

*National Democratic
Institute for
International
Affairs*

“MUTU UMODZI SIUSENZA DENGA”

“One Head Does not Carry a Roof”

*A Report on a Series of Fourteen Focus
Groups Conducted in Malawi between
September 9 and 17, 1994*



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NDI has supported the development of democratic institutions in more than 60 countries. Programs focus on six major areas:

Political Party Training: NDI conducts multipartisan training seminars in political development with a broad spectrum of democratic parties. NDI draws international experts to forums where party members learn first-hand the techniques of organization, communication and constituent contact.

Election Processes: NDI provides technical assistance for political parties, nonpartisan associations and election authorities to conduct voter and civic education campaigns and to organize election monitoring programs. The Institute has also organized more than 30 major international observer delegations.

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MUTU UMODZI SIUSENZA DENGA "One Head does not Carry a Roof"

A Report on a Series of Fourteen Focus Groups
Conducted in Malawi between September 9 and 17, 1994

Project Design by Naomi Mpemba and NDI/Malawi
Report by Naomi Mpemba, Brent Preston and Andy Pflaum
Focus Groups Moderated by Timothy Chikoti,
Grey Kalindekafe, Mary Msusa and Ethlet Phazi



"Mutu Umodzi Siusenza Denga" is a common Chichewa proverb. It translates literally as "one head does not carry a roof", and reminds people of the necessity of cooperation. During the focus group discussions, participants used this proverb to describe their vision of a political system in which all actors - the government, political parties, non-governmental organizations and, most importantly, ordinary people - will work together to improve the lives of all Malawians.

This focus group survey was carried out by the
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs under a grant from the
United States Agency for International Development.

INTRODUCTION

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a research project composed of 14 focus groups with a total of 163 Malawian participants. The sessions were held in eight locations throughout Malawi between September 9 and 17, 1994.

A focus group is a semi-structured discussion on specified topics, with 10 to 15 participants. A moderator guides the discussion, which normally lasts from one-and-a-half to two hours, and carefully notes the responses so that they can be subsequently analyzed. A detailed description of the focus group methodology can be found at the end of this report.

NDI is embarking on a two-year program of working with Malawian political parties and civic organizations. These focus groups mark the first step in this program, and are intended to assess how Malawians' perceptions of the democratic process have changed since the elections, including the role citizens expect political parties and civic organizations to play in their democratic society. In doing so, the focus groups specifically explore the following questions:

- o What expectations do people have of their new government and of the new political system?
- o What are people's perceptions and opinions of the May 17th elections?
- o How do people view the roles of elected government and of traditional authorities in civic life?
- o Are people aware of and willing to participate in areas of important national political debate?

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It is clear that there is a wide diversity of opinion among the people of Malawi, and that political debate is ongoing and vigorous, but this focus group survey reveals a number of basic themes which transcend regional, ethnic, social and political divisions. The most important of these is the desire of ordinary Malawians to play an active, participatory role in the political and economic development of their country. People want to contribute to the development of their villages in real and substantial ways, by influencing the political system, participating in local political debate, increasing their economic opportunities, and improving the educational status of themselves and their families. Many participants, however, feel cut off from the political system and unable to influence the rapid change which is currently taking place. Other important themes include:

Expectations People have very high expectations of the new government, and believe that the democratization process currently underway in Malawi should provide an opportunity to solve many of the chronic problems they face in everyday life. Some of the promises made by politicians before the May 17th elections are now viewed with skepticism, but participants still believe that the government has a fundamental responsibility to improve their quality of life.

Political and Economic Transformation The participants see political and economic change as part of the same process. People appreciate their new political freedoms and the climate of openness which now prevails, but are more immediately concerned with their economic well being. The political transformation that began with multiparty elections will be viewed as incomplete until the basic quality of life in the villages improves.

Political Participation People are eager to participate in the political system. Participants feel that personal contact with political and civic leaders is extremely important, and that face to face interaction is the only reliable means of making their opinions known to their elected representatives. Such contact has generally not occurred since the elections, and people feel frustrated by their inability to actively participate in their new political system.

Civil Society There is very little awareness of the role and function of civic organizations in democratic society, and few organized civic groups exist at the village level. People do, however, have a strong sense of community, and informal or traditional civil structures are a vitally important part of village life.

These general themes suggest several recommendations:

- o All political actors in Malawi - political parties, the government, civic organizations, donors and ordinary people - must recognize that improving the standard of living in the villages is a vital component of Malawi's political transformation.
- o Linkages between the government, political parties and the populace must be improved, and concerted efforts should be made to include all members of society in national political debates. Towards this end, channels of communication within the government and the parties also need to be strengthened so that local party officials and MPs can accurately articulate party and government policy, and constituent concerns are conveyed to political actors.
- o Civic organizations must be supported, and should be viewed as an essential component of Malawi's political system. National civic organizations must encourage the participation of rural Malawians if they are to be effective, but traditional, informal and grassroots organizations should be seen as the most important means of bringing the public into the political system.

DETAILED FINDINGS

The focus group discussions included a representative mix of people. Despite some areas of pointed disagreement, many opinions are widely held, and on some issues the participants were remarkably consistent in their responses. In general, responses did not vary greatly with regional origin, ethnic background, political affiliation or age. There was also little difference between rural and urban opinions. Men and women differed substantially only over questions of women's rights, although men generally exhibit a slightly higher level of political awareness and participation.

Mood/Outlook

People in all areas of the country recognize and welcome the political change that has taken place in Malawi. The most important change in the lives of ordinary people has been the removal of unpopular aspects of the former regime. Forced purchase of party cards, the poll tax, and forced gift giving were universally deplored, and many participants cite the end of these practices as an example of positive political change. People also welcome the reduction in political intimidation and greater freedom of expression that they feel the multiparty era has brought.

While political change is widely appreciated, economic change is of far greater concern to most participants. The recent past is seen by many as a time of drought, hunger and deteriorating quality of life in the villages. In many areas, people lack the most basic necessities of life. When asked to identify the most pressing problems facing their villages, participants almost invariably replied "chakudya, madzi, feteleza", or food, water and fertilizer. Unemployment, inflation, lack of transport, poor roads, lack of access to credit, lack of business opportunities, theft, and crime are also seen as major problems.

The participants generally see political and economic change as part of the same process. They consequently see the transformation of the Malawian political system as incomplete. The most unpopular aspects of the former system have been removed, and people enjoy the open, honest

atmosphere of the multiparty era, but their everyday problems remain unchanged. It seems likely that ordinary Malawians will make future political judgements based less on the presence of civil liberties or freedoms than whether or not their basic quality of life has improved.

Expectations

The focus group participants have very high expectations of the new government and the new democratic political system. Almost all feel that the government should provide basic social services and infrastructure in their areas. Schools, clinics, roads, adult literacy classes, safe wells and training programmes are common requests. Most participants also believe that the government has a responsibility to solve their everyday problems and to help them meet their basic needs. They want the government to provide food, fertilizer, employment, even shoes and bicycles, and to control inflation, crime, violence and corruption. Women in particular want access to agricultural or small business credit. The litany of requests is remarkably consistent throughout the country, and many of these expectations stem directly from promises made by politicians during the pre-election campaign period. The connection people make between the new political system and their everyday problems is perhaps best illustrated by several participants who define democracy as "the assurance of people's happiness by the government".

A minority of participants feel that they are unable to solve their problems or meet their expectations on their own. To some the challenges seem insurmountable, and they believe that food handouts and other government relief measures are their only hope. The majority of participants, however, feel that ordinary people need to work with the government to improve the standard of living in the villages. Participants feel that the government should help people by providing start up capital for small businesses, providing training courses, freeing up unused land on estates, or simply by providing advice and guidance. In other words, the government should help facilitate positive change, while the people themselves provide the labor and energy to solve their own problems.

The Multiparty Campaign and May Elections

Participants in all areas feel that they received enough information prior to the May 17 elections to make an informed choice between the candidates and parties. Nationally, voting largely reflected ethnic and regional divisions, but participants claim to have made voting decisions based on comparisons of party manifestos, campaign promises and proposed policies. People for the most part speak of choice in terms of choosing between parties, rather than individuals, but they recognize that they are now represented by an individual MP.

The voting process presented few problems to participants on polling day. In many discussions, participants stated that there were some problems associated with the multiple ballot system, with some people putting all ballots in the envelope or mistakenly casting their ballot in the discard box, but these mistakes seem to have been rare, and were invariably made by "a few old people", and not by the focus group participants themselves.

Political meetings and party rallies were the most important means of obtaining information on candidates, parties and the voting process prior to the election. The desire for personal contact with candidates and party officials is very strong. The participants also received information from the radio (both the MBC and international stations), churches (especially Roman Catholic), posters, newspapers, and drama groups, but these impersonal methods are not seen as substitutes for face to face interaction and discussion with individuals involved in the political system.

The perception of the campaign is overwhelmingly negative. Participants in all areas state that "campaign ndi bodza", or "campaign equals lies". In many areas people were promised free food, free fertilizer, shoes, cloths, houses, bicycles, employment and the resumption of TEBA (migrant labor to the South African mines). The participants are beginning to realize that many of the promises made before the elections are unfulfillable. They are generally willing to give the government more time to follow through on it's more realistic promises, but there is a general atmosphere of skepticism and bitterness over the way politicians have "cheated" the electorate.

Leadership, the Role of the Member of Parliament, and the Political System

Traditional chiefs remain an extremely important institution in both rural and working class urban areas, and most participants identify local chiefs as the most important leaders in their day to day lives. Chiefs maintain order, solve disputes, ensure the continuity of village tradition and preside over important ceremonies such as funerals and marriages. Participants believe that their chiefs should remain politically neutral and ensure village cohesion in the face of political, cultural and economic change.

Participants throughout the country have an extremely well defined and remarkably consistent perception of what the role of their Member of Parliament should be. The MP should be a messenger, rather than a leader or boss. His or her duty is to meet with constituents, hear their problems, and to take these problems to Parliament or the government, where they can be addressed. Participants use words like "channel", "bridge" or "representative" when describing their MP. Ensuring government action or reporting back to constituents does not seem to be as important. The MP's primary duty is to relay messages from the people to the Parliament.

The participants do not believe that Members of Parliament can fulfill their responsibilities without meeting directly with their constituents. Again, personal contact is essential. In all but one of the areas visited during the survey, however, the participants state that their MP has not visited their village since the elections. This fact is a source of displeasure to most, and of outright anger to many. Because they do not have access to their Member of Parliament, the participants feel cut off from the entire political system and feel unable to influence the political transformation that began with the elections. After a focus group discussion with a group of men in Mwanza district, one of the moderators suggested that the participants could contact their MP through the mail. One participant asked angrily; "...why should we write to him? We are the ones who put him in the Parliament, now he must come to our village and hear our problems."

When discussing the ways in which different groups should interact within the political system, participants again have a clear and consistent idea of what should happen. They believe that the chiefs and MPs can and should work together. Their roles are different, and on a different

scale, but both political and traditional measures must be undertaken in order to solve the problems faced in the villages. Participants also feel strongly that the national political opposition should play a constructive, rather than obstructionist role. The opposition should "oppose bad policies", but thoughtless obstructionism is not looked upon favorably. Most participants believe that political cooperation, rather than unnecessary confrontation, is the best way to improve the quality of life in Malawi.

The Role of Women

Questions concerning the role of women in democratic society were the only ones in the survey that elicited substantially different responses from male and female participants. Male participants believe that men and women have separate but equal duties in the village. Men see themselves as household leaders, but they feel that this situation is natural, and does not mean that women are exploited or repressed by their male counterparts. Women participants, on the other hand, believe that they have more responsibilities and perform far more work than do men. Women also feel that men dominate household and village finances and decision making, yet often neglect or abandon their wives and children.

Most women see the unequal division of household labor as natural, and do not expect gender roles to change in the near future. A substantial minority of female participants, however, want and anticipate change in their traditional roles and status in the village. Such change is seen as part of the overall political and economic transformation which is, or should be, taking place. Many women equate woman's rights, or "ufulu wa azimayi" (woman's freedom) with increased economic independence. Female participants stress that they need access to credit in order to start small businesses or to increase agricultural production. Such independent economic ventures are seen as the most attractive method of increasing the stature and quality of life of women in the villages.

Male participants neither want nor expect gender roles to change. They feel that women are already violating traditional norms, and that immorality and promiscuity are on the increase. In Ndirande township in Blantyre city, men state that women are taking men's jobs and

aggravating male unemployment. In almost every male focus group, the practice of women wearing pants or mini skirts was presented as the most important example of unwanted and immoral change in traditional gender roles.

The Constitution

Very few male participants recognize the word "constitution" (there is no translation in Chichewa or Chitumbuka), and fewer still have any idea what a constitution is, with the exception of urban dwellers, who seem to have at least a rudimentary understanding. Only one or two female participants have heard of the constitution. Participants are completely unaware of the current constitutional review process, and do not realize that the constitution may be amended after public input and debate.

The participants are not adverse to taking part in the constitutional review process, but they recognize that they are ill equipped to participate in the national debate. They feel that a process of education and consultation is necessary, and that such a process should take place in the villages, including as many people as possible. Many participants suggest that literate individuals from their village be trained by the government to educate others on the content and functions of the constitution. Others feel that government representatives should visit their village to educate, consult and gather suggestions from ordinary people. Participants generally do not want to passively receive information through impersonal media. They want to be actively involved, to listen, to argue and to debate.

Civic Organizations

Very few participants have a clear understanding of what a civic organization is, or of the role that such organizations play in democratic society. Some participants are aware of the existence of international development NGOs, but their goals, structure and functions remain a mystery to most. Even when prompted, few participants recognize organizations like the Public Affairs Committee, or prominent individuals like Vera Chirwa or Reverend Aaron Longwe. Some state

that national civic organizations and large NGOs are "only for people in town", or that they "only help those that are already better off".

Many participants, especially women, take part in local, village based civic groups or organizations, but even at the grassroots level, civil society in most areas is weak and undeveloped. Church groups are common, and school committees are important in some areas. Many participants were members of farmer's clubs in the past, but recent drought has forced many to default on input loans, and most agricultural clubs seem to have disintegrated. Participants see lack of funds, lack of outside support and changing economic conditions as constraints on the viability of local civic organizations.

While the participants are largely ignorant of the function and role of national civic organizations, and participate in few structured civic groups in their own villages, they display a high level of civic mindedness, and are eager to participate in the public life of their communities. Much work is undertaken on a communal basis, and informal woman's societies play an important part in everyday life. Public discussion, debate and conversation among village residents takes up a large proportion of leisure time, and participants are keenly aware of their village as a community. The eagerness and openness which participants brought to the focus group discussions illustrates the potential for the development of representative civil structures in the villages.

RESEARCH METHODS

This project consisted of 14 focus groups in a total of eight locations throughout Malawi. As stated earlier, a focus group is a structured discussion on a specific topic, with 10 to 15 participants. The discussions, which are led by an experienced moderator, last approximately one-and-a-half to two hours. The moderator uses a question outline to guide the discussion, and to keep it focused on the intended topics.

The questions posed in a focus group discussion are more open-ended than in a typical polling questionnaire. Rather than eliciting simply "yes" or "no" answers, they are designed to allow

participants to respond in their own words and manner. As a result, focus groups do not generate quantitative results like a poll. Instead, focus groups allow detailed discussions of complex issues, and reveal the ways in which participants express their views.

The Focus Group Team

The project was managed by focus group consultant Naomi Mpemba. Ms. Mpemba is a lecturer in psychology at the Kamuzu College of Nursing in Lilongwe, and served as the consultant on NDI's previous focus group project in Malawi, conducted in March 1994. Ms. Mpemba also has extensive experience working on health-related focus group surveys sponsored by international organizations.

Ms. Mpemba worked with NDI field staff members Andy Pflaum and Brent Preston to design the question outline for the discussions, and to select the sites for each group. She also directed the work of the four Chancellor College students who moderated the groups. Timothy Chikoti, Gray Kalindekafe, Mary Msusa, and Ethlet Phazi had previously worked as moderators with Ms. Mpemba on health-related research surveys, and both Timothy Chikoti and Ethlet Phazi worked on the previous NDI focus group project. In each discussion, one moderator would lead the discussion in the local vernacular language, while a second would take detailed notes in English. The discussions were also tape recorded. Following each focus group, the moderating team prepared a detailed report in English based upon their notes and the tape recording.

Method of Selecting Sites and Forming Groups

Because of the lack of telephone communication in the rural areas and the remoteness of most of the focus group locations, there was virtually no way of making advance arrangements or recruiting participants before the day of the discussion. Recruiting was carried out on the spot when the focus group team reached a pre-selected area. At this time, Ms. Mpemba and the team of moderators would identify an appropriate village for holding the discussion.

In keeping with Malawian custom, Ms. Mpemba would seek out the Chief or Village Headman, greet him, and explain the purpose of the visit. She would request his permission and assistance in assembling groups of either men or women, ages eighteen and above. In every instance the traditional leader was gracious and willing to assist, and the focus groups were quickly assembled. The discussions were then held in the open, usually in the shade of a tree or on the porch of a house.

Every effort was made to compose groups whose participants would speak freely about their village and their lives. It was felt that women might hesitate to speak openly in mixed groups, so separate discussions were held for men and women. Chiefs and other local authority figures, such as political party chairmen or police officers, were not included in the groups.

In keeping with the regional distribution of the country's population, two of the 14 groups were held in the Northern Region, (which has 14% of the national population), five groups were held in the Central Region (39% of national population), and seven were held in the Southern Region (46% of national population).

Similarly, two of the 14 groups were held in urban areas - one group with female participants in Mchesi Township in Lilongwe, and one with male participants in Ndirande Township in Blantyre. The other twelve groups were held in rural areas, where approximately 90% of Malawians live. Some of the rural sites were very remote, such as the village of Usisya on the shore of Lake Malawi in the Northern Region, where the only source of regular transport is a weekly passenger boat. Others sites, such as the village of Neno in the Southern Region, were near local trading centers that frequently receive visitors and news from other parts of the country.

The focus groups in the Northern Region were conducted in Chitumbuka; those in the Central and Southern Regions were conducted in Chichewa. An English-language translation of the question outline is attached at the end of this report.

Table 1: Location and Sequence of Focus Group Sessions

<u>REGION</u>	<u>DISTRICT</u>	<u>DATE OF FOCUS GROUP</u>	<u>NUMBER IN SESSION</u>
NORTH (14% of electorate; 2/14 of focus groups)	Nkhata Bay (Usisya village)	09/09/94	10 men
		09/09/94	10 women
CENTER (39% of electorate; 5/14 of focus groups)	Nkhotakota (Mwansambo)	10/09/94	12 men
		10/09/94	11 women
	Dedza (Lobi)	16/09/94 16/09/94	12 men 13 women
	Lilongwe Urban (Mchesi)	17/09/94	12 women
SOUTH (47% of electorate; 7/14 of focus groups)	Mangochi (Namwera)	12/09/94	11 men
		12/09/94	13 women
	Mwanza (Neno)	13/09/94	9 men
		13/09/94	11 women
Nsanje (Mbenje)	14/09/94 14/09/94	12 men 14 women	
	Blantyre Urban (Ndirande)	15/09/94	12 men

Table 2: Demographics of the Focus Group Participants

	<u>% of Participants</u>		<u>% of Participants</u>
<u>Gender</u>		<u>Occupation</u>	
Men	48	Farming	61
Women	52	Fishing	5
		Student	5
<u>Age</u>		Selling Goods	24
Under 25	30	Laborer	7
26 to 35	31		
36 to 45	16		
46 to 55	12		
55 and over	11		

FOCUS GROUP OUTLINE
Political Party Building and Civic Organization Support in Malawi
Preliminary Survey, September 1994

1. INTRODUCTION

- A. Introduce yourself
- B. Explain what a focus group is
 - 1. A discussion
 - 2. No right or wrong answers, just your ideas and opinions
 - 3. Be honest and say what you think
 - 4. Feel free to disagree with people; I want you to tell me your own opinions, even if they are different from other people in the group
 - 5. Everyone should participate in the discussion because everyone's opinions and ideas are important
 - 6. Please raise your hand if you have something to say so I can call on you, and keep answers short so everyone can speak
- C. Explain the purpose of the group
- D. Explain that the tape recorder is there so I can listen to it later and take notes
- E. Have participants introduce themselves
 - 1. Name
 - 2. Home Village
 - 3. Age/Marital Status/Children
 - 4. Occupation

2. MOOD/BACKGROUND

- A. Are things in your village getting better or worse or staying the same?
- B. What is the best and worst thing that has happened in your village over the last few years?
- C. How are decisions made in your village? Who are the most important leaders in the day to day life of the village?

3. EXPECTATIONS AND CONCERNS

- A. What are the biggest problems facing your village?

- B. There is now a new government in Malawi. Do you think Malawi has changed? Is Malawi now better or worse than before? What has changed in your village?
- C. What do you think is the greatest responsibility of the new government? What do you expect the new government to do?
- D. A few years from now, do you think things in your village will be better or worse than they are today?

4. THE MAY 17 ELECTIONS

Explain: We do not want to know who you voted for or what party you support. Your vote is still a secret if you want it to be, but we want to know what you thought of the election process.

- A. Did you vote? Why or why not?
- B. How did you decide who to vote for?
- C. Where did you get information about the political parties (radio, church, party rallies/meetings, posters, newspapers, chiefs/traditional authorities, area chairmen/local party structures, friends, family members) Did you have enough information to make a good choice?
- D. Did you understand how to vote? What parts of the voting process were confusing? Did you have any problems when voting? Where did you get information on how to vote? (above sources plus polling officials) What do you think is the best way to teach people in the villages to vote?
- E. Do you know who the new president is? Do you know who your MP is?

5. WORD ASSOCIATION

I would like to play a game of words with you. I will give you a word, and you say the word or phrase that comes to mind. For example, if I said "children", you might think of families, or that children make you happy, or that children are the future. Do not worry if you do not know a word that I use.

Opposition
MBC Radio
Democracy
Multiparty
Member of Parliament
Regionalism

Chiefs/Traditional Authorities
Local Government
Campaign
Woman's Rights
Newspapers
Civic organizations/NGOs

6. THE CONSTITUTION

(Hold up a copy of the constitution) This is the new constitution of Malawi. It was written by representatives of churches, civic organizations, teachers at the university and all the political parties before the elections. The constitution tells the government how it must act, and outlines the rights and freedoms of Malawians. I am going to ask you a few questions about the constitution.

- A. Have you heard about the constitution? What do you think it says?
- B. Would you like to learn about the constitution? Do you think that it is important for ordinary Malawians to know about the constitution? What would be the best way to teach people about the constitution?
- C. Parts of the constitution can be changed if people do not like them. The government has said that all Malawians should learn about the constitution and tell the Parliament about the parts they don't like, or suggest additions. Would you like to help the Parliament improve the constitution? How can ordinary people do this? What is the best way for ordinary people to contribute?

7. ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

- A. At the beginning of our discussion, I asked you what you thought were the biggest problems facing your village. What do you think you can do to solve those problems? Which leaders would you ask to help in solving those problems? Have new people become leaders in your village since May 17?
- B. What responsibilities does your new MP have towards your village? What should your MP do now that she/he has been elected? Has your MP come to your area since the election? If your MP was here right now, what would you say to him/her? Do you think that your MP should help people in your area who did not vote for him/her?
- C. What role does your chief/Traditional Authority play in your village? Do chiefs and MPs have the same jobs, or different? Which responsibilities should be for the chief, and which for the MPs? Do you think they will work well together?
- D. In a multiparty system, is the political party that wins the election the same as the government? What should the parties that did not win the election do?
- E. In the near future, you will be allowed to vote for a district government. This government will be for your district only, and you will vote for local people to represent you in the *Boma* (district capital). Do you think that this is a good idea? What type of people do you think would make good local government representatives? What type of decisions should they be responsible for?

- F. *Ufulu Weni* (literally "real freedom", the most common translation of "democracy") means that everyone should be free. Do you think women in your village are as free as men? Why or why not? Do you think the roles of men and women in your village will change now that there is democracy in Malawi?
- G. Which of the following groups have you participated in the past? (Church groups, community meetings, farmers clubs, agriculture extension meetings, election rallies, political party meetings, Village Action Committees, Area Action Committees, others) How often do you participate? Will you participate in the future?
- H. In a democratic society, there are organizations which are not political parties, but which try to influence the government and ensure that democracy remains strong {eg. PAC, Foundation for the Integrity of Creation, Justice and Peace (Rev. Longwe), The Legal Resource Centre (Vera Chirwa)} Have you heard of any organizations like this? Do you think that people like you can participate in organizations like these?
- I. Do you associate with people who support other political parties? Are you friends with people from different parties than you own? Can people with different views live together in peace and friendship?



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