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A certain man who is rich in Dowa District failed to attend his daughter's funeral at his home, fearing that his relatives were going to accuse him about his system of divorcing women frequently. The relatives said they were ready to accuse him of this because nowadays there is AIDS and if he keeps on changing women he might get it. To avoid all this they said they want to talk with him to change his system so that he should be safe from getting AIDS, as the changing of women can be one way that he might catch AIDS. The man has maize mills and cars. He is married to a fifth wife currently.

20/02/01

One day I went to Liwonde Market on a shopping trip, I stopped at a place where some men were playing *bawa*, and one businessman who sells firewood at that market said that he divorced his wife because he was thinking that she was in love with a certain carpenter in their home area: he said that he thought of divorcing her because he is aware that there is AIDS and the only way to avoid getting it is to be faithful in sexual behaviour, if you see that spouse is not faithful it is better to divorce in order to be safe from getting it. He said that he divorced her fearing that she might infect him with AIDS. He said that he has already proposed another wife whom he is to marry soon. Another businessman also said that he is in love with a certain woman whose husband is working in South Africa. He said this at the same place. And I said 'How do you protect yourself from getting AIDS from your partner, as your friend is saying that there is AIDS?'. He said that when he has proposed a woman it means that he is sexually attracted to her and there can't be time for him to take a condom and use it as he might not fulfill his sexual desire point with her if he uses a condom. He said he doesn't use a condom when having sex with partners. He further said that AIDS is there but not in everybody, and getting AIDS is just a misfortune, and if it is death it was there for people even before the prevalence of AIDS in this world. Another man also said that he tried to use a condom with his partner but he took it out when he saw that he was failing to release his sperms as he was not getting the real taste of sexual intercourse. He said that on taking it out, he released the sperms so very easily and he has never tried using it again since that time. Another man said that using a condom when having sexual intercourse is doing things against the will of God because God created a man and a woman in the way that they should be pleasing one another through sex, and why take a condom and use it? As God said, live in this world and bear children as many as you can reading the number of sand particles on the beach. And how can we bear the said children if we use a condom? So if you take a condom and use it, it means that you are against God.

21/02/01

One day I boarded a bus on my way from Blantyre after surrendering the questionnaires at Angela's home [Angela Chimwaza, a graduate student for whom he was an interviewer.] On the bus, I met with a certain man who was sitting on the same seat with me. We arrived at a certain private secondary school that is on the roadway on the Mangochi Road, 6 km from the Mangochi turn off, named Liwonde Private Secondary School. On the veranda of the school there were schoolgirls who sat there. And when this man saw that group of school girls, he started talking to me saying "You see these girls sitting on the veranda there, those are the ones who are killing Malawi with AIDS because they are fond of commercial sex with daily cashers like drivers and businessmen. They do this in order to gain money, which they can use for enjoyment like buying cosmetics and the like. With that system they end up spreading AIDS in the country, because most of the people do go for those school girls thinking that they are safe because they are young school girls

without knowing about how many people that girl has slept with before them. And with the idea of thinking that schoolgirls are safe, most of the people who fall in love with those schoolgirls don't use any protection because of thinking that they are sleeping with a safe girl. In so doing those men infect the schoolgirls. And when that very same schoolgirl falls into love with a fellow school boy it means that this schoolboy will also get infected, thereby increasing the number of HIV victims in the country which is killing our country for they are getting that AIDS while they are young because of loving cash other than minding about their future life. So if you see a schoolgirl don't [think] that she is safe because she is at school, you don't know how safe she is as you can't know how many people this school girl might have slept with before you." I was just listening to what he was saying until I got off at Ulongwe and I left him in the bus as he said that he lives in Mangochi and it's where he was going to.

23/02/01

There was a funeral of a certain businessman at Ulongwe Trading Centre who was coming from Machinga district and came to Ulongwe for business. This man was fond of sexual partners at the trading center. And he was heard that he was employing ladies to be his shop assistants on condition that the ladies accept he should also be using them as sexual partners besides being shop assistants. And this was happening, as some ladies are poor so to have a chance of getting employment to earn money, they were accepting that man's wishes. Meanwhile, the man married 3 times at Ulongwe, the first wife died, 2nd wife died too and he was married to the third wife that he has left on his death. On his death, others were saying that he has died of AIDS while others were saying that he had sex with another man's wife who had *chinyela* and that is what he died of. People had different points of knowledge on the cause of his death. We were chatting at my friend Enock's shop, and when he heard that some people are saying that this man named Londoni died of AIDS, he said "no, we shouldn't say someone has died of AIDS because he was fond of women. To die of AIDS is just a misfortune but not because you were fond of women. There are people who have been fond of partners for a long time, why are they not dying of AIDS? To die of AIDS is just a misfortune, it is not because you are fond of women." He further said that he has been practicing 'hit-and-run'[quick sex] since 1993 but he has never observed any change in his health status. He is single, a businessman with secondary education, Chewa by tribe. The one who has died was a Yao by tribe. He further said that "death was there even before the existence of AIDS and we shouldn't say this one died of AIDS because there is AIDS these days."

Up to date people have different ideas about the death of this businessman. But the higher ratio has an idea of AIDS being the cause while the rest is saying it's *chinyela*. But during his sickness, there was a rumour that he was refusing/resisting to be taken to the hospital for treatment and medical checkup. The reason behind this is not known up to date. And this can hold true information that he resisted going to the hospital because he has surely never gone there until the day he died.

24/02/01

A certain primary school teacher named Alex told me that there are about seven relatives who died in his family and these all died of AIDS. He therefore began to fear that there is AIDS, and to keep himself safe from getting it, he said that he discussed with his wife to be faithful in order to avoid getting infected. Meanwhile, Alex has a sexual partner outside marriage, a school girl at St. Mary's Secondary School in Mangochi. I asked him "how can you be safe since you have got a partner outside marriage and you don't know how she behaves when she is away there at school?". And he responded to this by saying that he also discussed with his partner that she has to be careful in her behavior as there is AIDS. He further said that he believes that she can keep herself safe because she is from a God-believing family of a priest at Mmanga Anglican Church. The teacher has a wife and four children. I asked him what he will do if found responsible for any pregnancy with her. And he said that he told her that if she becomes pregnant he will be supporting her while she is at her home and he is not promising to marry her in order not to disappoint his wife. I asked "did she agree to that?" And he said that the girl said that if she becomes pregnant she will go and live in his house together with his wife for support, since her father can't tolerate this happening at his home. I said what did you say then. He said that he told her that he will see what to do by then. Alex is my friend, he is a Chewa by tribe. He was telling me all this when we were chatting in a certain bottle store at

Ulongwe Trading Centre. Fortunately the girl came to consult him at the same place we were and she told him that she was leaving for school and the two left me there and went their way. The following day he told me that he escorted her to school on that particular day.

25/02/01

I met a certain man in a bottle store at Ulongwe Trading Centre, he is a cashier in a store there. He found me in the bottle store, and I welcomed him with a bottle of Carlsberg. As we were chatting, I asked him a question, after all he knows that I work with the research team. And I said "I see many people who realize that their relative is suffering from AIDS, but they fail to say this when asked. What about you, can you reveal that your relative is dying from AIDS if you are asked by a friend about what your relative is suffering about." And he said that yes he can reveal that the relative is suffering from AIDS. And I said, "why can you reveal it?" And he said that he can reveal to him or her and tell him or her that the commonest way of getting AIDS is through unprotected sexual intercourses and it can be up to him or her to take a lesson that there is AIDS and it can be up to him or her to follow the measures of how to avoid getting into the same trap after hearing what I can reveal to him or her. I further asked him about how much he trusts his wife to be safe from infecting him with that AIDS. And he said that he trusts his wife with 80%, but 20% is out of his trust. And I said why don't you trust her with 20% and he said that he gives her 20% of being the one who can infect him with AIDS because he doesn't move with her wherever she goes. And he said for example "I am here in the bottle store, can I know what my wife is doing or where she has gone while I am not there with her?" And I said "sure you can't know." And he said that's why I do give her 80% of trusting her and 20% out, because I don't know what she does when I am away." I said "what about using a condom to be safe from getting that AIDS?" And he said that "one can be taking a condom for use but one day you can forget all about that." For example he said that he one day went to Mangochi and there he found a girl in a bottle store. He took a condom for use. But while in action, he saw that he was feeling nothing good for him and he took the condom off, and after a few minutes he felt so very able to release the sperms which he said showed to him that a condom can't give him the real pleasure of sex. And he said that he has never used a condom since that time. He further said that but for those who don't have problems with using the condoms they can do so for their safety's sake against infections. He further said that we are all going to perish since no one in this world can say no to sex, especially this generation of ours. He said that one shouldn't trust his/her spouse with 100% because you don't know what the spouse does when away from you. I left him there after chatting and I went home.

27/02/01

(Continuing the story started earlier) We were about five boys that were chatting at a friend's shop named Enock and there came a certain lady to buy some groceries at the shop. One of us, named Elliot, said that this girl has no future. And I said why? And he said she was having an affair with the late Dickson who died of AIDS. And the other boy named Jafali said it is said that he did not die of AIDS but he died of *chinyela* because he slept with someone's wife who had it. But the other boy still insisted on saying that this man died of AIDS, as he has so many partners at the Trading Centre of Ulongwe. And he further said that this late Dickson has killed the area since he was going for the young beautiful girls who are now falling in love with their fellow young boys and this is going to make a wide spread of that AIDS disease in a short period. He further said that the wife of the late Dickson is not looking 100% healthy. He said that this also contributes to the proof that this man died of AIDS and not *chinyela* as the other friend was saying. And he concluded by saying that all of the girls who had sexual contact with him together with their current partners, they are all going to perish of AIDS. And he said that for one to avoid getting into the same trap he/she has to rely on the use of condoms if disturbed by sexual errors.

28/02/01

There was a certain day when I was searching for respondents for Angela's project and I visited Kunena Village, I approached the village headman and I found him drinking *kachaso* with his friend from the same village. I bought them a bottle of *kachaso*. And I said to them. We hear about AIDS and I don't know what

exactly this disease look like, so you as the elder people, may be you can have an idea about what exactly AIDS is. And the village headman said that AIDS is not a new disease, it was there even in the past years, only that it was known with a local name that we call *chinyela*. The whites had no term to name that disease and they called it AIDS. And I said AIDS is said to be a problem for both women and men, and I hear that *chinyela* attacks men only, so how can you say that AIDS is the same as *chinyela*? The headman said “really I tell you that what we were calling *chinyela* is what is known as AIDS these days. I am saying so because the signs and symptoms of a patient that can be said to have AIDS are just similar to the signs and symptoms of the patient having *chinyela*. In this, he said the patient loses weight, grows thin, loss of hair, diarrhoea, laughing, feeling cold that makes the patient to be near fire most of the times. And he said that this *chinyela* can only be treated if the patient reveals his/her problems in the early stages. And it is difficult to cure if the patient is late in revealing his/her problem.

I later said “is *chinyela* transmittable as we hear of AIDS?” The headman said that “*chinyela* is transmittable just as it is with what people call AIDS, it is transmittable in the way that when a husband has sucked the dirty blood containing *chinyela* from a woman who is always the source of *chinyela*. When the same man sleeps with another sexual partner who did not have *chinyela* and releases his blood into that woman, it means that this woman will also acquire that dirty blood into her blood, which will make her to fall sick too. And if that woman shares this blood with another man, this man will also suffer from the same *chinyela* because he will suck the very same dirty blood containing that *chinyela*, which will also affect his health. And you can see that this is how this disease is transmitted. And when the whites failed to find the name for this disease they then called it AIDS which you can hear about these days.” I said how do people prevent themselves from getting that *chinyela* ? And the headman said that one can prevent from getting that *chinyela* by following the traditional rule of not having sexual contact with wife who gave birth with *chinyela* for almost 10 months after birth. And failure to reach up to this period can definitely make one to suffer from *chinyela*, which may later make people [think] that one is suffering from AIDS. He further said that the cure for *chinyela* is there, if one has taken the herbs that cure that disease during the early stages of the case.