Traditional doctor greeted us, he has a lot of livestock, big house with iron sheet roof and married. Then he asked Sofia what she wanted! And Sofia explained that: My child is not getting better his body is very hot as if he is suffering from malaria, and My HB is not coming often at home to see his child and I want him to querell and divorce so that he can come and stay with me. Then the Traditional doctor said that no problem, give this medicine to your child (roots) boil for few minutes and give him to drink for 3 days, but for your HB to divorce come on Sunday this week then Sofia accepted.

On the way back we found Elube still harvesting cotton. Then Sofia said that: Jane has gone to her HB at Balaka the one who plays cards and she said she will not come back here. Still on the way we met with Hamra and she said that I am happy because I have a lot of cotton and 1 harvested 4 bags of Mawere but groundnuts not a lot, [sold a ¼ plastic bag of Mawere to G for 200 MK = 5 MK/spoon for G to take to Lilongwe to make thobwa]. (gruel)

At home I saw Livia coming back from the maize mill. She said that I went to grind this 50 kg. [J: How can she carry that? G: Put on head, are just used. Not to have to go to chigayo often. When finding some money prefer to grind as much as possible, thinking that it may take long before they’ll find money again]. And I will go back with another 50 kg to grind, next week Wednesday I want to go and see my sister at Mangochi and I want to stay there 3-4 weeks that’s why I am helping my mother going to the maize mill. [So that mother will not be without, cannot manage to go herself. (In June Livia still not gone to Mangochi, may be first waiting to sell cotton, says “I will go, I will go’)]

After lunch I went to see what Venesi has been writing and I found her [Venesi] coming back from the maize mill with Ada to make ufa oyera everybody carried almost 40 kgs on their heads. Venesi greeted me and I just told her to give me the notebook so that I can check properly at home then she gave me after checking I found few mistakes only that I went on 18th May but she stopped writing on 12th May and I decided to back and ask why she didn’t write for 5 days.

Still at home Rasta man passed by and he asked me where Livia has gone and I said at the maize
mill and he said that ok! Tell her that after selling these beans I will come but I want to chat with her here at your house not to her mother’s house, she said she is afraid of her mother then I said OK I will tell her.

1919

At 3 pm I went to see what Chikondi has been writing then I found few mistakes that before and I tried to give her a lot of examples. Then she said that Aunt G sorry because when I was at school I was not intelligent. I liked Mathematics only, that’s why I am making a lot of mistakes (we all laughed) Then she said that after selling cotton I want to start buying maize for initiation ceremony of my son, as of now I have started a business of selling tomatoes in order to find money for soap and ndiwo. But tomorrow I will vote for Bingu because fertilizer is cheap. Then I went direct to greet Eveles then I passed by Hamra she called me and I went there then she gave me a plate of groundnuts and I said thanks a lot and she said that I want to make nsinjiro, but this groundnut (full basin) I am keeping to plant this season. Then I found Saibi and Filimona, and Levison chat there, Hamra took another plate of groundnuts and gave Levison, but Saibi and Levison were just touching each other laughing and checking hands, I heard Levison telling Saibi that hug me and Saibi laughed and said that I don’t want can’t you see that all these women are listening to us. (Hamra was just laughing) On the way back, Levison carried me on his bike and he started saying that Aunt G do you know that I querrelled with my wife? And I said no! and he continued that: I was angry because she said that I am a thief, I took maize 1 tin for Rosemary and sold at [nearest trading center]! While it was not true, she said because I was just drinking beer the whole day, she forgot that I am working. Then I took all my cloths and kept to my mother and I went to stay at Balaka for 4 days, I was staying at a certain resthouse I was paying 100 MK per day! I asked him why it is cheap and he said that because we use candles, a mat and I blanket that’s why. Then I asked him why he went back to his wife and he said that: My mother is the one who told me that she was just crying everyday saying that I must forgive her, that’s why I am back when I reached home he dropped me and continued his journey.

1920

At 4 pm GVH sent a message that she is back from the hospital then I went to greet her when I reached there. She started saying that: we stayed 14 days at the hospital not 40. And as of now the doctor gave me some medicine and he gave him extra medicine to go and keep at [nearest trading center] hospital with a letter. That means instead of going at Balaka to take medicines he will be going [nearest trading center]. I am happy because I am back now and tomorrow I GVH will continue harvesting cotton, after lunch I will go to vote. Then Friday I will start harvesting rice am afraid that birds will destroy.

1921

Then HB of Esnart called and I runned to give her my phone so that she can talk to her HB. On the way I met with Sofia and Innocent coming from Mudzi A to buy matemba. I found Esnart chopping firewood. After talking to her HB she said thanks a lot. From there I went direct to give the book to Venesi, then I found her chatting with Pamela and I failed to ask her why she didn’t write for 5 days but I just told her that: I will come tomorrow after lunch - (voting).

1922

Then HB of Sofia called asking if GVH is back from the hospital and I said yes she is back. still on the way back I met with Vanessa, Tinenenji, Evelin and Ada chatting. Then I saw Grace chatting with some boys she greeted me and said that, my daughter has gone to Ns. village to chat with my uncle and she will be back on 5 June 2009. Then I continued my journey and I saw Kondwani and chief Mudzi B, Chisoni, chatting at a big tree. When I reached home I started writing, after that I started checking what I have been writing.

210
In the morning when I waked up I saw women from Mudzi A going to vote, then chief Mudzi B passed by and said that I will go after lunch because there will be a lot of people there. Then group Mudzi B came to greet me, and she said that I will go after lunch I am going in the field to look for nandolo (pigeon peas) it is matured now. Then she left.

Later on son of GVH came the one who was ill. I greeted him and he said that: thanks a lot G for encouraging me to go to the hospital am getting better and I will follow the instructions that the doctor said. Then he continued that: I will come any day to flash my brother in SA to tell him that: I am back from the hospital and I want to tell him that our mother is still in relationship with that man (her in-law) and he is the one who can talk to her. Then I said no problem I am still here you will flash when you will have time. Then he left.

Then HB of Sofia called me said that: I must tell Sofia to go at J. Village to her In-law to take 500 MK for soap and ndiwo. I told Sofia and she said that thanks a lot aunt G. Then mother of Dorica passed by with 50 kg bag of cotton and Dorica 50 kg bag. They were coming back from the field. Kondwani passed by with nkhwani (ndiwo). (pumpkin leaves relish).

At 10 am I continued knitting, chief Mudzi A with Mr Ntawanga passed by going for elections.

After lunch I started reading what I have been writing and checking some mistakes. At 3 pm I started knitting alone then Lucia joined me, and I asked her if she started Business again and she said that no! as of now my mother has started working at [large commercial estate] harvesting cotton and I stay at home taking care of the children. [J: Has G heard of other people going to work there? Not in Mudzi B (son of Amila) , saying there is a lot of work there, they cannot manage to do that. Innocent mentioned it only once when she wanted money for something, but after harvesting she could easily find money by selling her maize].

At 4 pm chikondi and Julia passed by coming back from voting, they greeted me and said that Aunt G your friend has runned to Pamela’s house. Gettie the wife of volunteer teacher is there! I runned with Lucia to see and indeed I found a lot of women from Mudzi B gathered and some boys. Pamela was at the bed-room with volunteer Teacher and Gettie found them with under wears. The teacher was ashamed to go outside then Gettie started fighting with Pamela (no-one stopped them). Gettie told Pamela that you are stupid! You need to find your own HB! Everybody laughed and cheered. Then Gettie told her HB that lets go home [he is allowed back home], Gettie and other woman are mainly angry with Pamela, why didn’t you tell met that you want to get married to another wife. You are doing this because I have a child of a month only. Women [J: Who? G: Mother of Dorica, Kondwani, Sofia, Blessings, Hilda] shouted and said that: Just burn her house she likes sleeping with men who have wives! This is not the first time. Gettie and her HB left, then I saw Pamela coming out of the house sitting on the veranda, everybody laughed. And the women said that this is not good, Kondwani said that we will see a lot of single women now being afraid that they will be caught. She appointed to Evelin, Venesi and Grace. Kingsley laughed and said that: This boy is very young he cannot be in relationship with a woman who gave birth to 4. We all left Pamela sitting on the veranda alone. When I reached home I saw GVH coming and Lucia left. I greeted her and we heard women laughing then GVH said that, the women are just laughing, why are they laughing, Pamela is her own choice, she was proposed and she is free to say yes or no! chief Mudzi B came and told GVH that there is a visitor then she left.

20 MAY 2009: WEDNESDAY:

At night 8 pm a certain man knocked the door! I asked him what he was looking for and he said that I am a Rasta man, boyfriend of Livia, I am with my 3 friends, Livia told me to come here and
meet with her. She is afraid of her mother. Then I said that: Please am sleeping and don’t disturb me! Just go direct to her mother, (they were all drunk then he left. From here he went to knock at Thokozani’s house and said that: Thokozani, go and call Livia. She cheated me to meet at G’s house but she is not there. Thokozani told me that: Gertrude, I was angry and I told him to go direct to Livia not at my house. At 8:20 pm Kingsley said that Aunt G just go to her mother now and tell her that: Livia sent boys to meet at night here! That Rastaman stays very far from this village and we don’t know his behaviour may be he is a thief and he can come one day to steal. And Kingsley escorted me. And I explained to her mother what happened and Livia said that: he is not my boy friend I don’t know him. (with angry face). Then Kingsley told Phingi that: Please try to tell your daughter to have a good choice, one day she was chatting here with that Rasta man because you were not here. And now she is refusing. You like gossiping about others but failing to tell your daughter that she is not doing good. (telling Phingi). Phingi didn’t answer anything. Then we left.

In the morning when I waked up I went to fetch some water the I found Pamela [apparently not ashamed to be in publif after being caught with HB of Gertrude] and Grace washing their clothes, on the way back I met with GVH coming back from the field she carried nandolo full basin. I greeted her and she said that: I am going to start harvesting my rice because birds are destroying (then she left).

Later on I saw chief Mudzi B passing by she also carried nandolo (pigeon peas) on her head. She greeted me and [chief Mudzi B] said that; Aunt G have you seen what your friend is doing? And I asked whose friend? And she said Livia. Then she continued that: Levison went to GVH at night and he complained that, Livia went at Mudzi A in the field of Doris, when Florence asked her what she was looking for! Livia answered that: Am looking for medicine in order to abort! Don’t you know that am pregnant and it belongs to Levison. Then I am not happy because I am not the one who impregnated her. (Chief Mudzi B continued that: everybody knows that most of the time Livia used to have sex with Levison) May be Levison is now afraid that the relationship with Charity can end. We will chat later said chief.

At 10 am I started knitting while listening form the radio about elections (Bingu was the highest) Kondwani joined me, she was coming back from the field with nandolo for ndiwo relish) full big plate, Elube also passed by with nandolo full big basin.

Then Kondwani said that: I am happy because Bingu will be our president and we will be our president and we will buy fertilizer at 500 MK everybody will manage. Innocent passed by! I greeted her but she didn’t respond, she was going to fetch some water. After few minutes I saw Innocent coming with angry face. Then she started saying that: Aunt G ndinu chitsiru (You are foolish) why are you talking about me.

I didn’t answer anything but Kondwani answered that: Innocent we are discussing about elections not about you! No-I have got 2 ears I have heard anything! You are saying that I am a prostitute and I stopped coming here to knit but I just move around with boys. (Said Innocent) and Kondwani said that: Innocent this is not good if you have got some words just say! But not talking like that: Innocent left while she was talking herself. Then I told Kondwani that lets go to her mother and explain what Innocent has done.

When we reached there Kondwani explained to Jasmine, and her father was there! But instead of telling Innocent that this is not good! Jasmine said that: why are you hating Innocent! Innocent has a lot of friends! She can stop coming there because she has a lot of friends.

Kondwani was angry and said that Aunt G lets go I was thinking that Jasmine will sit down with her
daughter and discuss about this story but not that we hate Innocent (then we left)

1959

Then Kondwani went for lunch. After lunch I started knitting alone then Esnart passed by I greeted her, then she said that I am going to buy matemba at Julia. At 4 pm Kondwani passed by! She said that I am going at the grocery to buy matches I cannot buy to the HB of Jasmine, they are all stupid and I will stay 2-3 weeks without talking to that family! They just like gossiping and I said no! Just forgive them. Then she continued her journey. I knitted alone up to evening.

1960

21 MAY 2009: THURSDAY:

In the morning when I waked up I started cooking sweet potatoes, washing plates, and sweeping. Then GVH came greeted her and she said that: I am not getting better, am just feeling very pain my stomach and I want medicine if you have, and I said sorry I don’t have, but just go at the hospital and receive the whole dosage and she answered that: I will go tomorrow when she left Sofia passed by I greeted her and she said that I am going at [clinic] village hospital with my child, he is still not getting better I will go with Vanessa and I said OK that a good idea. Later on I went to see at the grocery if the women are still doing Business, and I found Amila selling sugarcane alone! I greeted her and she said that I am buying this can at Liwawadzi for 60 MK selling at 220 MK, sometimes buying at 180 Mk selling 440 a day or after 2 days. And with the profit am buying maize for food at 10 MK big cup. You know Aunt G that I don’t have maize ¼ only (nkhokwe) (granery) and I decided to be buying. I stopped selling zitumbuwa (maize flour pan cakes) because a lot of women are doing the same business at [nearest primary school] school. In the morning I sell at Nthumma school but in the afternoon that’s when I come to sell here and at night some people used to come and buy.

1961

1962

1963

1964

1965

But do you know that: After selling firewood my [Amila] HB went to drink kachasu (traditional distilled beer) and when he came back he just packed his clothes went to his village! We didn’t quarrel but he just said ndapita kwathu (I am going home). . After chatting with her I went back home on the way back I saw Nola coming back from her dambo she went to harvest rice.

1966

1967

After lunch I started knitting then Grace, Kondwani, and Esnart joined me as we were chatting Grace said that: Pamela has gone at Ntcheu with her boy-friend. I heard her talking to Venesi that: Keep my maize and my plates, my boy-friend said that: he is ashamed with what happened yesterday because all the children from [nearest primary school] school were there and definitely everybody will be laughing at him. And he decided to go at Ntcheu to his brothers and mother to start a business and we are going together, I will not come [here again]. (We all laughed) and Kondwani said that Pamela is stupid because she used to be in relationship with young boys, for example, the father of her last born child is very young and now HB of Gettie is very young he just have a child of 1 month while Pamela have got 4 but one died when he was 1 months old.

1968

1969

But Venesi said that (aliyense ali ndi ufulu wosankha mwamuna amene a kumufuna) everybody has got the right to choose a partner that she/he wants then Esnart said that: she was saying this words because they are al in relationship with men who have got wives [Venesi’s boy-friend is married at [small crossroads market]. People wonder how he cheats his wife when coming home. Kondwani suggested he buys things for her then to keep her quiet.].

1970

1971

Grace continued that: My grand mother Nola was not happy! She went there to tell her that this is not good why can’t you take an example from Molly she has her own HB and her house but she (Pamela) is using the house of Garrison (son of Venesi) Then Pamela was angry and left Nola talking.

1972

1973

Esnart continued that: When she was going in the morning she didn’t say good-bye to anyone except
Venesi. May be she will come to sell cotton and Kondwani said that: Gettie was the one who worked with her HB in that cotton field and Pamela cannot come to sell. [Pamela did not plant cotton, she said to Ada once that she will just be watching others sell their cotton.]

And as of now G has gone back to her mother.

Later on Ellesi passed by and the 3 women started laughing. I asked them what they were laughing and Kondwani said that: we heard that the HB from SA who wants to marry Ellesi is back from SA but he is at Balaka to his wife! He promised to come yesterday and Ellesi failed to go to school waiting for him but up to now he didn’t. And her mother was telling anyone that: my son-in-law is coming (we all laughed).

Then Grace sent a certain girl to buy paraffin 50 MK cooking oil 50 MK with 500 MK and Kondwani said that: Grace you have a lot of money up to 500 MK as if you are selling cotton? Where are you getting the money? Grace laughed and said that: don’t ask me. (we all laughed)

It was very cold around 4 pm and everybody left. I continued knitting alone. And I was just listening from the radio about the new president.

In the morning when I waked up I started washing some cloths and washing plates then sweeping. After break-fast I went to Venesi to ask why she didn’t write from 12-18. When I reached there I found her [Venesi] taking maize from maize storage putting in bags, I asked her why she was doing that and she said that: most of the time I used to move around to attend seminars and I spent a night there! Then I am afraid that thieves can steal. Then I asked her why she didn’t write, then she answered that: she was very busy and she was just writing on a small piece of paper and as of now she will just transfer from that paper to a note-book then I saw Molly selling tomatoes on the veranda. On the way back Grace gave me 6 egg-plants from her field. When I reached home I started reading what I have been writing. Then I saw GVH coming I greeted her and I told her that Jane will come tomorrow with a visitor then she said ok. And she GVH] continued that I am still not getting better (stomach) I want to beg 100 MK from you so that I can buy some medicine and for the maize mill my son in SA said that he sent money 10 thousand through daughter of Alma and may be I will receive tomorrow, then I gave her the money.

After lunch I started knitting then Kondwani came to greet me then she said that Auntie sorry I will not come to knit today because am busy fetching water for bricks of the house of my brother in SA I am with my sister (chief) and Vanessa. But have you heard that your friend Esnart has been caught? I said no! then she continued that: on 20th May her son was ill then he slept at the bedroom, then Esnart was chatting with some women at the sitting room! Later on the women saw son of Esnart coming out from the bed-room with 2 condoms already used. Then her daughter 3 years explained that, I will go and take mine I have seen a lot at the bedroom. She runned and came out with 3 condoms. When the women asked her she answered that: I know that my HB is also sleeping with other women in SA and the women continued that: that’s why you chased your in-law here (the man who used the condoms not known). [Women commented it may even be a young boy from this village, like the woman in our house who slept with Garison = son of Venesi.] Kondwani added that: may be the man is from this village because the owner of this house was pregnant from Garison son of Venesi.

Then Sofia passed by I greeted her and she said that my son is still not getting better and I think I will just eat thelele (what was drying) because I don’t have relish then she continued her journey to see
her grand mother. Then Sweetness came to pay 600 MK balance 100 Mk for a baby suit that she

told me to knit. And she said that her HB is the one who gave her the money. When Sofia came back
from her grand mother, she stopped and Kondwani left. Then Sofia said that Aunt G; father of Livia
was getting worried today because Livia has stolen his 1 000 MK and she went at Balaka to buy
chitenje and now she told some boys (2) to continue building her house and her mother was angry
and said that: you just hate my daughter she is not a thief then her HB said that: where does she got
the money because she don’t have enough maize to sell, not yet started selling cotton, no HB! then
Phingi was just quite.

1992
1993 Sofia continued that have you heard about Grace? On 16th her new HB [older + fat, I saw him at
shop, sometimes spends night, wants her to stop working at shop, married. Same one she is still
seeing in June. People say she chats with that boyfriend at the shop everyday, but also another boy
came to chat with her there, both may have thought the other is a regular customer. These 2 men
were also at same time at her house once (1 in bedroom, other on veranda]) came to chat around 6
pm they were chatting at the bedroom, and at 7 pm her boy friend [who? Married elsewhere, sent
to work here as health surveillance] came and Grace came out of the house and started chatting
with the other boy-friend on the veranda. Later on she was afraid that the other HB will ask and she
just cheated the one who sat on the veranda that sorry am busy I want to go and fetch some water
because tomorrow I will go early in the morning at Balaka then the boy-friend believed and left ( we
all laughed) Sofia left and said that: I will come and chat when my child will get better. I stayed alone
up to evening.

1994
1995 23TH MAY 2009: SATURDAY:

1996
1997 In the morning I went to fetch some water, then I saw Thokozani and her HB going to harvest cotton on
the way back I met with Vanessa going to harvest cotton with her HB.

1998
1999 After break fast Sofia came to greet me then she said that Aunt G my HB came and spent a night with
me and he said that he want to buy 5 bags of maize for hunger season, and about the house he said
that he will start making bricks next week, when he left he gave me 500 MK, Jasmine came to greet him
and he asked when will her daughter in-law come to chat from Balaka, but my HB was angry and
said that why are you asking me that question while Sofia is here, I am answered that I just wanted to
know then she gave her son ½ of 50 kgs of maize (but he didn’t beg. Then I saw Thokozani coming back
from the field with 50 kg bag of cotton and Vanessa the same.

2000
2001 Sofia left, then Makuta came and asked me to braid her hair and I did it.
Livia passed by then Makuta said that Aunt G this girl likes men I saw her one
day chatting with HB of Naima at 7 pm near my house, and last days they were going
together to buy tomatoes for sale she is not afraid of men. Then a certain boy came to buy chipewa
100mk.

2002
2003 Sweetness sent a child to pay the balance 100 MK.

2004

2005 MAY 31:

2006
2007 Baseline questionare Concern Universal.

2008

2009 3b most of the people they find it difficult to know the size of their land, because there is no-one else
to teach them how to enumerate.
JUNE 6 2009: SATURDAY:

In the morning I went to fetch some water then I found Livia, Evelin and Sofia, Elube, Fissa, Kondwani, chief Mudzi B, fetch some water I greeted everybody and Livia said that: aunt G, Emra has got a cell phone (Zain 1 500) her HB bought for her. After selling cotton, I will buy mine.

Ex-Hb of Rosemary passed by the women started laughing and Fissa said that I saw him very early in the morning going to J. village he said he went to sell cotton at 30 per kg- for 300 MK he wanted more to buy beer then Kondwani said that he is failing to keep his cotton and sell on Monday 8th June. He went early in the morning so that Rosemary should not see him. Then Livia begged the women to fetch some water quickly because she wanted to go at J. village to attend a certain ceremony for her sister who died, her cousin from Liwonde is the one who prepared. Elube and Fissa laughed and said that why didn’t you make the ceremony here at Mudzi B village? Because she had a lot of friends for this village and the graveyard is here. You want to eat with some people of another village, you will see that you sister will not receive that sacrifice and she will tell you to make another ceremony here. (people laughed) on the way back Livia told Fatima that: I will go with my 2 children at the ceremony (the women laughed asnd Elube said that, but when you want to go to Balaka you always leave the child with your mother, but in other places you always go with your children. May be there is some one else at Balaka whom you didn’t tell that you have a child? You need to be open tell him that I have a child and he can be free to tell you if he has a child. Livia smiled and didn’t answer anything.

When I reached home I saw Ellesi and passing by. I called her and she came then I greeted her and I said that who is the man whom you escorted on Wednesday then she said the one who wants to marry me. I asked her how it is going on and she said that: on that day I came back at Mz. village (moyo wathanzi restaurant) he was going to B. village I asked Ellesi if he is married and she said that I don’t know and I didn’t ask him but he said that: he will come today with his uncle as a witness. I asked Ellesi if she will continue school and she said that yes I will do. I asked her when she will go to visit his parents and she said that I don’t know but next week Monday we have got a mid-term holiday for 2 weeks then he said that we will go and stay together in Lilongwe because he came here at Balaka just to visit his parents but he stays in Lilongwe. I asked her that does it mean that you have married? And how are you going to prevent from pregnant because you are still at school? Ellesi answered that: Aunt G you are just asking me a lot of questions am going just keep your questions I will answer you later. But give me your telephone number so that I can call you when I
will be in Lilongwe then she left. GVH came to greet me and I gave her money for rent then she signed. Kondwani passed by. I greeted her and she said that this is the daughter of chief Mudzi B who stays in Lilongwe area 24. She came to see her mother then they continued their journey. In the afternoon I started knitting then no-one joined me. Kondwani sent a message to her son that tell aunt G that I will not come am busy fetching water for bricks.

7 JUNE 2009:

In the morning I started washing my clothes after that I went to fetch some water at the borehole. Then on the way I met with Livia. I greeted her and she said that I am going to attend another ceremony at J. village. Then Livia continued that my brother at J. village has found a place at Ch. village (he bought) and he is going to start staying there with his wife. He said he don’t want to stay in the village of his wife and not here at Mudzi B. [Why? Don’t know .... G thinks may be too big responsibility to take care of all her relatives. If her mother is not drinking tea, easy to steal from shop for daughter. Causes quarrelling to live with parents of either side or HB.] At the borehole I met with Emra I greeted her and she told Livia that any day I will go and stay at Ch. village with my HB but I will come here in rain season to plant maize in my field, my HB is the one who told me. He said because of his business (selling fish) Its good to stay near the lake am not getting worried because my uncle is at Ch. village and she started saying that: my HB sent 600 MK when you was in Lilongwe and a packet of sugar and my shoes. Am happy because he is taking care of me. Ellesi passed by and Sofia said that Ellesi wants to stop school and get married to that man her mother is the one who is encouraging her. She is saying that its good to get married to a man who is working in SA [but Lilongwe? May be SA was cheated HB says Lilongwe others B. village] bcoz he will be able to take care of her by buying what she wants eg soap, lotion and some clothes.

Then I asked Sofia if the relationship of Kingsley is still going on. Then she said that: yes and the day that she spent a night here my grand mother told Kingsley to spend a night at iron sheet house with his girlfriend while the girls spent a night in another small house. But it’s not good for them to spend a night together because when she will be pregnant that means Kingsley we have a big responsibility of taking care of her. Or may be because he has a lot of cotton and he will manage to take care of her. Then Sofia continued her journey to see her grand mother. [Why would GVH have encouraged them to sleep together? May be to get him married quickly, since he is just staying. Just like she encouraged Jane to get married. Raising children waiting for them to get married. Sofia also married very young.]

After lunch I started knitting then HB of Venesi passed by. Later on Sofia came to chat then she started saying that: Since Wednesday boy friend of Grace is spending a night here in this village may be they are married now Rosemary passed by then Sofia said that: She (Rosemary) is now going to start staying at [nearest tradingcenter]. She went to a chief and begged the place of now she has already started collecting some grasses for a roof. [Chased by GVH because of Ndaba. G thinks Thokozani and Levison will stay because he is from this village.]

She also continued that Rebecca has got a baby boy. She didn’t go to the hospital to give birth! But some where at [large commercial estate] to a traditional doctor. I asked Sofia why Rebecca didn’t go to the hospital and she said that I don’t know. Later on Sofia left.

8 JUNE 2009: MONDAY:

In the morning I went to see if they have started buying cotton but not. People said that the price will be 75 MK may be tomorrow. After 40 - 60 minutes everybody left.
Later on Kondwani came and said that Aunt G Ellesi has paid 700 MK for marriage and she has now gone to Lilongwe with her new HB. The HB told Ellei to stop school and her mother agreed and he told Lovely to see if Ellesi will be going to school yesterday he spent a night with Ellesi in the house of her mother and her mother killed a chicken cerebrating that her dotta has married. Chief Mudzi B went there to tell Ellesi how to take care of the family. Eg respecting him washing his cloths cooking and cleaning at the bed-room everyday. [ Is a man also advised when marrying? Went to advice Ellesi because has never been married before, said chief Mudzi B. HB is told not to have other wives now that he is married, buy soap and salt for wife and chitenje when she is pregnant. Has to treat her as his mother - with respect (and Vice-versa). He came with his uncle, also Ellesi's uncle was there.]

Kondwani continued that: we heard at the beginning that he is from B. village, and later on they said that he is working in SA as of now they said he is staying in Lilongwe but up to now we don’t know whether he is married or not. Her mother (Jeneti) and Lovely encouraged Ellesi to get married and [Kondwani:] as of now Jeneti is in relationship with elder brother of Sofia and nowadays he is spending a night there but he has his own wife at J. village I don’t know why Jeneti is doing this! She knows that she is HIV/AIDS [in Chichewa ali ndi matenda a Edzi] but she just want to spread the disease. The same as Evelin she know that she is taking ARVS but she is in relationship with HB of Elube Later on Kondwani left.

At 2 pm Chikondi and Kondwani and GVH came to chat, then Rashida passed by then Chikondi said that: the grand daughter of Rashida is loosing weight because her mother (Monya) used to be at school from morning up to be at school from morning up to late afternoon and today at the hospital the doctors said that the child is very young and she is lacking milk from her mother. Just tell the owner of the child to continue school next year and this year she must take care of her child otherwise the child can die. But Rashida said that am afraid to tell Monya because she cannot accept, she will think that I don’t want to help her taking care of her child.

GVH said that, at Mudzi A they have started Adult school today and here in Mudzi B Venesi told us that we will also start today! Some women gathered at a big tree waiting for Venesi but she didn’t come, and Molly said that her boy friend has come they are just chatting instead of telling us to go back home and start learning tomorrow. This is not good said GVH. GVH also attending adult school? Yes, proudly came to show to G that she can now write the names of her children in SA, want to learn G’s name too. Kondwani encouraged her: First names, and later you will be able to write them letters.]

Later on GVH and Kondwani left then Chikondi said that I am going to fetch some grasses for the new room for my house.

At 5 pm boy friend of Livia (China shop) called me and he said that Aunt G am the one who sells in China shop at Balaka I met with Livia last week and she said that: she will come here on Thursday and please tell her not to fail on that day and I said OK! I will tell her. Then I went to tell Livia, then she answered that: Its true aunt G am still in relationship with him and I told him to meet that day. Then I went back home.

9 JUNE 2009:

In the morning I went to fetch some water then at the borehole I met with GVH and Jeneti, then I heard GVH asking where Ellesi has gone. Then Jeneti answered that she has gone at B. village to stay with her HB. Then GVH asked that: is there anyone else from this village who went there to see the
place? Jeneti answered that no but we will arrange about it.

When I reached home Sofia came and she started saying that: Innocent and Jasmine told me that tomorrow they want to take 1 door from my house because Innocent cannot buy a new door while her sister (who died) left the house with a door, then I want you, to flash my HB so that I can explain to him. Then I flashed but can’t be reached then she said I will come later. [What happened with HB/door? June 11: Door indeed moved. Sofia still trying to flash her HB via G.]

Later on Kondwani and Sofia came. Sofia said that I should braid her hair then, I did it after that I started playing bawo with Kondwani then she started saying that: Hb of Chisoni sent a cell phone and Chisoni is now very happy. Then a certain boy passed by and Kondwani said tat, HB of Doris is back now and at least he is managing to take care of her because I saw Doris with new chitenje and shoes.

Then Jasmine come and she said that Aunt G my son from J. sent a cell phone for me (1 500 MK phone) and I want you to teach me everything little by little. As I was teaching her a certain man passed by and he said that am exchanging salt with maize, and he was going to Mudzi B. Jasmine continued that I lam very happy because I will be talking to my sons and daughters. It was very cold land everybody left. Later on I saw a man who passed by exchanging salt with maize coming back with ½ bag of 50 kg. 1 cup of salt for 2 cups of maize.

For transcription of conversation 2 see G’s notebook 4.

Gertrude Finyiza, June 1 2009

When I met with Janneke, she first explained what a research is & I was interested. After an interview I didn’t expect that I can be chosen, according to the way that others dressed (nice clothes, hair style). I was thinking that maybe I will not find a chance to get employed because most of the bosses used to employ someone who is related to them, or after the interview some people used to give some money to the boss in order to be employed.

But when I reached at home I started thinking that: the one who interviewed me is the owner of the research, definitely she will choose whom she wants. And indeed my phone ringed one day with a new number & a new voice. And I was very happy when I heard about the salary because I knew that after the research I will go to a college to study what I wanted.

When I met with Janneke for the second day she told me some of the questions that she wanted to ask in the village chosen. Later on we went for shopping, preparing our life in a village. Then the third day that’s when we went to find a house in a village chosen.

Although Janneke explained what she wanted to find out in the village, I was thinking that I will not manage because it was my first time to do research. When we started staying together in the village some women from the village asked me if at night I sleep well without being afraid that I am staying with mzungu. Others said don’t you have bad dreams at night & I said no! We all have the same blood from God, we just have different colour of the skin.
I was happy when I was with Janneke because she was asking me about some of the questions that she wanted to ask to the women if it was necessary to ask or not.

Janneke liked to ask a lot of questions about how relationship starts/ends, farming, AIDS, condoms. But I knew that she wanted to understand because she was not born in Malawi. Congratulations to Janneke because she had a good idea of staying a long time in the village doing research in order to see with her eyes & hear with her ears about the truth how people in the village find their needs. Not like what others did, coming in the village asking some questions that are difficult to answer e.g. how many times do you sleep with your wife or girlfriend/husband/boyfriend. Definitely everybody did not say the truth doing research for only a day. I was not interested with them (Bridge for Kit). People in the village complained that a lot of visitors come to our village, and ask a lot of questions but without benefit, at least Janneke gave us salt & soap.

When I was alone in the village women were free to come & chat in the morning before lunch & after lunch & free to talk about themselves and about others e.g. if someone is in relationship with a married man, of someone was caught somewhere doing sex, they were free to talk. Even without asking them they just started explaining.

The women in the village were interested in knitting, playing bawo game, braiding hair. They were coming everyday to chat while knitting. But soon after harvesting most of the women stopped coming because they had a lot of food to eat, busy cooking while before it had been hunger season & they were trying to find something else to do in order to forget about hunger. Later on in stead of knitting they were busy with playing cards by contributing either money or maize per game.

When Janneke came back a few women were coming to knit but others not! When I was alone outside our house chatting with the women (knitting) they were free to talk & laugh. But when Janneke joined knitting most of the women were just quiet, not saying different stories, I think because they were thinking that: if I will say this story about such a girl, Janneke will ask me some questions because she likes asking.

In the village when I was chatting with 2-3 women it was easy to catch a lot of stories than 5-8 because everybody used to be afraid of her friend. They will think that: if I will say this story definitely one of the women amongst the group will go & tell others & it will cause quarrels. I was disappointed when some of the women stopped knitting but I think it was due to lack of interest.

When we were asking the women some questions that Janneke formed, it was difficult for some of them to say the truth e.g. how many bags of maize did you harvest last season. They said 2-4 instead of 5-10 thinking that if they mention a lot of bags, that means they will not receive extra maize.

Most of the young girls in the village don’t go far with education because most of the parents don’t encourage those children to work hard. Most of the young girls in the village get married quickly because they don’t know the benefit & it is because most of the girls didn’t go up to secondary school. Most of the young girls have never seen someone from their village more educated and employed which is difficult for them to know the benefit.

Most of the women in the village used to exchange husbands because they don’t have someone else to help them taking care of the children, someone to buy what they want e.g. soap, body lotion,
paraffin, salt. And no one to help them to build a house, a toilet, a kitchen. They don’t think that if they can start a business their problems can be solved. But still other women they do some business but they just get married to different men. Most of the women in the village are afraid of going for blood testing. I think it is because they know that they married several times & even their husbands have got extra wives somewhere else & they just think that they are HIV positive. Others they think that if I will go for blood testing & found positive definitely everybody in the village will talk about me. Most of the women in the village have got children from different fathers because of early marriages. I think it is good for parents to have time every night explaining to their children how life in the past was & telling them how bad early pregnancy id & they need to tell them that HIV/AIDS leads to death & poverty.

People in the village grow crops like maize, cotton, groundnuts, pigeon pea, millet, sorghum & they have livestock like goats, pigs, pigeons (dove), chickens. A lot of the women in the village depend on casual labour (ganyu) to buy their needs like soap, body lotion, salt, paraffin. Some of them grow crops for food & sale, especially cotton & maize. In hunger season they depend on (boiled) mangos, leaves from the bush, porridge & eating nsima once per day.

My opinion is that he government must send some people who are trained in any organization to go in villages for counselling & encouraging them to work hard in farming or business although they are not educated through counselling (once a week) they can change & improve in everything like: choosing a good partner, working hard in the field, working hard in business.

With this research I have learned that:

- Early marriage leads to poverty
- It’s good to go for blood testing before & in marriage
- Abstain & listening to elders
- Not to have a lot of boyfriends, it will lead to HIV/AIDS & other diseases, lazy to work hard in the field thinking that he will help by giving you some money to hire someone to help.
- Good to use condom than injection to avoid both HIV/AIDS & pregnancy.
- It’s good to go far with education like Janneke in order to have a good future.

I need to say thanks a lot to Janneke for staying in the village to see the truth rather than just sending someone to see only for a few days. Thanks a lot because I have got what I wanted - money to continue school and I have also learned what life in the village means.

Lived in village before? Indeed, in my village it was 2001 & a lot of girls & boys were going to school & working hard but when I went back in 2006 that’s when my mother told me that things have changed. Most of the girls stopped school because of pregnancy while others are getting married after finishing primary level but not going up to secondary school. My mother said that maybe because they are just copying what their friends do by getting married early. If they see a married woman putting on new chitenje or new clothes they think that in marriage they can find what they want not knowing that if they work hard at school they can be employed somewhere or they can be
able to start a business & get what they want. As of now I have stayed in this village for a long time & I have known that most of the girls don’t go to school because they don’t know the benefit.

2092 *How did you feel about telling the stories that the women and girls told you to me*? I was interested because I knew that you wanted to know & understand about their life.

2093 *What kind of things did you find difficult?* Most of the things that I find difficult in this village is that if you chat with someone else (woman) for a long time e.g. 2-3 days they start gossiping. They think that I will give her something either salt or soap, or else they think that the woman will be telling me about others in the village especially their behaviour (difficult to find a real friend in the village). E.g. chatting with Innocent then Sofia angry - chatting with Kondwani, then Innocent angry - chatting with Esnart, some women gossiping that she want to be talking about others.

2094 *What have you enjoyed most?* What I have enjoyed most is that: staying with mzungu in the same house. I have seen how relationship goes in the village e.g. buying soap for each other. I have also enjoyed by hearing what makes some people to divorce in marriage; buying leaves at the cheapest price; fetching firewood not buying. I am able to plant different crops on my own not depending from my mother e.g. pumpkin leaves, maize, groundnuts, msewula, pigeon peas, sweet potatoes.

2095 *Counselling should be enforced on people, if not cooperating chief should expel them from village (after I comment that people may not be interested to follow the counselling meetings G advises, just like the Adult school classes).*

2096

2097 **COTTON SELLING SEASON**

2098 **12 August 2009**

2099 On the way to Balaka I saw Hamra selling cassava at [small crossroads market], and I didn’t see Grace selling in the grocery but there was a new face. Still on the way I saw the kraal for goat keeping in Mudzi A with iron sheets.

2100 Then I went direct to GVH to tell her that I have come for few days. And she is now staying in the house where we were renting. She is staying with her son (father of Jane) but he is very ill now. And her grandchildren were staying in the house where GVH was staying but they are eating together. She said that she moved because the house was too small for her.

2101 Then I went to Sofia, I greeted her and she started saying that after 40 days from the day that my HB died (after the ceremony) I will go and stay in one of the houses of GVH, but I will be cooking my own food. I asked her what happened to her HB and she said that I will tell you tomorrow. I asked her how many bags of maize does she harvested and she said 3 and I will
eat up to December. Then Jasmine and chief Mudzi A came to greet me and they said that: at J. village vendors started buying cotton at 10mk per kg, and Rosemary moved to F. village with Mphatso her daughter.

Chief Mudzi A continued that, [large commercial estate] started buying cotton on 10 August at 42mk per kg, but the police is moving around checking at what price are they buying. People in the village were not going to sell because they were waiting that the price will be at 75mk, but [large commercial estate] said that they will stop buying on 15 August and people decided to go and sell. Chief Mudzi A continued that Chinese people said they will buy at 75mk and they came with empty bags giving some people to fill there cotton.

He continued that Florence harvested 3 bales of cotton and she only sold 3600mk because she hired a car at 1500mk thinking that she will sell a lot of money. Mrs Musitafa (mother of Florence) harvested 7 bales but she is waiting for the price to be high. Sofia continued that a lot of people harvested a lot of nandolo, but men from other villages are coming to exchange pots with nandolo and a lot of women in the village exchanged, Kondwani, Molly, Auleria, and chief Mudzi B (said Sofia). Chief Mudzi A answered that I planted cotton 10 ridges only but I planted nandolo one small plate, but I have sold 2000mk because vendors are buying at 70mk. Jasmine answered that: I harvested 2 bags of nandolo and I gave 1 bag to my son at J. village to sell and buy maize, but the other bag I just kept for ndiwo.

Chief Mudzi A added that Kondwani rented a field to my friend 1 acre at 3000mk but she don’t have enough land to cultivate and as of now she only have 2 bags of maize, why can’t she grow a lot of maize the whole field than renting to someone but Sofia said thatr maybe Kondwani will buy extra maize after selling cotton.

Then chief Mudzi A went back, then Innocent came to greet me. I asked her how things are going on and she said that, pang’onopang’ono. I rented my field to headteacher of [nearest primary school] at 1800mk ½ acre, I asked her what she used and she said that, I bought clothes for myself and my children, I asked again about her boyfriend and she said that I will tell you tomorrow. Then she continued that Pamela is now staying in the village of her HB where Gettie was staying and she already paid 700mk to the chief.

I asked both Innocent and Jasmine about Rural Finance and they said that they didn’t receive loan because everybody failed to give a deposit, and about adult school people are not attending because Venesi is busy with her new HB.

HB of Haliday and HB of Lovely came from south Africa to see their wives, but HB of Lovely came with 1 blanket, 1 bicycle and few clothes (said Sofia). People laughed and said that he stopped working and started stealing and he was in prison, that’s why he came
without a lot of luggage and he is very thin than at the time when he was staying in the village. As of now he is ashamed and he has gone to do a BS at Liwonde selling and catching fish and Lovely followed him, but her children are staying with her mother. No initiation ceremony for girls in the village because the day when they were supposed to be initiated it was when the HB of Sofia died, said Jasmine.

2108 GVH came with angry face asking why I decided to stay with Sofia not her and I said that no reason I just decided myself. Then at 8:38 pm we slept, Jasmine (HB has a wooden bed, but no matras, instead an empty maize bag), Sofia and sister of Innocent [came from Blantyre] who came to attend the funeral we slept in the same house. (on the one mat, sharing one blanket, also using our chitenje)

2109 Those who sent their sons for initiation are: Chikondi, Blessings, GVH sent the grandson, Naima sent her young brother, everybody is putting on chitenje that you gave, but Amila and Julia made dresses for their children. (everybody liked it, they were telling other people from other villages that they received zitenje in their village)

2110 13 August 2009

2111 Still at night Sofia said that Kingsley harvested 3 bales of cotton and Rashida 2 bales of cotton. I asked about Grace and Jasmine answered that she stopped selling in the shop because one day the owner of the HB [= wife] found Grace at the shop and started fighting then Grace injured and the owner of the shop was angry and employed another girl. And the relationship with that man ended. [Now in relationship with other boy, want to open a nursery school at 250mk per month per child at Nd. village, boy from scale - maybe for women with HB in SA] Sofia continued that am happy because am not pregnant, I was expecting that I will be pregnant but am lucky.

2112 In the morning I helped Sofia sweeping then after that we went to fetch some water then on the way we saw XXX, I greeted her and she said that my marriage ended but as of now I have a big wound near the vagina, I asked her what happened then she answered that the wound started on its own. I asked about Esnart, Sofia answered that she moved to her village, she is busy building her house and after that she will go to South Africa. Still on the way to the borehole I met with HB of Naima I asked him about cotton and he said that buyers will come to Mr Ntawanga’s house and everybody will sell there, the problem is that [large commercial estate] is very far we cannot manage to carry our cotton and sell there, but Chinese people are the one’s who will come to buy here because they already distributed empty bags in the village and everybody packed, then still on the way I saw old woman (mother of Chief Mudzi B) clearing her field. Then at the borehole I met with Hilda she greeted me and said that your friend Ada has gone in the field this morning. She has started clearing the land, she want to grow different crops on her own field not with me,
and I just gave her 1 acre part of my field, then I said that just greet her for me. still at the borehole I met with Aisha, Florence, Nola and Hamra, they greeted me and I told them that Janneke is greeting you all and they said thanks a lot and greet her back. I asked them what is going on about cotton and they said that [large commercial estate] is buying at 42mk per kg but its very far people cannot manage to go and sell but Chinese people will come in the village to buy at unknown price. But Nola said that if it is 42mk I will not sell my cotton, but I will just keep it for next season because a bag of nandolo people are selling at 4000mk while cotton is less amount.

On the way back Sofia said that my in-law (elder brother of my HB) is the one who said he will build a house for me but next year. And Thokozani with Levison also moved to F. village village, I saw all their houses without a roof.

At 8am I went to wash my body then after that we ate porridge with Sofia and her children, then later on I saw HB of Sweetness passing by with his friend saying that we are buying nandolo at 80mk per kg and Innocent sold 1kg. I asked her what she wanted to use with the money and she said soap. Then Sofia said that aunt G did Livia told you that she married only for 2 weeks then I said no! then she continued that may be she will explain to you because one day I just saw a certain man but very old coming out of her house and when I asked her she said that am married but after 2 weeks the man left. I don’t know what happened but she will explain to you.

Then I started my journey to Mr Ntawanga just to be sure if the buyers will indeed come and at what price. Then on the way I saw 3 bales of cotton at the veranda of Rashida when I reached to Mr Ntawanga I saw 5 bales of cotton, Mr Ntawanga greeted me and I asked him who is the owner of the cotton and he said its mine but the buyers will come tomorrow at Musitafa’s house to buy at 42mk (Chinese people) they have failed to buy today because they are buying at a certain village, about iron sheets kraal Mr Ntawanga said that the FIDP brought the iron sheets and he continued that at [large commercial estate] is very far that’s why people failed to sell there but the price is just the same.

Then I turned back and started my journey to [large commercial estate] (how far? 1 hour, 10 minutes) but Livia and Innocent said that we will escort you and I said no problem. On the way Innocent explained that she sold her cotton at 20mk per kg to vendors and she had 15 kgs and she got 300mk and with the money she bought grasses for the roof of her house at 300mk and she paid 200mk to the one who was making a roof and that 200mk she borrowed from her father. Livia said that those vendors were hired by the one who has a maize mill at J. village and she continued that she sold her nandolo at 500mk to vendors who are passing by and with the money she bought skirt and shoes at Balaka market, but she stopped going for tailoring because they are not receiving a sewing machine. Then I asked Innocent what happened to her brother who died and she explained that he came one day to see his children and Sofia complained to him that he is not providing enough money to take care for the children and GVH was
there, when they were quarrelling GVH said that its good to divorce because Sofia’s brother who is in SA found a new HB for her, after the quarrel, son of Jasmine went back to Balaka. Then he went to Zomba to sell his second hand clothes, then on the way back there was a car accident then he died through that accident but Jasmine and her eldest son who transferred to Ch. village went to a traditional doctor to find out what happened to HB of Sofia and the Traditional doctor said that GVH is the one who caused that accident so that Sofia should get married to a new HB (it was difficult for me to believe that GVH caused the accident because everybody who was in that car died).

Still on the way Livia continued that Suset started working at [large commercial estate] and she is receiving 5000mk per month (selecting unwanted things in cotton) (Livia thought that Suset will start prostitution because at Toleza they work both men and women and they will be meeting on the way to work or after work) Then near [nearest primary school] we met with car from [large commercial estate] packing cotton, I talked to the driver and he said that we are buying at 42mk per kg and some people are failing to bring their cotton at [large commercial estate] because its far that’s why we are moving with our car but if you want to know a lot just go at [large commercial estate] farm and they will help you.

Then I continued my journey, Livia continued by saying that vendors started buying nandolo at 40mk per kg but as of now they are buying at 80mk, she also said that her father have got 5 bales and he is waiting for [large commercial estate] car to sell.

Then I asked Livia if she indeed got married and she said that yes but he came with HB of Elube looking for a wife from M. village and I accepted because am failing to find money to buy soap. We stayed only 2 weeks and he just cheated me that he is going to Balaka but up to now he didn’t come back and I just heard that he found another wife at M. village and he is married there. As of now I will not get married but I will have a boyfriend who can manage to give me some money to buy soap. I asked her why she didn’t decide to start a BS and she said that I cannot manage. And I said that if you are failing to start a BS how can you manage to work in someone’s house in Lilongwe and she said that you will teach me and I just told her that it is difficult to find a job in Lilongwe and she answered that ok! I will see what to do.

At [large commercial estate] the security guard directed me to the buyers and I saw a lot of people selling their cotton but not from our villages (Mudzi B and Mudzi A) and I saw the owner of the maize mill with a big car full of cotton selling there and one of the buyers told me that they started buying on 8th August 2009 at 42mk because different farmers were going there to complain that there cotton will be damaged in rainy season because it is difficult to keep and Great - Rex company and Chinese people are buying at 42mk at Balaka district and others are buying in different villages but rumours said that Bingu will start buying at 75mk through ADMARC but they were not sure.
And that buyer continued that if other buyers like Chinese will raise up their price that means Tolezafarm will also raise up, but they will finish buying on 17th or 18th August. He also continued that the govt promised to buy at 75mk but they are not sending their buyers to buy at that price. But others like Cagrill company, Iponga failed to buy because of the price and they promised to buy at 100mk next season.

On the way back [large commercial estate] car picked us up to [nearest primary school] school they were going to buy at [nearest primary school] village. Then on the way back I saw the field of daughter of Alma already cleared. Then I saw Sweetness breast feeding her baby I asked her when he was born and she said 26 August (baby boy) and she explained to me that she has already started clearing in her field. Still on the way back I saw a boy carried pots and plastic basin exchanging with nandolo I asked him how the exchanging is going on and he said that 10 litres bucket = a small pot or a small basin and indeed I saw GVH exchanging her nandolo with a basin. I asked her how much she harvested and she said 1 ½ bags.

I asked Livia how the relationship of chief Mudzi B is going on and she answered that one day chief Mudzi B came to spend a night with my brother in my house then my brother gave me 300mk to give her. Then the following day my brother went back to his wife and up to now he is not coming back and chief Mudzi B is complaining that it seems as if she is pregnant (missed menstruation).

Then I found Sofia already cooked nsima, I bought beans and I told her to cook when I was going to [large commercial estate] but we ate together with Jasmine and Innocent.

At 3:20 pm I started my journey to [small crossroads market] to see how things are going on, then on the way I met with Doris I greeted her and I asked her about her HB and she answered that they started staying together again and Rashida accepted. And on 16th August she will move to her HB’s village, her HB is the one who said that they should move and grow maize there because here at Mudzi B they don’t have enough land to cultivate. Still on the way I saw Elube chatting with Hamra and she was explaining that Lovely has followed her HB at Liwonde where he is doing BS and her children are with me, said Elube and they continued that I sent HB of Fatima to sell 1 bale of cotton at Ch. village while waiting for the buyers to come and buy in the village. Hamra answered that even Vanessa and Amila went to sell at Ch. village (but they didn’t know if they really sold there).

Still on the way I met Magda and I just greeted her and said that Janneke sent a greeting.

At [small crossroads market] I met with Grace chatting with her friend I greeted her and she said that I am fine. I asked her why she is not selling in the shop but she said that I stopped because the owner of the shop wanted to have sex with me and I refused, then he told me to stop working and she
went at [small crossroads market] just to chat.

Then at [small crossroads market] I saw 2 women selling dried fish, 6 women selling cassava, 4 women and 2 young girls selling mandasi, 1 woman selling kanyenya, 5 women selling tomatoes but 1 man selling sugarcane, 22 men selling second hand clothes at 20mk, 50mk and 70mk, 100mk a lot of girls were busy moving around at the market, few men and few women were moving around asking the price of different things.

On the way back I saw Teleza with a certain man going to her house but she seem to be pregnant, I greeted her and I continued my journey back home. Then I met with wife of Mr Ntawanga carried a goat, I greeted and she started saying that after selling cotton she wants to buy cloths for the family and she will even sell 2 goats, with the money she wants to buy ironsheets for her house. When I reached home I met Nola and asked her about (her grand dotta) Grace and she said that she stopped working because she was fighting with the wife of the new HB and her boss was angry and told her to stop working (just the same as Jasmine and Innocent said) I found Innocent cooking nsima for the family with nandolo (ufa woyera) I asked her about Teleza and she said that she wants to get married to a certain man from a certain village (not known) and she is pregnant. She said that she heard this from Suset. I asked about the property of her brother who died and she said that before he died he said that he opened an account and there is 240 thousand but it should be for the children of Sofia to build a house and for food. And 4 chairs should be for the children of Sofia but some of the second hand clothes that he left should be sold and with the money they should buy some food for the 40 days ceremony, as of now the ATM card is with Jasmine but as soon as he died her wife at Balaka went to the bank and took 35 thousand in secret before giving the ATM card to Jasmine and she was told that she will not take any thing for what her HB left. Then I saw Pamela passing by, I greeted her and she said that am now staying in my HB’s village, he is the one who decided because he cannot manage to build a house, he don’t have money but we will be back next year, then I said all the best.

Then I started cooking nsima with beans I was very tired and at 7pm I went to sleep.

14 August 2009

In the morning when I woke up I went to fetch some water at the borehole with Sofia then on the way I saw the old woman (mother of chief Mudzi B) clearing her field. Then at the borehole I found Kondwani, Hilda, Amila, Florence and Fissa. Then Kondwani said that sorry I didn’t come to greet you because am busy I went to sell my cotton with Hilda at Ch. village, the Great - Rex company said they will come there but they didn’t, then we just left some boys at night to wait but still they didn’t come and the Great - Rex co. sent a message that they are very busy buying at other places and they will come later.
Kondwani continued that she want to buy maize after selling cotton because she don’t have enough food to eat and Amila told me that she is still doing the business of selling sugarcane buying 400mk selling 800mk and as of now she already bought a bag of maize 2000mk to vendors through the same BS and as of now she already kept 2000mk that she sold sugarcane and she want to buy another bag of maize.

Elube sent her 2 sons to go and sell 2 bales of cotton at Ch. village, said Hilda. But the buyers didn’t come, wife of Mr Ntawanga was talking to Dorica that, my son wanted to marry you but you refused and now he has found another wife at Ch. village then Dorica answered that I want to continue school. Then Hilda said that aunt G I have 1 ½ bales of cotton and Ada has 1 bale, after selling cotton I want to buy maize because I don’t have enough food but your friend (her dotta) Ada is married we just saw the owner of the child coming with his clothes and he bought 9 dresses for the daughter, when I greeted him he said that I want to help Ada taking care of the child, I have now divorced with my second wife because she is rude, then Ada accepted and now I told them to start cooking their own food because at the beginning we were eating together and it caused her HB to be lazy.

I harvested 1 bag of nandolo said Hilda and I sold 1 basin at 250mk because I didn’t have soap and I wanted to buy matemba another basin of nandolo I exchanged with a cooking pot because I don’t have enough kitchen tools and I kept ½ bag (25 kgs) for food. When we harvested our nandolo, a lot of men were coming in our village to exchange pots, plastic basin, with nandolo almost 6 men per day and everybody in the village exchanged.

When I reached home I sent Kingsley to buy potatoes for breakfast (50mk) then I washed my body, after that I went to the Musitafa compound to see if the buyers will indeed come, then Saibi said that I have 2 bales of cotton and after selling I want to buy clothes and grasses for my house and I will also continue the BS of selling masamba or cassava. And I asked if she is planning to grow cotton this year and she answered that yes I will do because if I will not grow cotton then I will not have money to buy soap, salt or clothes. Then I saw her mother collecting firewood to burn her bricks, mother of Florence greeted me and said that I want to burn my bricks now because after selling cotton I want to buy iron sheets.

Then HB of Magda came to greet me (the one with nice clothes) and he said that I am happy because I have 7 bales of cotton and with the money I will see what to do but I have not yet planned. Then I saw HB of Filimona hiring his bike to and from Balaka. The buyers didn’t come up to 1 pm then Mr Ntawanga called them and said that sorry we are busy we will come on Sunday. Then I went back home, when I reached home I cooked nsima with beans and ate with Sofia and her children.

Then I called Livia and I asked her why she is not telling me the truth about her marriage.
Then Livia laughed and said that my mother is the one who told me to accept, she said that she cannot manage to buy soap for me. I asked her why didn’t she wait to see his behaviour and she said that HB of Elube told me that he has a good behaviour but as soon as we came together, one day he told me that: Livia you are not giving me warm water to wash my body, and he was just borrowing some money to buy matemba, soap and lotion because he was just staying without doing anything. Livia continued that I encouraged him to go to the chief and pay the money and he said that I don’t have and he asked me to go and borrow money to my father 700mk and my father gave me. Then we went together to pay, I asked her if she went for blood testing with him and she said no I didn’t because I trusted him. Then I told her that I am going to [clinic] village this afternoon then let us go together for you to be tested and she said no! am afraid because I married to the man whom I don’t know.

Then I started my journey to [clinic] village, on the way I met with chief Mudzi B and she told me that tomorrow at 11 am we will go and sell our cotton at Ch. village, buyers from Great - Rex company will come there, then I said no problem I will go with you. Then I continued my journey, on the way HB of Esnart called me and he said that I am with my wife in SA and you can talk to her, then Esnart told me that I reached in SA on 8th August but I have not yet started working and I left my children with my mother, but SA is nice because we are eating 3 times aday and nice food. Then she promised to call me when she will start working. (selling in shop, cooking) happy now, in vlg too mvuh gossiping

When I reached to [clinic] village, I explained to them what I was looking for [HIV test stats] from December to July 2009.

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</table>
Then he explained to me that there was a column written “Ever HIV Tested” and he said that he was writing separately but both men and women who it was their first time to be tested but from Jan to May “Ever HIV Tested”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2151</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And the other column was written “with partner”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2158</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then I thanked them for their help, when I reached home, I found Kondwani and Sofia chatting and they were saying that Jeneti harvested a lot of nandolo and she bought iron sheets,
and after selling cotton she will also buy more iron sheets. Kondwani continued that tomorrow we are going to sell out cotton at Ch. village and after selling I want to buy 2 bags of maize and I told her to tell me when they will be going to sell and she accepted, at 7:30 I slept.

2165 15 August 2009

In the morning when I woke up I started sweeping after that I cooked potatoes and ate with Sofia and her children. After breakfast I washed my body, then at 10 am Kondwani sent a message to her child that we should go to Ch. village. They carried their cotton on their heads to Ch. village village. Then on the way Kondwani started telling me that HB of Haliday came but everyday he is just drinking beer from morning to evening and his wife was complaining that he used to knock at the door around 10pm and as of now he impregnated a certain girl from M. village village. Kondwani continued that instead of chatting with his wife, after missing for along period of time he is spending much time at beer. And one day he went with HB of Vanessa and they came back at 10:30 pm and Vanessa was angry and told her HB not to go there again and indeed he stopped. Still on the way Kondwani said that Hilda went with her HB to put their cotton at Ch. village waiting for the buyers, but her HB told her not to go with him but Hilda said that we were together in the field growing cotton and now we will go together and sell. And now her HB sent her to receive money. Then on the way we met with HB of Amila and he greeted me and said that I already kept my cotton there at Ch. village and am now going to receive money, but after selling I will give the money to my wife but I will beg her some money for beer (we all laughed) she just received a receipt yesterday. HB of Amila continued that did you hear aunt G that your friend Livia got married to a certain man but after 2 weeks the marriage ended, then I answered that I don’t know, he continued that Livia likes money because the man showed her a lot of money from his pocket but he told Livia that before using this money you must go and sleep with your boyfriend and bring his underwear here, I want to do something. [J: ??? G: maybe doing BS somewhere and went to trad doctor for prosperity who told him to do this] (to do better in his business) (that’s just a traditional belief where he thought that the underwear could be used when making a charm for running his business)

Kondwani answered that instead of telling her mother what HB asked her to do, she went to sleep with Levison (HB of Thokozani) and brought the underwear. Then in the morning we just saw Livia and her HB on the bike going to Balaka, she said that they were going for shopping. Then when they reached at Balaka the HB told Livia to wait for him at the Bank, Livia waited up to 3pm but the HB didn’t come back. Livia came back home while crying some women gathered and asked what was wrong and Livia explained what happened everybody laughed and said do you remember when your ex-HB he asked you to kill a child you refused then runned away. But now when your HB asked you to sleep with your boyfriend you just accepted without telling anyone.

Vanessa joined us ans laughed and continued that everybody was amazed with what happened to Livia. Then I told them that she didn’t tell me anything, then HB of Amila said that she can’t tell you because she is ashamed. When we reached there we found that a lot of people
are waiting for buyers then I asked Kondwani and Vanessa what was going on and they explained to me that some people brought their cotton yesterday, the buyers came and took all the cotton and gave everybody a receipt and they promised to come to day to give us some money. chief Mudzi B, HB of Fatima joined us as they told me the same thing that the buyers came and took all the cotton and gave a receipt to everybody and they were told to come and collect their money the following day.

We waited from 10 am and the buyers came at 5:45 pm. They started calling everybody and payed them [J: publicly? G: No, I sat near to buyers], I waited to see how much everybody got, but some women from Mudzi B sent their children [J: why would that be? G: Busy with preparing initiation ceremony] to receive for them, and we went back home at 8:20 pm.

HB of Fatima 211 kgs which is 8.862mk.

HB of Elube sent his son to receive the money for him 446 kgs which is 18.732mk.

Dora sent her son and it was 150kgs which is 6.300mk.

The old woman from Mudzi B (Ayama) sent her grandchild, I didn’t hear the kgs properly but he received 8.720mk.

Fissa sent her son I didn’t hear the kgs but he received 13.400mk.

Kondwani it was 83 kgs and she received 3.486mk.

Chief Mudzi B went with her son and it was 185kgs which is 7.770mk.

Hilda 23kgs which is 966mk.

Vanessa 302kgs which is 12.684mk.

Amila 58kgs which is 2.436mk.

On the way back everybody was happy and said that they will not stop growing cotton because if they will stop growing that means they will not be able to buy clothes, soap, ndiwo. And they also got used that at this month we are able to find money and we find money once a year.

Chief Mudzi B explained that on Monday I will go to Balaka to buy clothes and food with my
son although I don’t have enough food but I will buy clothes. Son of Dora answered that we will share this money with Dorica my mother and myself and everybody will buy what he/she wants.

Kondwani said that I will just buy food because I don’t have enough. Son of Fissa said that my mother has got enough food and enough clothes then I don’t know what she will buy. Son of Elube said that I don’t know what are the plans of my parents, but they will give me some money because we were working together in the field. Hilda said that I will buy food and clothes on Monday at Balaka.

When I reached home I found Sofia already slept (I ate nsima with matemba) and slept.

16 August 2009

When I wake up I started sweeping then after that I went to greet Jasmine and she said that buyers from [large commercial estate] will come on Tuesday and buy our cotton and with the money I will buy food. After that I went to fetch some water then I met with Venesi, I asked her if she already sold her cotton and she said that I am still waiting for the price to be high, at [small crossroads market] buyers will come and buy at 65mk, some people laughed and said that we will see if it is true but at [large commercial estate] they will stop buying at 18th August. When I reached at the borehole I found chief Mudzi B explaining to her friend that Vanessa don’t forget to give 450mk to group Mudzi B, I asked them what for and they answered that when you just left here, GVH slaughtered a big cow and everybody in the village went there to take 1kg and promised to pay after selling cotton and it was 450mk per kg.

Still at the borehole I met with Amila and I asked her if her HB gave her the money after selling cotton and she said yes and I gave him 1000mk to buy what he want. Then Saibi was explaining to Hamra that she has now started a BS of selling boiled green maize, buying at Liwawadzi and selling at [tiny crossroads market] grocery.

When I reached home I found Kondwani and Innocent including Jasmine chatting. I joined them and I asked if buyers have come at Mudzi A and they said no but they promised to come on Monday. Then Jasmine said that I am looking for someone to do ganyu in my field (clearing the land) then Kondwani said that am ready to do it with Hilda, how much is it? And Jasmine answered that you must see the field first and we will discuss there. Sofia was not there then Innocent said that my in-law from M. village wants to come and chat today, my brother who died was in relationship with her and she is 3 months pregnant, the other one who is at Balaka is also 2 months pregnant, but the first wife have got 2 children while Sofia has 4 children then Jasmine said that my son was just getting married everywhere without being afraid of matenda. Sofia joined us and everybody stopped talking.
At lunch we ate nsima and nandolo, then I went to [small crossroads market] to see if some one was buying but not all the other fence at [small crossroads market] was burned because farmers were angry that buyers are not coming to buy. On the way back I saw Teleza sitting on the veranda with the same man whom I saw on market day. I just greeted them and continued my journey home.

At home Amila came to buy paraffin and she came with Kondwani I asked again Amila if her HB gave her the whole money and she said no but he just gave me 2000mk and he took 486mk for fodya and beer, and she continued that as of now I have already finished eating what I harvested and I am eating what I am buying through BS of selling sugarcane. Kondwani answered that I’m remaining with 1 bag of maize and I have now started selling tomatoes from dimba, am just selling at home.

Then Nola passed by and she called Kondwani separately and said that I am looking for someone to help me clearing the field (ganyu) hen Kondwani accepted and said that I will come with Hilda. Later on we saw Vanessa passing by with a chicken, Amila greeted her and said that you have bought a chicken, then Vanessa answered that yes because I am happy I didn’t expect that I can sell my cotton everybody laughed.

Then we cooked nsima with nandolo and ate with Sofia and her children at 7:30pm we slept.

17th August 2009

In the morning when I woke up, I went to fetch some water and I left Sofia cooking, at the bolehole I met with Saibi. I greeted her and asked if the buyers will indeed come, and she said “Mr Ntawanga went to find out, then he was told that the have failed to come because they have gone to attend the meeting at Balaka, because Bingu is complaining that the price is low. And we have now decided to go and sell at [large commercial estate] because most of the villages has finished selling their cotton, and we are afraid that may be they want to close (said Saibi) when I reached home I started packing my things. Then I gave 5000MK separately as you told me. Then 2000MK to Jasmine separately. Everybody said thanks a lot to you for the help. Then I started my journey back to Lilongwe but on the way I passed by the house of Chikondi asking if the buyers will come and she said no! But we have sent a message at [large commercial estate] for them to come and buy then they will come tomorrow. After that I said good bye to everybody. Then I saw a man passing by exchanging pots with nandolo, then chief Mudzi B said that I already exchanged 4pots and its enough. She was going to the Musitafa compound just to chat.

Janneke: GVH was visiting in Mzuzu but had to come back early because they only ate nsima made of
cassava, felt very hungry in stomach.