

Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), January 1995

Nairobi, 1 January, 1995:

Met first at Fairview, then Chinese dinner: C., D. (no dinner), T., S., J., R., S. Except for C., clearly unfamiliar with Chinese food. At dinner I ask re men and women's financial responsibilities for family. C. said that in the old days the man was responsible for everything: after marriage, woman expected to be taken care of [and see below, a young man told F. that he wasn't yet married because he needed money "to be able to afford a wife"]. Although that remains the ideal, now what's more likely to happen is that the man pays for school fees, clothing and medicine, and woman for food [i.e. men pay for those things that are in the modern sector]. Men are also responsible for paying for relatives in a way that women are not--although if a woman is working she may do that (e.g. P. sends money to her mother (but not her mother-in-law), her sister). I asked whether one could just refuse to help. R. said she would refuse, but the others said you couldn't: C. said "You have to, if you don't you are an outcast, you can't go home". In talking about what men spend money on if not family, R. says "the sweet 16s", i.e. girlfriends, but note that assumption is that they are young.

Re spelling of rariw, not clear. No Luo dictionary. J. said one woman described it to him as "the brakes have come loose".

Oyugis has no cinema, except a mobile cinema, old films (C. says 1943), and no sound (i.e. the sound of the projector is louder than the sound of the film). TV's in 4 houses in Owich: C., M., K. and one other.

They all said one wouldn't talk with the chief unless it was something important.

Monday, Jan 2: Trip to Owich/Luanda (Owich the sublocation where we are working, Luanda is the village where we are staying). This was rather grim, not only because the roads are miserable but because I was worried that we wouldn't get there before dark, concerned about driving on those roads after dark with so-so vehicles, concerned that the SDA's would not, after all, be prepared for us. So I was quite antsy about time. In December I had asked the team whether they preferred to leave Nairobi Sunday the 1st and break the trip by spending the night in Amani, or do it all on Jan 2; they chose the latter. When I had left in December, we were going to meet at the Fairview at 7 a.m.,

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leave at 7:30 with lunch at Amani, thus arriving in Luanda G. before nightfall. When I arrived in Nairobi, it seems A. had set departure time at 10 a.m., and C. had canceled lunch in Amani. We left only shortly after 10, reaching Nakuru around 12:30, where instead of a snack we spent an hour eating lunch. Then arrived at Amani at 4 to get our boxes. C. had said that would take 15 minutes, but it turned out he also had to pay interviewers, etc. Plus refueling the car, so we didn't leave Oyugis until 5:30, arriving in LG at 9:30. We were met about a mile from the SDA camp by M. and his relatives, who were preparing to offer us alternative accommodations. I didn't understand it at first, but in retrospect I think they were competing with the SDA's, trying to hijack us, as it were. But I said we were committed to the SDAs, at least temporarily—F., who had made the final arrangements, said the SDAs jumped their price from the KS400 agreed to by their patron with AF to KS900, he got them down to KS500.

Only when we arrived and said prayers did the church people start fixing our dinner. I was very cranky. We had to pray, meet the dignitaries, etc etc.

Owich sublocation is in the province of Nyanza. The District is Homa Bay, Division is Magunga, Location is Gwasssi South. Luanda Gwasssi is one of the villages, the one in which we stayed (but not in our sample). Owich is about 2.5 hours from Homa Bay, over terrible roads--especially after rain. Travel is at about 15 km an hour on average--we occasionally got up to 25 km an hour, and through bad patches less than 5 km an hour. It is deeply isolated. We saw few vehicles of any sort on the trip, not even lorries (and this was true on the return--a matatu stuck in the mud, a lorry about 45 minutes out of Homa Bay, a MOH vehicle driving to Magunga. Only within about 45 min-an hour of HB is there any traffic at all. There is a telephone in Sori, but none in Magunga; there is a post office in both Sori and Magunga. Neither of these towns is more than a collection of wooden shacks and a few one-story cement buildings, most of them closed. Magunga has a market twice a week, but when we have been through it on non-market days there is not much going on.

The accommodations are sparse. The rooms have beds, but no sheets, pillows, nets, basins. Two pit latrines, and several straw enclosure for bathing--they call it "makeshift", and they were built for us.

We're in the unopened health clinic next to the church, on the top of a big hill; this is the health

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clinic that we had seen from M. village in July, way up on the top of a hill. And it is the one that AF expected to open in 1990, when he did his survey in Luanda; the SDAs and Ministry have been arguing since then about who is going to run it. The SDAs built it and want to run it, but AF says they don't want to do that unless they can make money from it, and they know they can't make money in that area. The MOH is willing to run it, but can't without SDA permission. Things remain at an impasse, although just a week ago apparently the SDAs met with an SDA medical officer from Kendu Bay.

Splendid view down to the lake on one side, and across to mountains on the other. It is quite rugged terrain, with rather scattered settlement. The SDAs have probably agreed to take us both because of the money we are paying, and because--as we found out later--they hope that we (the MOH, the US government, anybody) can help them with their problems.

January 3, Tuesday: Right after breakfast C., F. and I meet with SDA responsible parties re price of accommodations and scheduling. They return to the original negotiated price of KS400, gracefully saying they had only raised it because they thought we would want things that had to be obtained from M. We also emphasized breakfast at precisely 6:30, lunch at precisely 1, dinner at precisely 8; in the event, they did very well.

Interviewer selection and training in the school, about a 10 minute walk downhill (and then uphill) from the SDA camp. It's about 5 largish classrooms with blackboards and simple benches/desk combination. Stone building, so even though it becomes very hot, the rooms remain cool. Lots of candidates for interviewers, perhaps about 50. Many were on time--but not all. Three men come in late and want to take test, seem quite desperate, although we don't let them do it. S. and R. score the exams, we pick the highest ones--18 or higher, although to get even 9 women interviewers we have to go down to 15 to get the 9th woman; C. and S. give v. brief interviews to those on the borderline. We finish before noon, so we don't have to pay people for coming. I give a little speech thanking

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everybody for taking the time, saying that many of them did quite well, that people have different skills, etc etc, and then reading out the names of those that passed.

Interviewer hiring: The scores were higher than in Oyugis, although later S. and R., who were giving it, said there was a lot of cheating. About 2/3 were men, 1/3 women, and all were youngish, under 30 I think. We took the 18 or so highest scorers, and gave a brief interview to about 8 more, ending up with 24. In the event, we should have interviewed all briefly. For example, one of the women is breast-feeding, which makes me uncomfortable. On the one hand, the money will help her; on the other hand, she may need to wean the baby abruptly, which may be harmful. She is remaining--we left the decision up to her. Another of the interviewers who passed is lame, recovering from a broken leg. We tried to persuade him to leave, he offered his brother in his place (apparently thinking either that the test was unimportant, or that if he could pass the test his brother could too); when we refused his brother, he insisted on remaining and C. gave in. In the event, he did o.k., although (he was on R.'s team, B., I think that they gave him easier houses to reach). Giving interviews to everyone is v. time consuming, and it's time lost for training. We discuss this later, toward the end of the fieldwork. S. later emphasizes that done could tell within a few minutes whether the person would do o.k. as an interviewer, and the supervisors think that it is much better to spend the time on selection than on training. I'm not sure, but they are in a better position to know.

The effects of discrimination against women are evident. Fewer women came to apply to be interviewers, and we selected 9. Of these, two didn't make it through the training. They said they hadn't reviewed the questionnaire last night, as they had been told--perhaps because of wifely duties?

On the other hand, 4 men didn't make it either. And some of the women who did make it are married.

There are continuing accusations here throughout the fieldwork that the selection of interviewers was not fair. There's less fussing that they come from outside, although that is mentioned--quite a few of

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our interviewers live somewhere else at least part of the time and just happened to be back when we were recruiting. There are complaints that we have hired people who have jobs, instead of the 2ndary school graduates who don't. There are complaints that the hiring was influenced by M.--that we hired his relatives (in fact we did hire his nephew, but the supervisors say they didn't know that). And also that we hired SDA people. I think that perhaps so little hiring is done meritocratically that the people really can't believe that this one was done meritocratically.

Interviewer training: F. and T. are in charge of the training, and do very well: F. is more authoritarian, reminding them several times that they have to pass these 2 days of interviewer training. T. very encouraging. T. would make an excellent primary school teacher. M., who had not been with us in Oyugis, of course played a prominent role, in a school-masterly way: lecturing them about the past perfect tense, etc.

Some of his explanations about what we wanted on a particular question were wrong--these were only the ones I heard in English, who knows what he said in Luo.

Jan 4: I sit in on interviewer training in the a.m. Some of them seem quite bright, others clearly not catching on. Re the FP methods, F. asks them what FP is for. They can't think of anything except spacing (which is a bit odd, since most of the people I talk with casually think it is for stopping). Some of the same kinds of questions as in Oyugis--e.g. confusion about "in the last year". The training here is largely in Luo, which probably makes for greater comprehension. On the other hand, I can't follow it well.

Walking to the school with R., I comment that the posho mill which we pass--the same one for which I have photos from our last visit-- doesn't seem busy. She said it's broken, and that she talked with someone yesterday who said they have to go very far to another posho mill: leave in the morning and not home until evening. M. says the one in L.N. doesn't work either. There is one at

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A.M., about 3-4 kms away (I saw this, on the way to R.'s site). Another one at K., the junction to N., about 4 kms away (I saw this, it's where the turnoff to the Scout Camp is). Another one near M.s' village, but it's broken. so it seems closer, but it's crowded because the others are broken. C. says that there are 5 in the area.

I am appreciating the role of the government--chiefs and the MOH. Although it may be the case that this sponsorship biases our data somewhat, it really would be impossible to do anything without their permission. There's no way it could be kept from them, and they would object, and effectively.

Equipment problems: S. sets up the solar panel, but no longer producing enough to charge batteries. I had brought equipment for charging from cigarette lighter, but one vehicle doesn't have a cigarette lighter and the other has one but it's insides are completely corroded. We charge from the vehicle battery, but that consumes fuel that is hard to come by.

C. gave a lift to an old man who turned out to be a *nyamrerwa*, returning from treating someone, so brought him up to the SDA compound. After lunch, I interviewed him through R.O. [Does he treat many women with *ruoth*?] Many women have it and he treats the condition. Mostly it's abdominal pains [he puts his arm over his abdomen], and usually when they are about to give birth. That's when they feel the abdominal pain. Also backache, and some heaviness at the back. The lower abdomen, feels as if it is swollen, bloated, as though something is coming out; it's the thing that is coming out that is called *Ruoth*. It's as if the uterus wants to come out, that is what is called *ruoth*, it's as if the fetus is left behind, it's something that hangs out and causes a lot of pain. [Do women who aren't pregnant have it?] Women suffer from it even if they aren't pregnant. They feel bloated, and then it goes away. He's treated many young women for it, who haven't had children. [Note that many descriptions of *rariw* begin with childbearing, although they move away either in response to my questions or sometimes on their own. But I think it's most prominently associated in people's minds with late pregnancy and childbirth] [What's the cause?] He says he doesn't know the real

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cause, but it runs in families, women with it are from the same line. [How does he treat it]? He uses herbs. He crushes them into powder, mixes w/water, and then the woman squats in it and washes herself with it. How often? Two or three times. He also gives them herbs (different ones) that they drink when they are in labor. He says that young unmarried women can have *rariw*, and that it doesn't necessarily follow that only women w/many children have it. I asked him if he talked about *rariw* with other *nyamrerwas*. He does, but they don't treat it the same: his herbs are his. The next person has their own. He learned from his mother. [His description sounds v. similar to female *nyamrerwas* we interviewed in June/July in Owich: check] [Do men have *ruoth*?] Men have *ruoth*, but it's not as common, and they don't get as seriously ill. I asked what men complain of, he said that when go for long call, feels pain. I asked about diarrhea (J.'s diagnosis) but he said it's not. I asked about pain during "short call", he said yes; I asked whether women also had pain during short call, he said they did, so intense that it can even make her cry, "because the thing comes out as she tries to go for short call. " [Do men call it *ruoth*?] He says they may not know that it's *ruoth* [i.e. they don't give it that name], but he as a herbalist knows that's what they have. [I think this is likely: some of what *ruoth/rariw* is is probably SDTs, which may be what men have. But they would be unlikely to apply to themselves a diagnosis, i.e. *ruoth*, that is so connected with pregnancy and childbirth--the surprising thing is that this *nyamrerwa* does]. Women do, however, know it's *ruoth*. Even the young girls know about it. The boys don't. In addition, the boys aren't open about it because it may be mistaken for v.d. And he thinks it may partly be v.d., and started talking about immorality: If you go out w/so many people you will get it. He thinks men get *ruoth* from the women, for women it's hereditary. Do women get affected during their periods? He said yes, and can be v. painful. Young girls sometimes think it's menstrual cramps. [Do they go to hospital?] He doesn't know if they go to hospital, because most of the ones who come to him haven't gone to the hospital. [Recurrent?] He says some are cured, but some recur. He also treats fits, malaria, and childhood diarrhea. He treated three women with *ruoth* in the last month. [Note that this is about the frequency of the Magunga clinic; however, there is only one clinic, and lots of *nyamrerwas*].

Visit by R., a nurse from N. married since 1988 to a man from here, who is visiting. She is well dressed, sophisticated, and speaks excellent English. Comes by in a v. self-possessed way to chat, as

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if I've been waiting to meet her. I asked her about *rariw*. She immediately diagnosed it: said it's "retained placenta", the woman gives birth but the placenta remains. [Thus, yet another--and different--swift and assured diagnosis]. She knows about it because she supervised 5 clinics around K., for a program that was training TBA's. (she also called it "rareep", another local name.) Thus, she has not seen a range of women who complain of *rariw*, but only serious cases that the TBA's brought her, and these were "retained placenta". When I said that some of the symptoms of *rariw* didn't match "retained placenta"--e.g. some unmarried women--she said "Oh, it's also enlarged spleen from malaria". She also allowed as how there were still some symptoms that didn't match enlarged spleen, but herself was rather unwilling to give up these diagnoses. When I described the other symptoms that women had, however, she allowed as how yes, women called that *rariw* too. [So here we have a nurse who clearly knows that *rariw* is a fuzzy and ill-defined condition and that lots of women have it, yet wants to give it a western medical label that excludes many of the symptoms/conditions]. I asked her what happened to these women when they go to the clinics/hospitals; she answered that "they didn't take it seriously because it's women's ailments, and that they say the women just want to get out of work". She went on to say that the doctors and nurses "accuse" the women of *rariw* because "they don't know what to do". If it is something they know they can treat, like malaria, that's one thing, that's something "real, tangible". *Rariw*, in contrast, is vague and ill defined. I said that I had talked to a number of other nurses, and they all had a name for what *rariw* was, but different names. I told her that although one nurse said "it's UTI and we test for that", but when we asked women what the clinics did they said nothing, they just give them Panadol. She said that the government health center's couldn't do UTI testing, and wouldn't because it was easier to give them Panadol and send them away.

Thursday, Jan 5:

First day of fieldwork is dominated by equipment problems (and that is to be a continuing theme here). After the supervisors go to the field, C., S. and I go to try to do something about charging batteries, since the solar panel doesn't work. We pass by the Tonga mission, where the priest has a generator, but he left early in the morning and no one else is there except a young boy. We then go

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to the Italian-Kenyan scout camp, where there is also a generator. G., the bright young man with the motorcycle who was there last summer, says someone else has the key, so we go off to find that person, get the key, the generator, test it to see that it runs, which it does. We bring it back and hook it up. It blows our surge protector, the Think-pad charger and one of the Compaq chargers. S. thinks a regulator is broken, so that it is producing far more than 220 volts--maybe 400 or 500. S. is very mechanically competent. The moral of the story is that we should have had back up equipment.

At the Kenyan-Italian Scout camp there is a clinic, and I talk with a doctor there about rariw. Interesting interview, as he is from S. and worked there in B. Division, as well as in A., N. and G., all in S. Nyanza. He says that ruoth is only in S. Nyanza, around the lake, not central Nyanza [this may match N.'s hypothesis re environmental factors]. When I ask whether there is something similar by another name in Siaya, we have a lot of trouble understanding each other. First he says that in Siaya what they have is PID, which is common, but then eventually says there is another word for the set of abdominal complaints in Siaya, it's called "minruoth", or "Jatelonemon". Like most others, he emphasizes ruoth as a "thing": begins by saying that sometimes when the woman is in labor this ruoth blocks the baby from coming out, and thinks the cause is a weak uterus which doesn't hold the placenta. However, he too says there are many other symptoms, that young women can have it, even women who haven't given birth, although women w/4-5 children more likely to have it. He says he can't treat it, he gives them pain medicine (Panadol) and sends them to a nyamrerwa [note: note to Homa Bay, which is even less feasible here than in Oyugis]. I ask him whether he has discussed this ruoth in medical seminars, and to my surprise he says yes, but that the discussions don't end in much because no one knows what to do about it. When I ask whether his colleagues think women who complain of ruoth are malingering, he says no, it's evident that they are in pain, and his colleagues in the seminar say this. He says the advice in the hospital is that if they have ruoth they advise them not to do heavy work like carrying water or firewood [advice that's probably as useless as sending them to Homa Bay hospital]. He thinks men don't have it, that when men complain of the same kind of pain, it's std's, not ruoth. [Note that there is general agreement that rariw/ruoth is a disease of women. The nyamrerwo in Gwasssi said men had it, but he said men didn't call it that, only he as nyamrerwo knew it.]

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Late morning C. and I go briefly to the field. We are interviewing across the valley, which indeed looks v. prosperous. The compounds are rather far from each other, and often seem large, with several of those small huts used for storing grain. In the qualitative work we had thought that the extremes in LG were greater than elsewhere, and I still think this holds. We find F. waiting for us under a tree, going over questionnaires. He looks tired, although reasonably cheerful: talks about the high hills to climb. He says there are many fewer people walking around than in Oyugis, which matches my observation as we were driving there. He said he asked some of the people how they liked it here [F. is great about curiosity], they said they do, that even tho it's dry there's lots of land, which they like. F. is also waiting for the other driver to bring him more questionnaires. [The supervisors aren't taking enough questionnaires, so drivers have to deliver them more in mid-day; this is subsequently reformed]. We go to find the other driver, G., who is simply sitting in the car chatting with some men. The drivers are a big problem, this one in particular. We haven't had him before. He drives terribly--in 3rd, constantly stripping the gears. And R. said when they stopped to give people a lift, he tried to charge them for it.

After lunch I go with driver, R. and S.A. to get petrol--since we don't have charged batteries, not much else to do. The nearest place, Sori, is 40 minutes away. They still don't have fuel: as yesterday, the man in charge says the problem is in Mombasa, he expects it "soon", but neither the D. nor R. believe him, they think he is lying--and other places have fuel. [And in the event, they still didn't have fuel when we left 8 days later] So we push on another 50 minutes or so to get it (in a lovely tiny bunch of low concrete buildings off the main road, reminded me of what old southern towns looked like: about 7 buildings on either side of the road, most closed, children playing ball, large trees, fields right there). The Landrover takes about 70 liters, and according to the driver will go for about 6 hours for that amount (the mileage gauge is broken, as is the fuel gauge). What this all means is that fueling the vehicles is enormously inefficient: we use about half a tank of gas just going to get the gas and returning. And, in the evening, the Land Cruiser breaks down (see below).

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On the way back from getting fuel, we stop in Sori to get soft drinks. We don't have enough money. [This is also a constant problem: either there isn't money, or C. doles it out so sparingly that we run out and have to make another trip for something]. R. persuades the woman to give us credit, since we really need to give the supervisors drinks to take to the field. The market in Sori (aka Karunga) is pretty bustling: several people selling second hand clothes, plastic and enamel dishes, a motel that looked decent, a stall selling what looked like tourist crafts, plastic dishes. The market is a bit larger than Sena. Here as elsewhere, little boys are far more in evidence than little girls. R. says it's because the little girls are home helping their mothers. What do little boys do here? I rarely see them herd, that seems to be usually older boys/young men.

S. works on program to keep track of questionnaires. This was a problem in Oyugis, as N.'s log just tracked completed questionnaires, so we didn't know where we were--and didn't realize until late that we didn't. S. is setting this up so that each evening the supervisors speak to him individually, and he logs into the program all the completed questionnaires, and notes visits made for those that aren't completed.

Equipment problems continue. The land cruiser broke a U-bolt this evening. When R., S. and I returned from getting fuel, we found P. and R. by the side of the road, where they had been waiting for an hour to be picked up. Two young men, not our interviewers, were "protecting" them--at R. and P.'s request. We took them back to the SDA, and shortly after a message arrived from C. The landrover went to collect them, but it was 9:30 before everyone was back.

FIELDWORK: Nonetheless, they were in high spirits. F. had done about 25 interviews, M. 32, P. 18, R. about 24 (some questions for a few of hers so not really complete) and 18 for T. P. started telling me that the people here are really suspicious, "unlike Luos". One man (G.A., wife H.A.) "chased me away". He refused to be interviewed, made his wife stop the interview, and "really got violent". He had refused to the interviewer, so P. went. He finally agreed, answered the question on

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age, but when she got to the 'when were you and your first wife married' question, said "That's the sort of question I won't tolerate. What will this help me with?" (P. said the wife was much younger than he, maybe there was a first wife who was kicked out or left, and that the question was resurrecting old issues). [This would be an e.g. of something that to us seems quite innocuous, but in a personal, and perhaps village, context, is not] He answered a few more, but at the radio question blew up, and said: "why are you asking about radios? Are you going to give me one?" He went on, "Those whites, they want to know what we think and they go back and laugh. And in fact if I see anyone walk in here with those family planning tablets....." [WHITES, foreigners, outside] He made his wife terminate the interview, although P. said that she looked like she wanted to be interviewed. P. felt he was close to being violent, and she left. Later she met the miji-kumi, asked him about this man, the m-k said he is known to be difficult, he thinks people are hunting him down, want to do him harm. P. also said they have trouble understanding issues. P.'s description of her area as "suspicious" seems largely based on this one incident. P. also says, though, that she talked to some people around (not respondents) who think we are associated with the SDA church, and that the SDA's sidelined other churches in getting interviewers. And two men told her that we are spreading those FP tablets.

FIELDWORK: T., who was there during this conversation, said it was different in her area, and said one man, after the introduction, was so enthusiastic that he called all his six wives and said "come, come, your name is on a paper!" He insisted on calling them all, even from the shamba, saying "your name is on a paper!". But she also said that she talked with one woman with 0 in her networks, who said she didn't want to name names because she wouldn't "go spreading her friends names", that then they won't like it and will not be her friends any more. T. tried cajoling, offered to write down nicknames and then rub them out, but the women refused. Asked about the quality of her list, T. said the m-k had several women still eligible, but they were old. She also mentioned that her village has subdivided, but still strong esprit de corps, they feel they belong together, and the m-k goes around to them, still feels they are his people (supervisors came in here with phrases like "the shepherd of his flock", a bit disparaging, mocking, in tone).

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M. said they were not suspicious, they were interested. [Note, however, that this is M.' area, and he wants to put it in the best light possible]. He added that the m-k went around with them [so I think M. was making a connection: because the m-k went around with them, the people cooperated]. Women, he said, eager to be interviewed. I asked about the men, he said one man initially refused but after 30 minutes persuasion he gave up and agreed to be a respondent [probably again somewhat self-serving on M.' part]. Three respondents not willing to give names. The women he interviewed asked about help connected w/our research, seemed to think we had something to do with the provision of water (a real problem here, esp. for the women who carry it long distances from the lake). M. says there is only one pump in this area.

F.: said that the people were not suspicious, they were happy to see us except one woman who locked herself in. Eventually she was interviewed, but had 0 networks. F. said people are at home far more than in Oyugis [which makes sense: there is not a market or a town to go to]. He said the m-k's list was pretty good, although it gave the m-k himself as ineligible, despite the fact that his wife had a baby 1 1/2 years ago. [perhaps the m-k didn't want his wife talking about FP?]. F. said almost everyone was either there or away briefly. M-k walked around with F. We discussed this briefly at meeting, whether helps or hurts, F. thinks it helps.

C. said he came to the place where T. did her last interview--he could still see the chairs out for it-- and the woman was singing--to a nice tune-- "panga uzazi, panga uzazi, young women plan your families, FP is good for your health!" T. said this woman seemed really interested in FP: she didn't want more children, and asked T. for FP.

R. said the m-k's list for her village was done by others because he was ill. Still, it was almost perfect. One homestead was there that shouldn't have been, gave one unmarried man a wife. [Indication that other m-k's know the homesteads pretty well]. R. is concerned about our late hours, esp the married women interviewers, getting home so late. (We meet at either 7 or 7:30, depending

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on the place, and don't finish until about 7:30).

We started checking the Oyugis data, to see how many interviews done, how many we couldn't interview. We immediately find problems with the data. We begin by making a list of all the numbers (sorting), to see if any are missing. While doing that, we notice quite a few duplicates (individuals, sometimes more than two, with the same respondent codes). And we also sort the numbers from 1 to the maximum, and find some numbers missing. We start checking the duplicates (which continues for several days).

Misc: people here seem to be v. poor at time or distance. Not surprising, since no km signs out here, car meters broken, few have watches.

Few people hitch-hike.

Jan 5, Saturday

F. goes out early to meet his team, the others wait until after church (and lunch) is over. In addition to all our equipment breaking down, it poured rain last night, and the roads are worse than usual. I went to drop F., and saw how thick and sticky the ground was--very hard walking, in addition to the hills. The m-k is waiting for F.. He looks to be about 50 years old, worn out tweed jacket and old but once snazzy blue and white checked shirt with band collar. I ask him (through F.) whether people come to him for advice about FP, and he says "they all like family planning here". I say that isn't true, we were here in July talking to people and many men didn't like it at all. He said if we want to know what people think about FP we should come to the *ajwua* game (it's played most afternoons). [There's one around the lake, and one on the hills, so this isn't a venue for bringing people in the sublocation together]. The m-k then did allow as how he knows of one man who is spacing his children--he has several grown ones who are working, and now some little ones--but said that "the parents were not amused". F. found out that the m-k didn't know the man was using FP, he

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just figured from the spacing. Later, F. says the m-k wanted to be paid.

On the way back we pass through the "shopping center". Already, at 8:20 a.m., there are 8-10 men sitting around the "bicycle repair shop".

F. said he met a man who wanted a fertility drug. And another uncooperative man, with older children, some of whom had died, said, "Are you going to bring back the bones and make them alive again?"

R.'s notes for R., as e.g. of visits. This is MK 06, and is described by R. as a very suspicious area, the one where a woman yelled at her.

M490: J.O.--refused

M491—L.A.--door closed

M492—P.O.--gone for meeting

M493--misnumber, should be female

M494—W.M.--gone to see patient

M495—R.O.--gone visiting

M496--female

M497, D.O.--had a function

M498--not done

M499, O.O.--done

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M500--not done

M501—J.O.--gone to Thim

F543—C.D.--busy

F544-F.N.--done

F545--not at home

F546--gone to the lake

F547--husband refused to let her be interviewed

F548--done

F549--done

F550--to be seen tomorrow

F551--door closed

F552--Nairobi, will be back

F553—B.A., done

F554—M.O.--done

F555—H.A.--not home

F556—J.O., done

F552—S.I.--to be interviewed later

F558- M.O.--at market

F559 Not done

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F560—R.J.--done

F561—J.O.--function at home

F562—O.O.--funeral

F563--not done

F564—M.A.--gone to market

F565—M.A., done

F566—J.A.--gone to Thim

R., W./K., mk 09

P.O.--not listed

J.O.--not listed

M.A.A., M552-done

O.O.--M572--done

P.O.--M573, done

C.A., M569, done

G.A., M568, done

B.N., M566, done

B.N., M547, done

I.O., M549, done

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Not at home:

F.J., M567, on a journey

E.O., M570, Homa Bay

D.O.--mk said belonged to his village but he says he belongs o another sublocation

J.O.--ditto

W.O.--went to Ndiwa

In the afternoon, C., S. and I go through the Oyugis data, checking duplicates. Sometimes this is simply that the same person has been entered twice: the data are the same. Sometimes, however, one of them is a person on our list, married to the right spouse, in the right compound, etc, but the other one is hard to find. We find a few, but end up with a number coded 888, which means we can't find the person. We think most of these are typos, and most of these are S.A.'s. And some of the missing respondents were shown in the log to be entered by S., who probably didn't save the file when she was done. Moreover, when S. did type in the same questionnaire twice, although most of the responses are the same, some are not. She makes a lot of errors. We think all of the Oyugis questionnaires will have to be re-entered. We are getting the questionnaires back from Nairobi, and will see if Mrs. O's daughter can enter them again, using the Verify command that beeps if the responses aren't the same. This is probably a good idea in general--to have the data entered twice--so we will hire J. in Nairobi to do it, as he appears to be very careful.

F. says had to convince one man to let his wife be interviewed, because he thought we would give his wife FP pills. T. said one man said our questions are useless, wouldn't answer q. re no. of children. Also talked to one man who wasn't married, said couldn't marry until he got money, "to afford the wife" [support for view that men are supposed to support their wives, and that is linked to marriage].

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At meeting, comes out that the acting chief of Oyugis was taking bribes to change the names on our interviewer list (i.e. the people we talked to as possible interviewers when we went to do the miji-kumi listings). The ones who paid it thought it went to us. R. said one guy's father paid the chief and then didn't get the job, he was v. bitter. C. then relates that the chief asked him, re not hiring his second wife, "Are you a Luo? Do you know what a second wife is? I can't even go to breakfast." (Later, it comes out that the chief here had sent several of his relatives for the interview, but hadn't told us and didn't complain when none of them passed).

P. says much easier to get men here in LG: "You come to the compound and the men are there, just chatting with their wives."

I spend most of yesterday evening and today going over the questionnaires, looking for errors, inconsistencies. The supervisors are doing a great job of getting interviews done, but are sloppy about going over the questionnaires. They catch most of the missing data, but not all, and certainly don't see inconsistencies--e.g. a person who lives far elsewhere but with whom the respondent "talks every day". Or "brothers" coded as females. I'm also more aware of untidinesses in our questionnaires--e.g. the list of categories for people talked to differs in the two networks (Q25 and Q48). And the question about places lived outside should also say for 6 months or more: I think some of the answers are to the question "have you ever been" (because a few interviewers missed the skip pattern, so the respondent has No, hasn't lived outside for 6 months or more, but then Nairobi or Mombasa is circled in the next question).

QUDESCOM: Reading over so many questionnaires (which I should have done in Oyugis), I have questions about some of the interpretation:

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Wealth flows, Q21 C: v. few are worried that most or all children might die, but this was a major motive in our qualitative work. I ask C. and T.: both of them say that the respondents don't understand this question. It needs to be explained. And T. says that the interviewers don't understand it either.

Matrix: we are getting relatives whom I would think would be considered close but who are listed as acquaintances, or even "don't know each other". Some of these we are checking (e.g. a brother and sister who are said not to know each other, which may be an interviewer error). But I also think that what respondents are answering in the matrix question is something about intimacy: thus, a father and a daughter could be "acquaintances". Some respondents say they don't know how two of the respondent's relatives are related to each other, adding "how do I know what they think about each other".

Approval of FP: We are getting some network partners who are said to disapprove of FP, but who are said to be using it themselves. This may be interviewer error, but it may be that what the respondent thinks we are asking is whether the network partner approves of the respondent using. Thus, a network partner might feel that a young respondent with few children shouldn't be using, although the network partner herself should (and is) using.

Some cases where husband (wife) is mentioned as a network partner for the FP networks, but when we get to the question "did you talk to your spouse" they say no. Generally, though, I think that when the questionnaire says "husband mentioned" or "wife mentioned", question 76 re talk to spouse is "yes".

Zero in networks: T. is first area in LG (MK #2) has lots of zeros, lots of suspicious people she says--she went and probed. P. says the same. But I think some interviewers are not

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probing.

Relatives: we are getting odd things like a 26 year old man who talks to a grandson about FP, the grandson has finished secondary school, etc. Our supervisors say this is an issue of Luo relationships/kinship: it might be a much older cousin's grandson, who is treated as the respondent's own grandson. We are getting people with several fathers, for example: these are probably uncles.

Education coding for network partners: should be interpreted as "at least secondary", since we forgot code for university.

Women's small business: probably often selling small fish.

Men occupation farming: cash crop

R. back, said day was horrible. At one compound with lots of people the old mama screamed at her, said we don't want any of you, we refuse, etc. All the people said no, not me. R. got two of the women aside and they agreed to be interviewed, plus the son (who had walked them there, and who was from Nairobi), but the women had zero in their networks. R. also said some people who were Pentecostal didn't want to be interviewed because they think we are SDA, others because they think we are devil worshippers.

Here, as in Oyugis, social life seems v. gender-specific. My impression is that most of the network partners are of the same gender. When I see people walking by the road, they appear to be most

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often walking with someone of the same gender--although sometimes they do walk alone, and sometimes one will see a husband and wife, or a few women with a man. Little boys are much in evidence--hanging about the SDA camp, or in Oyugis available as tour guides (oddly, few "tour guides" here in Owich, says F.); little girls are much less so, although yesterday, Saturday, quite a few appeared when I tried (unsuccessfully) to take an unposed picture. One little girl, carrying a baby, is so afraid she'll be left out of the picture that she dumps the baby on the ground and runs to be in the picture--the picture should show the baby in the background. When I ask, the answer is that "little girls are home helping their mothers", although I think it's deeper than that--perhaps women aren't supposed to be in public places unless they are evidently working (going for water, firewood, to the market). Perhaps carrying things on their head is not only for transport, but also serves to advertise that they are working, not idling--somewhat like Pierre's Senegalese women took grain to grind when they gossiped. Status seems an issue of both gender and age: thus, I get the front seat in the vehicle, presumably because of status but also perhaps age; M. gets it if I'm not there, although if M. isn't there it goes to P. (presumably because she is older, married)--that's what they said once casually, "give it to the married woman".

Not at home: often someone does know where the person is, but quite often they don't know--or they don't tell.

Dinner: Some of our areas have snakes, poisonous. P. said she saw one while she was taking a shower: the snake came to drink the water in her washbasin. Some speculation that some of the resistance to doing our interviews is from people who were denied jobs as interviewers: if denied jobs, why should they talk. C. thinks it's the focus group people who are from around here, the lake-side area.

Luanda Gwassi is a village in Gwassi.

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Sunday: another disaster. Because J. wasn't yet ready, C. sent the other driver in the landrover to take the supervisors. He is a terrible driver whom we have used very little. After about an hour and a half, an interviewer came with word that the gears had seized and the car wouldn't move. The driver had trouble in the wet soil, and had burned the clutch. S. and F. go off to see what can be done. Meanwhile, because C. is supposed to be in Kisumu this morning to meet D. and get the money to pay the interviewers (he should have left Saturday, but didn't want to go, so was intending to be late anyway), we have a problem getting C. even to Homa Bay--the daily morning matatu has already passed, and he would have to go to Migori to get one. So they decide to take the landrover with the broken U-bolt. But until C. comes back either with a repaired landrover or a rented car, we are without transport.

F. and S. return. S. has gotten the car running, but the transmission probably needs to be replaced/repaired. Only S., however, can drive the car in its present state. Today and tomorrow the interviewers will work on this side, so that the supervisors can walk. There are still some callbacks to do in the far reaches, but we will have to wait until we have a vehicle for those.

Saturday night the major domo, H.O. (a sleazy man) had asked if we were coming to church--the SDA church is about 50 yards away. C. said some of us might, but just casually, as people, not as a formal delegation. In the event, no one went: although P., R. and T. are SDAs, they didn't feel like going but just wanted to laze around. I probably should have gone, but wanted to check questionnaires and write up stuff.

Interviewers: [NETWORKS] I interview several of our interviewers J. (a live-wire herself) and T.M./T.S., re 0 networks: the male explained it by these are young people, might not want to talk about it. [NETWORKS] then I interview another interviewer, M. M. says she doesn't believe that

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there's anyone who doesn't talk about it, "unless you don't have a tongue in your head, and even then you can use signs". She thinks the older men might say 0 because they are afraid that if they say that they talked to someone, we might force them to use FP. [see Kanalysis for these]. These interviews are very helpful in getting a sense of how respondents are understanding our questions. They also suggest to me that the interviewers are by no means sticking to the questionnaire. There is a lot of explanation by the interviewers, and almost undoubtedly a fair amount of chatting about what we are doing here, etc.

R: One man told interviewer to shake dust from feet, but now has agreed, apparently because subchief had gone around or sent message. Everyone had heard what had happened. And the wife had wanted to be interviewed. Maybe the other women who had been interviewed told him it was o.k. The man wanted to choose the interviewer, said "ah, if it's you, so and so's son, it's o.k., but not you, so and so's son (the interviewer he had chased away yesterday). [advantage of local interviewers].

M.: one eligible woman but she hid. Cowives said she was influenced by the mother in law, who thought we would force her to use FP. Also maybe something of devil-worshiping. The mother in law said "you people, still persisting, you must be after something" (they had gone yesterday to interview the woman but she was out).

Lots of people here want to be given things. This is no doubt because they are so poor and we seem so rich, but also Luos apparently treat each other this way--see Goldenberger's dissertation, see Cohen, that urban Luos incessantly pestered by rural relatives. Just about every day I'm asked for something--a pen, a paper, to send a cousin to college in the U.S., by one of the interviewer candidates to send him to the US and arrange a marriage for him.

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Monday: January 9

Supervisors getting tired. The first days are more fun: training the interviewers, and then sweeping through a village with lots of interviews. By now it's callbacks, and less satisfying--lots of walking for not much reward. They are also getting tired of the food, the lack of variety, and also there is not enough chicken/meat/fish--they serve way too much ugali and rice, and one chicken for all of us. The pineapple is gone, so it's papaya and bananas three meals a day. I am also still fussing about incompletely checked questionnaires, noticing mistakes/omissions/inconsistencies.

Much of my day spent checking questionnaires.

Meeting:

S. has his program fully working. He printed out for each supervisor a list of all the people in the villages for which each is responsible, with information re whether the person has been visited, questionnaire complete, plus, for our purposes, whether it has been checked and entered. Supervisors still aren't telling him about ones visited but not complete, but he will get them to do this--and it is clear that they know exactly what is happening to every person on the list. The supervisors appreciate the new system, R. said, since there's no confusion, nothing gets lost, etc.

I emphasize again the importance of checking the questionnaires in the field, so that any errors can be rectified right away and they don't have to use time and energy to return. I do think they appreciate this, although P., T. and M. are still inclined to leave it, and then to check somewhat haphazardly.

Funerals: Max is 20, so if they say "many" or "can't remember" ask if more than 20.

Woman says "nothing" for earns money, but sells in the market? most people sell at the market sometimes, but occasional.

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[NETWORKS]Zero networks: I don't talk with people about those things, I've already given you enough names. The respondents simply refuse. P. think they are tired, you are going to start all over again. One said he doesn't talk about FP w/people, he keeps to himself. Everyone thinks the interviewers really try, they beg them.

Q66: remember don't need names for networks, if mention friend in Q66, can just use "friend" as a label.

What does natural FP mean, from men? Many answers: just happens, hut, and counting days

Compound takes precedence over village mate or work mate

Area mate vs village mate: M. thinks area larger, F. thinks it's the same, M. the interviewer says area is smaller than a village.

Comparison of Owich and Oyugis: I ask them them to compare Oyugis and LG:

more suspicious here? F. thinks they are more suspicious here. T. said that when she was at beach center, three women came to T. for pills, she tried to say she wasn't a FP person, but the woman said the people you talked to told me you people are family planning people. Another woman even sent some little boys to get pills.

There's also the devil-worshiper. F. thinks that is very strong here, esp among the elderly religious people. Also a rumor that the money we pay the interviewers has strings attached, we will come back for their first born (to be a devil worshipper you have to sacrifice their first born). C. adds, next day, that not much talk of devil-worshipping in the valley, most of it is on the lake-side. He said it's been going on for several years in the papers in Nairobi. A judge ruled that some men accused of murder were innocent, and people said it was because the men and the judge were all devil worshippers, and [like the mafia] they are sworn to help each other and keep it a secret. There was also talk of devil-worshipping in the university,

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and a government commission was established, but people said the commission wouldn't find anything because they were devil-worshippers too.

T. said one man said there are so many interviews and they are useless, nothing happens, you just do it because you are paid. R. thinks people here are v. harsh, the way they treated some of the interviewers is not polite. Normally if someone is a visitor you listen to what they are telling you first, "but these guys they just scream and become wild before getting the story straight". M.: most of the complaints are from R's site, he had only one. Th: one of the people said you white people don't go to church. R: it is harsher than in Oyugus, P. agrees, but F. doesn't. P. says it's not even just the people you are interviewing, just on the road. T. says news about us has spread even faster than in Oyugis.

Problem in that we paid some of the practice interview respondents 50 shillings, since they had to come up to the school. Some of the respondents have heard about this, and want to be paid too.

Think networks are really smaller, or just appear to be?

Ask them what have heard about "devil-worshipping"

Ask re non-users telling friends that using--o.k.? Sure interviewers understand the question?

Ask about "belongs to church group"--what do they think respondents understand by this??

Possible to live in the same compound but not talk? They say yes, -one lives somewhere else, who works somewhere else, leaves early and comes back late.

Designation of village mate is accurate, they know it.

Walk across sublocation: 2.5-3 hours. F. thinks closer to 4 hours from furthest end to furthest end. And Obisa, maybe 1 hour. And no stones, no hills o climb.

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P. thinks the polygamous pop of this place is v. high, T., "and it's not small time, like 5 wives", and the co-wives are very friendly. P. was told that younger cowives of older men w/many wives had boyfriends around, infidelity is v. common [in the focus groups here, we also got the sense that women fooled around a fair amount. Thus, we might expect secret use]. F.: rate of remarriage is v. high, and they love the ones who have remarried more than their own wives (remarried wife=inherited wife). T. says the same thing. R: "the other day there was an old old man, walking to the home where he had an inherited wife, walking all bent over, and all of the interviewers said "ay, still feeling strong?"

I ask whether it is harder here to find compounds that the m-k may have overlooked. They think not.

F.: another thing that's different here is that it's hard to tell whether it's one compound or three compounds. So very hard for MK to forget, since they compounds are clustered together, although the m-k might forget a household, it's v. hard for the mk to forget a cluster. Also, I can see that the land is quite open, and compounds are quite visible.

R: rumors around here are horrible. [what this probably means is not that there is more passing of rumors here than in Oyugis, which I doubt, but that the rumors are more likely to be troublesome to them as supervisors/interviewers]. F.: old men are more hostile about FP than in Oyugis.

In Owich, some clans have resisted sub-dividing, however much the clan has insisted. It's the people, says R., who don't want to subdivide, not the m-k. In Waganaa, a m-k has to walk past two villages to get to other parts of his village. These people bought land there, but they still feel part of the clan.

Women from fgroups who were hostile because not selected as interviewers were from the villages of Nyatambe and Ogaka (and Luanda, though this was not sampled).

Landcruiser was 10 years old, Landrover 20.

In Luanda, 3 fathers offered goats to us to hire their sons and daughters.

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Soothsayers: M. has heard about them, but never seen one.

Checking the questionnaires, I find two cowives and husband.

e.g. #404 and #405 are cowives. Both name each other. Largely they agree: both say they speak every day, they are just friends, age mates, and go to different churches. Both, however, say that the other is better off. And they differ a bit on school: one claims a year of secondary, the other says she has only primary. On FP, they differ. #405 says that 404 approves of FP and uses the pill, and that the cowife told her to; but the other cowife says she doesn't use, but intends to. Advice to use exchanged. The husband, however, will be a problem: he wants as many children as god sends, doesn't intend to use FP, not talked with wife (both women agree on this)

Jan 10: Tuesday

I go with C. to meet the supervisors in their various spots. We go first to the very remote part, the other side of the valley, about a 20-minute drive (at about 5 km/hr). We pass a tiny "duka" sitting there all by itself, C. says sells matches, cigarettes. On the way we pick up two women hitch-hikers. They are going to a market, but they stop at the posho mill where they will convene with others and walk together. [maybe grinding grain by hand would be easier, but going to a *posho* mill is more convivial? Like the argument re the spread of telephones in rural US?]

C. and I chat. [ETHNOGRAPHY, QUALITATIVE METHODS] I say I think the interviewers often stray from the questionnaire. He says they must do it, that the respondents want to explain what they say, that they want to "explain things that to us are outside the questionnaire, but to them are not outside the questionnaire." And when C. has sat in on wealth flows questions, he says they want to explain everything, e.g. respondents say that "so and so didn't help his parents", etc.

C. says the little boys in Oyugis and LG are v. different. In Oyugis they would wait by the side of the road for the car to come, and then just as it approached, they would dash across, one by one. Here

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they wait by the side of the road for the vehicle, but when it comes they scatter in all different directions, "like they don't know what they are doing". When we start the vehicle after waiting at the posho mill (see below), some of the little boys (there are about 15 watching us), move backward a bit, like they are afraid.

First stop is way over on the other side of the valley, behind several hills, R.'s location. She and M. are there with some interviewers, taking shade under the roof of a posho mill, checking questionnaires, chatting, and waiting for two interviewers who have gone up the hill on callbacks. [GENDER] On the way back the Landcruiser is packed--about 8 interviewers plus M., R., C., me and the driver. J. said one respondent, when they got to the FP questions, threatened to spear them, but she cooled them down and they continued. The interviewers are in v. high spirits. A discussion of one household where the son had only gone to 2 years of primary, parents keeping him at home, mother ordering him around the kitchen 'as if he were a cowife". This leads to a discussion of poverty: B. says "nobody can accept poverty". Big discussion of whether men should help wives cook. Hyline takes a "liberal" feminist position, that "we are all the same so we should all be able to do everything"; J. is not so sure--she says "you mean a man would cook when his wife isn't even sick?" Hyline seems to be arguing quite spiritedly--they all are--and it's hard to imagine that she won't use family planning. I ask whether men do more work than women or vice versa, one man says the men do, but all the other say the women do--and Hyline says "and it's a shame, it's very unfair, we are all human beings. M. starts quoting from Genesis, re "women should eat the sweat from men's brow", or something, meaning that men should work harder, R. says. Conversation mostly in Luo, but I hear "equality", and "modern life", in English. This question re men cooking might be a good one to catch the really "modern" men and women.

By about 4 everyone back at the SDA camp to be paid, work is over except for 4 male interviewers that will do callbacks late at night, and a goat roast tomorrow to which we have invited them. Everyone in v. good mood: F. is looking forward to "lazing around" tomorrow, to a goat, a sheep, beer. E. and J. ask me about graduate school and university in the US, both want to go, can I help

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them. I explain about tests, money, etc, but say if they want a letter of recommendation I'll write it. neither, I think, is very promising material.

J. returns from Homa Bay with another Landrover, arranged for by C. who borrowed it (and, J.) from a friend in the ministry of Agriculture.

Pictures: around 15-17 is B.'s cousin, the school teacher. Around 18, 19, a v. big compound on the way to meet R. and M.. I ask C. if it's a typical compound, he says yes "but it doesn't have a fence", then notices that other compounds don't have fences either. Pictures 20-24 show the hill of R.'s area, which also includes the area behind the hill.

[METHODS] F. asks man of about 50 what natural family planning is. He says it's spacing of 2-3 years but without doing anything, and continuing to have sex. One of M. respondents had said he is not using FP, but interviewer didn't follow correct skips, so asked what method, and he said "traditional Luo"; he insisted, M. said, that this is not FP. I had said we could still code it as FP, since in our eyes it is--but now I think that the man was right, it should not be coded as FP. (It won't matter, since the program will skip: the man had said no, so the "traditional Luo" won't appear in the data).

Area mate: R. asked her interviewers. Some say it's the same as village mate, some say it's a larger area, some say it's smaller. Also depends on with whom you're talking and the context--e.g. if in Nairobi, might refer to anyone from Gwasssi as an area mate, but if talking here, would be more local.

I check almost the last of the questionnaires. Supervisors are much better. I did a whole stack of P.'s with only one mistake.

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There are not many, if any, mosquitoes here, but there are lots of bugs that bite. And I'm having skin problems--little rashes here, bites there, and what I think is sun poisoning on my hands (esp. the left one, which is exposed to the sun when I sit in the car).

Wednesday: today is Kenyan time, few people at breakfast. All they have is a few callbacks. Most of the interviewers have been dismissed, about 5 remain for cleaning up. Huge storm in the night/early morning: my roof is tin, and the noise tremendous. Lots of lightning as well. Yet at 6:30 a.m. ground is dry again.

We can use interviewer errors to check on them. For example, sometimes an interviewer determines that a person in the 2nd network is the same as one in the 1st, but continues with the questions. When I check these, the information is usually the same, although I did once find an error--a person shifted from being an age mate to much older. T. said this might be because the category age mate isn't very precise [T. went back to the interviewer, J., who said that this person, an aunt, was indeed in both networks].

F. and I go to return the generator, and on the way stop at the clinic of the Tonga Mission, and then the govt clinic (a sub-health center) in Magunga. The clinic at Tonga is the closest one to our site, and is 9 km; it's 5 more to Magunga, which is the closest clinic that has FP. The road is quite bad, however, so it takes about 25 minutes. The nurse at the Tonga clinic, Sister someone, is a nun. [RARIEW] I begin by asking her about rariw. Again, she is a bit startled, I think, to have rariw mentioned. She says "Ah, that one, that is a strange thing, we don't have that in the medical terms. " She goes on to describe it in the usual way (pain, blockage when giving birth), but stressing backache, and says it is PID. She then turns to a woman working in the garden--who is the FP educator--and asks her: this indicates, I think, that it is out of her competence as a trained nurse, that one asks someone who is of the people, not a specialists. She says rariw can't be felt, and that it occurs among both young and old. I ask her what they do for it, and she says antibiotics and

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painkiller, Panadol. I ask her about treatment by nyamrerwas, and she thinks they do, that "they only come here as a last resort". And she says few come here. She didn't learn about it in her training, but here. I then ask her about FP, saying that we were told it was available at the Tonga clinic, but that I was surprised. She says they only do rhythm, and the husband must come along for the teaching. She went on to say that sometimes the nurse in the Magunga clinic asked her to bring pills back from HB, but she's refused--she will bring medicines, but not FP.

When we return, we find lots of commotion. Two old men, *mzees*, who had watched the slaughter of our animals for the party tonight for the interviewers (and us) walked off with legs of lamb, head, other parts, with the agreement of H., who is the person in charge here. C. and S. were very upset, Harrison insisting it was a Luo tradition and, according to both C. and S., refusing to do anything about it. By the time they get organized to go and track down the mzees, they find the meat cooking.

This becomes quite an issue later on, as everybody learns about it, including the SDA pastor and the chief who come to our party. They all tell us that this is shameful but a small thing. Eventually one of the old men is dragged up here to apologize. His explanation is that he gave the land for the clinic, so the parts are his. Our Luos, however, think that *mzees* only have rights to certain parts of the meat in their own homes, not wherever. Harrison is very upset as it gets around and it is clear that we are very angry; he is quite concerned that we will tell A. F. I think he is a sleazy man, and should certainly not be entrusted with any money or authority.

Party is quite nice. Interviewers, us, and a few local dignitaries--Chief, a former chief, the SDA pastor, and the DO, who turns out to be a classmate at U. of Nairobi with P., T. and F.. He is quite young, and the supervisors remark at length that he already has two wives; P. says he had determined that he would have one for each promotion. Apparently he got his start on the career ladder from his girlfriend (now wife) whose father was very politically influential. He's not a fat tummy yet, but by his shape he shows potential. Notions of politeness a bit different from ours--the interviewers arrive, but the supervisors largely ignore them, and indeed, throughout the evening tend to sit together, dance together.

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[NETWORKS] T. says when newly married, women may not talk. F.: used to be thought bad luck to talk about children if don't have them. CO: can't tell m-in-laws about FP: even if say to a friend or someone else that it's spousal business what they do in the family, couldn't say this to the m-in-law. So Caldwell's transition hasn't occurred? (But he didn't discuss the issue of telling the mother in law, I think). [GENDER] Conversation turns to power in the household, all the men say how powerful women can be, men go and ask their advice before going to a meeting, roar like a lion outside the house but tremble like a mouse within it, etc etc. Even M.'s wife. an old fashioned argument in the US: the little woman who rules the hh. C. says the decision to get another wife, however, is the man's own. He doesn't think the objections of men to FP are sufficient to stop FP (although here he may have been agreeing with me)--except for fear of another wife. Some discussion follows of division of labor, especially cooking, which seems to be the most sensitive issue at this point of social change in Kenya. The men insist that women don't want them in the kitchen, that for a woman to come in the kitchen is a sign he doesn't respect the woman, that he might be, as C. says, checking up to see if she is eating in the kitchen before serving others [note the assumption of mistrust, that wife will "cheat".] If man is in kitchen, people will talk about him, say he has "no respect". C. talks about his brother in law, who does cook, and does wash his own shirts--although "at home" he does less of this. they may be right that women don't want them in the kitchen--it's the only place where she is dominant?

C. also says we have clearly disrupted the local economy. Our interviewers are paid every day, 250KS plus another 50KS for lunch (which F. insisted they bring--we did not do this in Oyugis, and the result was they sat there and watched us eat, so we share with them our (meager) packed lunch. In any case--as C. found out when he was at the shopping center at Lake Nyiera--what is happening is that the interviewers are buying things with the 200 KS notes, and there is no change anywhere, the shopkeepers are complaining.

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People here think FP is for stopping; our interviewers think it's for spacing.

January 12, Thursday

M485, F537: man appears early in a.m. with bible and panga, wanting his and his wife's questionnaire back. We try to find out what is wrong, "He is happy he is alive up to date, and he thanks God for that"; he thought that he was meant to die as a result of all these things (presumably our work--he is on the devil-worshipping side of the site). M. thinks maybe he thinks we will use the questionnaire in some sort of ceremony. R. met someone yesterday who said "we really are for development, so this thing about devil-worshipping must have started from the east", that people were saying there were these brown girls walking around with long fingernails and eating people." Later I find out that the man also wanted back the paper with his name on it (our supervisor's list), but F., who talked with him and at the time didn't know about the issue, said no.

Roads in Luwanda: rarely even see lorries. Max about 30 km /hour.

Sample size: I ask C., who checks his records.

Obisa: 18 villages, of which we have 12 in our sample. The largest on the mk listing had 60 compounds, the largest in our sample has 44 compounds:

Owich: 21 villages, of which we have 10 in our sample, 5 from the lake and 5 from the valley. 43% of the population on the MK listing live on the lake-side.

Kawadghone: 16 villages, 10 in sample.

Ugina: 5 villages, 5 in sample.

[RARIEW] We then go to Magunga, where I talk with the nurse in charge, D.O., a trained nurse a man of about 35. I ask him about rariw, he says it is puerperal sepsis, and is due to giving birth at home. He is quite definite about it, and doesn't show as much surprise as most do that I am asking about it. He says it only appears in pregnant women. They give penicillin and panadol. He says it's rare, that they see about 4 women a month with it (he sees everybody who comes to the clinic, he

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says). I ask him whether they go to a nyamrerwa first, and he says he doesn't know, but he thinks they get traditional treatment but "they try to hide that" [an interesting suggestion that the women see a conflict between traditional and western medicine, and probably that they think that the clinic will not be very sympathetic to using traditional medicines. I asked him whether he learned about it in his training, and he said yes, in his midwifery training at Kisumu, that they talked often about it. I think that they taught him about puerperal sepsis, and he has attached the term rariw to that. For FP methods, they give injections (2 kinds), pills, and condoms; no coil or TL. For TL they advise going to HB. He said most women prefer injectables; about 20 women a month come for FP (he checked his records).

There are not many people on the road to Tonga: in 5 km we saw only 1 boy walking (and gave him a ride, and 1 man on a bicycle. Later we saw a woman carrying her baby; we picked them up on the way back--she lives in Lak Nyiera, near us, and the baby had had diarrhea. She took the baby to the Tonga clinic on Monday, they give her pills, 2 kinds, and told her to come back Wednesday. The baby was 9 months, but looked unhealthy: very skinny legs. F. asks her about rariw, and she giggles, looking amused and embarrassed.

There's a telephone at Sori that sometimes works and sometimes doesn't, but not in Magunga; there's a post office in both Sori and Magunga.

C. said chief's map for Owich was 60 %correct; he drove around and checked the boundaries. And the errors the chief made were rather small, and due to chief not fully understanding (nor could he) why we needed it.

[GENDER] F. said that the main problem with women's groups is corruption. In Kisumu when women's groups first started there were four he knew about, and they were doing v. well; then the

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men got involved, and they stole the money. One of these women's groups started a matatu service between Kisumu and Nairobi; when the men took over it quickly collapsed. F. said the women felt they couldn't do it by themselves and asked the men to get involved, but when I said maybe the men saw it was making money and wanted some of it, he said that might be true. [F. would be likely to think that women couldn't do things by themselves].

[WORK] J.O.: One of the Owich interviewers, the one who made up data for a third person in one of his networks, and then explained it by saying that the respondent added a third and he got confused. He said men wake at dawn so can go plow, and then slashing at the shamba. Finish around 9-10. Then take ugi, which they've carried with them. Then slash shamba some more. Then they graze the bulls used for plowing. They finish around 2. Then take the bulls to the lake to drink. Then leave them around home, go home for lunch around 4 or 5. Then they attend to their family. "They ask what the woman is planning to cook for tonight". Then they ask small children to start collecting the cattle, goats, sheep. Then some take tobacco, and they smoke it at home. A young man might come and smoke it with him. He says he's describing old men because young men are in town looking for employment. November? Go to market, lake, "to walk, to keep them busy, they can't stay at home". They do that all day, and then they have small parties in the evening. These parties are for men and for unmarried ladies. The wives stay in the house, "they don't go for parties."

Women, in November: they get up, go to the lake to buy fish to take for sale. They come back around 6 or 7. His mother does this, takes them to the Kibuya market; he gave her 500KS to promote her business. He finished school in 1984, Form 4. Then his mother, after selling, will buy stuff and come home and cook dinner. Eat, go to bed. Collects firewood on Sunday, church on Saturday. he thinks SDA doesn't oppose FP, or support it either. Don't oppose it, "not like these Catholic people."

One supervisor, R. I think, said one of her respondents told an interviewer that "if it wasn't you, the son of so and so, we would demand 50 bob for the interview." We paid the practice respondents

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during training, since we brought them up to the school for two hours or more. But they have told others, so others have wanted to be paid.

[NETWORKS] T.: she had village of GodKwach: it's all by itself, not neighboring anybody. Houses not clustered, Lots of zero networks. T. said the people there suspicious. So zero networks either could be because of the layout of the place, that social interaction less than elsewhere, or because people more suspicious.

We listen to country music nonstop. I finally put a ban on Dolly Parton in my hearing: don't have anything against Dolly, but it's the tape they played on the trip from the Island to Kisumu this summer, so much that I got sick of it.

no mobile cinema in Owich.

Owich photos:

Schoolteacher, picture with his wives and children, no. 32 and thereabouts: Mr. B.

The trip to Homa Bay was largely uneventful. We had three vehicles: S. drove the MOH Landrover because its gears are shot, with F., S.A. and a sheep (given to P. by the D.O., a university mate of hers). It stopped three times, but they pushed or otherwise started it. I followed in the Landcruiser, and the Ministry of Agriculture Landrover with C. took a different route, going via Mbita to make arrangements for the boat to Ugina.

Homa Bay looks very dinky when one has come from Nairobi, but coming from Gwasssi it looks like a city--bustling, activity, shops (even though there are still animals in the street).

Homa Bay Tourist Hotel: S. says this place has deteriorated since the period he was here (he left in

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1985, and was referring to places like this, including the Fairview, which he had been in before). He says Kenya in general has deteriorated, and remarked especially on the roads, which he thinks have deteriorated by 500%: when he was here, the roads were good and well maintained. There do seem to be some people staying here. A woman from the Embassy (identified by her vehicle) stays overnight, there are two Swedish? Women and one French? One. But business is clearly slow: the manager was delighted to get our deposit for staying here.

Some fussing among the women about sharing rooms—R. refuses. But then she apologizes, and agrees to share with T. She likes T., but she also likes a room of her own.

Questionnaires: do we have enough?

Whites: we have 460 whites, 295 pink & yellow together. This means we've used 1200-460 whites, or 740 whites, and we've used 900 pink and yellow together.

In terms of use, we would calculate 500 whites for the next two cites, plus questionnaires for interviewer training, about 520 whites. So that means 520 whites, which is still less than we've used. For women's, that means 520 pink and yellow.

Allow 60 extra for men, that means 600 white questionnaires, we have 460, so we need 140 more white questionnaires; allow 60 extra for women, we have 295, need 600, that means we need 305 more questionnaires for women.

If we consider we need the same number for the next two sites as we've used for the past two sites, we need 740 males, minus the 460 we have, or 200 more male questionnaires; we need 900 female questionnaires, minus the 300 we have, or 600 female questionnaires.

If we need 600 whites and 600 pink/yellow, that means $600-460=140$ more male questionnaires, and $600-295$, or 300 more female questionnaires.

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Dinner at the Hippo Buck. As usual, it takes a long time--and after everyone is served they tell me they don't have my curry, they served it to someone else. After dinner, D. calls, and then N. D. generally murmurs about our problems. He tells C. we can't afford to keep both vehicles. N. calls to say she isn't coming but S. is, and to object to the generator. She thinks we can do without, I argue that we can't--if we are not there supervising the data entry it won't get done well, which is what happened with the translation of the questionnaires.

Friday: largely lazing around. At breakfast we talk about further arrangements, since C. is leaving for Kisumu and Nairobi for the GRE's. Both F. and S. concerned about being left with only one vehicle. We can't afford to keep both drivers in the HB hotel: C. talks to them, they would rather go to a cheaper hotel and continue to work for us. We are discussing keeping the M. of Agriculture car and turning back the Landrover: we'd have to put in KS6000, and we'd have it until we go to the island (and to take us to the island). C. makes arrangements to get dinner here at a discount, so we don't have to go out to the Hippo Buck. R. arrives with the Oyugis questionnaires from Nairobi. We discuss S. A. D. thinks she should spend February re-entering the Oyugis questionnaire: I think that is likely to make her sullen and she will do a bad job.

Overall: Owich and Obisa are very different. Obisa is much more active--more people walking around the roads, fewer people (I think) are home when we come. In contrast, in Owich, more people are at home--as P. says, "sitting around chatting with their wives" (there's more polygamy in Owich than Obisa). There's less contact with the outside world, in the sense of phone/post office/newspapers (I didn't see any at all in Owich), and in traffic on the roads, either vehicular or foot. The dispensary is within easy walking distance in Obisa, but a 9 km walk from Lwanda Gwasssi to the mission dispensary at Tonga, and a further 3-4 km to the sub-health center at Magunga (which has family planning).

I think the quality of the data will be better in Owich than Obisa, but there will be less of it (i.e.

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fewer and smaller networks). In Obisa we did not check questionnaires carefully. We checked for missing data, but not for consistency in the answers: I started doing this in Owich, and it was clear that it improved the data quality, as when I discovered an inconsistency the supervisor checked with the interviewer, and sometimes either the supervisor or the interviewer returned to the respondent to fill it in. On the other hand, although we met suspicious people in both places, this was clearly greater in Owich than in Obisa. Sometimes our interviewers were chased away--e.g. told to "shake the dust from your feet", which is a serious threat in Luo. Or an old woman would shout that we should go away. I think Owich is a more suspicious place than Obisa anyway--during our qualitative interviews, we heard more about people "cheating" each other than we did in other places. In addition, in both places, but I think more in Owich, respondents think that we may be trying to force their women to take FP pills. Given the apparently great resistance of the men to FP in Owich, this would matter more there. And then there is the issue of devil-worshipping. We didn't hear about this in Obisa, but heard a fair amount about it in Owich.

Friday: Day off. The morning is a bit of a flurry. C. intends to leave at 9, finally gets off at 11. I intend to call on Dr. O., but J. doesn't get back with the car. He had gone to take his boss from the Ministry of Agriculture back. The boss had come to talk to us about keeping the green landrover that they lent us in the final days of Owich. The arrangement is that we will put about 6000KS into it, mostly to fix something in the steering gear, and we will get it for the next 10 days, they'll take us to Mbita and pick us up. C. tells me to get it in writing. J. says a lot of them discussed it, they've agreed, but it isn't in writing. So I go with J., first to the clinic, where we find that O. has indeed left, and then to the Ministry of Agriculture. On the way J. spots O., so we greet each other and arrange to meet when he returns from Nairobi, where he is going to seek funds to deal with an outbreak of dysentery. (This seems to frequently happen: meetings aren't kept, but somehow one finds the person).

Now that we have a phone, lots of phone calls. N. and D. last night, trying to persuade us that it was 1) impossible and 2) unnecessary to get a generator. And D. again today, several times for different

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things, but always returning to the issue of the generator. Both he and N. appear to have in mind an industrial strength generator that is v. expensive and v. heavy F. from Kisumu, first countermanning decision to fix the green landrover, then reminding me to remind Ruth to xerox the aptitude tests, then saying that the Landcruiser had broken down (failure of electrical system). Then M.K., saying that S. had gotten the generator!

Saturday: January 14

1st day of interviewer training in Kawadghone. Surprisingly, breakfast is ready at 6:30, and most of the supervisors straggle in time to eat something before we leave at 7. Just before reaching the chief's camp, we meet a bunch of funeral mourners, and we hear them later when the cortege (which, from a distance, looks like 3 matatus) arrives. Lots of ululating. Later the chief says another chief died recently; I ask T. what from, she says AIDS. I ask how she knows, she says the chief said "after a long illness". To the chief and others, she says that "He was a Casanova, and what's more he was handsome: they better look out, AIDS will be spreading". There ensues a discussion about widow inheritance. P., particularly vociferous, says it's o.k. for her husband to have a mistress, but not to inherit a wife.

When we arrive at the chief's camp, there are a few young male interviewers there, plus one woman wandering around. Ruth asks her if she's here for the exam, she says no. Later turns out that she was, except that the chief had told people that we wanted both fourth form graduates and "mamas", she was in the latter group, and didn't pass the exam. There are only about 30 to take the test, again about 2-3 males, but we manage to get 9 women and 13 men. This time we give the test, are generous about passing score, give short interviews done by two teams of supervisors, and they even have them read a bit of Luo. I help with logistics, but they make all the selection decisions. One man is crippled, walks sort of around a pole, but they take him since he did v. well, and the experience with the cripple in Owich was ok (he had a hard time keeping up the pace, but did as many interviews as others). Judging by the few interviews I heard, many of the interviewers are again working somewhere else, happen to be home for vacation. P. asked these secondary school graduates what they had been doing since graduation; One, M., is typical: he had been in Kissi

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"looking for a small job for survival".

INT-SELECTION: meanwhile, we see F. with the chief and a tight group of miji-kumi's. Turns out again they are complaining about some being selected as interviewers who are not from the area-- indeed, 3 they don't recognize at all (I think by "not from the area" they are including sons and daughters of villagers who live/work elsewhere). F. says one of the m-k's points out that the chief had told them to tell the men and women in their areas, but these men and women told their friends; that appears to mollify them, even though there are certainly one or two that don't look v. happy. The m-ks are a shabby bunch: certainly their position does not bring them wealth translated into clothing.

S. does frequencies to check male interviewers/female respondents and vice versa. Because we were short of female interviewers in Owich, we had men interviewing women, and sometimes vice versa if it turned out to be handy. Dependent variable is proportion having 0 networks. This is about 13.6% overall (not quite all the data are entered).

Frequencies: 224 male respond, Owich: 30 0 networks for males, or 13.4% of male networks have 0 network partners. This means that about the same proportion of female networks have 0 network partners.

Male respondents: For wealth flows, Females did 45 of the interviews, or 25%, and males did 76.5%. Female interviewers produced 27.6% of the zero interviews, so only slightly more than their share of the zero networks among male respondents. When the respondents are females, female interviewers get about their share of 0 nets.

FP: Women did 45, or 22% of the interviews, and they got 25% of the zero networks.

Female respondents:

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Health: female interviewers are 56.9% of the total results for health networks, and 72% of the 0 networks. So female interviewers had disproportionately high share of 0 networks for the health question.

Wealth:

FP: On the yellow (health) questionnaires, 57% of the interviewers were done by women, and 73% of the women who interviewed women got zero nets. (i.e. of the women who had 0 nets, 73% were interviewed by female interviewers).

FP on the pink questionnaire: 58.4% of the interviews done by women, and 54.8% of the zeros were female interviewers.

Conclusion is not problematic to have men interviewing women. When women interview men, they get just about exactly their proportion of 0 nets, both for wealth and family planning. When men interview women on rariw, they get fewer zero nets proportionately; when men interview women on FP, it depends on the color of the questionnaire--the men do better if the FP question is on the health questionnaire, and they also do better on rariw. Thus, men do a bit better (i.e. have disproportionately fewer 0 nets, on both networks on the health questionnaire). On the health questionnaire, women about 75% of zero netw both for the rariw nets and the FP nets. One would think that women talking to women about rariw would get more responsive respondents, but that doesn't seem to be the case--is it because the interviewers are strange, i.e. not their confidantes?

Rariw, yellow questionnaire (done by J.): 69% have it, no "uncertain". This is v. close to the Oyugis no. 68.% % have heard of women who have it. Once you talk to someone about rariw you have it? Rariw by age: 60% of respondents under 30. Of the under 30s, 62.2% have it; of the over 30s, 83% have it. Rariw by parity: 4 or fewer vs 5 or more. 51% have 4 or fewer children. Low parity, 59% had rariw; high parity, 81% had rariw. When we look at frequencies (not grouped by

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parity), seems to start with the second kid. Still, nearly half (4/10) zero parity women have rariw, and after that the majority have it. Recoding parity, low parity=0 and 1, high parity equal more. 47% of low parity have rariw, 75% of high parity. With 7+ children, nearly 100% have it, although about evenly mixed for the 11 and 12 parity.

Rariw, pink questionnaire (done by S.):

FP users, yellow questionnaire: 7.8% have used. On pink questionnaire, 15.1% have ever used, and 71% of the 14 ever users are currently using.

Secret use, pink questionnaire: 36% know a secret user.

Pink questionnaire:

Looks like we have complete interviews for slightly under 200 women in LG, so our yield is only about 4/5.

We are always short of money, and there's a sort of stinginess, a guardedness, about it, all the way down the chain. Futures is slow sending the money to D.; D. doles it out to C. sparingly, C. doesn't leave enough behind, F. doesn't leave enough behind.

Today I finally fire S. A. Yesterday we had her and Mrs. O.'s daughter, C., both enter the same questionnaires. S. made lots of mistakes, and serious ones--e.g. leaving off network partners, labeling a network partner 5 when it should be 6, etc. We reach this decision rather late, when everyone has gone to bed, and I don't want to tell everyone so early in the morning as we are going off for interviewer selection and training. So S. tells S., and gives her the money to get to Nairobi on a matatu. When I return I reiterate, she wants to wait for F., but I tell her this is my decision. She also wants another job, e.g. helping F. in the field, but I say we don't have such a job. She wants to go to one of her uncles but needs 3000KS to buy things. I say I don't have it, and F. doesn't, she has

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to get it from C. in Nairobi.

We also check the questionnaires that both C. O. and J. have entered. C. is v. good; J., who thinks he has malaria, made a few mistakes. We will have to have everything entered twice. C. and J. will start on Oyugis, which they can work on tomorrow and the next day. But some will need to be done in Nairobi, perhaps with C. to run the Verify program and F. to reconcile discrepancies with the questionnaires.

Supervisors return, in good but not particularly spirits. Training, they say, went well, although R. said they are not understanding some things but not saying that they don't understand. Before they even have time to go to their rooms and shower, I explain to them why S. isn't there, emphasizing the length of the warning period and how their work is nullified if the data entry person makes mistakes.

They are shocked, but they seem to understand. R. came by my table later and said that they did--that they are sad, which is normal because she is a friend, but that they understand. At dinner, we talk more about the training. I say I think it helps the interviewers if they understand what the research is about, and P. said yes, they said several times it was about getting good information. I think R. fully understands the issue of informal conversational networks, am not sure P. does--or maybe she just didn't think of it then.

At dinner we chat. F. said the chief asked how much he would be paid. F. says he'd have to talk to C.. F. doesn't want to tell him we won't pay him until it's all over; I suppose that is sensible, but it may give us problems if we want to re-interview here later. F. also says we will have to use miji-kumis as guides. The population here is v. dispersed, and F. is concerned about covering it all in time.

Sunday: I don't go today, as my hands got worse again from the sun yesterday. Spend the day trying

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to sort out the Oyugis questionnaires. We sort them from 001 to the highest number, and I'm going through the OYSAMPLE.lst trying to make sure that we have everybody interviewed. It's quite a problem, since in the early days of Oyugis the supervisors didn't fill in cover sheets for missing people. And in the flurry of the last days, I think new numbers were sometimes assigned to people who had them and either had or had not been interviewed. I find several duplicates, i.e. people who were interviewed twice. When the supervisors return I ask them. P., characteristically, says "Oh, those people, they think there might be something to be gained from the interview, so they want more"; F., however, thinks they are people for whom they couldn't find the questionnaire so they went out and did the questionnaire again. Comparing the questionnaires, they are close, but not perfect--e.g. one woman said on one she had 10 children, 2 died, and on the other that she had 8, 2 died; on one she said no to "intend to use", on the other (and later) one she said "uncertain". And her age differed by 2 years. And in one network she had two people, the later interview one (or vice versa), although that one was the same, D., and all the info was the same except the "attend same church" question. The errors are instructive. The moral is to be careful about reifying certain numbers. P. then recalled that one wife in Owich said they had 10 children, and she looked it; the husband said they had 5 [was this a case of trying to please us by having a "small" family?]

I also start checking the Oyugis questionnaires as I did for Owich, but basically give up. There are very few errors that can be fixed now--missing data must remain missing, an inconsistency between age and marriage date must remain. The Oyugis data will have problems, esp. in the "professional" category, the cowives vs. sister-in-law (I saw several cowives in monogamous households), and some missing data. I tried asking the supervisors this evening; they remember a few people, but by no means everything. A mason is a laborer.

At meeting, F. talks about logistics. R. reminds people to correct the questionnaires for the first day.

I offer to go to the field and help go over questionnaires, but they don't think it's necessary. F. is still concerned about getting everywhere--the population is quite scattered, and there will be lots of walking. T. and others talk about one interviewer who has several very long nails, which they don't

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like, and T. notes that long nails are associated with devil-worshipping.

Monday, Dec. 16th:

I continue to work on the Oyugis data, checking out duplicates, etc. There is no question but that doing that makes me excruciatingly aware of the amount of movement in this community. Since the listing in November, people have died, widows have remarried, men have either taken an extra wife or the miji-kumi didn't know about the wife. People who were supposed to be in Mombasa working had come home, people who were supposed to be home had gone off looking for work. Others had gone visiting, or to funerals. And some of the busiest were hard to reach--a dealer in second hand clothes we never did find, though we found the matatu driver. It is this category that is most problematic, since these people who are going hither and yon are likely to have the widest and most diverse networks. We visited at least 3 times on different days in Oyugis, and often went back more--for example, if someone in the household said the person would be back in the evening, we went back then. We sent interviewers at 6 a.m., or late in the evening. Still, we probably do miss the busiest people from our sample, so that we probably under-represent the largest, most heterogeneous networks.

Quite a few Oyugis men have picked up a wife on the questionnaire who was given an F999 number, but I think not interviewed. I am assuming that these are wives in some other location, so they are not eligible--but it's possible that they were missed, both by the m-k's and by the supervisors.

Supervisors return. R: quite a number not found, but they did 20. Would be impossible without the miji kumi's because one village protrudes into the other. M-k told T. that his father and stepfather moved from their original home because had so many cows, but the m-k still takes care of them. Talk about devil-worship here too: R. noted on one questionnaire that the mother-in-law was saying that this research concerned devil-worshipping. P.'s people knew we were coming, the chief told

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them. One respondent was problematic, m-k thinks he was a robber and that we were the authorities who had come after him at long last, but m-k explained we are on other projects. T. had a woman who was a mental case: she was sleeping when they arrived, and when she awoke she wouldn't speak, couldn't utter a word. T. said one of the respondents was "drunk to the top", they didn't even try, he was T.'s classmate. This place is hotter than Gwasssi. R. says interviewers L. and B. seem excited about it. One of her interviewers comes from right around there, R. thinks it helps to the friendliness of resp's, they know he's someone's son, he chats around. R. says the names are very messed up: one man given a wife but he's not even married; somebody from a different compound made a son of someone else. So many names were just wrong names. F.: seems discouraged, "it's tough" He only did 16, no one was home. Some are at work, at the quarries, but he doesn't know which one. Subchief has been a big help and he paid him 300KS. One of the supervisors said a man who was interviewed told a story about a woman who was using pills secretly. Her husband accused her and said she had to go with him to the hospital so they could prove it. She put her hands on her hips and said all right let's go, and he figured that if she took that position she wasn't using! R. told it with great glee. P. says the homes are better furnished and the people have a "better attitude", they are not hostile, they "have an idea of a better standard of living"; their attitude is more welcoming-- "How are you, come in". F. agrees.

F. reminds us that in Oyugis S.O. in our qualitative interviews, the man w/the big radio and two big speakers hooked to a car battery. He has so much that he's not interested in his children's support: when asked, he pointed to his stuff and said what can they do for me.

Checking the Kawadhgone questionnaires today, I think that the interviewers are doing a good job on everything except the networks. The proportion of 0-networks seems to me to be quite large--and there's really no point in getting the other information if they are not getting networks. The occupational distributions look different--more laborers (this, I think, was a rare category in Gwasssi), but here they scoop sand from the lake, stone, other things. More of them talk to people who live in Nairobi. Some people say they have not been to Homa Bay--perhaps this is an indication of stubbornness, like not going to Magunga was in Gwasssi? That what they mean is they don't want to talk with us?

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Hotel is bustling. Several party of foreigners. I was concerned that the hotel couldn't manage more than us, but they did. Dinner was on time, and good.

FIELDWORK/QUALITY/GUIDES: They return, tired as usual. They are returning a bit earlier here, 6:30 ish, which is a good thing--it gives them time to log their new questionnaires with S. check over them, then I can check over them before bedtime and they have the ones with queries to take back to the field the next day. F. still is having trouble finding men. And T. said hard to find people: she would go to the home, be told the person was in the market, go to the market and be told the person had left, dash back to the home and not find the person there. Finally she just planted herself there, waiting. F. said one man knew so much about vasectomy he suspected the interviewer was making it up, and sent P. to talk to the respondent: P. found out it was true, he knew a lot and wanted to talk about it [a nice e.g. of the supervisors' concern for the quality of the data]. R. thinks marriage is younger in Kawadghone; P. talks about a respondent who was 16 with 2 children, looked younger, "wearing a school uniform as a house dress".

Reviewing questionnaires, I notice that some interviewers are keeping in network partners who died, and noting that "frequency of conversation" refers to conversations in the past.

Meeting: F. began with logistics. Tomorrow they will start the new villages. I emphasize that the network partners can disapprove of FP. GUIDES: I raise the question of those who report they have "never" been to Homa Bay--they think it unlikely, but aren't impressed by my suggestion that these are the people who want to get rid of us. They also thought it was unlikely that a 22 year old man wouldn't know when he was married; they asked what schooling he had (I suppose thinking it might be possible if he was uneducated--an example of the spread of differences that they think education makes). I was concerned that the interviewers were probing in Q21A, ideal number of children, because we were getting more "all the eggs in my body", but the supervisors said they weren't. They also thought that the interviewers understood Q16 (living in other places, for 6 months or more) I raised my concern about the many 0 networks of the previous day's work, but they said the

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interviewers were really trying. One interviewer, E., seems to have an unusually large number these, but R. says he is one of her best interviewers--she had described him the first day as having a wonderful rapport). I also reminded them that if there were inconsistencies, e.g. a male mother-in-law, it could be either that the sex was recorded incorrectly or that it wasn't a mother-in law. I also use the e.g. of cowives who talk infrequently, and R. says, "It's not a must to talk to a cowife every day", and they go on to give personal examples from their families. They assured me that "professional" was being correctly done, that there were lots of secondary and primary school teachers. We talked a bit about the difference between having and not having a regular salary: they all thought it was very important, and something people referred to a lot.

Wednesday, January 18:

BMETHODS/PAPERFLOW: Data entry in the field: If all the questionnaires were in perfect order--checked, no inconsistencies due to interviewer error, the names of the respondent, the head of compound, the spouse(s) done perfectly--data entry would not need to be done in the field. In our experience, however, this was not the case at the time of data entry, and we find it hard to imagine that errors aren't discovered when the data are actually entered and preliminary tabulations made. Some of these errors can be rectified if field work is still going on; others cannot, but the researcher can gain a better understanding of what the errors are.

In our case, we did not intend to enter the data twice and verify it; indeed, we had sent the questionnaires from our first site, Obisa, back to Nairobi. It was only at the beginning of the second site, when we began to evaluate the completeness of enumeration in Obisa, that we discovered errors. One of our first checks was to look for duplicates (two respondents with the same number) and we found them. We tried to reconcile them on the basis of the data alone, and in doing so found that one of our data entry people had made a lot of mistakes. We then sent for the questionnaires, and began a thorough checking, which led us to re-enter all of the Obisa data. With the questionnaires in hand, we found that some of the duplicates were due to typographical errors, some were due to mistakenly giving two respondents the same numbers, and some turned out to be due to having interviewed the same respondent twice (in one case, a respondent was interviewed three

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times). We found a few women linked to the wrong husband (and vice versa). We found more wives listed as spouses on the husband's questionnaire than we had on our listing (or than we had interviewed). We also found we had lost a few questionnaires: the log showed that the interview had been done and checked, but there was no indication that the data had been entered, and the questionnaire no longer existed. In a few of these cases, the log showed that the data had been entered, so although we had lost the questionnaire, we still had the data on file (although we no longer had the ability to check for typographical errors). Because the interviews in Obisa were still fairly fresh in the memory of the supervisors, we were able to determine which of the missing data was due to questionnaire loss (presumably random with respect to the social interaction of our respondents) and which due to failure to interview the person (presumably not random with respect to social interaction, since the busiest people were the hardest to find). We went over all the missing people with the supervisor responsible for that village. In some cases they didn't remember the person; in other cases, they remembered quite well either that they had interviewed the individual, or they had not: for example, one supervisor recalled that a woman was a second-hand clothes dealer who traveled around buying the clothes and then brought them to her co-wives in the village to sell. We had interviewed (and still had the questionnaires for) the two co-wives, but had not interviewed the dealer.

Fortunately, we had revised our system for keeping track of the data at the beginning of our second site, and once these data were entered (by the beginning of the third site) we found that we had done very well at keeping track of who was interviewed and of the questionnaires. Under this system, each evening when the supervisors returned from the field the work of the day was logged; by the time they went to bed, they each had a list of all the people in the area for which each was responsible, with an indication of whether the person had been visited, how often, and whether the interview had been completed. This then served as a guide for the next day. SAMPLE: For Owich, we had data entered for all the women on the miji-kumi's list plus some who were not on the list but who were found; for men, we failed to interview four whom we should have interviewed, and had lost one questionnaire (plus another that was retrieved early one morning by a man who came to our compound with a club, a panga and a Bible, demanding his questionnaire back: he feared that our

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work was part of a Satanic cult, and that because we had information about him he would die. He had spent a sleepless night, and when he came for his questionnaire he said that he had survived these many years and wanted to survive more. The data on his questionnaire had already been entered, so it was painless to give it back to him.

Completeness of Enumeration:

Whether or not coverage of respondents who are meant to be covered is achieved is fairly important in any survey, but seems particularly important in our attempt to study social interaction. It is likely that those not covered are different from those who are; in our case, those not covered are likely to be different in ways that are directly relevant to the topic of our study. We expected to be able to find more easily those people whose activities, and presumably their social networks, were rather limited, whereas those whose activities took them hither and yon, and whose social networks would presumably be larger and/or more diverse, could be expected to be more difficult to find.

For this reason, we were particularly energetic with call-backs. We made a first visit and at least two call-backs; in the first two sites, Obisa and Owich, the call backs had to be on different days, but in the second two this was modified--if the person was visited in the morning and we were told that he or she would be back in the evening, we returned then and counted it as a separate visit. Relatives and neighbors were often fairly knowledgeable about where the person was--"at the market", "at a funeral", but also often did not have a good sense of just when the person would return--in part because there does not seem to be a very precise schedule to daily life in these areas (e.g. walking to the market may take longer than one estimates, and in any case few people have watches). At all sites we know from comments at the end of the day that interviewers often made more than three visits to find the person, some of which involved a lot of going back and forth, or a lot of waiting around. Some of these efforts were rather heroic. In one case, an interviewer happened to see a matatu going by, driven by one of the respondents he was searching for: he commandeered our vehicle, and followed him to the town of Oyugis, where he was interviewed successfully (this

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anecdote also illustrates the value of local interviewers). Although our completion rate was high, we did miss some. Some of the most active people (e.g. going back and forth from Nairobi) happened to be home when we visited, but others--a hawker of second-hand clothes, a traveling businessman--we never did reach.

Evaluation of the completeness of enumeration also depends on the quality of the lists with which we started. As noted earlier, these lists were developed by clan elders, usually two or three working together to make a list of households in their village and of the eligible people in them. We did not expect these lists to be completely accurate. Although some of the miji-kumi's were middle-aged and literate, others were quite elderly, infirm, and illiterate. Simply looking at the original lists suggested ways in which they might be inaccurate. Most importantly--since the basis for our sample was women of child-bearing age who were residents of the village (and then their spouse)--the miji-kumi's lists showed a bias towards males. This is not surprising. The miji-kumi is a clan elder, and it is males who are important in the lineages that they represent, and in the formation of new households (and, eventually, new lineages: see Ocholla-Ayayo, 19xx; Blount; Cohen and A.; Parkin). In addition, social life in our areas was largely gender-specific: our survey showed that the network partners of women were overwhelmingly other women, and the network partners of men were overwhelmingly other men. Thus, the clan elders almost certainly knew less about the comings and goings of women than of men. On the lists women, and especially younger wives, were sometimes only noted as "wife 1" or "wife 2", or referred to by a nickname that represented her place of birth (e.g. Nyarkano, "daughter of Kano"). In addition, we thought it unlikely that the miji-kumi would accurately know whether a woman was of child-bearing age.

A second, and important, source of error was the dynamism of life in our areas. Although our listing was done only a month or two before our survey, time had passed, and people's lives had changed. The sites in which we worked were out of the mainstream, but there were still a lot of entries into and exits from our populations. Some of the people on the miji-kumi's list had subsequently died, and some of the relicts had remarried; some people had moved away and others who were working

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elsewhere had returned; some marriages had fallen apart and the women had left, other men had taken additional wives--which in some cases made men who had been ineligible for inclusion in our survey eligible (e.g. a man with elderly wives who added a wife of child-bearing age).

In addition to covering the people on the miji-kumi's list, then, we also had to be concerned that we found individuals whom the miji-kumi had overlooked or whom he had mistakenly categorized as ineligible. The former category might be less socially active than those that were remembered--they might be those (probably men) who either were away a lot, or who perhaps were unsociable. In addition, several of the "found" households were just the sort that miji-kumi's would be likely to omit--households headed by an elderly widow, with a son who worked elsewhere. The patterns of geographical settlement and the patterns of social interaction helped us locate these people, as did the use of local interviewers. We believe we were fairly successful; since, however, the true listing of households is unknown, we cannot be certain. When the supervisors or interviewers first made contact with a compound, they asked who was staying there: in this way, we sometimes added extra people (usually additional wives or people who had returned from working elsewhere). We also found out that some women were too old to be eligible for the survey, or that women whom the miji-kumi had categorized as beyond childbearing age were in fact still giving birth. The compounds are small, with the huts of closely related people (the household head and his wife/wives, his adult sons, and their wives and children) typically arranged in a circle on a plot of land no bigger than a substantial lot in a middle-class suburb in Philadelphia. People within a compound live within eyeshot and earshot of each other: although they may not speak frequently, as our survey showed, it is highly unlikely that they do not know who is living in the compound.

More problematic was the possibility that compounds which had been entirely omitted. We found few of these, although there may have been more that we simply never found. Again, however, the geographical and social patterns helped us, as did the use of local interviewers. With the exception of Owich, paths criss-crossed the area, and supervisors would enter any compound they saw that appeared to be in the village and ask who lived there. On the hill side of Owich (as compared to the

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lake side), where paths usually linked a compound to a road (a dirt track, to be more precise) rather than to other compounds, settlement was sufficiently sparse that we were able to see the compounds scattered over the hill, and pick up extra compounds that way. In each location, we discovered between 5 and 10 compounds this way (out of a total of about 100 compounds in each location).¹ Usually these were small compounds that were headed by an elderly widow; in one case, the head of a "discovered" compound thought it had been omitted by the miji-kumi because the m-k didn't want the compound to get any of the benefits that our work might bring. In addition, we think that some of the compounds we discovered were in fact ineligible: thus, interviews were done in several homesteads where we think that the respondent lied about being in a particular village--again, our supervisors speculated that these respondents wanted to be interviewed because they thought it would bring them benefits. Some support for this view comes from the fact that we found 13 duplicate interviews in Obisa--people who sat through the interview again without telling the interviewer that they had already been through it (in only one case do we have a note from an interviewer that a woman refused to be interviewed because she had already been interviewed). We found some men who claimed to live in a village, although they were not on the miji-kumi's list, and whose wives we did not interview: since we did not know that the wives were eligible, we did not consider the men to be eligible either.² There is the possibility, however, that we simply missed these wives. We also found several women in each site who were interviewed but who gave the

¹ In Obisa, we found 3 new households (i.e. couples). In Owich, we found 8 new households (one with three wives, one with two).

² In Obisa, 4 new men (including one in a village in which we only interviewed men, so the wife was irrelevant); in Owich, 3 new men.

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names of compound heads and spouses who were not on the miji-kumi's list.³ Although they may be additional wives to men we had interviewed, it is also possible that we should have interviewed their husbands but didn't. Since we know they are eligible (living in the village and of child-bearing age), we have included them in the data set.

For all four sites, but less so for the first, Obisa, we came very close to covering everyone of the miji-kumi's list: we either had completed interviews for them, or had information that explained why not, provided by relatives in the compound or, in the case of compounds that consisted of a single couple or where everyone was out, by neighbors. In Obisa, we apparently failed to contact 5 people who were on our list. Two of these are miji-kumi's who appear on our lists as having elderly wives, but for whom we had women's questionnaires listing them as spouse. It seems unlikely that the miji-kumi who made the list would have forgotten a wife, even a very young one, so we think there is a possibility that the women's questionnaires are wrong, and these two miji-kumi's may not have been eligible. The other three appear to have been genuinely overlooked: there is no indication that they work elsewhere, or any other reason for not being available for an interview. Of these, one was--according to a supervisor, whom we queried when we found the interview was missing--was a person likely to have particularly active networks: the dealer who traveled buying second-hand clothes. In addition, we failed to contact 5 women who were not on the miji-kumi's list but who appeared as extra spouses on male questionnaires. We think there is some likelihood that these are former wives, and were not living in the village at the time: in one case (with two unlisted wives), the supervisor recalled that the respondent in fact said they were former wives. And we lost three questionnaires for which we have a record that the visits were made but data were either not entered

³ In Obisa, we interviewed four wives who could not be attached to a man in the village, in Owich one.

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or lost: one of these was definitely interviewed (the supervisor recalled it) and the other is married to a man living in Eldoret, so she may in fact have not been present in the village. We are also not counting as eligible several men who were not on the miji-kumi's list but who were interviewed, listing spouses whom we didn't interview: we believe these may have been men who did not actually belong in our sampled villages, but for one reason or another agreed to be interviewed.

In our second site, Owich, we interviewed all of the women and all the men on the miji-kumi's list. We "found" one woman who was not on the miji-kumi's list, but we did not interview her husband, at least not under the name she gave for her husband (which may vary considerably from the name on the miji-kumi's list). She may be a "new wife" for someone on the list under a different name, or one member of a "new household" for which we failed to find other members. As in Obisa, we also discovered men (6 in Owich) who were either "found" (i.e. not on the miji-kumi's list) or thought to be living elsewhere with their wives (and thus not eligible, as they did not have a wife of childbearing age resident in the village. There was no indication that the wives had returned with these men, or that if they had they were of childbearing age; thus, we considered these men (and their wives) ineligible.

The major reasons for failing to interview an eligible respondent was simply the amount of activity in their lives. Just as this activity helped us to locate those who had been omitted from the sampling lists, it also made it difficult for us to find them. Probably the most important reason we could not contact respondents was that they had moved, usually to work or to look for work, between the time that the listing was made and our arrival. These people may be among the more widely networked (giving them opportunities to learn about job possibilities: see, e.g., Granovetter for another context).

Second, and also particularly important for our study, were people who were living in the village but whom we could not locate in 3 (often more) visits: it is these failures, in particular, that suggest that the most active people may be under-represented in our survey. One woman, for example, was at the market when we first visited, and when we returned she had gone to visit her family in another part of South Nyanza. Some of those we failed to contact may have been avoiding us,

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although our supervisors and interviewers were quite persistent. A third important reason, again related to network contacts outside the area, was that the person had left temporarily, typically for a funeral but also (for women, primarily) to visit family in another area, either afines who lived in her place of origin or a spouse working elsewhere, usually a major city. A fourth important reason was marital separation. Although we had expected marriages to be stable in Luo-land (see Potash, 19xx, who argues that they are stable because there are few alternatives for women if they leave their husband) in fact we found a fair amount of marital disruption, although this was not always acknowledged by the husband: in several cases the husband insisted his wife was away on a trip and would be back soon, but other relatives said the marriage had ended and they doubted the woman would return (in one case where the man insisted his wife would return, his sister-in-law said the wife had been dead for ten years). This is less likely related to the characteristics of the individual's networks.

We expected that the four sites would differ in the extent to which we would not be able to interview eligible respondents. Obisa and Kawadghone were chosen precisely because we thought the networks of the villagers there would be wider. In the event, however, there was little difference. It is true that the people in Obisa and Kawadghone seemed busier: the supervisors complained that people were "here and there, never still", and told of going to a compound, being told that the person was at the market, going to the market, being told that the person was at home, and dashing back to the home to find the person still not there. Men were particularly difficult to contact in Kawadghone, because many worked in the quarries. In contrast, in Owich one of our supervisors said, with some sarcasm, "The men are just there, chatting with their wives". On the other hand, in Owich distances were long and public transport extremely limited: thus, although the activities were not apparently so varied, the journeys were probably longer. From Owich, a trip to the nearest dispensary (9 kms away) could take several hours each way, plus a wait at the dispensary, and the nearest market, in Magunga (which also had a dispensary and the nearest post-office), was even further away (14 kms). And while we were there several posho mills (where women went regularly to grind grain for the staple dish, ugali, were not functioning, which meant that the women who used those posho mills had to walk even longer distances at least several times a week.

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Meeting: Minor logistics. Everything going well. I ask about the numbers of secondary school grads who are laborers, which somehow seems to me different from the 2ndary school graduates who farm. P. says, "You know in Kenya there are no jobs". She says so far for university graduates there are jobs (although neither T., F. nor R. have one), but not for secondary grads.

FIELDWORK: I ask P. to try to identify one of my two unidentifiable questionnaires from Oyugis, for which she was the supervisor. It took her about 30 seconds to say, "Oh yes, I remember her very well. She was a nurse, I think working in Homa Bay, she hadn't been married long, and her husband works in Sotik". Sure enough, that's what the questionnaires said. And S. has two questionnaires from Owich, not sure if they are eligible men, R. remembers them--they are not.

I check questionnaires. For the first time, T.'s are perfect.

PAPERFLOW: Crisis: it was discovered that we don't have enough female questionnaires for tomorrow. S. is bringing some the day after tomorrow, but we won't have enough. R. will go and photocopy some. I am sure that some unused questionnaires and some used ones from Oyugis are somewhere at Amani. This seems a minor crisis, compared to our others.

Jan 18, Thursday:

S. and I walk around a bit, in the "residential area" of Homa Bay called "anything goes"--the liberation of life in a city? tin shacks, latrines, quite busy. It's to the west of the hotel (left along the beach), and winds around behind the hotel. We also walk down the street of iron workers--e.g. people making keys from sheet iron. Primitive, but a bit of an industry.

Team back. F. still quite worried. Today was market day, and nobody was home. Market, they say, is huge: not as big as Oyugis, but very large. I asked F. whether they could interview there, but he

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said no, there were such crowds, it would be impossible to do it privately. It's only once a week, people told them they buy foodstuffs there on Thursday, and then have to wait until next Thursday to buy more. T. and R. think that everyone goes because there is so little else to do here, it's "dry", whereas in Oyugis people could pop into the town anytime. they saw one of the respondents they were looking for on the way home, but he said he was too tired to be interviewed, to come back tomorrow. T.'s home place is right near there, and she says in her area everyone goes to the market: it's only the very little children and the old mamas who stay home.

It's still hard to find men here. F. says they have gone to the quarries and interviewed v. successfully.

The quarries are right in the sublocation, and the respondents are happy to go home with them so they can interview privately. R. said that also hard to find women, that many have gone to visit husbands in Nairobi or wherever, because it's not the planting season.

P. said m+k's very friendly here, and really help with respondents. Interviewers are talking about each other as "confidants".

Re zero networks: One man asked if he had been interviewed, he said no (but he had). The original interview had gotten zero networks, the new interview full networks.

R. and F. go to hairdressers. Big conversation about owner, workers, customers (4 in all) about *rariw*, which sounds much like what we've already heard, with the exception that one woman thought *rariw* was sexually transmitted (but the other three disagreed). Although in Kawadghone seemed to have lots going to clinic, here that's not the case: they all went to *nyamrera*. Then the owner said she had a TL, her husband doesn't know--note that this was said in front of everyone (although this also is a city, not a rural village). Discussion of TL, with one person saying that she heard it makes you less sensitive to men at intercourse, another that it gave you more pain during

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your periods.

funerals: R.'s miji kumi in village 05 went to 10 funerals last month, P.'s (Salman Odwach) went to 7.

Jan 20: S. leaves for Kisumu to pick up S. then D. calls, saying that S. did not arrive on the BA flight last night. He may come on the Air France flight this morning, or the BA flight tonight. If he does not come, D. will send either C. or Ann to Kisumu tomorrow morning with the money to pay the interviewers, and the questionnaires. D. also worried about money. We have overspent in the field: he listed particularly fuel costs and water costs. He thinks N. will not be sympathetic (a contract is a contract) and wants to know if I can get it from Penn.

AIDS/FIELDWORK: F. calls around 9:30 from the field. Serious problems finding men--5 died since December, some have left. He wants to know whether to get a m~~a~~k to start listing a new village. I say no: they would not have time to make 3 visits, which is a more serious problem, I think, than numbers. This may not have been the right decision, but it is another example of things that come up in the field and why the PI needs to be around. Although F. understands the issue of selectivity, it is not as important to him as it is to US academics.

S. calls from D.'s office. Plane was late to London, missed connection, took Air Kenya. We arrange to pick him up in Kisumu--another trip, which I take. He arrives safely, carrying generator, money, and the new questionnaires. Everyone is very happy to see him, he passes around pictures of Baby S. we eat P.'s sheep to say farewell to S. C. and welcome S. Then S. and S. disappear, so S. can teach S.--who is exhausted--his systems. The scheduling was a bit tight.

Saturday, Jan 21: last day in Kawadhgone. In the a.m. I check the final questionnaires--rather big

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batches. M.' are sloppy and I'm very irritable. Get to the field about 11, the teams are sitting under separate trees, waiting for the last few stragglers, and to be paid. I first join M., and go over his problem questionnaires with him and his interviewers. Then I join P.'s team, go over some of hers. There are about 8 interviewers there, and I go over the questionnaires with them, asking them about respondents.

Traditional methods: One of M.' interviewers said a respondent, saying he used "traditional Luo methods", mentioned that it was herbs. But in this group, they say it's separate beds/separate huts. Later, I ask a miji-kumi who has been helping P.'s group and wanders up, he also says it's separate beds, though he did know about herbs, tho only for stopping. As he described it, the husband gets someone to make a concoction of herbs, the man with the herbs goes outside and calls to the woman, when she answers is when she is "stopped". [Note this is like womb-turning, a traditional method of stopping]. Then the miji-kumi said traditional Luo methods was also counting days [which might be an example of something being incorporated into "tradition"].

Wealth flows/mortality: they don't believe that people don't think mortality is important. Two of them have had respondents who say it's not a v. important consideration because how many children you have is up to god: one woman said, "it's god who brings children", another said "we're all walking corpses"--meaning , the interviewer said, no one knows his or her destiny.

re women's health, I ask why so many say it's not important. They don't think that can be right--"A man has to care about that", says Bob and several others. They think they don't understand this question. On the other hand, when I asked about lineage concerns, they think they all do understand, and some are very proud of it.

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To clinic or hospital for *rariw*: they don't think they go to the clinic. E. says, "the clinic doesn't do anything for it". I later ask another group of women interviewers, they also say women don't go to the clinic or hospital for *rariw*.

Q6A: ideal number. I asked whether respondents have to ponder this. They say some answer promptly, some think, talk about economic issues, how hard it is to support children these days.

Small business: in Kawadghone they say it's little fish, buying things such as sugar and paraffin from wholesalers who "go down the road", and then reselling them from the woman's house--they said women do this. A neighbor, for example, might come in for a bit of paraffin in the evening.

FIELDWORK: Radio: some asked the interviewers to write "no radio", because they thought we would bring one. Even when the interviewer said our project was about FP, they insisted. Same for bike. One respondent said, "Circle No Bike!".

Q18: Church group: they all think this means a self-help group in the church, a merry-go-round.

Homa Bay: They all think it is possible that some don't go to Homa bay.

AIDS: Funerals: I ask subchief, he says 5, but they all say "you can't go to all the funerals there are, there are too many".

Network questions:

Can they remember where/when, with whom they talked easily? They said if it was recent, they can, otherwise they have to think.

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Baraza as a place to talk: I asked whether baraza applies to anything else except chief's baraza. They say either chief, assistant chief, or clan elders, more than 5 people, elders plus ordinary people=a baraza.

Age mate: this seems quite precise, around 1 year, or married in the same year, or went to school together.

confidant: no trouble with this. Osniepni na migeno means someone you share secrets with. F. says they are calling each other "my confidant" now, and one of them did, pointed to Bob and said "he's my confidante".

better off: no trouble with this, but they don't want to brag. I ask what they mention when they are answering that. It's the men who speak up, not the women, and they say bicycle, ("He has a bicycle so he's better off than me"), land, number of children (more=better), girls (more equal better, because will get more cows, the respondents say), cattle, having a salary or a son or perhaps an other relative who is employed (one respondent said he was better off because his brother was employed, but most of the interviewers said this would only be sons). I ask about mbati roof, they say oh yes. I ask about sofa sets, they say not mentioned much.

Q31, re expect to use FP: they think respondents are telling the truth, because they think it might bring help later, but they do think some might say yes because they know we are associated w/FP.

Q66: we are getting shorter lists of people talked to here in Kawadh, and I'm concerned that they are just listing the people in the networks. There's some disagreement here, but Sipia says firmly, "it's the network partners, no more no less". Later I ask R. about this, she doesn't think so, she thinks they do list who they talk to even if not named before.

P.'s miji-kumi, the one with bad teeth, said when FP first around people did come to complain to him about FP, but now there is some acceptance. He attributes this to the drought. He says he explains to them that FP is for spacing, not just stopping, that if you wait 4 years the older child can help with

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school fees for the follower.

We get back around 4:30. The evening seems v. short--a shower, a bit of a rest, then we have to start arranging for tomorrow. F. is very busy--getting petrol for the generator, trying to find the boss of the green landrover to make sure we have that for our return, etc. Before dinner I'm sitting with P. and T., and comment on how all the jobs, best positions in our vehicles, etc, seem to be distributed to males, or if no senior male, to senior women. They hadn't noticed, and at first are interested, but then say that M. and P. only sit in the front because they think it's more comfortable whereas T. and R. think the back is more comfortable. I give other examples: the jobs in the hotel go to men. P. says the men are better trained. I say why is that, she says "Ah, there's the question". And P. says the women who are trained go to work in the Hilton in Nairobi.

Sunday, January 22:

We leave for the island. The usual flurry in the morning. The green landrover had a flat tire, which has to be fixed. We have mountains of stuff: mattresses, nets, foodstuffs, water, sodas for a week, computer equipment, questionnaires, our luggage. All three vehicles are loaded and we take off. Trip goes without incident, and we arrange with Mrs. O. to leave two of the vehicles in the ICIPE parking lot, so they will be there when we return even if the drivers aren't (and we kept the keys). A bit of disorganization about arranging for our departure. C. said last night either T. would meet us w/the GTZ vehicle, or he would come with a W., but to where--Mbita? Homa Bay?

Helping us load the boat is a young boy, about ten, wearing white stretch treads with pink flowers. Reminds me of a man, about 25, who came into the HB Tourist hotel for drinks one evening wearing what looked like a frilly pink shower cap. Kenyans stick pretty specifically to gender in dress (outside of Nairobi, it's rare to see a woman in pants) and neither this man or this boy would wear "women's clothes". But I suspect that gender signals in dress are quite context specific:

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here pink ruffles and pink flowers aren't coded as women's wear.

As we approach the island, R. asks if people there vote (i.e. are they part of Kenya). R. says yes, and adds, "They have everything we do--except bicycles".

Also flurry when we get there. We had asked to have the room cleaned, but they are filthy--in mine, lots of bat shit as well as cobwebs and dust. Our two cooks from July were there, happy to see us (and vice versa) but so was the subchief, who also had cooks (relatives of his and the in-charge at the clinic). FIELDWORK: Again the charge that our (former) cooks were from "outside these villages".

S. steps in and probably makes matters worse, but eventually the thing is settled--the relatives get the job. Then they complain that they need not 3 but 4 or 5 because they have to carry water for us to bathe, etc. We talk about it at meeting: I say the issue is entirely one of money, if F. has enough we can do it but if not not. Trouble is, F. doesn't know how much money he has. Subchief also says he will come tomorrow a.m. to make sure that we don't hire people from outside the sublocation as interviewers. I say we want everybody to take the test, he agrees, but I'm not sure he won't sabotage us.

We eventually have tea and a meeting. We begin by talking about the work at Kawadghone. All emphasize that it was very hard to find people at home there. And if they were out, they were far out, not just walking around and back later. My impression is that they have gone back more than 3 times to find people--one man they sought at 3 different quarries. They are concerned that we won't reach the magic 400 number, but S. and I try to reassure them that if the people aren't there they aren't there. Fine line between keeping them dedicated to getting interviews with everybody, but not too discouraged when people simply aren't home. They also say that the miji-kumi's lists weren't as good in Kawadghone: lots of names really wrong, people repeated, a few left out, and not just houses of old women. I ask about how the interviewers compared to those in Gwasssi. They didn't think they were as good. In Gwasssi, they said, they took some initiative--if they went to a house and found an extra wife, they went ahead and interviewed her, whereas in Kawadghone the interviewer

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would return and ask T. whether the wife should be interviewed. They say that the land is poorer in Kawadghone and the herds smaller, so there is more necessity to work off the land. They also think people in Kawadghone have higher education, and thus leave. On the other hand, they think that Gwasssi is more economically heterogeneous (much the same conclusion K. reached), whereas Kawadghone is more on a level. In Gwasssi, they say, the houses were either comfortable or really poor, in Kawadghone more the same. T. mentions that her miji-kumi was "against us, he was sure we were family planning" (check whether her village differs--m-k is P. S., 08).

I lead them into talking about interviewer training tomorrow. I had in mind who would be in charge, but first they point out that there is no obvious place for it. The one big room we are using for a dining room and a data entry room, and even that doesn't have sufficient chairs--not even for us to eat dinner. We debate doing it in the clinic, M. calls us pictures of screaming ill people whom we would disturb (I think this is an exaggeration--I don't remember seeing many at the clinic, and certainly not screaming). We can't use the school because it is Monday and school will be in session; we can't use a church because the church uses the school. M. asks the subchief whether there is a blackboard, but apparently the school doesn't have one. We turn to the interviewer training. I say that I think for their survey team inc it would be good if all of them had had experience doing the training, it turns out all of them have (though in fact I don't think R. has). So I ask them how they want to choose. T., mindful of our conversation last night re merit as basis of choice vs. age and gender, asks which, I say for this merit of course, T. says then it should be R. P.'s nose is out of joint.

I also say that S. will be willing to show them the logging program, once he has figured it out, so that when they form their "Survey Team Inc" they will know everything--they can tell prospective employers that they can do interviews themselves, hire teams, supervise them, supervise the data entry, etc. They seem delighted.

Then we all retreat to clean our rooms (R. helps with mine) and generally rest. Eventually F. and S. go over finances, and it appears we have enough money to pay interviewers, the boat back, land transport from Kisumu to Nairobi, a bit for extra food if we need it, and still get a cook--and, we

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think, have some left over.

January 3:

1st day of training. Although it is troublesome to train interviewers in each location, it has advantages--I think the supervisors enjoy it, and it's a change. If they had come here with a team of interviewers and had to start right in, I think they would have been tiredder than they are. F. indicated as much when he said, just after training had ended, "one more day and then we're out again"--and he didn't say it with much enthusiasm. About 50 people took the test, 15 women and 35 men. We took 9 women and 15 men. At tea, F. said the men did better than the women, so we counted the exams: they didn't.

Again there was a commotion after some were turned down. This time not from the miji-kumi's (there weren't any in sight) but from those who failed, who were convinced that they were smarter than some of those who passed. They wanted to see their papers, and at first P. was very stern, said no. They were rather rowdy. Then S. got into the act (and returned saying "well, I really solved that one, didn't I"), then F. got into the act. The supervisors decided they could know their grades, that they would call them out publicly, and give the answers to the questions. F. said that this was pretty convincing--when he walked down to the beach with some, they said they saw how they got the answer wrong.

FIELDWORK: One of the men who failed is the son of the chief: as he left, he told F. that he would be working with us. We have heard from the chief. He came again around 7 to talk with me and M. (F. says he wants always to talk with M., not him, F.). The chief explained eloquently that in Africa being able to do something for one's family is a measure of influence [note that he is clearly contrasting Africa and whatever he knows about the outside world], that his wife and son are unhappy, his wife is saying that if he had written a note his son would have gotten a job. I reply that we give the test because the information we are collecting will go to the ministry of health, and they need good information if they are to help the community, if it is bad information it won't help. And we think that those who can't pass the test couldn't collect good information. The chief then said

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there was a baraza, and some people complained that several people from one family were hired, while other families had no one hired, that economic opportunities were scarce, so this didn't seem fair to his people. And that the people are saying that although we wanted form 4, some of those we took were less--although he might have been saying that next time we should take some form 4, some Standard 8, etc, with different tests. I reiterated what I had said, was sympathetic, but kept pointing out that we needed the test, that we didn't know the people so we don't know who came from one family and who from another, etc etc. He's gone--I hope he can explain it to his wife and son.

Maybe 55 year old women are expected to do nothing here, since the supervisors occasionally comment on how active I am.

S. got our little generator going, to much applause. We're charging batteries like crazy. This attracts an extra-large coterie of little boys (not little girls). One carries a small baby everywhere: I think the baby is ill or retarded. It is probably about 2-5 months old, but it just lies on his shoulder, doesn't cry, doesn't look around, doesn't move.

I'm almost through with the questionnaires from Kawadghone. A clear profile is emerging, I think. It's an area where the level of education is relatively high--lots of secondary graduates, at least among the males, although often they, like primary grads, are laborers, often in the quarries. We also have some more unusual occupations--someone who is a veterinary officer, a social worker, several "touts" for the matatus in Homa Bay. The women have small businesses--perhaps the sort of reselling sugar/parafin bought from wholesalers who "pass by the road". My impression is of rather a lot of networks with friends or workmates as well as relatives, often with someone who is not a relative who lives outside the area. Fairly high level of use, including injection. I think a very high proportion of women *w/rari*ew who say they went to clinic or hospital, which I simply don't believe.

Unfortunately I didn't go to the Kandiego clinic. But when I asked the female interviewers on Saturday, they didn't think women went to the clinic--I think here they are drawing on their knowledge of the community. We can't, however, come up with a good reason why women would say this. The supervisors aren't very helpful here, they don't think in these terms--generally they just say "it is possible", and spin a story that makes it possible. Thus, today I came across the

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questionnaire of a 72 year old man who had a network partner described as "my former teacher". This seemed v. odd to me, but when I told M. and P., they started imagining that the man went to school when he was older, or that the teacher lived around, etc. They really don't think in terms of implausible deviations from a pattern, but rather want to tell a story that makes sense out of everything. I suppose they also don't want to think that the data are wrong, they have a proprietary attitude toward it, which is a good thing.

Note that those who are "not using now" could be using TL, since they appear to think of that as one-time use, or may do so. So ever use but not currently use is both discontinuation and some use of TL.

One Kawadghone interviewer, says F., keeps skipping Q3A, when did you move here. I think it's because it follows the question on marriage date, and the "ideal" is that with marriage the woman moves to her husband's village, so the interviewer doesn't think they can be different.

Meeting: rather lively as people recount stories of the chief's son--he was the one who came up to us first saying he couldn't believe he hadn't passed, he wanted to see his score. F. compliments P. on her handling of him. P. tells how at first she was very polite, and finally just said "you failed, that's all, that's that".

Chief called baraza today, he said it was to ask people to cooperate. At meeting, R. thinks this may be because at the pretest one man wouldn't answer, mad because names on list. I ask where m-k's are, they don't know, but they say they don't need them here because there are clearer boundaries to the villages.

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I ask them to check when they find someone who disapproves of FP but uses. The e.g. I give is of a man who said his nwp disapproved but uses the condom. Again, an elaborate story from P., that some people think pills make you sick, etc, but condom o.k., not FP. But that isn't the point--the question is FP. F. points out that one interviewer today pointed out that mostly yes=1, no=2, but on this one no=disapprove, yes=approve, and it's confusing, so it might be interviewer error. Something of a debate re whether to go up the mountain Wednesday, i.e. early in our stay, or later.

We talk about the issue of last names. I want to get them here, T. thinks people might be reluctant. We decide to do everything, including matrix first, then ask for last names, so that if they refuse it's o.k.

January 24, Tuesday:

BELLAGIO: F. leaves early to meet the subchief, and go with him to trace the boundaries of our "hill" village. They are back about noon, both hot and sweaty. F. says the boundaries of the village are quite clear--a dry river bed with a school on the other side. I chat with the subchief, who says the chief is still bitter that his son was not selected. Although the subchief appears to support selection by merit as "modern"--he dressed very nattily for this trip up the mountains, in striped flannels and a pressed cotton long-sleeved shirt, he explained the chief's position with some hint of sympathy. The subchief is determined to be modern, however. I asked him about "traditional Luo" methods of family planning, he denied knowing them, they were of the past, and then went on to say how important limiting the number of one's children is--his wife had a TL after three sons. But he said, "You know Africans, many think many children are prestige, they think if they have many children they are strong, they will speak and be heard." [Note that this is not simply children as labor, but a sort of children as an aid in social competition].

All but one interviewer on time, and she was about 10 minutes late. T. begins by reviewing what

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they learned yesterday about interviewing techniques. They remembered all the things like being polite, having a good introduction, being gentle, being lively, and sticking to the questionnaire. No one said anything about not asking leading questions, not being judgmental or biased, privacy and confidentiality. I talk about confidentiality, giving as e.g. secret users who might be beaten. Perhaps supervisors haven't emphasized these issues as much--they are probably more concerned about the things like the introduction and gentleness that will make the respondent agree to be interviewed and to answer the questions, but less concerned about issues of privacy and confidentiality--and in any case the latter happen out of their purview, once their job is done, it is an ethical rather than a practical question.

They then practice interviewing by interviewing each other: pairs are scattered around the lawn and under the big tree. I go down several times, and there is visible improvement during the day. In the morning, they hardly look up from the questionnaire, stumbling over the reading of the questions, and having great difficulty with the coding. In the afternoon, at least some of them seem to be having a lively conversation with their partners. When I go down about 4, they are in the throes of deciding which interviewers to drop. I say they can keep more than 20, that it would be an advantage to us to finish earlier. But they eventually decide--it appears R. decided and some of the others aren't so happy with it--to let four go. One of them is a nice man who slipped in with only Form 2 rather than Form 4: he has improved, but they think he is still too slow. I tell them this is entirely their decision, since they are the ones who will suffer if the interviewers can't do their work well.

They also decide to tackle the hill village tomorrow, and that all five teams will make the assault. They hope to cover it completely, leaving only callbacks, which can be done by one supervisor, or perhaps even by the two interviewers from "up there". The next days they will each be responsible for a particular village.

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At tea, T. says she is looking forward to finishing. But R. clearly isn't--she said last night she felt sad about the approaching end, and told herself she could cry about it now. So, she said, if she didn't cry at the end, it would not be because it didn't matter--she might be smiling, but she had already cried.

January 25th, Wednesday:

They're off up the mountain. Breakfast at 6, by 6:30 they had met the interviewers in the clinic, and by 6:32 they had hiked off. I think almost all, perhaps all, of the interviewers were on time--maybe a few stragglers met as they headed to the beach (they will walk along the lake for a bit, and then up). But no stragglers have appeared here. R. had organized a big breakfast of eggs, *mandazi*'s, oranges, groundnuts, bread, Blue Band and Jam for them, and their lunch boxes had bread/blue band, eggs, *mandazis* and ground nuts as well, and I put in a chocolate bar for each as a surprise. T. took my hat, but by the time they left P. was wearing it, and M. was wearing S.'s baked-potato hat.

R. and I both think it is not wise to attack the mountain on the first day, when the interviewers are still unsure of themselves, but F. really wants to and he prevails. I also think that they want to go up--it's exciting, new and different.

It's impossible to keep the bat shit out of my room, it just tumbles from the ceiling. I've put blankets from the closet (they look old) on the floor to collect it, so that I can just go and shake out the blankets rather than borrowing a broom to sweep, raising bat shit dust, etc. But whatever I do, the room has the same sweetish smell, and little black pellets. Fortunately, my bed seems to be in a fairly safe zone, only the foot gets a bit. S. has started calling our quarters the Bat Cave.

J. slept through breakfast, then appeared wanting tea. He said he couldn't get any because there was no one in the kitchen. I said he could go in the kitchen and get it, but he said Luo men didn't do that, although he did head to the kitchen, coming back with a kettle. It turned out to be *uji*, at which point

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C. was up and he sent her to heat it up.

Rest of the day: J. and C. finish Kawadghone! S. and I check 6 of C's questionnaires, one error. I work on the Methods appendix. S. makes the log for Ugina, charges batteries.

About 5:30, M. walks in triumphantly, wearing S.'s baked-potato hat and carrying a stick, followed by his interviewers. Obviously delighted to be the first to report on the day. I go over questionnaires with his interviewers, they've done v. well. A few mistakes like putting husbands in the FP loop, or asking the questions in the FP loop for someone who was in the previous loop, or mixing up male and female, but on the whole o.k. Then the others come in, also jubilant about having gone there and gotten back. F. concerned, though, about not getting enough people. They did 41 interviews, but there are 60 up there (probably some are really away, so less than 19 call-backs). They all say it is very very difficult up there, especially it's hard to find the houses. It's very bushy, so it's hard to see. Paths are not so well defined, and you don't know where they are going. Several said they spent 45 min-an hour looking for a house, then got a "tour guide". The miji-kumi's don't seem to be around--is this because they are not v. keen on FP, and are just staying away? They say the people up there knew we were here, but not what we were doing. R. said the women interviewers have not been up the hill before, but a lot of the male interviewers knew people up there. It's also harder to interview: most of the people were interviewed in the *shambas*, if they weren't, they didn't want to be interviewed, they were too busy. They say it will be harder to find homes left off the list here. They did ask the m-k's son to look over the list. The m-k had left one of his sons off the list--the son who helped him make it (so all errors are not of insignificant people).

Still, they got about 2/3. The other side is that 1/3 of the people, even up there, are out of their homes--and further than the shamba, since they did many interviews in *shambas*.

M-k's are appointed by govt on recommendation of chief/asst chief, but not paid. They resolve disputes, and both sides give them something, what they can afford; the m-k pretty well knows this, so will say to one "you can give me a chicken". I suggested that the person who brings the most

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might get a favorable decision, but M. (ever supportive of traditional Luo customs) says not at all.

I check questionnaires. Interviewers have done well--few evident mistakes. They have gotten last names, and I go through trying to match their FP network partners who are noted as living in the compound or the village with the list of people in the village. V. difficult because of the names. But as I change more names on the m-k's list by referring to questionnaires, I can link more. I think it will work well enough to give us some to check against the NWP's own questionnaire. S. does not want to add this info to the data set, because they have to be identical to be merged. So he will do that later.

Thursday, Jan 26:

I begin by checking some of J.'s Kawadghone questionnaire entry w/C. Not many mistakes, but we find he has consistently not written in where it says "specify" in Q. 2. C., who is 10 years younger, has done it; he says he can only write in where it says "other". Aargh. This, however, resolves the problem of doing double data-entry: we will do it.

S. Charged 5 batteries in 1.5 hrs. V. efficient. When he is running the generator--usually in the afternoon--children gather round. They also just gather round to peer in the windows at us working at the computers.

I've been trying to link network partners again. I think the distinction between "in this village" and "in this sublocation" isn't clear--our fault, since the questionnaire is not v. specific here (as in other places). But I've found people with sufficiently unusual names (e.g. Scolastica Awino) listed as "in the sublocation" who are actually in the village. When we link, we should only do those people of whom we are certain. We will only be able to link a small portion of the NWPs: some live outside

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the sublocation, and some who do live in the sublocation are not on our list, probably because they are either too young or too old. Some will have v. common names (e.g. M.A.), or we simply can't match the names. But it should give us a picture, for those we can trace, of the extent to which they name each other, and the extent to which the R's report of FP use by her nwp matches the nwp's use on her own questionnaire. It may not have been so smart to ask the R. to recall the last conversation--it may be that R. talks to M. A. a lot, and advises her, but in the last conversation she didn't. Although the use should be o.k., since we simply ask if the NWP is using FP, and I think by the time we ask "did she tell you", the R. has probably forgotten it's the last conversation.

Team back. They did well--about a 100 interviews, and few zero networks--but they are still a bit dispirited. F. says he had to send interviewers back for about half his interviews because they missed something; they are not v. alert. And I check M., and find about half are incorrect. M. still doesn't check carefully, and it makes me nervous about the errors that are not obvious. I spoke to him again, but I don't think it matters to him. When he gets out in the field he'd much rather schmooze than supervise.

Lots of people who go to Sindo not at all. F. says that's because many go to Mbita instead, so it was not such a good choice. From Ugina there's a boat on Monday and Tuesday to Sindo, but from Nyahera a boat every day to Mbita. From Wamai and Mauta, they go both to Mbita and Sindo, and from Kuwuto, to Siaya, Central Nyanza.

Subchief and assistant chief are the same. Income from fishing: if you own a boat or a net, can do well (although there might be periods when the "fish aren't there"; if you work for someone else, might be paid v. little. Since few have bicycles here (although we have found a few, apparently they take the bike to Sena or the mainland) we don't have good income measures for the island. Several anecdotes about how helpful it is to have a local interviewer--they walk into a compound, people know them, greet them, trust them. It may reduce the reporting of secret use, though we are getting a fair amount, I think, and also getting a lot of women who say they know someone using secretly. We also don't find reluctance to give last names--if they are not there, there is a note on the questionnaire saying that the R. just didn't know the woman's last name. Supervisors ask about

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interviewing our interviewers and spouses, I say not to do it, as the interviewers might well have gone over the questionnaire with them. S. asks how they find out that someone on the m-k's list as O.O. is really D. O. They meet D. in the compound, and then ask, "could you be known as O.O.?" R. tells what she thinks is a very funny story, and all laugh, that at lunch the school kids around called her a *wazungu*: she thinks it's because of the water bottle and Fanta that she was carrying.

I check questionnaires until about 11, miserable: the lantern collects many flying insects and is hot-- and doesn't give much light anyway, I can hardly see.

My impression is that the profile here is not so different from elsewhere. Shamba or fishing to earn money, most are primary but even the secondary graduates do this (or they would be elsewhere, not in our sample). I don't think they have any less contact with the outside than in the other areas, although there may be more who have not lived outside the area for 6 months or more, and there are certainly fewer funerals attended. But lots talk to Nwp'S FROM other places. And I think lots of use here, and lots of women know secret users. As far as I can tell, little suspicion of us here. T. reported last night that one old mama called to her and said "why don't you give me that letter [the questionnaire] to read? You only give it to the young men and young women". It may be that Gwasssi turns out to be the most isolated and most suspicious of our areas. Ugina seems remote, but water transport hooks it up, and the road from mbita to HB is not as bad or quite as long as the road from Gwasssi to HB, and there are more matatus.

Friday, 27 January: rain in the night, gray and chilly this morning. A bit of a relief. F. still tired, and R. too, I think, but P. and T. quite perky. S. going up the hills today to take presents to a family he met last summer: a shirt, raisins, a ball.

I talk with D. and the two other women in the kitchen about *rariw*. They say it is very common

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here. I asked what happens when they go to the clinic, they say the clinic sends them to the nyamrerwas. I ask about Panadol, they say yes. D. says she'll ask the sister, but I say I will. They then mention the hospital--although I rather think that this may be because I am asking the questions, and they should demonstrate the public health services--that if the problem persists the woman would be sent to HB hospital. But when I ask whether anyone actually goes there, they can't think of anyone. One of the cooks met a woman at HB hospital who had this problem when the cook was there giving birth by Caesarian, but she doesn't know anyone from here who has gone. I then go to look for the Sister at the clinic. The office/examining room door is open, some equipment is lying around, but no sister, no in-charge, no one is there. This is about 10 a.m., and they are more likely to have patients in the morning than the afternoon--at least I sometimes see a few people waiting in the a.m., but no one in the afternoon. The sister had told me on our first day when I met her and she was sitting around watching us train interviewers that people liked to come to the clinic in the a.m., that in the afternoon the sun was too hot to walk. I rarely see the in-charge there, I don't know what he does with his time.

Checking over R.'s networks to put it in my network file, I find a R. who cover sheet says lives in polygamous hh, but 2 of the NWP's are listed as S-in-L, not co-wives. And on the m-k's list there are only one husband and 2 wives in the HH.

PAPERFLOW: We discover a questionnaire shortage, again. Tons of male questionnaires, no more female ones. We think that the printer may have done lots of males, few females, and no one checked what was in the packages that D. gave S. to bring here. We rummage around, and then have the idea of using the Kawadghone questionnaires that are just cover sheets. S. gets a bunch of them and checks them with C., to see that the info on them has been entered correctly before we give them to the supervisors to use here. They check about 15 of J.'s, and find half have errors.

In the afternoon, I find the nurse. She also giggles when I ask about *rariw*, and says that it is with

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pregnancy, that sometimes it is PID. I ask what they do, she says they give antibiotics, if they don't respond they send them to the District Hospital. Then the male In-Charge comes up, she asks him, he launches into a decided explanation, that it's delayed labor, they need to be given a drip intravenously. I ask whether they do that here, he says no, only at the district hospital. I ask him whether the women really go to the district hospital, he says "they might not", because it is a long way away, he says, because they are poor, "and because they are ignorant". Then the Sister bravely says that I've said some women who aren't in labor have it, he says then it is UTI, they give antibiotics. Then he goes to see a patient, and she and I settle down for a chat. I say we have talked to a lot of women, and some have rariw even when not in labor, and even when haven't had children. She is clearly astonished by this, and returns to this several times in the conversation, as if it is very puzzling. Interestingly, she says she doesn't know anything about it, that not one woman has come to the clinic saying she has rariw, and she's been here since 1980, "Not one woman has come saying she has rariw". She pauses, and says they go to the nyamrerwas, "This rariw, with the medical terms it doesn't rhyme". I ask her whether she has had it, she says no, I ask whether she knows women who have had it, she says no. I said don't they even ask you, seeing that you work in the clinic, she says her friends don't tell her "because they've decided these diseases don't do well in the hospital". I push her, but she says no, they don't talk to her. But then when I ask her what women complain about, she knows, they say "the child doesn't come out the way it should" and starts talking about a prolapsed uterus or cervix; she continues in detail. But several times in the conversation she said with a puzzled tone that the women can't give proper histories so we can make a proper diagnosis.

This conversation rather typical of some of the themes when I talk with medical people about *rariw*.

The most elaborate medical explanations come from the males--dysmenorrhea in Oyugis, puerperal sepsis in Magunga. There's an initial attempt to say they test for or treat it, and refer to the District Hospital. But then it comes out that they don't do much, and they don't think the women go. the male in-charge was not embarrassed about it: I suppose he had "dominated" it with medical terms, but the Sister was somewhat uncomfortable: she insisted she didn't know about it, but I think what she meant was not in her professional capacity, since she did know a lot about what women

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complain about. And this view is evident in her saying that the women can't give proper histories so they can make a proper diagnosis--she recognizes the disjunction between *rariw* and Western medicine. She clearly understands that what the women call *rariw* and Western medicine don't fit, they "don't rhyme". When she realized that I was interested, and sympathetic to the women, she became more at ease and interested, and said she would ask her next patient. she also kept saying how odd it was that women who hadn't given birth complained of *rariw*, another sign that *rariw* and childbirth are v. closely linked.

Within about an hour, the nurse sends for me, a patient who came for something else but who has had *rariw*. P.A. (F1025). Very attractive woman, probably late 20s early 30s, yellow-orange kanga wrapped around her head, a pink sweater and skirt, clear skin, bright eyes, well nourished. Daughter of 6 with her, and a very plumpy boy of about 8 months. She's had 3 children (the dau. is the oldest, then a follower, then one died, then the baby, I think). First got *rariw* when 2 months pregnant with her first child. When she was working, on the shamba for example, It felt like something wanted to come out. She also had difficulty urinating. She went to the clinic at Sena, they wanted to put in a catheter but she said no, and they gave her injections, but she got no relief. Then she got herbs from her mother and they helped; she mixes the herbs with water and splashes/douche. She says she doesn't know anyone here who has it, but where she comes from her two sisters have it. She says the hospitals don't know what to do. She says even when she's not pregnant she feels it. I asked whether she was in our survey, and she said yes, T. interviewed her. I asked whether it was too long, too short, she said it was fine, she enjoyed it. I asked if she knows of secret users, she said "she's seen, she knows". She went on to tell the sister, and me, that she is interested in FP but her husband isn't. I said I also know of women who use secretly. I asked what would happen if she used and her husband found out, she said he would beat her. Anyway she wants another boy, has only one boy. He wants very many children.

I come back, start writing up these notes, and the Sister sends again: the next woman patient has *rariw*. This one, M. A., is pregnant with her fourth child, she didn't have *rariw* for the other three,

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but with this one has it. I asked what it felt like, she said she had trouble with short call, didn't urinate for 3 days so she asked her mother in law, the m-in-law said "that's *rariw*" and gave her herbs to mix with tea and drink. She says it helps, and if she goes 3 or 4 days without drinking the tea she feels heaviness again. She also was in our survey, interviewer C. I said we were concerned that people might not feel comfortable talking about private things like FP w/someone from here, but she said no, C. assured her it would be confidential, so she wasn't afraid of talking to her. She told C. she was using but her husband didn't know. She was taking pills from the clinic here, for spacing, stopped to get pregnant. I asked where she keeps the pills, she said in her box. I said in the kitchen? But S. said no, everyone has her own box and the husbands don't go there. She said she would not allow her husband to know. I asked whether she had even told her best friend, her *osiepna na mageno*, but she said no, she hasn't. (Note that she would like like a discontinuation, but she stopped to get pregnant).

Asst chief by, in his uniform. Said he was by 2 one half hours (meaning 2:30; later, R. sniggered at him for not being able to communicate). I asked what he was doing here, he said checking on his area. I said what, he said getting reports, I said about what, he said they were secret. S. asked how people were receiving our interviewers, he said very well. I said even the old *mamas* and the men who don't like FP, he said, scowling, "Ah them, they are just ignorant". But he said he was going around persuading them, he thought 3/4 of the people liked what we were doing. He then took off.

I ask G. how much fishermen earn. He says it depends on the catch. Now, when the fish aren't running much, they can get KS200-400/day; when the catch is good and the price is good, they can get 1000ks a day or even more. I ask what they spend it on, he says "school fees and family expenses".

M. comes in, hands me a stack of questionnaires. I ask whether he has checked them carefully, he assures me he has, and goes off to drink beer in the shopping center. I start correcting them, and

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they are full of horrendous mistakes. I sit him down for a talk, he is again contrite etc. I say maybe he's sick and shouldn't work, or maybe only work half as much as the others, two interviewers so he can keep up. He was going to give F. two of his interviewers anyway to go up the mountain tomorrow.

R. says v. little suspiciousness here: only some men, they think this will lead to giving their wives injections. But nothing like devil worship. V. few zero networks. R. said, some people just don't talk, or they won't tell you, no matter how good the interviewer is.

Meeting: We go over questionnaire shortage. Turns out not to be so serious: It looks like we only have to interview about 30 women more. I find that hard to believe, but that's what they say. They want to see the lists from S.'s program, but S. hasn't finished logging, so can't do it tonight.

I tell about talking to the women about *rariw*, and the trust that the secret user put in the interviewer. Then T., laughing, tells about sitting in on an interview today, and when they got to the FP part the interviewer turned to her and asked her to leave, saying that "this is confidential".

P. says she knows I will ask about people who live elsewhere but talk everyday, she says it's these fishermen: they talk everyday to other fishermen who do live elsewhere.

P. has found another woman born in the village, she confirmed. She also says that there are women who were born in this village and married here. When I say that is not Luo, M. leaps in, says it's migration even tho may have happened long ago. He says they found this in Kawadghone.

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I report re fishermen's income, P. has asked what they do with that money, she was told that relatives come and stay. And they may stay a long time. Almost in passing, I discover that there may be people living in a compound who have lived there for years and years, perhaps working for the people there, but who "live" somewhere else. They are not on the m-k's list, and when our supervisors have found them they have not been interviewed. This was a mistake, but it's done--it makes our list even more a de jure list, plus people who were thought to be away but have returned.

R. says people might say so and so lives in village, but it doesn't necessarily mean the clan village, it could even be across the sublocation boundary: what they mean is that they are neighbors.

I ask about men's groups (a number of men said they talked to other men at "men's groups"). Are these clan welfare groups? They say no, just when men talk together.

Part of T.'s village is attached to F.'.

FIELDWORK: I ask again where the m-k's are, they say that they are busy plowing their *shambas*, not like Kawadghone where they had nothing to do. But P. says she interviewed a m-k, he said, "tell those *Muzungus* to give us money, we are wasting a lot of time." P., illustrating with arms akimbo, said she told him "what good would that do you? We are interviewing everyone in Wakula South, we couldn't give anyone more than 100 KS, what could you buy with that, just sit down and do the interview". he agreed that you would take 100 KS to the store and you couldn't buy much.

I said asst chief had been here today, said he had been helping us, what had he been doing. Ph said he told everyone in his village to be nice to the visitors. T. then went on about how friendly the people here are, "of all the places, these people are the nicest".

Sat 28 Jan: more rain, gray and cool until mid-afternoon when it got steamy again. We worked all

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day on questionnaires, by the time the supervisors came back we were almost completely caught up.

I've asked C. to come and work in Nairobi re-entering the Kawadgh, Ugina and Gwasssi data. We will not ask J.. He makes more mistakes than C., and works shorter hours. This evening he slipped out at 6, I asked him to come back and work and he refused.

F. says it's v. hard to find the people who aren't there up in the hills. He is sending one interviewer to a nearby island where four of them stay with their wives.

T. found new people. Part of her village is almost at F.'s village, i.e. up the hill. They found some houses there that weren't on the m-k's list, asked the people who was their m-k, it was hers. I'm convinced she's very diligent about finding new people.

I think overall our people are getting tired. It's not surprising--we've been working for four weeks with only one day off, plus travel days. Also, they see the end approaching, and there is little feeling of challenge left, I think they just want to get through it. I don't think they are slacking off, but there's less enthusiasm.

29 January, Sunday:

Breakfast not until 9 today, a relief from the 6:30 breakfasts of the week. Relaxed, holiday air, although by 10 they were meeting their interviewers and were off. Everyone has gone but J.: R. and C. and S. all went up the mountain with F.. This will be F.' third trip--I think he wants to make his third visit and get it over with.

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I found a person in a network who R. says SinLaw who lives in compound, but I didn't find any M. there. T. says this is the husband's sister, who was divorced and returned to the village. She is not on the M-k list, because not a member of the lineage.

Working on the network linking, I find one of our respondents had been named as a nwpartner by three other women. I had remembered her, because she was a secret user of injection, and must have impressed the interviewer, who wrote that she was using secretly and that it was TOP SECRET that she didn't tell her husband, or even her cowife or friend [sounds like friend would be the first she would tell].

QUESTIONNAIRES: While checking, I find one interview dated the 28th, yesterday, in which interviewer still mixing up male and female. May be due to placement: female comes first, but interviewers may expect male to come first.

I've seen a number of little boys carrying babies. In such a gender-specific society seems odd, but maybe there are no daughters around to do it.

Summary of networks in wakula South: My impression is that they are generally quite local, although a substantial proportion will have someone from another sublocation (I think often Wakula North, which was only recently split from this sublocation) and sometimes from other places. For the women, this is, as elsewhere, probably largely their home place; for the men, there might be more here than, say, Gwasssi, because of the fishing, although that might not be so different from Kawadghone, where a lot work out. Gwasssi should have the most restricted networks of all, especially for the men. They are also generally predominantly relatives rather than friends, for both genders, although I think friends may be more likely to be present in the FP networks everywhere than for the wealth or rariew networks. In Makula South, there seem to be some network nodes.

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The conversations are often quite recent here, and predominantly very local places--at the beach, at home, posho mill--although we do get a sprinkling of funerals, and in one case a man reported a conversation both on wealth flows and FP while waiting for the boat home at Mbita (I think all were relatives or village mates, tho). The characteristics of nwp would not, I think, stand much scrutiny.

Re inherited wives: for man, considered a bit shameful to inherit, since the house the wife stays in will be known by her late husband's name, not by the husband who inherits. Generally she stays in that late husband's home, unless she is young, few or no children. Typically the woman asks the man "will you inherit me", although the man may do it; the woman usually asks someone who will not say no--P. says some men are known to be into that, to have inherited wives hither and yon. Why would man want to do this? belief that inherited wife treats man v. well, good food, etc. Seems like he doesn't pay much, though J. says some do pay school fees.

Two of the interviewers from Wamai, P. A. and J., come and help me to identify people in the village for the networks. A number of the network partners who are said to live "in the village" they say live in Mauta or Ugina, and some in another sublocation. Then Odjowi, the nice man whom we didn't take as an interviewer, tries to help me for Ugina, but with not much success--he indeed is not very mentally quick.

Meeting:

T.: 4 more

R.: 6 more, 4 probably away

F.--2

M.--6

P.--5, one in hospital, one ran away and husband followed, one an interviewer, no genuine callbacks.

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Ask re how many unrelated people around the villages?

R. had one, 10 yrs, working for someone here

T. had one who has lived here for 12 years, still considered a visitor, from Tanzania

P.: none

both T. and M. had a divorced returned sister; T. had an aunt who was back. F. found visiting women. T. a visitor, didn't interview, "no she was not a member of the community".

Ask re non-Luo/non Basuba speakers: how many? how interviewed?

Fr 1, who spoke Kiswahili

R. 1, who spoke a little Basumba, she was Ugandan

P.: Ugandan who spoke good Luo

M.: none

T.: none

R.: some nuns

R.'s was the only one in Basuba

compound/village

Ask re borrowing interviewers from each of the villages tomorrow or Tuesday

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Questions for interviewers:

Do women seem fairly certain that NWP's use FP? do they answer quickly? If partner told them they answer quickly; if they are guessing, "what does she use? she uses injection? She didn't tell me, I think so". Fr says men are quick to answer about condoms, and using them as FP. R. says one childless interviewer using FP, husband a student, don't have enough money yet.

P. thinks less interested in FP here than in Gwasssi, fewer coming up and asking them about FP.

One of T.'s interviewers, an unmarried man, was saying "in this house she uses FP" "in that house they use FP". he did the interviews.

FIELDWORK: some say "you've come to stop our wives"; T. doesn't remember any such charges in Oyugis

B. A. WAS mentioned as a network partner.

FIELDWORK: R.: guy lied, said it wasn't him, but another guy there said, "that's you". He's the one on bang.

Nyahera: the mountain village is not so isolated as one might think. Although it takes our team about 2 hours to reach it, the locals can do it in an hour. On the first day the team went up, about a third were away. some of these were far away, but others were just out an about (further than their shambas, because they interviewed at the shambas). Although the residents of the lakeside villages don't seem to go up there much, they come down. Many of the men are fishermen: they don't go down and back up every day, but frequently. F. says that because the boats go out about 4 a.m., the fishermen from up there have to sleep down by the lake. He wanted to interview one when he was there, the wife said he would be back Saturday, when they went Saturday he hadn't come back, she said maybe Monday. He thinks she didn't know, he came when he came.

Monday, January 30:

Slow morning, as all but about 4 interviewers have been dismissed, they are doing callbacks. We are

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in good shape, with the only people left to do being some who may or may not return from funerals, Homa Bay, etc.

S. and I go to the nearby primary school. Our neighbor is a teacher there, and we've greeted him in the morning and evening, with occasional chats extending to "how was your day"; one day he commented how nice it was to have foreigners here and "exchange ideas" with them. I offered to go to the school so the children can ask us questions--after school many cluster around and stare at us working. So S. and I go. But it turns out--and I should have known it would--that they want to tell us what the school needs and how we can help. It's a pretty soft sell, but it's a sell nonetheless. And the teacher is making sure that he gets the credit for bringing these potential donors--he's new, so he's showing off his contacts. They are totally gender insensitive, however: they talk with S., not me, present the visitor's book to S. first with ceremony, then me, ask S. if they can write to him, etc. I'm irritated: I'm sure they can't believe that a woman could have a serious position, above all one that has an income attached to it. I come back and tell F., M., and G. (one of our interviewers who lives near the school). They pass the word back to the school that I'm the professor, S. a student. In the evening, F. tells me that the deputy headmaster was up talking to him, worried about their mistake, what they could do, they have a fundraising drive. F. says he doesn't think anything, I'm very strong about gender sensitive issues, etc, but he will talk to me and they should come back Wed. evening (we leave early Thurs. morning).

Around 10:30 we go to the funeral of the assistant chief's father. He had written a note yesterday saying his father passed away, and asking for support. I still feel a bit guilty about not bringing the shoes he had written to me asking for, nor mentioning the letter (I was prepared to lie and say I never got it if he asked, but he didn't). So I ask P. what would be an appropriate, generous contribution, she says "let's consult F. and M."--again, things that have to do with money are considered in the realm of men. They suggest \$KS2000. We take a boat there, with young vigorous rowers, who sing while paddling furiously, and then poop out for a while. When we get there, we go to the compound, telling the boatmen we will be back in half an hour. Lots of activity: some men in one area hammering a coffin, in another they've dug the grave. Under a wooden-leaf awning are lots of old

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men just sitting, the women are bustling around cooking, and a lot of noise from women moaning. One, who is one of the widows, has since yesterday (says R., who interviewed in that village) been walking back and forth with a stick in the air and moaning: she has a white w/pink flowers dress, ruffles on the shirt, and a white hat, a bit like a sailor's hat with the brim down. Two other women come from outside the compound, one carrying a sack of meal on her head, both walking very fast and wailing; they then walk about the compound wailing for about 10 minutes, and then settle down. Much of the wailing comes from within one of the huts. Lots of scurrying around when we come to scare up chairs for us (the mzees are sitting on benches). We sit for a while, the subchief says he will send someone to another district to get soft drinks, but M. says politely that we can only stay a half an hour. We chat with him for a bit, then M. asks whether he and I can see the subchief privately, and I give him the envelope with the money. Then we prepare to leave, but find that the boatmen haven't returned. So the subchief gets others to take us. When we are about halfway home, our boatmen appear on the beach, and an exchange is made, accompanied by much wrangling over who will be paid what. I think they shouldn't have gone into the beach to pick up the original boatmen, but apparently that wasn't even considered--perhaps because it was their boat. We had arranged to pay KS300 for the round trip, so we give 100 to the subchief's boatmen, and 200 to the others, which they bitch and moan about.

In the evening, F. and I chat. We talk about trying to find an inexpensive goat to slaughter for Wed. night. he then mentions that the interviewers in Kawadghone had heard through the grapevine that we had a feast for the interviewers in Gwasssi, and they were expecting to be invited to the Homa Bay Tourist Hotel. But he said the interviewers here hadn't heard, adding that they are more isolated.

Interview with C.A., joined by another interviewer, O., her cousin: C. did most of the talking.

Age: they know their age.

Marriage date: old people don't know but the young ones do.

No. of children: young ones know, but old ones start counting with the names of their children. o.k. to talk about children who've died.

Want another child: they grow suspicious. Sometimes they think a lot, they say "do you want me to

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plan my family?" She doesn't think they say want no more if they don't. They say "now I need more, maybe after some time."

When: if kids are not yet toddling, they say wait; if kids are older, they say "anytime".

School: always tell the truth. Often they explain why they haven't gone further: e.g. "we didn't like to go to school to starve there, we had much food at home".

Radio: truthful.

earns: sells farm things=vegetables, tomatoes, selling at local beaches.

small business: running a kiosk in the beaches, buy rice from mainland and sell it here, small fish sold outside

income-generating group: the women who dry the small fish belong to one, but the others don't. That's the only one C. knows about. They pay 500 a month to one person, then the next month 500 per month. Credit merry go round is v. common; they meet at someone's home and are cooked for, they go after lunch. There's one of women who are married from kaksingri, they meet once a month, pay cash, 5 shillings a month, and celebrate; another for people who come from Karacuyonyo, they pay KS2/week and meet every Sunday. Treasurer keeps it. They now have a bit, are thinking about a bank.

market: most people go to Sindo r/t Mbita.

rariw: they believe it is not well treated in the hospital.

When conversation: they start telling the story, how they were sitting where, doing what. After giving the names, they say whether they were sitting in a group.

Where conversation: women's group meeting=credit merry go round: for men, there is a men's income generating group, they started talking about FP. Sometimes this follows drinking alcohol

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How often: if they are from around, they say "we always meet at the lake". But when come from far, then they start thinking.

Confidant: problem is between confidant and just a friend. Some people believe that person you talk to a lot is a confidant, although interviewers explained it's telling top secrets. Men also had this problem, they think of confidants as "someone you know".

Age mate: they think of people who were in school with them, they played in sports, married together, did some of the marriage ceremonies together. One-2 years, or even months.

Village: if in Ugina, could mean Kiumbwe but prob. not Makula N.

In sublocation, 3 SDA churches; Catholics meet under trees or at the school, or go to Sena, for them it would be someone they meet with to worship.

Better off: that was confusing, some people grow suspicious, ask why they want to know that, here you always have to explain further. Might think person have some business away that they don't know about it. He's got a kiosk, an engine in his boat, a big shamba; women considered the houses (metal roof) and the type of wealth the husband has, always referred to the husband. Furniture: in my house I've only got four chairs and if you go to hers you'll be surprised. Clothes: would first say "her husband is a teacher, she dresses nicely", first refer to her husband. People (women) who have small business consider themselves better off than those who do nothing.

Doing nothing: depend on husband. For men, get everything from shamba. If need paraffin, might help someone fish, earn a little.

FP: Those who aren't using are suspicious, think we will make them use FP. The women are more

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interested than the men. There are some women using secretly. C. thinks one of her R's was using but she said she wasn't, she had discussed it with others and C. looked at her kids and thought she was using. Intend to use: C. thinks serious, because explained why not using now and why wished to use. Young women would say I have only 2, after I have four I will go and stop myself completely. Some women v. much interested, talk about school fees. Most men don't have an idea of FP, they don't know what it is, but when go to the wife you find she is using. One man said he intended to use because of the problems he's now seeing, but will also contradict himself and say he needs more kids. C: when a man tells you I intend to use, he always refer to the women: after having so many kids, I'll stop my wife--but not himself.

Secret use: women don't have to think about it, they say they meet at the clinic and they discuss it there. Men say they don't know. O: they will have discussed with the man but he might hear it from a woman. Men who know secret users are likely to know about it through women's grapevine.

Disapprove but uses: they would explain, she may have problems, she has backache, her periods twice a month, using but has those problems so she can't approve and can't advise someone to use.

NWP advised to use: they would say so and so had a problem, like if you give birth always you have a problem with your health so they advise young women to use so they don't have those problems. The people who are using but facing problems they are the "no advice given", C. doesn't think they can advise someone to use if they are facing problems.

CBD: talk to one at clinic but not visited at home.

When ask did talk to m-in-law they get amused, "how can I talk with them about this". But some say "me, I am free with my mother in law, and she has even advised me to use FP", C. talks with her

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mother in law. Would only talk to school teacher/spouse if friends; same for clergymen and wife of chief/elder. Chief not clear: might be chief, might be subchief. Most of the people who said "wife of chief/elder" meant H.A.

Talk to husband: only a person who is using and husband knows says yes. If using secretly will say "he doesn't talk anything about it".

Outdoor cinema: none here, C. met a man who had seen it at Nairobi.

matrix: same problem re confidants and just/friends. If don't know the person, it's probably someone out of the area.

Some people were furious because suspected automatic FP, that we want them to practice FP, they were trying to refute that, they thought if we asked anything about FP. they would always say I don't know. they think all the young people know about FP, it's only the old ones who don't know anything about it, C. had 2 to 3 men like that.

Tuesday, January 31:

Interview with J.B.:

Age: first they think maybe one minute.

No. of children: they just tell you. No problem w/ones that had died.

Another child: they say "I need one" or "I need some" or "as many as god sends". Some say: "If I say yes, they think some tablets will be given to them", others say want no more because see problems due to inflation.

Schooling: Never will say that they have been to school when they haven't; "you will know from the way he talks. "

Bicycle: tell the truth.

Cows: they ask why we're asking the question. We say we only need to know if you have, but there

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is nothing we can do about it. Some say that the government wants to know about their wealth [so same as income questions in the US].

Small business/selling: kiosk, selling salt, sugar. Would earn about 200 shillings in a month. On someone else's shamba, 50 shillings. How many hours? "They work for only 12 hours, that's the way they work here".

Income generating groups: he knows of two for men, they collect money, take it to the bank, and thereafter can assist children w/fee problems. He says difference is that merry go round is done weekly, income generating is done monthly. Only women do the merry go round.

Wealth flows: they understand the question. According to him, this is interpreted as a reason for having many children: thus, if says wife's health is not very important to him, he means he doesn't want many children. If they say mortality is unimportant, it means that they don't recognize children as a being.

When con: they remember where and when it was, even the day they talked.

Confidant: we explain a confidant is someone you can't do without, a friend is someone who is there, you can do without them, an acquaintance is someone who is there, you can do without them (i.e. friend and acquaintance are the same). Just a friend might be a relative or not, but can do without him.

Village—he says the clan village. He says the interviewers explain that it means the clan village.

Better off: some say "so and so is better off because he has chairs and I don't", cows, some houses that are being rented, *shambas* that are better, sons are better educated; women say such a person has more clothes, or children who are helping her, or a husband who is working. Probe: many children—also that they say. Boys. I asked him whether they might say "girls" because then they will get lots of

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cows, but he didn't even understand the question.

Ugina:

Total people with numbers is 440, we interviewed all but 3. as of today, 398 have been entered. All 3 are M.'.

Kawadghone: 13 assigned but not visited (later in the day, most of these turned out to be duplicate numbers).

M. has been a trial. When he joined us in Gwasssi(having missed Obisa because his father died) he made about as many mistakes as T. and P.. They, however, improved, whereas up to the last day of interviewing M. was handing in questionnaires with improperly filled-out covers and missing data. When I scold him he's contrite, promises to check his questionnaires tomorrow, and then he forgets--or probably doesn't forget, he's simply too occupied schmoozing around with people in the village to want to spend time checking the questionnaires. I think he probably has been less diligent in finding missing compounds as well: in Ugina, it turned out he missed a compound that was right next to the miji-kumi's compound. And when we went through the Kawadghone data to make sure everything was done, 4 of the 5 missing people were cover sheets not filled out by M.).

Wednesday, January 2: Last day! I'll not be sorry to leave the Bat Cave, but I like the island a lot. It's very beautiful, and lovely to have the water always in sight, usually sparkling in the sun.

We've done a great job. In about a month and a half of work, we've done the 1600 interviews, working with a limited budget that only afforded local interviewers (some of whom were excellent, some of whom needed a lot of supervision), poor transport, etc. I have spent most of my time in some room checking questionnaires or at the computer, as have N., S. and S.--it's not been much "field" experience for them.

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PAPERFLOW/FIELDWORK: We'll know better later, but I think the data are of excellent quality--and moreover, where they are not, we know roughly where the errors are. Although we no doubt have some interviewer errors, some of these have been caught by checking for inconsistencies. If the questionnaire is read as a sort of abbreviated, truncated life history, and read with some knowledge of context, it is possible to catch some errors. Not only whether the date of birth, age at marriage and number of children make some sort of sense, but also the network partners--if a network partner is a grandfather he should be older, if a network partner is a cowife she should live in the same compound (or if not there should be a reason for it), a network partner who goes to the same church should live in the same sublocation (or there should be a reason for it). On the other hand, some things appear to be inconsistent that are not. Thus, when I queried a 27-year old R. chatting with a grandson about FP (and, what's more, a grandson who had been to secondary school) the supervisors launched into a discussion of the extended family relationships in polygamous family. Sometimes I accepted those explanations; other times, I sent the supervisors back to check--and eventually they checked themselves, resolving inconsistencies before returning the questionnaire, often with a note where there was an apparent inconsistency. Usually the interviewers remembered enough from the interview to resolve it--the respondents here do not stick to the questionnaire, but often explain things.

I think the errors will be largely, if not entirely, in the clash of understandings between the ideas in our questionnaire and how they are understood on the ground, by the respondents and to some extent by the interviewers. Some of the distinctions we had in mind, for example, are not as crisp as either we or the supervisors thought: according to my debriefing of the interviewers, some respondents think there is not much difference between confidants and friends, while others think there is not much difference between friends and acquaintances. Thus, in some cases where the same person was interviewed twice, he/she may call the NWP a confidant in one, a friend in another. And although respondents seem to be pretty clear about what makes a person better off or worse off, again the duplicate interviews show that this is not very stable: a person can be better off in one, "just the same as me" in another.

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The supervisors are so bored that they have gone off to Mauta to find the few women who said they went to the hospital for *rariw*, and interview them.

Talking about zero networks, R. says that she thinks that sometimes when respondents are in a hurry and want to get things over with, they figure out with the first network what the structure is, and then when the interviewer asks "who did you chat with about FP" they say nobody--not because they didn't, but because they know it will lead to a long set of questions about each person.

Supervisors are back. They found one of the four women who said she went to the hospital for *rariw*—R.A., F9003. She went in December '94, after her 1st child was born, because she was having pains. She did not call it *rariw*--didn't know that's what she had. The hospital (the "doctor" at clinic here in Ugina--probably the in-charge, a nurse) treated her with 5 chloriquin injections on successive days, with Panadol, and with the antibiotic Septrin for one week. This didn't help, and then her sister-in-law advised her to go to a *nyamrerwa*. The *nyamrerwa* gave her herbs "to be sprinkled down the vagina for 3 days"; some herbs were also mixed with cold water and then she sat in it. Nobody in her maternal or paternal lineage had been affected by *rariw*.

Supervisors still bored, so we have a computer lesson. S. explains the log, and then C. shows them how to enter the data. They all cluster around, fascinated: they want not only the logic but the key-strokes. T. asks if she can enter a questionnaire, so she does it--all disappointed that this respondent has only one network with 3 partners. They call for more to enter, and P. enters another. T. moves over to the log computer, to enter in it that the questionnaires have been entered.

FIELDWORK: The assistant chief came to say goodbye, and to ask me to send him to college, not

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necessarily in the US, maybe in India. D., our cook, asked me to send her to teacher's college. The school asked me to give tables and desks. S. was asked to contribute tarmacking equipment to build a road, and to give a hospital to the area around Sokolo. Etc. According to Parkin and Goldenberger, Luos also make lots of requests to their relatives, but I suspect that the ones to us are incommensurate, they probably have no idea of the cost or of our wealth.

Assistant chief can't see us off, he said, because 60 more guests had just arrived from the mainland for his father's funeral--and he just sent 40 back to the mainland that morning. His father probably better known than most, but it does give a number for the size of funerals.

Quarry labor: M. says sometimes just an odd day's work; if did it for a month, would earn about KS2000 shillings. Fishing clearly more profitable, since at best (own net, good catch) can earn KS3000/day.

We spend some time going over the questionnaire, a sort of debriefing, but it isn't very successful, not as useful as going over it with the interviewers. Interestingly, the supervisors always think the respondent is telling the truth. Also, because they know what the question is supposed to mean, and interpreted it for the interviewers, I think they are uncomfortable with the idea that the interviewers might not have understood, or even the respondents. We do this for about an hour, and then F. asks if we can take a break and do some more tomorrow.

T.: thinks hard to tell how well off or how educated a person is from their house. R: in city have to live to standard of their friends, but here who do they compete with?

FIELDWORK: F. thinks by the time you get to Q18, they know you just want a short answer, don't want explanations.

Supervisors say that in Oyugis we did have on our list people who were not members of the

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village, but generally we do not. If come from outside, to get on miji kumi's list you have to have been there a long time, built a homestead, married in the community.

T. found one, and he was interviewed, he was on the list.

P. says some of them are quite transient, we wouldn't have wanted them.

Quarry labor: M. says sometimes just an odd day's work; if did it for a month, would earn about KS2000 shillings. Fishing clearly more profitable, since at best (own net, good catch) can earn KS3000/day.