

‘Born again’ Interviews

TRANSCRIPTS

Each respondent below is identified by the MDICP survey ID, such that the responses can be linked to their survey data. An “H” indicates a husband, “W” a wife. The interviewers wrote the responses to their questions on the back of the survey questionnaire. They were typed by Watkins, who made small corrections for readability. Comments in parentheses are from the interviewer; those in brackets are by Watkins for clarification.

The following interviews are of those who said they were Born Again:

1.

ID# H10534

Church of Christ, Born Again 1989, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#W10027: Protestant (not specified), Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study once a month, Lomwe.

The respondent decided to join Born Again groups because he himself realized that we are approaching doom days, therefore he thought it wise that he should surrender all his failures to the Almighty God, sins such as womanizing, being troublesome towards his fellow friends. In his life now he has noticed some changes like currently, after being Born Again, he is so friendly to so many people.

Whenever the Born Agains have problems they often go to the Reverend to discuss their personal matters. In their church there are not more than five members who are Born Again. Therefore they set aside a special day to meet church elders or the priest after every fortnight for such reasons as encouraging one another spiritually.

2.

ID# H10504

Other Christian (not specified), Born Again 1999, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

Spouse ID#W10056: Other Christian (not specified), Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

The respondent said he changed because he is now growing older and he thought it's better to be Born Again, to leave all the bad things he was doing, for example rudeness to elders. Choir music and how they were praying attracted him very much and he thought that he better join it so that maybe God will help him by giving him everything he wants, for example clothes, because he believes that if you are not Born Again God can't accept what you are begging for because you are far from God.

The respondent said he can't persuade his wife because to be Born Again is to leave all bad things. So he can't force his spouse that you should be a Born Again until she herself wants to do so. He also said that he can't know that this one is Born Again, you just suspect according to how he/she is behaving. And he said they don't talk about their problems to each other but the Born Agains can preach to other people so that they should become Born Again also. The minister/pastor comes to ask you if you are doing bad things or if you are not going to church or visiting patients and if you are failing to do that they dismiss you from the church.

ID# W10010

Assemblies of God, Born Again 1996, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study once a month, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#H10526: Assemblies of God, Born Again 1996, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less often than once a month, Yao.

The respondent fell sick one time, very seriously, to the extent that medication failed. Because of that, some decided to call the pastor from Assemblies of God, though at that time she was a CCAP member. After being prayed for, she was cured from the sickness. From then onwards she decided to become Born Again and joined the Assemblies of God church, and the one who prayed for her was Moses Kalimba. Since then the husband too made his mind up to repent and also became a Born Again like his wife.

It was one time that the family decided to have their church nearby, and the Reverend refuted the decision because these were reliable members and trustworthy. This annoyed the couple. Therefore they thought of not going to the church for several Sundays. It is at this time that the Reverend and other notable church leaders called on them to settle the matter. Therefore it signifies that whoever goes astray has the chance of being counseled.

4.

ID# W10033

CCAP, Born Again 1999, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Goes to Bible study once a week, Lomwe.

No Spouse (Divorced).

The respondent said she is a Born Again. I asked her what she means, she said that means she believes in God and doesn't commit what God prohibits her. She said she was attracted by her friend who is a Born Again. Her friend used to go to church every Sunday and during each morning and evening she used to praise the Lord, and by that time her friend was running a business, it was flourishing. She thought of becoming a Born Again too. I asked her if she sees any success since she became a Born Again, she said that there is no change in terms of success. She also said that all Born Agains meet once per week to discuss what God says in the Bible. The respondent said that the difference between the Born Agains and the non-Born Agains is that non Born Agains don't follow what God commands them to do—they just do whatever they want without considering the commandments of God. I asked her whether a Born Again is allowed to have sex with a man who is not her husband. The respondent said no, but we do it because it's nature, in spite of being a Born Again.

5.

ID#H94510

Evangelical Baptist Church, Born Again in 1982, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings few times a week, Goes to Bible study few times a week, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#W3008: Evangelical Baptist Church, Born Again 1995, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Goes to Bible study less often than once a month, Yao.

R. belongs to Evangelical Baptist Church, he was Born Again in 1982. He did this because he realized that he was leading a bad life as compared to those who were Born Again. He also knew that if he could continue such a life he could be facing a lot of problems. So he decided to accept Jesus as a personal savior.

When he married, he prayed for his wife to become a Born Again. She became a Born Again too, he said.

Before becoming Born Again, his friends were telling him that if he can receive Jesus Christ he will be a free man and a happy man, because there is joy in Jesus.

If one is misbehaving in the group, the pastor or other members of the group call him/her and talk to him to change his behavior. There are about twenty people in their church. They get counseling from the pastor and sometimes from other people in their group. Everyone is free to share with some people what he has. If one has problems, he shares it with other people in the group, they agree to pray for him.

6.

ID# H10526

Assemblies of God, Born Again 1996, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less than once a month, Yao.

Spouse ID#W10010: Assemblies of God, Born Again 1996, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study once a month, Lomwe.

The respondent is a Born Again. Likewise the husband changed into Born Again because of the similar reason to what his wife already said, that his wife one time fell seriously sick, therefore one of the relatives of this woman persuaded the family that they should surrender all these hassles to God. Fortunately the wife got better after being prayed for.

The other thing is that when one of the spouses is not a Born Again, obviously that family will be meeting temptations such as if one of the spouses is late from prayer meetings, the other thinks that the lady or husband was somewhere doing evil things like sex with other men. Therefore, it is better that the whole couple be in one belief to sustain their mutual love.

At one time the family was sensitized to the benefits of being born again, but by then they were not willing to join the group or to become a Born Again, only after they had met this misfortune and being told the power of God upon the Born Agains, it's when they tried to do so, which meant to this point in time he does not take beer nor smoke, as a covenant.

Whenever somebody who regards himself or herself as a BORN AGAIN is noted by the paster that he/she is doing wrong things contrary to their teachings, he/she is called upon by the leader/pastor and gets counseling.

To be sure that someone is really Born Again, nobody can precisely tell, it's only God himself. And there are many who say they are Born Again but in truth they are not this, they just paint themselves black and white.

7.

ID# H14527

Church of Christ, Born Again 2000, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less than once a month, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#W14025: Church of Christ, Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

The respondent became a born again in the year 2000 after his little secret was revealed that he had another partner somewhere of which the church does not accept. But at first he knew the group some years ago at the Mission where he was *toto*. [boy]. There, at least he realized that there's a need to repent and leave whatever sins he has been loving and now turn to God.

It is difficult for him to get together with other groups, like Bible Study, with an intention of getting [???solved?] their personal problems, certainly it's only the Reverends themselves [who can help them?].

The difference the respondent sees among the Born Again is that the majority are well-mannered people, unlike the rest, because the Born Again mostly gives to the poor, assists those in trouble like cheering the sick, and even provides food to those who are needy.

8.

ID#W94368

Livingstone Covenant Church, Born Again 2000, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a week, Goes to Bible study less than once a month, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#H10532: Livingstone Covenant Church, Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a week, Goes to Bible study few times a week, Lomwe.

She became Born Again in the year 2000, and after they got married the couple decided to find their new denomination known as Livingstone Covenant Church. Therefore she realized that to become a Born Again is a bit fine because at first she was short tempered woman and with this she had no friends at all. Many people could despise her from A to Z because of her habit of being quarrelsome.

After she became a born again she is now free completely and has peace of mind, and now many people like her very much.

Whenever the family is under God's guidance, the family is better off because God protects the family in many problems.

To those who belong to a Born Again group they do share their problems among themselves, even if they are personal matters, and if someone does wrongly both spiritually and personally, the church elders call her so that they solve the matter amicably.

9.

ID# W10068

Africa Continent Mission, Born Again 1999, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a week, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#H10561: Africa Continent Mission, Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less often than once a month, Lomwe.

It was in 1999 when this woman became a Born Again. At first she was praying under the Seventh Day Adventists but upon being married she followed her husband who was by then a Nazarene Church member. As the time was going, the family decided to join the Africa Continent Mission church. There it came a time when they wanted a mission preacher, and she was the one who was voted for by the church. Since this was a great position, at first she was refusing and the Reverend insisted she accept. Though she accepted the post, she was facing many ups and downs because she was a failure in many areas, like she used to enjoy gossiping and many more other evils (sins). Then there came a certain spirit which forced her to repent to God. She revealed all her sins to God with the assistance of the Reverend and other church elders to ask for forgiveness from God the Almighty. And since then she is a Born Again, and her husband is a Born Again as well on top of being a church elder. And it is recommended that if one spouse tends to be a Born Again the spouse must follow suit. Whenever one of the Born Agains meet problems whether personal or related to their Christianity, they do discuss and help one another. Even if the Reverend himself feels that he has done something wrong, he calls for an urgent meeting to all church elders for help or repentance or reconciliation if the matter is among individuals. But it is just a blessing for someone to realize that he/she is being called by God to become Born Again, and nobody cannot tell from their looks if someone is a genuine Born Again or not.

10.

ID# W10060

CCAP, Born Again 2001, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a week, Never goes to Bible study, Yao.

Spouse ID#H10545: Not Interviewed (Questionnaire indicates "Not found")

The respondent said she changed because death is everywhere nowadays, so she knows that one day she also will die. She said she went to a funeral and the words that the church elder were preaching there made her become Born Again. She wanted God's help, especially on the Last Day. She also said she wanted to be away with other temptations such as other partners, she wanted to have one [only], not like she was doing in the past.

The respondent said that if one becomes Born Again, his/her partner also has to become Born Again so that they should be both going to church. She said friends and church elders were coming to ask her why she was not going to church and why she was not attending any prayer meeting or going to funerals, and that made her join the group of them so that she should be close to God.

In the church there are many people, but she said she can't know whether all of them are Born Again because she doesn't know what some one thinks in her mind. She also said they do share problems, for example, if she sees that her spouse is moving a lot with other women she tells other people in the church and they help her to pray for her spouse, and if one of them in the group falls sick they go and assist in any way they can afford. The respondent said if one of the Born Agains is misbehaving , the group or the church elder comes and asks you what you are thinking about, and they come to your house and start praying for you in order to change or to go back to Born Again. If you are continuing doing bad things, then they leave you.

11.

ID# W17008

Church of Christ, Born Again 1991, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Chewa.

Spouse ID#H17503: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study, Yao.

This R is Born Again. She says that being a Born Again means that you've been baptized. And once one has become a Born Again, she/he is advised not to go to a dance, drinking beer, smoking cigarettes/Indian hemp while those who are not Born Again aren't advised this. The respondent says that they meet once a week at the church encouraging each other that if we have repented, we shouldn't commit sins anymore, because if we do that we are not together with God and the name of Born Again becomes blackened. And if a Born Again person breaks the law, i.e. commits a sin, and the other Born Agains have discoursed that such a Born Again person has done a sin, then the person is called to the church and the priest find a verse in the Bible that is speaking about the particular misconduct has done, then he says that you've broken the Law so you must repent to God. Then on Sunday that person stands in front of the congregation and discloses that I have done such a sin, so I ask God to forgive me and I'll never do it again. Then the priest shakes his/her hand and praises the Lord and after that prayer, then the congregation says "Amen, Amen". The reason for becoming a Born Again is that they want eternal life when they die.

The following interviews are of those who said they were not Born Again:

1.

ID# W10056

Christian Church (not specified), Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#H10504: Christian Church (not specified), Born Again 1999, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

The respondent said she doesn't know that people can be Born Again in a way other than going to the church and registering with the church elders to be a Christian and be present there each and every Sunday.

2.

ID# H10517

Baptist, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#W10048: Baptist, Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less often than once a month, Lomwe.

The respondent said on Sunday evening there were 12 people in the church, this he heard from a friend of his who went to attend the prayers but not the respondent, he said he didn't go in the evening but in the morning he went so there is nothing bad if one goes in the morning and not in the evening, he said the reverend is the same. He said the pastors do come to his house to preach him so that he should be a Born Again, but he doesn't know that he is doing bad things because he does not talk abusive words to anyone and each person he does respect. He said he is poor so he can't manage to help someone instead of helping his family. He also said that he doesn't see any difference between Born Agains and those that are not Born Agains because the Born Agains also do something bad in front of people, they say we are believers (Born Again) but when the darkness comes they change their colors to be lying (means they start moving during the night while their friends are asleep) and start moving with other people's wives which is not good. He added that if there is fire in hell the 1st one to enter into that fire will be the Born Agains because they are preaching lies. They say they don't steal while they are stealing.

3.

ID#H94578

Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Yao.

Spouse ID#W10044: Muslim, No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study, Yao.

The respondent said that there were about 70 people the day he last went to church. He said in their religion they are supposed to meet not less than twice a week to discuss different issues about God. Many people fulfill this scheduled time of meeting, especially those who are Born Again. A few non Born Agains also go to attend this meeting. But when they attend, they are asked to imitate what Born Agains do. Some become attracted but others don't.

The respondent said that many people in his church are Born Again because they want to be rescued on the Day of Judgement by God. If a Born Again has misbehaved, the church leader (Priest) calls him/her and advises you that you've committed a sin to God, so you must repent in the presence of other Born Agains. And if the person does that, then they say that particular individual has repented and God forgives him/her. But if she/he refuses to reveal what she/he has done, then this person is pulled out from their congregation (group) and is then no longer called a Born Again.

The respondent said that the difference between Born Agains and non-Born Agains is that the Born Agains have got their weekly meeting while non-Born Agains don't have this. They just meet with each other on Sunday for prayers. This is not the law that existed among the church, but it's because non Born Agains are unwilling to attend these weekly meeting, they think they just waste their time for nothing other than doing something that could earn them some money.

4.

ID# W17001

Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Bible study less often than once a month, Chewa.

Spouse ID#H17507: Deceased

The respondent said about 50 people were in the church and those who pray frequently and stop doing bad Born things, they call them Born Again. They do share their problems with each other. For example, if they have no clothes they help them. She also said that the church elders come to those who fail to pray frequently to tell them the words of God. She said those Born Again are good people because they are away from sin rather than those who are not Born Again. She said that the Born Again thinks much about God, while the non-Born Again is thinking about Satan.

5.

ID# H8533

Anglican, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

Spouse ID#W94345: Anglican, Born Again 1982, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Goes to Bible study once a month, Lomwe.

The respondent is not a Born Again, but last Sunday the 24th of June in their church there were almost 36 members. There's no gap between them and the priest, or rather the minister, in terms of settling matters or issues relevant to their personal problems and the church. Whoever gets a problem, she/he is free to consult the church elders or the priest. Anytime the priest sees that one or some members are behaving contrary to their teachings or the commandments she/he is called to be counseled amicably. At the end of confession prayers are done to chase away the evil humor which was influencing that person to go astray spiritually. Some call it repentance.

6.

ID# H9521

Catholic, Last time went to Church: last 2-6 months, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Bible study, Yao.

Spouse ID#W9027: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study, Yao.

The respondent said he doesn't know that a person becomes a Born Again but he believes that he will taste hell fire because he does do bad things.

[Note that on the survey this R claimed to have no other partners after the first].

7.

ID# H94560

Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

Spouse ID#W9021: Catholic, Not Born Again, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

The respondent said he didn't go to church on Sunday evening because there was a funeral near his house. He said those Born Agains do come to his house to tell him that he should be born again, but he has not yet stopped drinking beer. He said he is trying to stop so that he should be one of them. Maybe in the future he will be a Born Again. He also said those Born Agains are doing great things, they are visiting the patients, preaching to those they see that are failing to fulfil the promise of God like going to church, while he, he is just staying at his home.

8.

ID# W9016

Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Attends prayer meetings few times a week, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

Spouse ID#H9500: Topian, Not Born Again , Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Ngoni.

The respondent said she just heard the word Born Again but she doesn't know its meaning. She says there are many people in their church, more than 400. There are two services each Monday [Sunday?], some people go for a 6 a.m. service and some for an 8 a.m. service.

She says they only get counseling from the reverend, not other people. They have their own group, they go once or twice in a week where they pray in people's house, and if some Christian is sick they go and see him/her.

Says she now understands Born Again because I have told her.

She thinks the research team has come to know about their lives and have agreed to talk with us because to her it is a special thing to receive a visitor in her home.

9.

ID# H10520

Roman Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last 2-6 months, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#W10053: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study, Yao.

The respondent is not born again, He knows nothing about Born Again but he heard of these groups. And the time he went to the church there were many people present. And if he or other people have personal problem there is no talks [?] between him and the Fathers at all. But if

there are problems relevant to Bible study, there is a chance that he can talk to the responsible people of such groups. But he says it is well known that Born Agains are forbidden in this denomination (R.C.) where he belongs. To him those who do not belong to Born Agains, there's really no difference, even though he is not completely familiar with such groups.

The following interviews are of those who said they had made Tauba (all are Muslims and Yao):

1.

ID# H11550

Made *tauba* 1999, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W11013: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said he made *tauba* in 1999 because he saw that he was doing bad things in the past like he had a partner before marriage. And the time he married he had another partner, and he wanted to remove his misfortunes because he was doing a business but no profit so he thought that it's better to make *tauba*. He also said if a husband has made *tauba* a wife also has to in order for God to grant what you are asking for, because if you have married you have one body so each and every thing you should do the both of you. He said nobody insists someone make *tauba*, but him, before he made *tauba* he had friends who made *tauba* and they told him to do so that God should alleviate his problems because without asking God nothing goes well.

In his church about 20 people have made *tauba*, especially boys are many in that church. And he said they do share their problems with one another, but they can't help one another they can just help him to pray so that God should remove his problem. He said in that group they visit the sick people and help the needy.

If one person is now misbehaving, he said they call him and ask why he is doing bad things, and they advise him that if he continues bad things they leave him that he will meet with God in the hereafter.

2.

ID# H91016

Made *tauba* 1996, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W93164: Made *Taub* 1996, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said that he made *tauba* in order to wash away his sins. He decided to make *tauba* after he heard preaching about *tauba* by the sheik. He said that the sheik was saying that it's now time for the wrong doers to repent their sins to God as time is now near for the world to reach an end. So, if someone knows that I'm a wrong doer against God, please follow the right channel and make *tauba* if you want to enter heaven. So the respondent was fed-up with these words, thus he decided to make *tauba*.

They usually meet once per month on Friday evening to discuss what God said in the Quran. He said that there are about 10 people who have made *tauba* in this village. If someone who made *tauba* commits a sin and if the sheikh knows, then that person is withdrawn from the church or we can say 'fired from the church'. If that person who has been fired likes to rejoin the church, the Shikh gives him a 12 months punishment without attending any prayer at all. After 12 months, then the person is re-baptized.

3.

ID# H10502

Made *tauba* 2000, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Koran study once a week.

Spouse ID#W10005: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said he changed because he wanted to go to paradise and that God should forgive him all his sins, in short to be pure from sins. He said one day there was a prayer meeting and there was a certain sheik who preached the words of God on which the respondent thought to make *tauba* after misbehaving, e.g. he was beating his wife and his parents. But after hearing the words of God on that day he thought to make *tauba* and leave all bad things. He also said you can tell the spouse to make *tauba* but if he/she doesn't want to then you can't force him/her because *tauba* is between you and God.

He said he didn't talk with anyone else about making *tauba* before, but it's from the day he heard the words of God from that sheikh. He also said you can't know that there are such such people

who have made *tauba* because it is a secret. You can't tell someone that 'I have made *tauba*' but they can discuss with other people he thinks have not yet made *tauba* so that they should also test the sweetness of paradise on the day of resurrection (last day).

He said if you make *tauba* and you are misbehaving the sheiks do call you and ask why you are misbehaving. At the end they give you some words so that you should go back to doing good things. He also said if they call you twice and you still are doing bad, they leave you so that you shall see yourself the danger of the hell fire.

4.

ID#H94525

Made *tauba* 1992, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings few times a week, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W93020: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The R said he made *tauba* in 1992. He made *tauba* because some of his friends who made *tauba* that time were telling him that what he was doing were sins before God and people, e.g. fighting his friends, stealing, lying. So they told him that if he continues doing that, God cannot be happy with him. So he went to the sheikh and confessed his sins.

When he made *tauba* he can tell his friends who did not make it to make it, and advise some people who do bad things to stop them and make *tauba*. He also told his wife but she did not.

He said the sheikh stands as their witness when making *tauba*, and it is he who encourages them to do good things, but if the sheikh is away some other people can guide them what to do. He said he didn't do any Koran study.

If he has a problem, he goes to the mosque to pray to God (he says they go five times a day). They don't tell anyone about their personal problems but God.

If someone who made *tauba* misbehaves, no one calls him/her. But everyone who has made *tauba* knows what is right and what is wrong. If he misbehaves he knows that he has done a wrong thing. So he goes to the mosque to confess to God. There are 50-60 people on Friday.

5.

ID# H92121

Made *tauba* 1981, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse: Divorced, no new spouse.

The respondent said that he made *tauba* in 1981 because his friends who already made it that time were encouraging him to make *tauba*. They were telling him that if he can make *tauba* his prayers will be heard by God, but if he cannot, God cannot hear his prayers. That time he was with his first wife, before she died. He also encouraged his wife to make *tauba* and she made it. When he married another wife after the death of the first one, he also told her to make it but she refused.

In their mosque there are about 6 people who made *tauba*, and they are given responsibilities to lead some people in the mosque, they work hand in hand with the sheik.

When they have problems they share with some people and they help each other. If there is someone who is misbehaving they call him and advise him.

6.

ID# W5009

Made *tauba* 2000, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Goes to Koran study few times a week.

Spouse: Divorced, no new spouse.

On B6c, says she is being taught Qoran study by a sheik.

The respondent said she made *tauba* because her friends who made *tauba* were telling her that what she was doing was not good. She walked using obscene language and fighting her friends. She made *tauba* after she divorced her husband. She only attended Koran study groups, they start with grade 1, then 2, lastly 3. If one of them is misbehaving, some people in the group inform the sheik about that and the person is called by the sheik who advises her/him not to be doing that.

7.

ID# W93125

Made *tauba* 2000, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a week, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H7526: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

R. said she made *tauba* because at first she was not sure there is hell but after hearing words from the Quran that one day she will go back to her God where she will receive all the good and bad things she did in her lifetime she decided to make *tauba*. At first she was not praying five times, she was not respecting her parents, but now she has changed. Another thing was that her eight children passed away and she made *tauba* so that God should stop giving death to her house.

She said it's difficult to persuade someone to make *tauba* because this thing depends on how you understand the sayings of the Quran and what you are doing.

She said before she made *tauba* she talked with her friends so that if there is any problem you should ask forgiveness from God because He's the one who knows everything, and they proceeded telling her about the words of God. After they left each other is when she thought to make *tauba*. She also said that she doesn't know how many they are in the group because if one has made *tauba* she/he does not announce to anyone that I have made *tauba*, people do just see that this man/woman has changed, then they think that maybe she/he has made *tauba*.

8.

ID# H12500

Made *tauba* 1998, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a week, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W12019: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent changed in 1998 because in the past he was not believing that there is a God who will judge us and that he was created by God and that one day he will die and meet with God. These things he was not believing, but when he went to *Dawa* (prayer meeting) and heard the words of God he believed that indeed there is God. And again after his son passed away he thought to change in order not to lose another child. He said he told his wife to make *tauba* so that the family should become pure from temptations.

He said there were two friends of his who were preaching to him about the words of God when they realized that "I was out of the believers [a non-believer], and their preaching and preaching from the prayer meeting I heard on that day converted me to make *tauba*.". He said if one has problems they do go to the sheikh to ask for guidance, e.g. if one is sick the group must go and pray for him to recover soon. He said there are five people who made *tauba* in their group and they share problems with those who didn't make *tauba* so that they should also make *tauba*.

If one is misbehaving, like if he/she is not praying five times, not fasting, not visiting patients, the sheikh does call him/her and ask why she/he does that. And if they are not praying because they have no clothes they tell the group to help him/her with clothes so that she/he should start praying five times.

9.

ID# H91208

This was an interview. There are no comments on back of the questionnaire but only a marginal comment on Question A21.

Made *tauba* 2001, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a week, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W93055: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Comment on questionnaire says made *tauba* because afraid of AIDS.

10.

ID# H11538

Made *tauba* 1982, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W11050: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent decided to make *tauba* in order to have peace of mind, and at the same time not to be suspected of evil things. His wife (2nd wife) also followed her husband to be a *tauba* person. Before he became a *tauba* member, he talked to his parents and they are the ones who encouraged him to make *tauba* because by then all the parents were *tauba* people. Those who are *tauba*, they do advise one another to do prayers often like five times a day which they call *swallh*. The sheiks also do their jobs by encouraging their fellow members to conduct these prayers even once a day rather than just staying idle. Apart from general prayers, they also coax some of the Moslem members to join them so that they might enlarge the group. On Friday, these people are told to stand up so that other members and the Moslems in general should know them that they are. Whenever they meet problems they call for the sheik to assist them in terms or prayers or whatever problems.

11.

ID# W11034

Made *tauba* 1980, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Goes to Koran study less often than once a month.

Spouse ID#H11540: Made *tauba* 2001, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings few times a week, Goes to Koran study once a week.

She made *tauba*. She decided to be among the *tauba* community after seeing that doomsdays are coming near. But others become *tauba* simply because they want God to give them blessing, at the same time minimizing worries.

Obviously, if the husband is a *tauba*, the wife has to follow suit, since one's sins will reflect on the whole family.

It is necessary that sheiks should advise the Moslem member to be *tauba* people, otherwise counseling is done to sustain their belief in one God (Allah). Therefore, any *tauba* member who goes astray is called to be advised accordingly.

Mostly people who are [in the] Sind *tauba* group are oftenly involved in studying the Koran, though here it is not done in such a way.

The following are interviews of those who said they had not made *tauba* (All are Muslims and Yao unless otherwise stated):

1.

ID# H14532

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W14036: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said he has not made *tauba* because he can't manage to fulfill the laws that are followed by people who make *tauba*. He said that he can't manage to stay without sleeping with another sexual partner because he is used to do so. *Taubah* hinders/prohibits someone to do sex with other women except your wife. He said that last month there were about 30 people in the mosque. The difference between people who made *tauba* and those who didn't is that those who did trust in God with full commitment and they follow what God advised them in the Holy Quran. People who never made *tauba* don't meet except on Friday for Jumah (?) prayers.

2.

ID# W10007

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H10503: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said that she doesn't know *tauba*. Last week there were ten people in the mosque. She said that they never meet unless it's Friday or if there are funerals. But without these occasions they don't meet at all. She also said that if there is a *siyala* (the birthday of prophet Muhammed) that is when they meet, this birthday is once a year. She said that maybe *tauba* is the wedding ceremony of Moslems known as *nikkha*. So, she said that she did *tauba* meaning wedding ceremony. When I explained to her about *tauba*, she said that Qaddnya Moslems don't make *tauba*, but Sukkuti Moslems are those who make. The major difference between Qaddnya Moslems and Sukkuti Moslems is that Qaddnya moslems eat food after a funeral (*sadaka*) while Sukkuti Moslems don't eat.

3.

ID# W16016

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H16506: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent is not a *tauba*. She said last Friday in the mosque there were many people and the sheik to advise them to come to the mosque every Friday in addition to prayers which are done five times a day. Many say that being faithful to God will assist them to be free of sin, with this you are likely to get blessings from God. To her, she says that whenever somebody goes astray spiritually, she has never seen a sheik calling him to give him or her some piece of advice. But people who are related to that person do.

4.

ID# W10053

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H10520: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Last Friday there were about 100 at the mosque. Certainly those don't go in to the sheik or any notable people to seek guidance for personal problems, only if there are proper reasons to do so. And even those people who are in groups like Koran study groups, these don't discuss their problems. The respondent says that she does not feel any difference between people who have made *tauba* and those who haven't.

5.

ID# W94377

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last 2-6 months, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H91036: Roman Catholic, Last time went to Church: in the last 2-6 months, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

The respondent said she is not one of the *tauba* members and she even has not thought of becoming one of them due to reasons like she has just joined this denomination [Moslem] as a matter of following her husband and anytime her marriage ends she will go back to her previous church, Anglican. The group too has strict measures which you cannot easily abide all of them, such as putting on a caftan all the time, particularly at prayer ceremonies; this acts as symbolic [?]. You are also forced to wed [?] your marriage otherwise you're regarded as an outcast, but at the same time this will be a drawback to you whenever the marriage ends because people might not allow you to get married again to a devoted Moslem. Therefore it's better not to join that community while you are young because you never know whether the husband may divorce you in the near future.

6.

ID# W10043

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H10500: African Continent Mission, Last time went to Church: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Bible study, Lomwe.

The respondent said she doesn't know the word *tauba* though she is a Moslem because she didn't go to Islamic madrass. What she knows is that she should be praying five times a day but not making *tauba*.

7.

ID# W17006

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H17505 (Respondent is a widow, no new spouse)

The respondent said she doesn't know of the word *tauba*, what she knows is if there is a funeral they do go there in the night and start singing till dawn. In the morning it's when the burial takes place. She said they do this with the aim of not talking of someone else, back-biting.

8.

ID# W11068

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last 2-6 months, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H11524: Deceased.

The respondent never made *tauba*. She said that she can't manage to follow the commandments about *tauba*. She said that if a person has made *tauba*, she/he must stop beer drinking, smoking any cigarettes, and also should behave like a child. She means that a child doesn't commit sins, it should be the same for a person who had made *tauba*. She said that there were about 30 people in the mosque the last day she went to services. Most of the other people in this village haven't made *tauba*, and they don't discuss it with each other. The biggest difference between the people who made *tauba* and those who haven't is that people who have made *tauba* pray five times a day. They always follow the commandments of God. They don't involve themselves in beer drinking, dances, or parties. The respondent says that there are no disagreements between the people who have made *tauba* and those who didn't. They stay, praise the Lord and share ideas together without any quarrel. The people who didn't make *tauba* can behave the way they want without being cautioned. And even when they behave wrongly against their rules, nobody is with drawn from the mosque.

9.

ID# W11037

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: more than 6 months ago, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H94511: No *tauba*, Last time went to Church: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent hasn't made *tauba* because her husband didn't teach her the rules and regulations of Islam. So she just goes to the mosque, but she doesn't know what really needs to be done there though she is a Moslem. There were about 62 people in the mosque last time she went. The respondent never attends the 5 compulsory prayers per day because she is always busy doing some pieces of work for her husband. She said that in spite of being busy, she also can't go to the mosque nowadays because she hadn't yet been re-baptized. She says that a Moslem woman should be re-baptized after each child birth. She says that there are few people in the village who have made *tauba*. She said that the people who make *tauba* fear God. I asked her if she doesn't fear God, and she said she fears him but 'I can't make *tauba* because *tauba* hinders many interesting things that are done in the world like attending *manganje*, watching *gule wankulu* [both of these are traditional dances, sometimes described as good opportunities for sex] and even having sexual partners.' At long last, the respondent says that she will make *tauba* in the near future so that maybe God would forgive her the sins she has been committing in recent and past days.

10.

ID#H94511

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#W11037: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: more than 6 months ago, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent says that there were many people in the mosque last month when he went there. Some remained in the church, but many went out of the church. The Sheikh told the people that those who believe in God should remain and only fewer than 10 remained in the church. The respondent said that he thought these people are those who made *tauba*, and those who came out of the church didn't. The respondent says that people make *tauba* in order to show that they believe in God. He says that those who don't make *tauba* don't believe what the Quran says about Allah (God). And these people will be burn into ashes on the day of judgement. He says that the world is near to an end, so he wishes to make *tauba* before he dies. He says that he won't force his wife to join him because it's not Everyone can do whatever he wants. People who have made *tauba* don't sit down and speak the words of God, they just do whatever they want without considering the words of God. And also they don't praise the Lord five times a day. When they go to the mosque on Friday, they say "We have been to the mosque to praise the Lord", while those who made *tauba* say that "On Friday it's not praising the Lord but it's a sort of meeting, not praising God. He said that praising Him is done five times daily. People who have made *tauba* never drink, smoke, commit adultery, steal, and all other prohibited deeds.

11.

ID# W17020

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last 2-6 months, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#17518: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: more than 6 months ago, Attends prayer meetings less often than once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said that she doesn't know the word *tauba*. I've tried to describe it but she still insists. Said that she is a Moslem and has never heard about the word *tauba*. She said that she has forgotten the number of people who had come for prayers the last time she went to the mosque on Friday. She also said that though she is a Moslem, she doesn't know the laws and commandments of Islamic religion because she has never attended Islamic School (*madrass*). At last the respondent said 'I think *Taubah* is made by sheikhs not mere Moslems.' The sheiks are those who know the rules/laws/commandments of Islamic religion, said the respondent. The respondent said this because she once heard in the mosques sheiks preaching that moslems should [not?] go for *mangaje* [traditional dances], beer places, and also not take cigarettes. That's why she says that *tauba* is for Sheiks.

14.

ID# W93164

Made *tauba* 1996, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H91016: Made *tauba* 1996, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said that there were about 40 people last Friday in the mosque. She said that she did not make *tauba* because her husband didn't make *tauba*, so she can't make *tauba* alone while her husband didn't. She said that in marriage, things should be uniform. If it's not uniform, then something is wrong. She will make *tauba* when her husband also makes it, but if he won't do that, then she will die without making *tauba* because she follows what her husband does.

She said that other people have made *tauba* due to influence from their husband. So these husbands tell their wives to do the same. These people who have made *tauba* praise the Lord 5 times a day and they cook *sadaka* frequently in order to chase away bad omens that might come upon them. They also give things freely to the needy people like lame people and very old people who are dependent.

People who made *tauba* always meet and discuss with their fellow friends, but those who didn't make *tauba* don't meet, they just meet once a week for Jumah prayers on Friday. Many people

who did *tauba* don't eat *sadaka*, they say that *sadaka* is unclean, so if they eat, they also become unclean.

15.

ID# W94286

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H91150: Made *tauba* 1976, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings few times a week, Goes to Koran study less often than once a month.

The respondent did not make *tauba* but she knows what *tauba* is.

She says there are 60-70 people in their mosque. She says some people do go to the sheikh to seek guidance for their personal problems, but she never did that. She gave an example: another woman was at the hospital (admitted) and her properties were stolen there at the hospital. So she went to the sheikh at the mosque to seek help so the sheik gave her K500.

She said she never went to a Koran study group but she likes people who made *tauba* because they are near to God. Because they repented their sins, so they have their friends and they behave well. She added that some people tell people that they made *tauba*, but they do contrary to what they say, e.g. some sheik was dismissed last month from his mosque because he was not doing good to the people. So many people were not happy with him, as a result they dismissed him.

16.

ID# W3027

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study, Lomwe.

Spouse ID#H3506: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent said that she had never heard about *tauba* and had never known someone who made *tauba*.

17.

ID# W6026

No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last week, Attends prayer meetings once a month, Never goes to Koran study.

Spouse ID#H6520: No *tauba*, Last time went to Mosque: in the last month, Never attends prayer meetings, Never goes to Koran study.

The respondent says she doesn't know the number of people who come into the mosque on Friday evening because she doesn't pray five times a day. She also said that if a person has got personal problems he can[not?] go to the Sheik to ask for guidance because it's not a sheikh who gives guidance to someone else, only God. The sheikh is a person like us, he can't guide someone. People who have made *tauba* are different from those who didn't, because they have left all bad things like beer drinking, having outside partners, and they pray 5 times daily. People who don't make *tauba* pray once a week, after prayer they go and start doing bad things.