

## ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), December 1994***

December 1994

OYUGIS:

### Day 1 of Interviewer Training: Dec. 13

BMETHODS: Tues, Dec 13: Selection and training of interviewers begins. Pretty disorganized, as we decided what to do next when the time came. When we were here in November doing the household listing, C. called for interviewers, and many came to the Chief's Camp, where they were briefly interviewed and some told to come to Amani when we returned. At eight a.m. there were about 10 interviewers and we were concerned; by the time AF, DW and SW had finished meeting with the supervisors and we met the interviewer applicants about 10 a.m., there were 34--although this work is only temporary work, and we required secondary school graduates. N. had given them AF's aptitude test. It's a rather simple one-page test, e.g. circle the numbers that follow even numbers, a rather more complicated question re dating events. Although I had thought it was not necessary--didn't see that it would predict being a good interviewer--I think it was wise to give it. For one thing, it probably does have some predictive power, in that there are some similarities between the logic of the test questions and the logic of skips and loops on the questionnaire. For the second, it turned out to be quite useful when the chief came to complain that we had not hired his wife and daughter as interviewers. The interviewers whose scores were quite poor (below 12, out of a 24 point test) were dismissed; about 12 who got scores in the 12-15 range were interviewed briefly by AF and CO. We ended Day 1 w/21 interviewers rather than 16.

### **Questionnaire problems :**

Men are asked in FP network question whether this was the same person with whom they talked about rariw; same for female wealth-flows questionnaire, Q21A

Women are asked in Q21C whether their wife's health is important re having children.

Skip pattern for Q47 is wrong: says skip to Q47, instead of Q57. Skip pattern wrong in Q60, Q62

### Wed, Dec 13, Day 2 of interviewer training:

Interviewer training continues. They are divided into teams, each headed by a supervisor, according to where they live (so they can walk to and fro together). They are very happy to be there, but rather anxious that they still not make the grade. In the role play interviews, some are quite competent and show real promise, others stumble over the Luo, don't understand instructions re skipping. And the network loops and matrix are clearly still a mystery. They practice on some "real people", and seem to gain some confidence. At the end of the day the supervisors meet with AF/DW/SW. There are about 6 who are problematic, but in each case the supervisor decides to back her team member and we keep all 21. We

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arrange to meet the next morning in the field at 7:30, we talk about the difference between American Time and Kenyan time.

BMETHODS/INT-SELECTION: During the day, C. is hassled by the chief. The subchief came to tell us the chief was very upset, etc. The chief had written C. with some names he wanted to be given special consideration, and clearly expected us to hire these people as interviewers and was angry that they weren't.

One of these was his daughter, the other his younger wife--and a letter that followed the latter's rejection said that C. knows that "the power of a man is in the hands of his youngest wife." After visits by the subchief (to relay the discontent of the chief, as if he, the subchief, were our friend), we invited the chief himself to Amani. AF and I talked with him. He didn't directly say that he was angry that his wife had not been hired, but complained that the project was supposed to Benefithis area, and that we had hired people from outside the area, and "the community" was very upset [AF suspects that the chief is upset about his wife and daughter, not the community]. AF dealt with him well by showing him the aptitude tests, starting from the botE., so he could see his wife's grade, and going on at length about how important it was to be able to learn to do the survey quickly, how important getting good information was, etc. The chief went away apparently mollified, but who knows.

**Questionnaire problems:**

BMETHODS/QUESTIONNAIRE: During interviewer training (and for days afterwards), we discovered lots of problems with the questionnaires. Men were asked, for example, whether the person in the FP network was the same one with whom they had talked to about rariw; women were asked in the wealth flows questions whether their wife's health was very important/somewhat/not important.

Some of these are ours (i.e. SW/NR/SG)--e.g. missing codes, as for spouse's education which has no code for "no education". We ask about living outside of the area for 6 months or more, and then in the next question ask about specific places the respondent might have lived, but it is not specified that this also refers to "for six months or more".<sup>1</sup> More seriously, it's not clear when we ask in the second network whether this was the same person they had named earlier that this refers only to the people named and put in the matrix. Thus, some respondents when asked in the first network who they talked with, give a lot of names: we write down four. But when we ask them the second time, they might say "yes" they talked to the person, even tho the name wasn't one of our four. The interviewers haven't understood that it needs to be a name that was written down, so they follow the instructions and skip over the next network questions. Also, the placement of "no. in network" makes it v. likely that the interviewers start writing down the names, rather than getting people to say all they talk to, writing down that number, and going to the names only

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<sup>1</sup> Others: 1) For questions that ask about ever use and current use of FP, our original version (S.'s) only has "you". The Nairobi English version has "you" also, except that for male current use we ask "are you and your wife" [ignoring polygamy].

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afterward. I suspect that the numbers in Q22 and Q44 will usually match the number of names.

Others were lost in the translation to the Luo--or added, as when the question "do you want another child" was transformed to "do you want another child soon?", even tho the next question asked about when, "within a year", etc. <sup>1</sup> And lots of typos, which is o.k. for our supervisors, but not for the untrained interviewers, some of whom are having enough trouble reading the questions.

We have thus had to do a lot of corrections to the printed questionnaire, eventually (i.e. after the first day) hiring someone to do it because it was taking too much of the supervisor's time. One of the lessons I've learned is that we need to be a lot more careful with the questionnaire. The English version is particularly difficult since it is not possible to pretest it in the field to see that everything makes sense, but also the complicated business of translating three versions of the English questionnaire to Luo. We should have had back translations done, and, because we made a lot of changes in the pretest, we should have had another pretest in the field, preferably with an interviewer who had not previously worked with us.

Others are problems of translation of our concepts into the Luo village setting. Despite our rather intensive field work in the Summaryer, we still had assumptions in our head that do not hold here. For example, we found that the category "professional" is far larger here-- a regular salary seems to be the M. of a professional (e.g. someone who works for the post office) but not even that necessarily: one interviewer wanted to code someone who collects tickets at the Market as a "professional". The interviewers have trouble with "within the last week" or "within the last year", which they think refers to the week or year preceding this one (this was a surprise to our supervisors). The codes should have been in Luo--although having them in English makes reviewing them much easier.

We ask whether interviewers willing to work Saturday/Sunday. This gives a count of who are SDA's, who Catholics that might be useful for something. "No" for Saturday I suppose=SDA; "No" for Sunday I suppose=Catholic.

T.'s Team:

No for Sat: E., A., F., S.

No for Sun: R., J.

F.' Team:

No for Sat=J., E., J., J.

No for Sunday =A. O.

Ph.'s Team:

No for Sat=A., N., E.

E. and K. say yes for both days

R.'s Team:

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No for Sat=M.

No for Sunday=A. and N.

Yes for both=C. and S.

In the event, everyone worked on Sat and Sunday, tho we didn't start until 2 pm on Sunday.

**CODING:**

Professional: probably a bit loose here, esp. on first days in the field in Oyugis.

Dec 15, Day 1 of the fieldwork:

When we arrive at 7:25, almost all the interviewers are there, faces beaming. The last two come at 7:29. They had studied the questionnaires over night. We cover nearby villages, with teams heading in different directions. The villages meet together at a point, and there is a lot of criss-crossing of teams back and forth, and considerable confusion about who is supposed to be where.

BMETHODS: DW and C. and F. had decided on a game plan,, which would be that the supervisor would drop the first pair at the first compound, then take the second pair to the second, then go back to the first, leapfrog over the second, etc. This almost immediately breaks down in practice, as the people in the compound are not in tidy male-female pairs. We very quickly move to having males interview females (and vice versa) if necessary. Also some pairs or individuals are sent off on their own, not clear where they are supposed to regroup afterwards. But, as with this Summaryer, somehow things get done.

AF, SW, DW, CO are also in the field. The *wazungu* make the interviewers a bit nervous, but the supervisors stress that we, like the supervisors themselves, are there to help them, that they will have questions as they go along, and we want to be available. I'm attached to F.' team of 5, and we begin with a large compound. Ph. introduces us, and E. and A. go and talk to wives, the three male interviewers to men. I sit in on two with E., who is rather slow and deliberate, but clearly establishes rapport instantly; one of the male interviewers also does--he was also a top scorer on the exam, another is having more trouble. Toward the end of the first completed interview, I go sit on a log in the middle of the compound and then review the completed questionnaires as they are done. AF/DW and the supervisors do that whenever they can, but they are more likely to be walking around with another pair of interviewers looking for the next compound.

Added notes that I wrote on some questionnaires:

F121, J.A.: said she speaks English "but not very fluently". Both interviewer and respondent seemed to enjoy interview. E. said Respondent talked a lot, was very open. J.said since she had no living children, she couldn't talk much with other people about f.p.; she can talk some, "but not deeply".

M093, S. O.: F. said this is an impossible man, has two big radios run by a big car battery.

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M088, S. A.: J. said this was a good respondent, with a rather well-off compound. Earns money by farming his own shamba. Has worked in Kericho. Seems to talk a lot. Has 8 people in his networks, almost all of whom are acquaintances of each other; his interview has "yes" for Q66 for every category but CBD, and J. believes him. man is using FP, TL, done long ago. Has worked in Kericho. (He's the one who told F. that B. had promised nets and might be ignoring people who live off the road).

F122, J. A.: earns money thru small business, selling sugar and beverages from her home. The interview was interrupted several times because buyers came. E. said both enjoyed the interview.

F124, M. J.: For Q6A, said undecided about having another child; later in interview said wants two more. Husband, coded laborer, has a plow and plows for others. For Q37: interviewer wrote in that R. said intends to stop completely, but not using FP. Q43: interview wrote in that she was visited once by a CBD but hasn't talked with anyone else about FP; when asked on Q69 about visit from CBD, answered "no". Interview was by J., who said he had good rapport, the woman smiled a lot although not v. forthcoming. After the interview she told J. she wanted more children, maybe 2 more, because doesn't have son now. [Perhaps she had earlier answered that she intended to stop completely because she thinks we're with FP? On the other hand, some respondents have no idea why we're there--one expected "nets" as promised by B., one expected a bull]. After the 2 more she would like to stop, didn't know how. J. explained TL to her (she knew the name, but not what it was); she then asked about "TL in the arm", which I explained. J. thinks she was confusing the implant with TL. This res. was nursing a baby of 1 year 4 months, whom both J. and I think was seriously malnourished: the child has very thin legs, probably doesn't walk. The house was quite bare. J. and I sat on a metal sofa that had no cushions, just bare springs. There was a table and 4 stools, no other furniture, no decoration. Plastic bucket in the corner. A child of about 6 in a dirty dress was there during the interview, remained completely quiet. All the children had dirty clothes, respondent less well dressed than other women in the compound.

This is the compound of M086, A. S. O., in R. C: 3 huts. Compound looks poor, children malnourished (kwashiokor) and seem quite quiet, but women dressed fairly well and one child walks by in newish plastic boots.

F127, Ph. A.: R. can't get pregnant. Interviewer A. O. asked me what to do in this situation, she felt uncomfortable asking this woman about FP. I said she could skip the questions about using FP, but still ask the questions about conversations with others--but A. didn't seem persuaded that this was tactful.

F130, A. O., interviewed by M.: this respondent was tired because she had gone to a funeral, but responded v. well.

About 1 we gather for our lunches; sitting on the grass, we chat with the supervisors about how things are going, and then with the interviewers. We identify some new problems with the questionnaire. By lunchtime we have pretty much covered the list, and we need more questionnaires, having gone faster than anticipated

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(partly due to respondents not being home). The supervisors go over some more completed questionnaires with the interviewers, while D. and C. and I return for more questionnaires, the listing for another village (and a bathroom).

BMETHODS/SAMPLE: By the end of the day, the supervisors and interviewers were also simply meeting people on the paths. There's a lot of movement around 5 pm; they stopped people walking in area and asked "are you so and so?" or "Do you know so and so", or "who are you?" and then scanned thru the list to see if they were on it. Also, we discovered the utility of using young kids to show us around--the pre-school children who are hanging about, who know where people live, and who seem to be happy to do it.

At evening briefing, we discussed the major problems. Major problems are 1) that many men are away (i.e. those on the list, who are in fact living there in the compound, but are absent when we come to call) and 2) a lot of time is spent looking for the compounds, criss-crossing other teams of interviewers, etc.

1) Absent respondents: DW said about half of his men weren't there. DW est. about 1/4 to 1/3 weren't there: this included those we expected to be absent (the m-k had told us they were working in Nairobi, Mombasa, etc), but also some who were just not in: working on shamba, in Oyugis, out visiting. DW estimates that about a fifth of the women weren't at home, with most rather nearby, although a few were away visiting mothers, sisters, etc., or at a funeral (also for men).

DW and R./T. said many men were away "ministering"--AF says jua kali ministers: they go find a spot, talk, collect money, look for pretty ladies. As at HB, when AF and I saw man in W. African dress at corner with lots of men and women around. AF says lots of these, reminded me of 17th c England and religious sects.

We tried to arrange callbacks, but often the people in the compound simply don't know--person will be "back later". We think best time for callbacks will be before church on Sat or on Sun for SDAs, Sat or early Sun a.m. for Catholics.

2) Criss-crossing, time lost finding compounds: This is a general problem. The boundaries of a m-k's area are not very clearly delineated. Although most people know who their m-k is, some do not, so simply asking a person who the m-k is is not a complete solution. [see below: T. says she has only found one person who didn't know the m-k's, although many of our interviewers don't know their m-k].

AF,DW,SCW debated this vigorously. AF argued for his epi-methods of sampling, and then retreated to argue vigorously for just interviewing everyone we saw. AF doesn't trust the m-k lists anyway. We then, however, realized that if we just interviewed everyone we saw, we might have difficulty matching them with people on our list, as sometimes the names are rather flexible.

At the evening briefing, it turned out that what AF and DW saw as big problems were not seen as such by the interviewers; in particular, the m-k lists seem to be pretty good. We have not yet found any households

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that were not on their lists; so far, all the people missing from the lists are wives, usually young second wives--exactly whom one would expect the elderly miji-kumis to forget--and these are easily identified. A few women turn out to be incorrectly classified re age (one considered ineligible had a baby a few months ago, for example). There turn out also to be some trouble with names: the m-k's have given us formal names, whereas some people (men) are known by nicknames. (Women don't have nicknames, unless one counts "Mother of so-and-do" or "Woman from \_\_\_\_"). C. said that people are given their official names at birth, but the m-k's pay no attention to children; they only start to recognize them when they are older and walking around and they say "who is that", and they are given the nickname. But when we come to interview them, they give us their "official" names [presumably because we are "official"? it is on paper?].

AF talks about how Luos are so flexible with names, but the supervisors say this isn't so once people have passed about puberty. So we decided to proceed as before, using the lists to find the respondents but being alert to the potential for finding people not on our lists.

We are turning up some people who are supposed to be in Kericho or Nairobi, etc, but in fact have come home for a visit--as well as those who are supposed to be here but have "gone to Kisumu to look for a job", or "left husband" or "away visiting mother". AF had chosen this area because of it's openness, and there does indeed seem to be a lot of movement in and out, based on the match between where our lists say the person is supposed to be and where they are. We can compare this across sites.

For those who are on the list, still live in the compound, but who aren't there, we ask when they will be back. Mostly the people at home don't know very specifically--"later", "in the evening". Similarly, they might know a man works in Oyugis, but not know at what (or not tell us), although sometimes they do tell us--and a few interviewers went into Oyugis to track down their quarry.

**New Questionnaire problems:**

When ask spouse's education, no code for "no schooling"

Code for "within the last 12 year" is a problem: interviewers think it refers to last completed year, not past year. Same with "within the last week".

AF discovers that coding for marriage place is incorrect so he couldn't do marriage distance analysis: for two categories the respondent should be asked to "specify" the location.

Characteristics of the area: AF says standard Nyanza area. More densely populated than most, richer land than most, but pretty standard. Maybe materially a little poorer re artifacts, however; this was also my impression--the houses I was in had no decorations on the wall, children quite shabbily-clothed, some evident malnutrition. AF noted that this suggests that even though many men are working outside the area, there is little flow of money into it in return. For example, AF talked with one man who had lived with his wife in Kericho, but the family was dressed in rags and tatters. This man had six children, he never used

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FP, he said never talked to anyone about FP; wife, however, said she wanted to use. In Summary., a lot of men are working outside, but not visible in the material culture.

Miscellaneous:

AF sat w/one man who's network partners were church, church in another sublocation.

low contra prevalence, v. little cbds.

Look at age distribution. AF thinks the women will look reasonable, but the men won't, because young men are away.

DW: impressed by candor of respondents. Appeared to think about names and give them, I also didn't sense any reluctance to give names.

Day 2 in the field, Dec 16, (Friday, a Market day):

BMETHODS: Again, the interviewers are all there on time, and have developed a team spirit. A few asked for "hooray TEAM" t-shirts--perhaps I can get buttons made for the next lots. They stand with other members of their team, joke with them and the supervisor, etc. T. is particularly good at building team spirit--she's great in the field. They have again gone over the questionnaires at night, and when I chat with several they want to inform me that it is becoming much easier, and how much they like interviewing.

FUNERALS: It has occurred to me that everyone in Obisa might be going to the same funerals, so the major variation would be in the degree of funerals one went to outside the sublocation. I ask a couple of the young male interviewers I'm walking with about funerals: do people have to go to the funeral of anyone from Obisa who dies there? They say yes, but "they might have commitments", in which case they would go to pay respects. These commitments include Market day. My guess is that for some categories of deaths they would go even if they had commitments; for others, they would not. They also said (and this was repeated later by the supervisors) that some people go to a lot of funerals because the family of the deceased has to feed you: these are presumably the jamayas (?) that one of our June respondents referred to, the "people who like to eat at other people's houses"

Again, DW/SW/AF in the field; this time, I'm attached to Ph.'s team. Much as before--we ask directions to a compound, leave interviewers, push on. This time Ph. (and, it turns out, the other supervisors) give part of the list to a pair of interviewers to go off on their own to find the next household, while she interviews the woman.

Interview with M. A., F208 (by A.) and O. A. (M143), by K. and A. : the man was sitting listlessly outside, in a chair, barefoot, tattered clothing. House not really in a compound: single house, locked up one nearby and fresh grave, son had died. House v. poor: LR about 10' by 7', and a second, smaller, windowless room

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that I couldn't see into. One small table, 5 chairs, 1 stool, no decorations on the wall. In the corner I saw 1 earthen pot, 3 plastic wash basins, one plastic jug (like a Wesson oil jug), a decorated basin that might have been plastic, 1 enamel bowl and 2 plastic cups. In one corner there was something like a very large round canteen, about 2' in diameter, perhaps made out of skins, with a hole. On the table was an empty grain sack, and a pair of shoes. Little clothing in evidence: a pair of flip-flops tucked under the roof, a shirt and a dress and a scarf (smaller than a kanga) hanging on a line across the room. A bamboo-type screen in the corner. An umbrella tucked under the roof. For the man, occ. is coded as "other--farming"; he raises bananas as a cash crop; his wife said he does "nothing" to earn money. He says the wife's occupation is "Other--Pottery"; q12 for her is "Nothing"--in the interview, she told A. she used to do pottery, but hasn't done it until her 1st-born died (there was a grave in the yard). The man may be somewhat boastful--when asked if he had a motorcycle he said no, but he had a radio. I hadn't seen one in the house, asked A., she said the wife had said they didn't have one, and she turned and asked the wife again, and the wife said no, they didn't have a radio. She told A. she wants to stop childbearing, but doesn't know how to; she would do it, she volunteered, even if the husband disapproved. But doesn't know how. A. says the wife says the clinic says "panga uzazi, panga uzazi", but doesn't tell them how. A. says several of the women she has interviewed have said this. [A. said that she had rariw when she was pregnant; A. is probably not much more than 30].

Everything is rather consistent in this interview. The house is not in a visible compound; across the way is a locked house, which belonged to their son who died. Although a path goes right by the house, and a man dropped in during the interview (perhaps the miji-kumi, as he was carrying a stick and boldly looked into the house where the female interview was going on), the man doesn't look like he has enough energy to get around. The networks are small: She's talked to one person about rariw, her sister-in law, and he's talked to 2 people about wealth flows, both friends. N. and I compared their responses, and on most they agree; main disagreement is on occupation--he has both himself and his wife doing something to earn money, she has neither. He says wife makes pottery, which indeed she used to do, but doesn't do any more; perhaps his response that his own way of earning money was banana farming also referred to the past. Perhaps he misunderstood the question, perhaps the interviewer asked it incorrectly, perhaps the man is boasting. Both say they have 7 children, of whom one has died; both have lived only in Kericho; both want no more children, both that they are not using FP. She, however, says she intends to use in the future, he says he does not. Is this a typical pattern? Our sense in general is that women are further on the road to FP, and the men are objecting--here we have a case of demand for no more children from both, but only she takes the next step to say she intends to use in the future. Both say they have not talked about FP--altho she may know he doesn't want her to use it, since she told A. that she would use it even if her husband disapproved, if only she knew how. She, however, says she does not know where to get FP (Q73), while he says she does. Maybe he is saying "yes" to knowledge questions, but he said he hadn't heard of vasectomy, and he said he had heard about FP on the radio and in the newspaper but not outdoor cinema (so he will confess to ignorance), whereas she said no to radio, newspaper and outdoor cinema.

Interview with S. O., in K. B: We met her as she was going to the posho mill and then to the Market. She agreed to be interviewed, put her heavy basket of grain down on the path so that she wouldn't have to carry

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it back up the hill to her house. Ph. exclaimed that it wouldn't be safe (though clearly the woman thought it would be--she lives there, Ph. doesn't), so she picked it up again--but put it down once more while Ph.'s back was turned. The house was not in a compound, mud and thatch. Small granary, thatch was drying in front. Looked poor: several chairs and stools, no decoration, very sick puppy. While we were waiting for the woman to look for her husband--whom she thought was nearby, but wasn't (e.g. of people not knowing very well where the members of their family are or when they are coming back), Ph. went on about how "these people in Africa, they are poor because they don't work hard." I said there didn't seem to me to be much they could do, but Ph. said they could grow maize and sell it in the Market, "they are just lazy". The view from the house was lovely: it's rather high, looking down over a small valley and then up the hills again.

The nearest house was a 3-5 minute walk away: in a 45 degree view, I couldn't about 9 compounds (sometimes I could only see the roof). Not particularly quiet--animal noises, esp. cocks, but also noises of people talking, a child shrieking now and then. K. came as we were almost through: S. stood up for him. After doing another interview, we returned to find the husband, who appeared to be very old.

Again, DW/AF/SW leave early, since DW has to take off for Vihiga. I'm to meet them where we began at 10:30, so I ask two of the little "tour guides" to take me. He's told to take me to one S. A.'s house, which the respondent we are interviewing says is right there. When we get there, we find that the house is locked, only a child there, and our car-park is not in fact visible. The tour guides and I are quite perplexed, but we head off toward what seems to be a larger road. They don't know what to do, so I turn left. I figure I can't get lost forever: there's too much movement in this area, and the word will be spread that there's a wazungu in a pink hat and an orange jacket wandering around. After a while the GTZ vehicle appears, returning from Oyugus to our rendezvous--it turns out that I was going the wrong direction.

FUNERALS/AIDS: On the way back to Amani we take a m-k for a ride, and query him about the number of funerals he's been to in the last month. He says he goes to every funeral in Obisa, plus some outside: this would establish a sort of local maximum, if he's right, so people who report going to more than that would be going outside Obisa, and thus demonstrating connections outside of Obisa, whereas people who go to fewer might be interpreted as having fewer links within Obisa. In the past month he has been to 7 in Obisa, 9 outside. Of these, 1 was a woman. We asked what they died of. Three of the seven were sick a long time. One died suddenly, another died after being sick 3 days. One died outside; we lost track of the last.

Back at Amani, DW/AF/SW we talk about how it's going, etc. We talk a bit more about DW's interest in men, which he and N. and I had talked about in the car coming to Amani: what's their role in family planning, to what degree are they opponents, at one extreme, or advocates, at another. he thinks that school fees have budged men from position of opposition to one of neutrality.

DW leaves, and AF and I sort out vehicle stuff, and then go to Oyugis Health Center, where we talk with three nurses about rariw (much of this transferred to file c:\africa\papers\reprohealth]

STUDIES: CLINICS: Re networks, again we get the notion from program people that women talking to each other is nothing but trouble. One of the nurses said, "The women here, you know, get teaching from

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other women, that this western culture is very bad, these drugs will make you infertile." Talked about a patient, whose husband is a teacher and the woman is doing a course on business [implication, which AF quite shares, is that educated people should know better]. The mother-in-law said she was using western drugs, and killing the eggs. The nurse told the woman "these days are not like other days", i.e. what does the mother-in-law know. She told her not to believe other women, that her problem was caused by frequent births. I think this nurse lectured her, scolded her. She went on to say that in this case the husband hasn't refused FP, but it is the other women who cause the problem: "They get teaching from non-medical staff. They get good teaching here but then they are badly informed".

SECRET USE: Re secret use: Nurse #3 says many people here get depoprovera, "They like it because if their husband does not allow them to use FP, they can hide it. The man can inspect everywhere in the house looking for pills, these men are very clever." She went on to say that the husbands accuse the wives, "you are ruining your body" [note health--altho it doesn't come up so high on our wealth flows questionnaire, probably one of the least imp. reasons, check.]

AF: 59% immunization coverage in Oyugis in Dec 94, immediately preceding immunization campaign.

BMETHODS: At the end of the day, AF and I go to pick up T.'s team by the side of the road where there are some kiosks (one of them, we later find, is owned by two of our interviewers who are married [M. and E.]). the interviewers are just beaming. They have had a wonderful day, they are dying to have me look over their questionnaires. On one, the respondent said 0 for the FP network, but then on Q. 66 when she is asked about categories with whom she talked or didn't, identifies some. I point this out to the interviewer, and he leaps up and dashes off to go back to the woman and ask her. One of the interviewers, R., a young woman with very elaborate braids and a particularly shiny smile, asks me about my two pairs of glasses. She says she too has problem reading, with her eyes. I ask her whether she has glasses, she says well she doesn't yet but she thinks she must get them sometime.

Some drunken youths arrive at the kiosk and start harrassing interviewers and us. They are fairly well dressed--one had a white shirt, tie, baseball hat--and speak some English; probably secondary school students or graduates with nothing to do and no money.

Evening debriefing:

BMETHODS: The major problem identified today is that, as R. said, many people say they have talked to "so many", but don't want to give names, so network has zero. Although on the previous day DW had said that he was impressed with the candor of the respondents and their willingness to name names, this seems less true today.

Can this be correct? Perhaps the respondents really don't remember specific people: T. pointed out that in June they often said "so many" but couldn't remember specific people, just a group of women walking to the Market, etc.

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FIELDWORK/CHEATING/SAMPLE: There are also some signs that they are suspicious. They seem to think in terms of Benefits and perhaps punishment as well: certainly our research here is viewed as bringing "Benefits" or "development", specifically interpreted in terms of jobs as interviewers. And at the 1st day of interviewer training, one interviewer pointed out that people might try to "cheat" us, they won't tell us the truth--we heard a lot in June and July about people "cheating" each other. Some respondents were angry that we had come with their name on a list, and asked us aggressively how we got their name (we answered from the m-k, the chief knew about the research). F. reported back that when they went to one of the compounds on the list, a man said he was the owner of the compound, and they interviewed him: after the interview, he admitted that he was not the owner. F. notes that either he was lying when he said he was the owner, or he was lying when he said he was not: we think he was probably lying that he was the owner, hoping to get some Benefit--but when he found it was just questions about supporting parents and family planning, decided to 'fess-up.

A few respondents have said that people were cheated by red cross people/B., promised nets but haven't come-- e.g. S. A., M088, interviewed by J., said that B. had told him they had nets and medicine for malaria, [but he hasn't gotten any] and thought that maybe B. was just reaching people by the road. We are getting some refusals. For example, one interviewer, J., was told that man leaves early. J. went to one at 6 a.m. and man not there, but j. thinks man was hiding. This was the hh where a man had refused to be interviewed the first day.

In the general climate of suspicion, it may be that people have now, on the 2nd day, heard that we ask for names and ask questions about these people, and are reluctant to tell us.

One sign that it is not an inability to recall names but rather a reluctance to name names is that Q66, which asks "Have you talked to....mother/father/friend/nurse", etc, follows the question asking for names of network partners, and this often turns up people that they say they have talked with but didn't identify in the network questions. It probably would have been better to put Q.66 before the network questions: that would have perhaps warned them up, thinking in categories, and it might have been easier to slide into specific individuals for the network question. When Q66 was formulated, the aim was to identify people they don't talk to rather than those with whom they do, but it might have worked to do this and as a primarying question had we put it earlier.

We discussed ways to do better with this question. T. had experimented with explaining that we don't want names, the respondent could give a fake name. However, the respondent forgot who the fake name referred to in the middle of the question. What about our earlier idea that respondents could write the names and numbers on a card, so that the interviewer would have only the number? The supervisors think too many respondents wouldn't be able to write names. T.: they don't want to commit. At the end, we decided to experiment Tomorrow.

BMETHODS/SAMPLE: Discussion of Completeness of enumeration: There are two major potential

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problems. One is that people who actually do live here were omitted from the m-k lists, and the other is that people who were not supposed to be here in fact are. Unlike the other sites, in Oyugis the m-k's made the lists alone; in the other sites, they did it two or three together, and sometimes with other people, who helped them remember.

Omitted people: So far, these seem to be largely in the categories that might have been expected--younger wives. The miji-kumi's sometimes just listed "wife 2", and occasionally even "wife 1". We have already found extra wives for men who were supposed to be monogamous, or a third wife, etc. Since the wives are in a compound together, they seem to be rather easy to find, and I don't think we will miss very many.

Today, However, we discovered 1st compound missing: the whole compound was not on our list. R. found it: she noticed that they kept passing this compound while looking for people not on the list, and went in and asked who was their miji-kumi. C. explained that the miji kumi for that household had been sick the day we made the listing, and his son came instead, maybe his son didn't know. Another explanation that the person in the household offered was that the miji-kumi thought that if they were on the list they would get some Benefit, and the m-k didn't want them to Benefit. [note that many people think in terms of Benefit to themselves from our research--sometimes that it's not going to Benefit them so why do it, other times that it will Benefit them and where is the Benefit.]

In addition, one miji kumi was left off the list: he was the m-k who was sick so his son replaced him, and the son thought of course we knew his father's compound.

Accuracy of enumeration: In addition to the above, there are many problems so far:

1) wives are attached to the wrong husbands. This is easily sorted out in the field, and we have taken the wife's word for it, rather than the m-k's listing.

2) we've found a wife listed as "old" and thus her husband not eligible who in fact had just given birth.

2) Names: the m-k's typically gave the formal name of the person, who often appears to go by a nickname--and indeed, some are rather irritated when we say we are looking for so-and-so, responding that he never uses that name, he is "this and that". (This has not been a problem with women, only men--why?). Again, this has been sorted out rather easily. I was worried that we would be looking unsuccessfully for a person whom we had interviewed under another name, but the supervisors think this is not the case: they have been checking all the other characteristics, and seem to feel that they have identified the proper people.

4) a dumb person was listed.

5) In one compound, there were two sons with correct names, but both of their wives had incorrect names.

Logistics: On the first day, the supervisors walked the interviewers to a compound, left two there, then took

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the next pair to the next compound, then returned for the first. By the second day, the supervisors were giving pairs of interviewers part of the list and sending them off to look for people. F.'s area divided by road, so a lot of walking. The Miji kumi helped--but stuck with F., so F. couldn't sit in on interviews.

I encouraged using those young pre-school boys as guides, as Ph. had done for her team. We discussed paying them, e.g. with candy, but C. said they like to do it even without the pay, showing around wazungu or people from Nairobi. He used to like to sit next to people from Nairobi, reflected glory. F. said the same thing: you don't even play with your friends. The other supervisors roared with laughter.

**BMETHODS:**We also discussed males interviewing females and vice versa. We have tried to have males interviewing males, and females interviewing females. What often happens, however, is that the women are home but the men are out (although women can be out too, men at home). If we arrive with one male and one female, there are two women at home, we don't know where the next compound is, we had a male interview a female. I can't tell how successful this is. I sat in on a few. In one, the male interviewer was not particularly at ease, and I think the interview didn't "catch", although the woman answered the questions. In another, the female interviewer was very good (I had observed her before). With the two women whom I had previously observed her interviewing, within a few minutes of the start of the interview the respondent was smiling, or both chuckling; when she interviewed the male, she sat on a chair (outside, on the grass), he sat about four feet away and leaning away from her, not looking at her, she didn't look much at him. About half way through the interview she moved her chair from the sun to the shade, he moved and sat much closer, about one foot away, and the interview appeared to become more like a conversation. N. ran a check of network size by gender mix of respondent and interviewer, and there was little evident difference (although at that time only 21 questionnaires had been entered, so the numbers were very small).

Miscellaneous:

AF: no contraceptive foam for 2 years. CO: men and women complain that it itches.

Supervisors should meet with team every morning for a bit to go over any problems w/questionnaires.

CBD started in Oyugus in April/May 91; it's the biggest CBD project in Kenya, 212 CBDs.

F. thinks Marketdays are v. imp. One home, 3 small children, mom and dad both at the Market. In another house a small child about 5 left alone, cried when they came in. all alone.

**BMETHODS/FIELDWORK:** Ph. said one old woman called to another mother in law "Hey, they've arrived".

**BMETHODS/QUESTIONNAIRE** During the afternoon, when I am working at Amani, I notice that the questions about "have you ever used FP" and "do you currently use FP" appear to have different words in

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the Luo male and female questionnaires, and Questionnaire construction: Process not entirely clear. But what seems to have happened is that we sent C. an English version of the male and female questionnaires, he gathered the team and they translated them--possibly separately, rather than translating the male first and copying to the female. We then had the two Luo questionnaires that we used in the pretest. We made a lot of changes in the pretest, which T. typed in, typing over the previous versions. I think she probably did the English one while N. was there, and then they did the Luo ones after she had gone. To check, C. gave F. the English and Luo versions of the male questionnaire, to compare; he gave R. the English and Luo versions of the female questionnaire, to compare. (NB: there was no back-translation from Luo into English). That F. did the male questionnaire and R. the female<sup>2</sup> may be why the wording is somewhat different in the two questionnaires, for questions that should have been identical. C. says that different words in Luo can mean the same thing, this is not a problem; it does, however, contravene standard survey practice. This brings up the issue raised in Tanur's book, that even when the wording is identical two respondents may have different interpretations. C. says he observed this in the field: that the interviewer would read a question exactly as written [although C. might not notice changes in words where the meaning is the same, as he didn't when I asked him to compare several questions which had different Luo words and he said meant the same thing] but the respondent didn't understand, and C. had to elaborate to get the meaning across. C. also pointed out that the words used may vary from one area to another: "home" is dala in one Luo area, patcho in another. C. said respondents will understand both, but if we use patcho in an area where dala is normally used, the question will not appear to come from them, the respondents; thus, it will make the survey appear more "foreign"--although it is certainly foreign anyway. similarly, C. said that the term "last year" for him means "since last december (as we are now in Dec), although our interviewers and respondents in Oyugus took it to be the last completed year, the year before this one.

CLINICS: In the afternoon, I go with AF to the Oyugis Health Center, where he has some business and I interview nurses. The first thing is that when we arrive NO ONE is there. The "in charge" is away in HB looking for our vehicle, and everyone seems to have been taking it easy, even though there are many patients waiting.

TM: nurse in Pulic Health Center in Oyugis: discussion of natural family planning. One of her clients used it. She was taught by her sister-in-law. After a birth, the woman takes the blood of the first period on a bit of cotton wool, ties it with a knot in a plastic bag [note use of modern plastic bags with very traditional method] and ties it v. well "so that it won't smell" and keeps it in the roof. When she wants another child she unties it again, and gets pregnant. CLINICS: The nurse said, "Me, I just laughed". The woman said she tried it the first time after her fourth birth and had a two year birth interval, but after the 5th she tried it and it only worked for one year and then she got pregnant. The husband quarreled with her, since he didn't want more children, and accused her of having removed it from the roof.

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<sup>2</sup> Note that gender differences are observed even here.

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At night, the supervisors and N. and the data entry people go to Oyugis dancing. Next morning's report is that they had a great time, N. was a hit, "look at the *muzungu* dancing like the Africans".

Day 3 in the field, Dec 17, Sat.

I stay at Amani to talk with AF before he leaves. We talk a bit about the sustainability of the fertility decline. AF says maybe the first 10% are strong characters, or using secretly; but then gets into the networks. N. and I had wondered whether TL's were done by women with gynecological problems, but AF thinks this isn't true--he's going to ask at Marie Stopes. He says Marie Stopes is reporting getting younger women coming to their TL programs, w/ husband carrying the baby. In Kenya, 100% of contraceptive supplies are donor provided.

Saturday afternoon the Landrover arrives, with the male public health nurse "in charge" from Oyugis health center and the mechanic from HB (we have switched mechanics). They had left Friday, found a problem, went back to HB and corrected it, and then returned. The brakes aren't very good.

Some teams go to do call backs, either early before church or in the afternoon, some start a new village.

When they return in the evening, spirits still high:

Susan: "Well, how WAS it??"

T.: "It's fabulous, it's wonderful, it's improving every day."

C.: "It was GREAT!".

F.: "It was o.k."

Interviewers still great, but very tired, they were very happy that they don't have to come until 2 Tomorrow.

They are bubbling with anecdotes.

**BMETHODS/SUPERVISORS: Ph.:** Ph. exclaims about a May- Dec marriage. Wife, Helen A., married to Pitalis, is 15 with baby, man 62. Ph. really outraged. Young wife had big boil on breast, crying from pain, could hardly talk to us. We didn't interview her because husband said she was too sick. One of our interviewers comes from that place (but didn't interview him), said this girl married the man in August, already had a child by another man which died, and this child is not the husband's. The mother is not only young but naive, sometimes you find her playing with children of 12. Husband has had 11 children, only one is living.

**BMETHODS: Ph.:** m-k's made some age errors, man v. old, only one wife and she's old, Ph. checked that

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they didn't have a young wife, made them ineligible.

**BMETHODS/INT-SELECTION: T.:** T. tells me about the *matatu* driver, one of the people on her list she was worried about. As they were standing by the road, S. (one of her interviewers) recognized this man's *matatu* going by. S. followed him to Oyugis, and got the interview! There are clearly some advantages to having very local interviewers--

**F.:** it was o.k. Most men were home.

He sat in interview by J. and by E.. He liked the way J. did it: all the time looking at the guy and talking as if it were a conversation. E. looks a bit serious. Sat in A.'s interviews, she takes a long time, most of her interviews take an 1 to an hour and a half. But got big networks. Had good rapport. J. is the only one that doesn't have such good rapport. Most of his interviews F. relaxed the respondent a bit. J. had hard time w/skips but didn't miss any today.

F. thinks KO. B and KO. C are different.

1) They are "up the hill"--we could see a light or two from Amani. F. says these guys are farmers so more likely to be around (except on Marketday). They build their houses lower down, and farm higher on the hill.

On the hill they grown corn, cassava and pawpaws, and have banana plantations and coffee around the house. They sell the bananas at Oyugis Market and at Gamba Market. F. is surprised we hadn't heard of Gamba Market: it's nearby and at boundary of Luoland and Kisiiland. Because Kisiis are said to like goats, Luos take goats there to sell.

2) F. thinks about 40% of these people were tough-headed, didn't want to talk to us unless we gave them a very good reason why. F. said we're not forcing you to do this.

e.g. S. O., M153. First said he had been interviewed already, then said he was just joking, he wanted some small money for the interview. After F. and N. talked to him he agreed.

e.g. M162 kept asking why why why. Didn't get this yesterday except for S., and the first house we went to on the first day.

This refers to the men: no trouble from women, except one case today:

F228, P. A.: "The house is slightly up the hill, and as we were ascending we saw someone look at us through the window and then dash out of the house. We asked the daughter, who said 'Ah she left about 2"'. But F. and interviewer told daughter they saw the mother leave. The daughter said "Ah, I'll look", but the daughter never came back. Then they saw the son and he said she was collecting firewood. But F. said "she's an SDA, strict SDA's dont collect firewood". E. tracked her down and she agreed to be interviewed.

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Another case: F223, P. J.: Interviewer A. went, the respondent told someone to tell A. that she was sick, she had a fight with someone and was badly cut and can't talk to anyone. F. sent N. with A. [a man can sort it out? A. is shy, and it's N.'s clan--his father is the miji-kumi, which we didn't know], and he returned saying that she was just telling that girl something else, it wasn't a fight. F. said that was a lie. In any case, she agreed to be interviewed (note that this is N.'s clan). BMETHODS

F. thinks we should have two interviews w/real persons during the training.

\*F. would prefer to supervise only men, mostly because more comfortable with the male questionnaire.

T. report: interviewed three ministers. One was so nice, he was in a hurry going off to minister, kept saying I'm going I'm going, but was interviewed. The other one was asked five questions, when he got to the attend school question he said "you are joking me, you are testing our i.q.". He said I'm off to church, you're delaying me. F. begged him to stay but he walked out. One guy, religion Roho Israel, said his religion doesn't allow him to FP. So he can't talk about it with his wife, because she has to be pregnant immediately after she delivers, wants kids every year. Has two wives and 20 children. Said he couldn't talk about children helping parents because this is "exposing family things", and told interviewer C. to read Mathew something about not talking about family things. K. C.

C.

BMETHODS/FIELDWORK: C. said that the subchief told him a man had complained about the interview to the chief, wanted to know how his name got on the list, he was told that the list came from the US and had something to do with Satanic Cults. C. said that people have told the supervisors or interviewers that the chief did tell them we were coming.

BMETHODS/INT-SELECTION: C. said he was standing near 4 mijikumis and a group of about 15 older men. They didn't notice C., but C. overheard. The men were complaining that more of the people from the sublocation weren't hired, that we got outsiders, and it was the m-k's fault. The men accused the m-k's of not spreading the word that we were hiring interviewers, but only telling their own relatives, and the men said that the m-k's relatives weren't smart enough to pass the test. C. said "I was so happy! They were not blaming us at all, but the miji-kumi's!".

**Questionnaire problems:**

KO., mk P. C., Res. J. O. and M. A.. No roof: the house had fallen down and they are staying with his brother, T. thinks. So we coded thatch, the brother's roof.

Miscellaneous:

Our young tour-guides turn out to be useful in identifying who's Catholic, who's SDA. Interviewed sda's first thing today. Ph. asked q.66 first, and then came back to it, which worked.

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One interview incomplete because the lady going for harambee, made a date for return Sunday afternoon.

One or two people complained that interview too long, a man who was leaving with his family for Mombasa, but agreed to be interviewed. Another man was polite during the interview but then remembered that we asked so many questions, the questionnaire was so long. (Actually, we've not gotten very many complaints about this)

AIDS: Funerals: J. O., m-k of KO. B, said he's gone to 11 funerals in his area in the last month. In KO. C, N. (son of the m-k, says that in KO. C they've had 20 funerals. F. says the causes are malaria and AIDS; N. says malaria and chira (a traditional belief that the errors of your fathers and grandfathers will cause you to waste away and die: see Ocholla-Ayayo, Traditional Ideology among the S. Luo). I asked F. if he thought they were using chira as a euphemism for AIDS. He said no: They are not just hiding, F. thinks, they KNOW it's not AIDS. They describe the sympE.s: they're growing thin, have wounds on their body, diarrhea, come home from Nairobi and die--but it's because of something their fathers and grandfathers did. F. asked N. how many people have been brought back from other areas to die at home. N. offered to take him to them. We had been wondering why, if there is so much AIDS in this area, we don't seem to see people around who look as if they have it--although one of the interviews I went to on Day 2, the man was sitting listlessly in a chair outside the whole time, didn't move, didn't seem to have any energy at all: perhaps he was ill (though perhaps malaria). N. said that people are brought home to die they don't come out of the house. "We are waiting for the cry", for the death wailing to start. N. himself thinks the only people who die from AIDS come from town, refuses to believe that anyone from there dies of AIDS. But, F. notes, if it's *Chira*, why do the wives get it? I also wonder why we see dead old men on our list, but not dead young men: supervisors say it's because we asked for hh head on our listing, and the hh (i.e. compound) continues to be known by the name of the departed. When young men die they die, wife goes to another hh via remarriage.

BMETHODS: F.' Interviewer J. has worked with some people providing grade bulls in this area. When he arrives at the compound people ask whether he's come to inspect their bulls. In J.'s interviews the networks are really big: F. thinks it's because they expect a bull at the end. The respondents are surprised when it's just children supporting their parents and FP. Fr: "He handles them so well". At the beginning he tells the respondents that this has nothing to do with bulls. At the end, if they ask, he says more. After one interview he told them "I won't promise you bulls, but you know the conditions for getting a bull, the napia grass, the application, if we give you a bull we expect to get something from you, but I'm not promising you anything."

He says this after the interview; in the introduction he explains in detail that this has nothing to do with bulls, doesn't talk about what you have to do to get a bull, only at the end.

How related are people in the villages? F.: in his village, grandfather's fathers were brothers, so it's the same great-grandfather.

No meeting, but I went through the lists with each supervisor, to see who has not been interviewed, and

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why not:

Callbacks

T.:

R. C, from 1st day: don't know yet.

KO. clan, mk is P. C.:

F164 was D.s' number, but she's too old, her number was given to the younger wife, Grace, who hadn't been on the list. says urban Luos keep one wife in country one in city and trade them off].

F166 went for a funeral 6 months ago and hasn't come back, so "they say" she has left the husband.

F171 went to join the husband in Nairobi, not coming back soon.

F174: on list as wife #2, but man has only one wife, not two

F177: husband said she went to visit in her home place, might come back in a week's time.

HH head O. O.. Wife is listed as J.A., but she's really the daughter in law. M. O., who appears on our list to be the son's wife, is really the mother in law. so m-k's confused wife of the hh head with the wife of the son of the hh head.

M123 and M124: brothers who have gone to Nairobi for a job.

M125 and F185 are REALLY old.

?M126 is the matatu driver, wife can't be traced. Went 2x to home yesterday, 1x today. He said she should be at home.

F189: gone to Kisi to join husband for Christmas.

M129: went to Kisi.

R. A village, M-k is S. S.

M006: dumb man

M007: Kisumu

F011: separated

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?M008,J. O., M008: goes to Oyugis at 6 a.m. and comes back at 9 p.m. T. met him this a.m., He said his brother had been interviewed, and he he thinks if what his brother told him is true he is too busy, walked away politely. Th said he was not rude, spoke very softly. He is a turnboy on someone's tractor, and they work outside Oyugis sometime, so might be hard to track him down there.

?F013: to be confirmed , Th not sure if done or not

F015 went to Kilgoris, comes home occasionally. Had come on Thurs just after we left, daughter doesn't know when she'll be back again.

F016: gone for Christmas in Chemlil where husband works (sugar co.)

?F017 M. A.: interviewed husband yesterday, he said to find wife today, but house was locked.

M016: to Kisumu

M016: didn't meet the man but we were told the man is a mental case by our interviewers-- who know him-  
- and the wife has died recently (team members knew this)

F026: we were told they had separated by a child, house was locked. There was no adult around, there was some celebration in the neighborhood.

R.:

Virtually all done, plans for the rest on Sunday.

Still missing:

K. C, M-k is J. O.: This is the area where most of the networks were 0. N. did a lot of them, R. will go over them with her on Sunday.

J. A., not on list, husband was interviewed but she was not at home

F070, S. O.: very old

F072, J. A.: Not at home, left last week for somewhere far.

Re the new areas:

BMETHODS: One compound selling changa, lots of people there, one woman drunk "so we couldn't

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interview the woman, tho we did interview her cowife. " Cowife was J. A., F084: she was initially out, was called back home many times but didn't come. When she came, she was about to leave again, so R. interviewed her. R. thinks maybe she was not interested, or maybe didn't want to sit there: both networks had zeros. (this was the same compound where the people were drinking).

More problems today with other people around, because people were home on Saturday. "As much as there were SDA's, we found them in the morning getting ready to go to church."

"Today we have some really good networks: a few guys had 20 names." Not same problem with naming names, altho there are a few with zeros. Then M. tried w/Q66, and still didn't get names. She thinks it may be that place, K. C.

No refusals from men.

PH.:

R. B:

J. A.: visiting parents, people in house didn't know when she'd be back

P. O. (?): visiting parents, ditto

O. O.: working in Kisumu [name diff. on list]

O. O.: ditto [name diff on list]

O. O.: visiting, might return Tomorrow

e. O.: coming back Sunday

K. B:

M. K.: visiting nearby

B. A.: Died last month

S. O. and wife E.. A.: he is 80, she is 70, no young wife

O. O. and wife H. O.: he is dead, 60 yr old wife has not remarried.

O. M. and wife E. G.: he is 70, she is 60.

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U. U.: at funeral far away

D. A.: visiting parents in Siaya; sister-in-law said she might not come back soon, Ph. said people there thought she might have disagreed with her husband.

F.:

KO. C:

M156, B. O., is old, and wife C. is also overage.

M157, J. B.: wife F225 has left him. He was interviewed. Fr says he doesn't look very normal, v. slow thinker, had to refer to his ID card to answer with his age. Didn't know when he married his first wife, altho they tried a lot of different questions.

M160: C. O., should be C. O.; went to Kendu Bay to visit, might come back in 2-3 days time.

M154 and F221 are our interviewers, E. O.N. and M. O.. M. was particularly good right from the beginning: by the 2nd day of interviewer training, she knew what was going on. N. and M. have a shop where we waited yesterday. N. used to be a teacher, has just taken accountant's exam, M. takes care of the shop. N. didn't interview in KO. C, where his father is the m-k, N. O.. I asked whether the whole family is as decent and upwardly mobile as N. and M.. F. says no: his brother, S. O. (M153) is a drunkard, refused us first, wanted to be paid, but later on agreed.

?M161 C. O. had "gone for a visit"; wife, Ester A., F230, went home to visit.

?C. O. 161, J.O. and C. O. all had gone for a visit, which usually means for a funeral, a marriage, etc. F. asked people in the homes, they said it was a group trip for 2-3 days. Try Tuesday.

P. O., M163,; his wife is listed as J. O.. He had met her in Kericho, brought her home, they lived there for 2-3 months, then he found out that she was married w/brideprice to someone else so he sent her back. Re m-k's list, F. said "you know those old guys, [the m-ks] they don't ask about brideprice". So we didn't interview him

D. M. and J. A. have both gone to visit their husbands in Nairobi, (husbands are brothers), expected back for Christmas. Will check them again.

Koching B:

one person added: J. O., not on list; his father is not on our list either and is dead, the mother is still alive,

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M.A.. The brothers are on our list because they've moved out and have their own homes.

S. O., M165, works at Awendo.

M166, D. O., left for work at about 6. F. asked where works, they said Oyugis but didn't know where.

F239, H. A., has gone to husband in HB, expect them back for Christmas.

F240, M. A.: left early in morning because child was sick, told to wait until 1 but hadn't returned by 2.

F241, M. AB., left for her home which is nearby, expected home at 5.

F242, B.A., joined husband in Kericho.

M179, O. O. O.: as we were leaving his place passed us on a bike, F. asked M-K if that was one of our guys, m-k said yes, but by that time he had gone to far. They returned later, but he hadn't come back.

M180, O. S. M., a business man, we were told it was very hard to get him, he was in Migori yesterday, returned about 7, left again today at about 5:30 a.m. Wholesale eggs, transports them around [should have big networks].

Summary. of callbacks: I feel comfortable that we will not miss many people who are there. By the end of Saturday, Day 3 in the field, in the areas we had interviewed in we had almost everyone except those who had moved away/visiting outside/died/separated since we made our list. I'd say there are no more than about 10-15 people whom we haven't yet found who should be there. Some of our interviewers are from Obisa, and this has been a help: they know individual histories.

e.g. in one area, four women were missing. F. asked N., who lives there, why. N. said these men bring their girlfriends home, so wife just has to go away. N. found this shocking, and F. does too.

MONEY: E., wages: 35 KS/day for male casuals, 40 in the kitchen, 50 for kitchen supervisors. D. gets 50 shillings/day, plus 40% of her wages for housing, plus a 25% bonus. The storeman (the husband of our interviewer, E., gets 1500KS/month plus 40% of this for housing, and 25% of this bonus. G., who does just about everything to keep the place going, gets 4000/mo, plus housing and bonus as above. The accountant gets 4600/month, again plus housing plus bonus. She says the wages are about right for this area. Amani supported by Bread for the World.

CODING:

Our earns money question, "other" category, almost undoubtedly means farming, plus selling a few things

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from the shamba.

I think few interviewers really stick exactly to the questionnaire. Luos elaborate and chat, I think, so being so precise would be "not Luo". May be foreign to insist on literalness, so esp. important that the interviewers understand what we're about.

Male occupation codes didn't include farming (other than working on someone else's shamba); we will have a lot of "Other--farming", who are people who are largely subsistence but now and then sell a little farm produce.

AF warns about comparisons w/DHS: small numbers for their clusters.

Ambivalence: My sense is that the women here are intrigued by family planning.

Sun a.m., Dec. 18

No work until 2, and then we'll work until 8 this evening to try to clean up some call-backs. Last night the supervisors etc went dancing at the Wayside. N., the first up in the a.m., says it was great, and ended in a fight. The supervisors, who straggle in for breakfast, confirmed that N. was a hit. They danced the night away, the band made up a song for N., using her new Luo name (A.). Lots of drinking (not by our team, but by the others there) and a bit of harassment of the ladies by other men--though our men protected them. And one lady harassed R. and N., grabbing them for close dancing and explaining that "this was the way Africans danced". Eventually one drunken man grabbed for R., she ducked, he fell, the security man came, there was some pushing, lots of people fell on the drunken man and beat him up, our people skedaddled. Plans are to return Tuesday night.

Some debate over going to church. F. would go if the service was an hour, but today is a combined English/Luo service, longer, he won't go. I don't think in the US many men of his age would even debate the issue.

**Completeness of Enumeration:**

BMETHODS/PAPERFLOW: We need to have a system to keep track of whether we are getting everybody.

Everybody=

A) Everybody on the miji-kumi's list of people in town who are eligible, i.e. everyone who has a number

B) New additions--people who were not given a number but who are in fact eligible

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Category A: everyone who has a number

- 1) Everybody we've interviewed
- 2) Everybody we haven't been able to interview, with a reason for not being able to interview that person
  - a) we thought they were eligible but they weren't--people who've died since the listing they've left town--gone to Kisumu
  - b) can't find them despite 3 visits

PLUS

CATEGORY B: New additions who need a new number. These numbers may be either in the 250 series or 999 series. The basic reason for getting a number in the 250 series is that they turn out to be eligible and we interview them; the basic reason for getting a 999 is that they are not eligible, and the most frequent reason for getting a 999 is that they are not living in the village.

(Note that in some cases the need for assigning a 999 is driven by S.'s program: this program insists that everyone has a number, including absent male spouses. For example, we assigned a number to women if they were on the miji-kumi's list as living in the village and of reproductive age; her husband, however, was not assigned a number. The program insists that he have one, and he gets a 999.)

In LG, this system was changed. We've assigned numbers ahead of time to 250 women, ie. F381-630. When we discover a new woman, we give her e.g. 630, and cross off the old name. However, it might happen that the old name was already interviewed. This raises the possibility of duplicates which are not typos. This could have been avoided by holding the last village in reserve. If we find such duplicates, we should check the log to see if one of them is a woman we crossed out, and then erase the data for the one we had crossed out.

Eligibility criteria:

- 1) for women, she is eligible if she's of reproductive age AND she's living in the village AND we don't have already have 200 women in the sample. The husband does not have to be alive.
- 2) for men, he's eligible if at least one wife is of reproductive age AND he's living in the village AND we don't already have 200 men. (The wife does have to be alive).
- 3) A de jure criterion for both men and women is that they are ever married: the miji-kumi's listing categorizes them as married or widowed. We have included widowed women of appropriate age, under the assumption that they are sexually active.

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Who gets a 250 number: people who were not assigned a number but were found to be eligible and were interviewed.

a) The m-k made a mistake, and they are eligible.

i) the wife is in fact pre-menopausal, and thus eligible, although the m-k thought she wasn't. In this case, the wife gets a new number (250 plus). Since the selection criteria for men is based on the age of the wife, her husband also gets a number. This is a 250 series number if he's in the village, or a 999 if he isn't.

ii) the m-k thot the wife was living in Kericho at the time but she wasn't. (We have not discovered any examples of this mistake) OR the m-k made a mistake that the husband was living in Kericho at the time but he wasn't (no examples of this either).

b) The m-k was correct in thinking either the man or both the man and his wife were in Kericho, and they were at the time the list was made, he/they subsequently returned.

i) m-k thot the man was in Kericho and the wife was in the village and of the proper age: in this case, the wife already has a number, and the prodigal son needs a 250 number.

2) The m-k thought that both the man and his wife were in Kericho (and the wife was of the proper age):

If the man has returned but the woman hasn't, the man gets a 999 (he doesn't have an eligible wife, i.e. one who lives in the village). So he should not be interviewed.

If the woman has returned but the man hasn't, the woman gets a 250 series number, and the man gets a 999.

If both have returned, and the woman is of reproductive age, both get a 250-series number (if we don't already have 200 women and 200 men). If we already have 200 women, she gets a 999 and he gets a 250 series number. If we already have 200 women and 200 men, we should have ignored them, tear up the questionnaire, erase the file.

2) People who never made it to the m-k's list, but are in fact eligible. These are people we discover in the course of walking around and asking questions: e.g. a second wife that the m-k didn't know about or forgot. These people also get a new number, beginning w/250, for both men and women.

If this "found" person is an eligible woman (the right age, haven't filled our quota), we interview her and give her a 250 series number. We ask about her spouse. If he is living in the village we give him a 250 series number; if he is not living in the village or he is dead or they are separated he gets a 999 [the latter case will probably never arise, see below].

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If this "found" person is a man, we inquire whether any of his wives are eligible women.

If he does not have an eligible wife (i.e. his wife is too old, dead, living away) he is not interviewed, and does not get a number.

If the wife is eligible (right age, living in the village) he gets a 250 number, and she does too. He may have other wives who are not eligible, in which case these wives get a 999.

If the wife is eligible (right age, living in the village) but separated, the woman gets a 250 series number but the man gets a 999 (this also is unlikely to occur, since a separated woman is likely to leave).

Code for ineligibles, which is 999: S.'s program insists that everyone has a number, but in fact everyone on the m-k's list was not assigned a number. These people who are will not be interviewed--e.g.

A woman has a number, her spouse doesn't because he's in Kericho: he gets a 999.

A man has a number but his spouse doesn't: 1) she may be in Kericho (tho we had no cases where the husband was there but the wife was listed as living away) 2) she left him (so we can't interview her) 3) wife is there but we've reached our quota of women. She gets a 999.

NB: There is a basic contradiction between our sampling frame and the m-k's lists. Our sampling frame is women of reproductive age. Thus, a woman may be eligible even tho her spouse is dead, but a man whose spouse is dead is not eligible. The m-k's lists, however, are really based on men and their wives, because among the Luo it's the male's lineage that provides the basis for de jure residence in the village, both for himself and his wife. Thus, for example, we expect to find separated men still living in the village, but we do not expect to find separated women--although a widowed woman would remain in the village, probably because she has sons in the village. C./F. say that separation is not really a status here--although we have certainly found men whose wives have left them.

Sunday evening: supervisors return late, around 8:30, and seem quite weary. They had only left at 2, so it was a short day, and not v. many interviews--F. did 4, Ph. 8, etc. they said people weren't home, they lost a lot of time waiting. Also, Ph. said one person on the m-k's list was there, but in fact has another m-k. The Landrover is giving problems: not only the brakes, but it wouldn't start, and the driver says there is a problem with the condenser, it needs a new one (the symptom is that it has no energy and wouldn't make it up the hill to Amani, the supervisors had to keep putting stones under the wheels while the driver revved up the engine).

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topic 1: How are they assigning pink and yellow questionnaires?

They've been alternating for each interviewer for all but Ph., who has been giving all pink to one female interviewer and all yellow to the other female enumerator.

topic: tracking completeness of enumeration

There needs to be a questionnaire with the first six lines of the front page filled out for everyone who has a number on the list, even if you can't find the person, plus the people you've found. This means a questionnaire even if you can't find the person.

We did this the first day, when you filled out the questionnaires ahead of time. But now that you are only filling out the cover of the questionnaire when you find the person, the only way we know about the people you haven't found is on the list. We have to enter the people you haven't found into the computer, and without the questionnaire front sheet filled out we can't do that. This means a questionnaire for the spouse too. so if you find a man who was not on the list but lives here (someone the m-k forgot) you need to fill out a front page for him, and interview him, but one for his wife too--and indeed, remember that you don't even interview him unless his wife is here.

so could you please fill out a questionnaire front page for everyone on the list? When we get to Luanda Gwasssi, I'll ask that new person, R. O., to do it; here, you could either go back to doing it the night before, or do it during the day in the field.

Also, for those questionnaires where you can't interview the person, we need to know why not: This has to be on a questionnaire front sheet, with the information on the first 6 lines filled out.

And for those questionnaires where there isn't a number filled in on the front sheet, we need to know why there isn't a number. (for example, person returned from Kericho).

## **CODING**

Man who owns a plow and works for others: probably coded as laborer, but should be "works on someone else's shamba". But if he doesn't own the plow, should be laborer, says C..

Late Sunday night: we finally organize enough to count the questionnaires that have been completed, and the incomplete questionnaires that are likely call backs. We have about 315, and maybe 20 more people there's a chance that we can get with call backs, and about equally divided between men and women (check). I say that we thus then need to do another village, and do the whole thing (not just the easy parts).

People we can't get are a particular problem for our study, since they are likely to be the most active, the least often at home. (Similarly, the people that we miss entirely--not on the m-k's list, and we don't stumble upon them--are also a problem for this study, since they are probably likely to be the least visible, although I

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don't really know why a m-k would forget someone).

Monday December 19

The Landrover wouldn't start, so we borrowed E.'s.

We met the interviewers at our standard spot by the side of the Kisii road, between Amani and Oyugis. C. made slips for the other villages, and we had a passing m-k select one, which was KO.. KO. has 27 compounds, relatively large. The supervisors assigned some member of their team to callbacks in the areas we had already visited: the others were taken to the new area. We didn't have a listing (nor had we talked to the m-k), but we just fanned out, the teams going in different directions. We'll see, but I think this is not a bad way to begin, as long as we have a list from the m-k so that we can check for completeness. O. is about a 10-12 minute v. slow drive from Oyugis, some of it over a decent dirt road and some of it over a rutted road, and the end over rutted tracks.

NETWORKS: I went with F., a man who we had met earlier who was guiding us, M. A. (one of our two elderly interviewers named A., this one a primary school teacher who is quite slow as an interviewer, my guess is that teachers don't need much education). Along the path we met a man from our m-k's area, so F. decided to interview him. M. A. went on, I sat nearby. F. and the man stood for the interview (I have a picture, his name is Isaiah O.)--F. said later he didn't want to sit because the ground was damp. There was a fair amount of traffic on that path (a footpath, no car could drive), so I timed the interview and the frequency of movement.

8:47: interview begins

8:47-8:50 2 men with a plow, two oxen, going toward town

a boy going toward town (alone)

a young man going away from town (alone)

a girl going toward town (alone)

a boy going toward town (alone)

8:50-8:55 3 women wearing scarves, going toward town,

talking over the hedge behind me to people in the

invisible (to me) compound. They stopped and shook

my hand fervently. F. later said they were religious.

the same young man from above, going the other way with the man who had guided us (going toward town)

a woman with a bucket of water on her head, going toward town a woman with a basin on her head and 2

children(possibly 3 children, couldn't tell about the age of the woman), going toward town

9:00-9:05 An male passerby spoke to the respondent from the other side so I couldn't see him, F. said he was telling him to hurry up. A woman wearing a scarf, not carrying anything, going toward town, the first

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passerby to stop and shake hands with F. and R.

9:05-9:15 Man walking a bike, coming from town, then rode the bike when the path got better child going away from town, maybe 5-7 years.

9:17 Interview finished. Man started to wiggle a bit (after standing completely still) a few minutes before Q 66 (i.e. during the FP network questions). F. said he was just eager to finish because his friend had called him.

We then proceed to the next compound. Along the way we meet two women, F. chats with them and finds that one is a *nyamrerwa*, so we interview her. She thinks *rariw* is due to the uterus becoming weak. If the uterus is carrying a baby, the baby wants to come out. "It is like a cloth that wants to come out". Pain in the lower abdomen and thighs. Not there in the olden days.

Then we reach the compound where M. A. is interviewing, and where the son of the head (G. B.) has already been interviewed. The compound seems relatively prosperous; the house is concrete with a metal roof, and is large. The sitting room has 3 sofas (all covered with cloths or doilies) and many chairs. There are family pictures on the wall, religious pictures (the household head is a pastor for SDA), and a collection of "advice" pictures--a framed poster of what causes an ulcer and what to do for it (brought by the HH head from Nairobi), a picture of a mother and baby with advice on what to feed children, a sign saying what to do about diarrhea ("Diarrhea: Give more Fluids, Continue Feeding", a large framed poster of Moi. (Interviewer M. A. is still asking supervisor how to fill out the matrix, "same as").

AMBIVALENCE: We chat a bit outside with the son, G. B onyo. He is a teacher around kendu Bay, and speaks good English, nicely dressed, v. friendly. I ask him what men say when they talk about FP. He said they talk a lot, and "all support the idea of family planning but feel it has consequence".

I ask whether he means side effects, and he says yes, problems for the women. He talked a bit more, saying that men didn't want so many children and then said "We [I think meaning we men] get convinced but that question M. remains". I asked whether, since he is a teacher and respected, other men come to ask him questions about family planning, or to discuss it with him. He said yes, they come at school and tell the teachers to organize, started talking about going around with music; when we clarified and said we meant to him personally, he said no, they don't come to him personally, "because they feel we [teachers] are not equipped" [presumably to give advice about methods].

POVERTY/RARIEW: Turns out a visiting woman is a *nyamrerwa*, so we talk to her. She's a midwife in the area. I ask whether women come to her about FP. She says no, they don't--but it seems they do, for she continued by saying that they say to her "why do people want us to plan our families while you have many children". She says to them that in the old days there was enough food and land, now we don't have enough and we have school fees to pay, you should use FP. We ask about *rariw*. Again, the familiar movement

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of arms to abdomen. She says that it is something hard running down the abdomen, and holds up her fist; she can feel it just next to the uterus, where the ovaries are (F. draws a picture, apparently from her explanation). With severe *rariw*, the ovaries are hard on both sides, and then she advises them to go to Kisii, Homa Bay or Nabondi Hospitals. [Note that severe *rariw* is seen among women as something for a hospital, not the Oyugis Health Centre]. She volunteers that it wasn't there in the olden days, it begins in the early 70s, that's when women started complaining. She learned her trade from her father's mother: I asked whether she taught her about *rariw* and she said no because it wasn't there then. I ask whether non-pregnant women can have it, and she says they can't. But she says you can feel the *rariw* even after birth, when the child is 6 months old and breastfeeding. She says it's not just older women, you can have it even when you've had only one birth, but it's more common among women who have older children. She thinks the causes are hereditary, that it runs in some families. I ask whether *Chira* is involved, and she says "Ah Ah", meaning no. she says that if you have it for three years, the heart falls (not clear what this means). I ask what the clinic does when women come complaining of *rariw*: she says they only give capsules or panadol, and the women are told if they don't feel better they should go to a traditional herbalist. STUDIES: We talked a bit about side effects of FP, which she knows to be excessive bleeding, and she first said it was due to working too hard, then added that she thinks it's perhaps they don't take the pills regularly as they are advised, or they don't eat food with the pills.

STUDIES: As we walk along with M. A., who is a teacher, I ask her whether the women who live around her house ask her about FP. She says no, they go to nurses and doctors. I then emphasized that this is just chatting, and she said no, they go to people who are still giving birth [which she probably isn't] and ask them "How is it with you?". She then started talking about the woman she just interviewed, J. A., told her that three women had told her about side effects and discouraged her. But the R., J., has talked to her husband and she is planning to start; they were encouraged by a male friend.

Photo #29 is Ph.'s respondent.

Sat in on interview by E. with L. O.. The compound is rather large and attractive: the head house is made of stone with a metal roof. Inside are two tables with doilies, lots of wooden chairs, calendars, family pictures; sitting there are three women--Nancy, who lives in another house in the compound and is shabbily dressed (and described by L. later as maybe not available for an interview because she is always so busy), L.'s grandmother, and L. herself, who is sitting in a pink silk dress with a purple placket in the front. E., L. and I take chairs under a tree, and I listen to the interview, a good part of which is in English (E. asks the questions in Luo, and L. often answers in English). The grandmother follows us out and sits nearby (tho not close enough to hear us) but after about 10 minutes walks away, back to her own house. During much of the interview there are some small boys nearby; at one point they wander away, I notice that they seem to be free to come and go as no one asks where they are going--but just then she apparently does, calling to them. [But in general I think children here are pretty free to come and go as they please].

The funeral question was answered v. quickly--she certainly knew how many funerals she had been to in the last month, without question. Early in the interview when asked how many children she has, she said in

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English that she wants as many children as she can have; when asked the number wanted on Q21A, she answered 8. She describes herself as a "true Christian". When E. got to the health question on the wealth flows (reasons for having children or not) she didn't think health was so important, explaining that as a Christian she believes she will live 70 years [she is interpreting health in terms of mortality, not morbidity]. NETWORKS: Her 1st wealth flows network partner, N., she said she visited with last month "and we talked a lot about our children". Another network partner, R., is a distant aunt [check what E. coded this as] and they always meet on Saturdays; R. lives in Oyugis. The third network partner is a *nyieka*; E. writes in co-wife under 13, but later it turns out it's a sister-in-law. L. says this woman "is a busy woman so we only meet once a month". Under the church questions, she almost always says that they don't go to the same church but they are the same denomination [this must be important to her]. She says "we were just sitting in her house, we had nothing to do"; this woman she sees 3x a week, which E. coded as "almost every day". When asked about FP networks, she says "those 4 people (named earlier) and many others", E. gets the name of four others. She says she goes to a women's discussion group once a month, and before it begins "we discuss things like this together". By the 8th network person she seems a bit bored, and she knows what questions are coming, and interrupts E. to answer with the proper category. When we get to Q66 and whether she's talked to her father-in-law, she says "Ah, No". And adds, "Mostly, you know, women talk to themselves". I think she answered co-wife yes here, but she is monogamously married, they are all sisters-in-law.

BELLAGIO/SECRET: After the interview we chatted a bit, first her and E. and me, and then T. came with two of our interviewers. L. began by telling us that she stopped using FP because she had complications (she had said this in the interview). She used FP from 1990-92, while she was in teacher training, and then stopped; after she stopped she had complications, particularly weight gain, so she will not use it again although her husband wants her to. I asked her about men's views. She said "Most of the men here don't like FP because they want many children." I asked her about secret use, which she certainly knew, and said "Some husbands insist on not using FP, but they cannot provide (for wife and children) so they (wives) feel it is a burden. They say to her, "How can I do this, the husband is not providing, better I use FP." I asked about whether if the husband discovered he would beat her, she said yes, it can even land with the police [our interviewers seem uncomfortable with this, as if it is not proper to say this in front of foreigners]. L.'s home is where we interviewed her, but she teaches and lives in Oyugis (her husband is a teacher also). During the holidays she comes daily, but during school she comes Sundays--"Sundays I must". I asked whether her mother-in-law knew she used FP, and she said yes, "she was not for it and I stopped, after her advice". But it turned out that she didn't tell the mother-in-law she was using until she finished teacher training--when she herself wanted to stop using and get pregnant (she is 3 months pregnant now). I asked her why she didn't tell the mother-in-law earlier, and she said "because I know they could not accept". She has not had *rariw*, but her friends have. Re cause, she says doesn't know. I ask her whether it is only pregnant women who get it, she says most of her friends say so. What to do? She says *nyamrerwa*, but using the word "jua kali", which T. and the interviewers haven't heard in this context before [and may be the influence of the town?]. I asked what her friends say the clinic does when women come with *rariw*. [Although she has not had it herself, she seems to know from her friends what goes on]. "The clinic [Oyugis Health Center] only gives panadol and whatever. These *nyamrerwas* are the best, they give herbs. The

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clinic just gives panadol." She says the clinic uses the term *rariw* too. asked whether her friends say they had a urine test at the clinic [this is what Sister M. had said they always do for women who complain of *rariw*] but she says she's never heard that at the clinic they give a urine test, that the local health centre doesn't give a urine test, for this you have to be very sick and go to a big hospital in Homa Bay or Gendia. (I'm not clear, nor was T., whether here she was talking just about *rariw*, or about anything, that to be treated for anything you have to go to a big hospital. But it seems rather clear that she doesn't think much of the local health center).

T. said she doesn't like walking alone here (Obisa, I think) mentioned seeing drunken people early in the morning--referring to her interview yesterday, I think, where the women were brewing and selling *ganga*.

We stand and chat a bit more, wait for another interview to finish, try to figure out where we are going to go. L. points to the boundaries of the *miji-kumi* [she seems to know exactly where they are] and then we leave, heading toward the Landrover. It drives away just as we approach (it makes far too much noise to hear anything else) and we find Ph. and some interviewers under a tree, and more collect. E. and K. are sent to catch a couple walking down the path, there's a lot of loud talking, evidently the people don't want to be interviewed now. They approach us and we stop them cheerfully. The man turns out to have already been interviewed in K. B; the woman promises to return in 15 minutes but didn't arrive in the next hour (when I left). The man said that we've missed young men and young women in the area, we should interview them [I interpret this as being his view that having the interview was a good thing, but maybe he's talking about teenage sex?]. After he left, T. told about seeing a *mzee* that morning who stood up as they came into view, and was waiting for them. He said, "I hear you are just interviewing women who can have children. But can you also interview me?" T., after ascertaining he had an eligible wife, interviewed him. Th. said she hadn't yet met a "tough case" in this village. T. also reported meeting a *nyamrerwa* that morning, who said that in the old days we were never sick, it's all the cooking oil that people nowadays eat (Th said she was talking about illness in general, not *rariw*).

Finally F. came with the list that he had made with our *miji-kumi*, and started going over it; another *miji-kumi* came by and helped as we matched questionnaires to names. A lot of differences in names/nicknames.

Miscellaneous:

I've seen almost no begging here, occasionally a very old lady will importune me, but not children. There are more little boys than little girls wandering around.

CODING:

My sense is that the tenses are somewhat fuzzy, as they sometimes were in the qualitative interviews; thus, I think some of the distinctions like "currently" are not always followed.

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Evening: We have done 42 interviews in Ohinga, of whom 13 are men. There are about 70 eligibles, so we are about half done.

I have not kept track well of how many interviews we've done, how many more we need to do, what stage of callbacks we're in. Which is why we had to suddenly add another village. We need every evening:

1) how many interviewers completed, by male/female yellow/female pink those in the log book those handed in for data entry that haven't yet been entered

2) Callbacks in process

Tuesday, December 19:

I ask to interview M., one of our interviewers. She struck me at the training session as exceptionally quick to catch on conceptually to what we were about, and according to R., her supervisor, she is a good interviewer. In addition, she and her husband live in one of the villages we sampled (although she didn't interview there). She is three months pregnant, and not feeling well. M. is a slim woman, about 5'5"--she seems rather elegant, though not particularly well-dressed (a skirt and sweatshirt two days, a dress that is a bit frayed today).

WORK: I begin by asking M. about the daily schedule of women in her village. Women get up early, about 5 a.m., and breastfeed the baby [note assumption that women will usually have a breastfeeding baby], and then make breakfast. She then goes to the shamba taking her bf baby [again, M. assumes there is one] less her husband is wealthy enough to hire somebody else; she takes the breastfeeding baby. I ask if she works alone there. M. answers that she does, but then I ask if there aren't other women around working on their shambas, and M. says yes, because the shambas are close, and the women do talk there. Around 10 the woman returns and attends to what M. calls the "small small duties"--getting firewood, water, doing the washing. When the school children come home (so that the older children can watch the younger ones), the woman might go to the Market. Then the evening meal, "little duties", and bed at nine. M. [who often wants to distinguish between ordinary women and "working women", e.g. schoolteachers] then describes the day of the working woman. She comes back for lunch, but before coming home she checks the shamba--she has had to hire someone for shamba work.

"The afternoon is free time." I ask if that's when women visit each other? "If she's a woman who socializes, she will chat for a few minutes or a few hours. But some don't like to move out of the compound". I ask if she believes some of our respondent who say they don't talk to anyone about FP (those w/o network partners). M. says "Some women really don't talk. Some fathers-in-law will never want other women to come to their home". I ask whether women don't talk when they leave the home on duties like collecting firewood, she says yes they do, some "can only chat when they leave home", and "there must be a reason for going to someone's home". For these women, M. says, reasons are firewood, Market, getting water:

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"these are the only times they can chat". I ask if they arrange to go with other women when they do this? M. answers that "they might make arrangements to go with a neighbor who is a friend" [note neighbor--perhaps difficult to make arrangements with someone who doesn't live near?]. She herself doesn't go to the Market because her children have been small: her husband does it.

I then ask about the daily routines of men. They are also up early. They take the cows to the shamba to plough, and come back for breakfast at 9--the wife leaves the breakfast prepared. The "responsible ones" will then do things like clear the compound, or take the animals to graze. She goes on to say that the "irresponsible ones will go for a walk", and chat with their friends at the shops (e.g. the village center of Ugina., or to Oyugis). Then they return for lunch. After lunch they "go for a walk again", returning for dinner. I ask if they go out after dinner, but she says no, "few go out after dinner". I ask if men go to the Oyugis Market on Marketday, she says "they won't miss going to Oyugis on Market day, they won't miss". She goes on to say that the responsible men will do things in the afternoon like clear the compound and graze cattle. I ask about thatch and the mud for the walls: men do the thatch, women the mud.

[Re schedules, it seems as if there is a fairly strict division of labor by gender. And also that neither men nor women work incessantly, with women working more than men. This corresponds to the survey data shown by Stacy and Wamuci in the Pop Councils's comparison of Ghana and Kenya: hours on economic work are about the same--tho they measure slightly more for men than women--but women then have an extra 18 or so hours added on].

I ask again about the women we interviewed who claim that they didn't have any network partners, that that seems strange to me. M. thinks there are NO women who don't talk at all about FP, "they will talk about the defects, these women" (i.e. those who claim 0 network partners). I discover that when we ask who they talked to about FP, they think we mean "talked to in a positive way" [tho check: do we get some women who talk about rariw or wealth flows but not FP? or are the network sizes highly correlated for both questions?]. I ask if another reason for having 0 network partners might be that they don't trust us. M. says "that is there", but says that as an interviewer she explained to the respondents that the survey was quite confidential, that "we don't know you and we give the questionnaire to those people". She didn't interview in her own village because her sister-in-law would believe that Tomorrow she would tell other people. She thinks some respondents were suspicious because "other people have been here and made promises", they asked what were the Benefits of cooperating saying, "after we've given you the information you want, what will you give us?"

STUDIES\NETWORKS: I ask whether women likely to turn to respected people such as teachers and nurses when they want to talk over whether they want to use FP or not. She says no. "The teachers and nurses discuss among themselves. Ordinary women feel too inferior to talk to these people (teachers and nurses), so they will just have to go to other ordinary women". I ask about pastor's wife. "They would find it easy to talk to the pastor's wife, because that's someone who's neutral" [i.e. about FP], and "the pastor is someone who tries to help people with problems, won't just try to throw you away" [presumably this is what the teachers and nurses do. Perhaps what she is saying here is that if you raise doubts about FP w/teachers

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and nurses, they will "throw you away", but the pastor's wife won't]. I ask about the m-k's wife, she says she's o.k., "she's an ordinary woman so she will have ordinary friends". I ask about the chief's wife: she says they "wouldn't talk to the chief's wife, except those who are close to her. They fear the husband's position". I ask re m-k, but she says it's not true for the m-k, (i.e. don't fear his position). SECRET USE: M. says that FP secrets are only shared with "very close friends, otherwise it would leak out". What are consequences of leaks? Separation. I ask if woman tells friend about secret use, that friend tells her husband, would husband tell the m-k, who might then tell the husband? [my aim here is to get at intersection of male power and formal power, to extent that m-k has formal power]. M. says no, "the miji-kumi's are not interested in such cases." I ask if she is afraid of the m-k (her father-in-law is the m-k for her village). She says no. I ask the same question about the chief. There's a pause [which makes me think the answer is not clear-cut]. "You aren't supposed to be afraid of him. If you fall into trouble then you might be afraid. But he's someone who is supposed to help you".

I ask what people think about the CBD ladies. "You are used to them, they walk in the area, and talk to people". I ask about mothers-in-law. M. says that v. few mothers-in-law support FP; the only ones who do are those who are not v. old [I think this may mean that they are still childbearing so they understand the issues, but perhaps also that they are more "enlightened". I ask whether women get on with their m-in-law, she says "some women are very free with the mother-in-law, some are not. So it depends on how they stay in the home."

[re networks, i think this is further confirmation that there is a lot of interaction going on. The physical layout of the villages would facilitate that. The place is criss-crossed by paths that go by compounds, and even though there are those hedges around the compounds that give some privacy, I saw or heard people calling over the hedges to thers (although not all that often). In the US where there is a row of lawns with no fences (see Pollard, M., Second Nature), if people sat in their front lawns or on front porches then anybody walking by could see them; the hedges in our areas in Kenya don't permit that.

M. is painting a picture (to be confirmed/or not by our survey) that both men and women talk a lot. The women can socialize for hours after lunch; the men--at least the "irresponsible" ones, "go for a walk" both before lunch and after lunch, and they "don't miss the Market". Re talks about FP, seems that this is highly stratified: women talk to others much like themselves. "Working women" (e.g. teachers, nurses) talk w/each other, whereas "ordinary women" talk to each other--including the m-k's wife because she is an ordinary woman like themselves". The only possibly exception is the pastor's wife, who is described not as an "ordinary" woman, but as "neutral".]

We turn to rariw. M. has not had it, but knows many women who have. I ask whether women go to the clinic with this or to the nyamrerwa. She says they will 1st go to the nyamrerwa, then to the clinic. "The informed ones go to the clinic first", but even the uninformed ones sometimes do. I ask what women say about how the clinic treats them when they come complaining w/rariw. M. says that the women say that they are not well treated at the clinic; "they only get Panadol". I ask if they are tested for anything [checking up on Sister M.'s claim that they always test the urine], but M. says "they don't test, it's not true they give a

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urine test". "In fact, they mistreat you at these rural clinics", and she goes on to say that even when you are there giving birth they won't attend you, "they can even beat you, that is why women fear the clinics, that's why women go to private clinics, because you pay". She adds, "money talks". I ask whether, when women are referred for rariw, they go to HB hospital, she says they sometimes do. I ask whether clinic/hospital personnel know about rariw, she says "These hospital people don't know anything about rariw. So they send you to the big hospital. But some women will say 'after all they can't help me, I'll go to the herbalist.'" (Nyamrerwa and herbalist are same thing, she says).

I ask whether men go to herbalists, she says they don't, they only go to the clinic/hospital. I ask whether there is anything like rariw that men have. [this is a hard concept to get across, perhaps because rariw is completely a woman's problem, and associated with women's reproductive capabilities]. She finally names something that is called "nyaseye", which she says men say is like rariw. It blocks the urine, men say it happens like it happens for women, it blocks the urine, there is pain in the lower abdomen. I ask what they do about this, she says it's clinic/hosp, she never heard of herbs for this. But she adds that "some old men don't believe in going to the hospital, they will just go to find a herbalist". Some men will go to a woman herbalist, but they usually prefer a male herbalist. [at lunch I ask J., the data entry person, re N. He says it's diarrhea/bloody stools. But when I ask C. and F. later, they haven't heard of it].

I ask about causes of rariw [my impression is that neither the women nor the nyamrerwas are particularly interested in the causes; they are interested in where it hurts, and what to do about it]. I start with chira, she says it is quite different from rariw, you grow "thin thin thin" and then you die. I ask whether women think that rariw is because of repeated cb, she says no, "because with your first pregnancy it can happen". I ask whether it is hereditary in families (as one nyamrerewa had told us) but she says no, it's not families but particular persons.

NETWORKS: I return to the social stratification of networks, and ask her whether, when she went to secondary school, her friends change. She says "if you go to secondary and some just go to primary., the close contact is cut". Most of her friends went to secondary school; she adds that in her home all went to secondary school [implying that her friends begin at home?]. "We find it very easy to discuss because every person has experience" [i.e. she's explaining why like talks with like]. Then she adds that "But there is one [in household] who hasn't [gone to secondary school] and she feels a bit inferior, so we try to bring her close [note that here she contradicts her earlier statement that in her hh all had gone to secondary school]. I ask about her friends outside of home, she says she doesn't have many, v. few, and they all went to secondary school. "But you'll find that we socialize with those who have gone to secondary school." I ask whether this is the case for her husband, N., as well; she says "N. is quite neutral, he'll talk to anybody, he's different" and goes on to describe how he will chat with young children and old men. I ask what about when N. goes to bars, she says there "you just find secondary together, especially those who have gone to Form 6". And that his friends are those who have gone to 2ndary. [Picture is that for both M. and N., friends have gone to secondary, but N. sounds more gregarious, more wide-ranging, in his contacts].

I asked whether she and N. thought they might one day go to Nairobi to work. She talks about how difficult it is to get a job, and my impression is that at one time they thought about working elsewhere but

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were discouraged. In any case, she says "there is noo need of going to Nairobi. If you have land it is useless to go to Nairobi. If you have a shamba and a small business like we have a kiosk [they have a small store where we were waiting for interviewers one day and were accosted by drunken young men] you are o.k. Finding a job in Kenya is a problem....When we finished our school, we tried our best, but it's difficult".

I said I supposed she used FP, she said yes. First child a bit over 4, 2nd is 2 1/2, she's pregnant. I asked her if she discussed FP w/inlaws, she said only with her husband [unaccountably, I didn't ask her if she discussed w/friends]. I asked whether her m-in-law said anything when she didn't have another baby soon, she said she did ask why M. wasn't pregnant, M. replied that "these days you don't have to have them one after another". The mother in-law hasn't influenced her; "our family affairs remain inside our house, these people won't accept" [note that here family is equated with the nuclear family, and that don't talk to people whom you're sure will disapprove]. M. does, however, talk with her mother, who supports FP. I point out that her mother is also a mother-in-law, does she feel the same about M's brother's wives? (the conversation becomes a bit confused, then M. points out that her brothers aren't married, she's the oldest).

I ask re church vs denomination, and am still not clear. At first she says there is only 1 SDA church, then she says it is split into many churches, ad on Sat you visit with those from the same church (not same denomination, other churches). The main Catholic church is in Oyugis, with subbranch (es?) in the village. In the afternoons, after church, people from the same church meet and chat.

I then ask M. to go through the questionnaire with me.

Q1: The younger people know their age right away, the older one's (say over 40) can't, may bring the ID (on some of the questionnaires one will see pencil calculations, as the interviewer subtracts DOB from 1994).

Q2: respondent will say something like "I was born in Kwoyo KO.", the interviewer knows in what Division that is.

Q3: all know year of marriage; she only found 1 who didn't.

Q5: No reluctance to give no. of children who died; M. thinks it's because the question is phrased so politely.

Q6A: desired children (?). "They just tell you".

Q6B: spacing. "the ideal here is 2-3 years apart. They want this so that when you have a new baby you can send hrr [note gender] to get things", elaborates with "to get water or firewood". She also says "it is horrible to carry both".

Q8: no problem with schooling. I ask whether people who have had only primary feel inferior, she says no,

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they are "very proud of school, even if they have only gone to primary.."

Q11, q. re radios: she thinks they tell the truth here. If they don't have one, they add "I don't have, it is not within our powers". I ask her about the couple where I watched the interview, where K. told me that the man, when asked whether he had a motorcycle, answered no but he had a radio. But I had been in the house and hadn't seen one. It turns out E. had asked the wife (even tho this wasn't on the questionnaire) and she had said no, they didn't have a radio. So when we were leaving we asked the wife, who said no, they didn't have one. I asked M. why would he lie, she says "Men are proud of radios. They think that if you are a man and don't have a radio, you don't get the news, you are not current". I asked if women thought that, she said no. [world affairs as men's domain?]

Q12: I ask whether it's possible to find people who really do nothing to earn money, she says yes it is possible. I asked what they did to get the things that required money, like matches or oils, she said they would get a contract on someone's shamba to get 50 shillings, or wife would take some maize to Market. Or possibly a relative might help them. [note that our "earns money" categories are oing to be a bit of trouble. Thus, I think a lot of men say "farming" for earns money, but the line between this and those who say "nothing" but whose wife may answer "sells farm things" is probably pretty fuzzy].

She says the interviewers probed whether the r. sold farm things, nand she thinks those who say "farming" raised cash crops, i.e. things they grew to sell; if they only grew for subsistence on the shamba but made an occasional sale, it would have been coded as 06, "nothing" by the interviewers.

Q15A: some women not sure

Q16: No problems

Q17A, monthly salary: She says one wife asked whether still regular salary if husband gets advance in the middle of the month, M. coded that as regular salary. Virtually all regular salaries are monthly salaries.

Q18: re groups: I asked whether women might refer to an income-generating group that had folded, as many seem to do, but M. said time referent is clear. I asked whether it was possible NOT to belong to a clan welfare group, she said it was, that there might be "internal splits because of family affairs", e.g. "so and so is a bit better off than me" so they quarrel. But she said most belong, though--but her own has broken up and they are trying to get it together again. Re church groups, it turns out that she (and perhaps other interviewers) interpreted this as going to church and contributing if asked [this is not what we had in mind for church groups. AF said churches often ask for money, e.g. for pastor's salary]. I asked about church discussion groups, but she refered to these as merry-go-rounds, and said they meet in people's houses [so merry-go-rounds may pick up church groups as well]. she said credit merry go rounds have meetings once a week in someone's house, with refreshments, e.g. tea. I asked whether they chat about FP. The answer is yes and no. Her answer is revealing, and I think may illustrate that she thinks what I /we mean by "chat about FP" is talk positively about it, for she says, "But there it's also a problem, some are against, some for it" [which I interpret as meaning: we can't be considered to be talking about FP in your sense, since some

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are against it as well as some for it]. "Still, we will discuss about it". In addition, it's not like they talk about FP all the time: she says that different topics come up at different times [we shouldn't think that's all they do].

Q19, language: people who don't speak anything other than Luo don't feel inferior. She thinks they don't have any trouble understanding what we mean by "well enough to have a conversation". Says women might say "Because I sell in the Market I have to speak a little Kiswahili"--Markethas different kind of people, Kisii, Luya, could only talk with them in Kiswahili. All women know the Kiswahili for "how much does it cost". [My impression is that this doesn't count for having a conversation, however].

Q21:funerals. People are pretty certain re number. "Some know right away. Some say 'many' and will start counting."

I ask about AIDS, whether deaths caused by chira or aids. She says "It's true that it's chira. The Luos say 'this Chira is AIDS'. Chira can go from wife to husband. If a man who dies comes from town, they suspect it might be AIDS; she added, "they gossip about that". If the person is young, "it convinces them it's AIDS." If a young man from here gets sick, they are curious [sounds like not hard to believe it's aids if the man has been outside, but if not, suspend judgement]. I ask about testing, she says it's done at the big hospitals. Test results are kept secret--or at least they would try. Re widow remarriage, she says "these days they don't enter into such houses (where the husband died young): "the family will try to get someone who's not normal to go to that house". She knows women who have had AIDS].

Q21, Other category: M. hasn't experienced.

When there is a discrepancy between number have and no. wanted, the respondents explain away what might appear as an inconsistency [they recognize it] by saying that they only learned about FP too late, if we had known in time we wouldn't have done it.

Q21B: re helping parents: some say you've sent child to school not to help you but to have a bright future. Some say because I've given birth the child must help me in old age.

Q21C: says interviewers don't have trouble categorizing v. imp/somewhat imp/unimportant

Q23: no problem w/when the conversation was, they can remember.

Q24: no problem

Q27: Frequency of conversations: Here she said the interviewers had a problem. Someone will tell you we take a lot of time in chatting, so have to probe. We have to ask "you are meeting every day?" . Sometimes R. will say "because so and so lives far, we can only chat once a year"; or "because so and so lives inside the compound we can chat every day".

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Q28: confidant is for things that are secrets, others are neutral.

Q33: they didn't mind answering "better off". Respondents answer with explanation. They might say "because so and so's husband is working, she is a bit better off than me", or will say "so and so's husband also works on a shamba and we sell bananas together, so we are just about the same".

Q34: some get uncomfortable. M. said one woman just looked at her, arms folded (m. illustrated) M. explained that quite confidential, it's just between you and me, then the woman looked more relaxed and said she'd ever used. If never used, not uncomfortable. Only the users feel a bit uncomfortable. [i.e. we are still at early stages--and despite fact that they are telling MOH, still the problem is to confess to using--not (as I suspect it will be in a decade or two) vice versa, that it is embarrassing to confess non-use.

Doesn't think women lie, but M. doesn't sound so certain.

Q41: probably will get a lot of nurses and doctors. M. thinks that it's only the doctors people talk to, not anyone else, when they want to know about methods. M. thinks interprets that question as meaning to knowledgeable persons.

Q42: some know, some don't know. M. thinks women tell the truth. She doesn't think people were likely to say their friend approved because we are associated w/MOH

Q69/70: talking after CBD visit. M. specifies to R's, "now when this person had left, did you go and talk about it?"

Network questions: FP--M: they do become a bit bored if you had to ask them questions about all four. J. tried asking the same question for person 1-4, e.g. where they talked. worked better this way.

BMETHODS/PAPER FLOW: Tuesday afternoon: To close out, I went over the m-k lists for each village with the supervisor who had been in charge of that list. That turned out to expose exactly why we needed to keep track of the interviews and callbacks. In one village, the first two pages of the sample list had been given by C. to two diff. supervisors--and then nothing at all happened with the second two pages. In another, where the females were not numbered (because we expected to have enough females by then, and only be interviewing males, some of the unnumbered females were in fact interviewed, others not. So the teams will need to be in the field on Wednesday, much to everyone's dismay. One of the results is that we will go well over the 200 M. for women here, and probably the men as well.

I think this came about for two reasons. One, which led to madly interviewing in a new village on Monday because on Sunday night we thought we would not have enough women, is because I didn't appreciate the difference between a system of keeping track of interviews and N.'s log book. N. kept making this distinction when we were setting up the log book, but I failed to appreciate it. D., N. and I designed the log book in temporal order: name ID#, interviewer, Visit 1-3, completed, checked by N., signed by data entry

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person. However, nothing but the name and ID # are entered on the log until AFTER the questionnaire is complete. Thus, when we asked N. for a count, she could either give us numbers of interviews, she could either give us all the ones in the log book (i.e. the same counts as on the sample list, names and ID#s,) or she could give us completed interviews, but nothing in between--e.g. how many on the sample list were thought to be in Nairobi but had returned, how many were thought to be in the village but had left, etc. the second problem. Second, the

some pages of some lists simply fell through the cracks. Initially each supervisor was given a whole list for a village, but somehow later on in the field one team would be finished, and they would take pages from another supervisor's list to work on. Or get some from C.. This was the right thing to do in the field, to make good use of our time, but we didn't have a system of then bringing the pages back together again. The solution is that F. will figure out these logistics. I'd like him to be in charge rather than me, since a lot of stuff happens in the field which I won't see. And every night at meeting we will go over each list, and we will have a count every night.

BMETHODS: Tuesday evening: supervisors rather glum, because will have to work Wednesday, and perhaps part of Thursday. Little talk during dinner. Around 8:30, I call a meeting, and we talk about it. I apologize, and say much was my fault, and what F. proposes for the next site--that he will keep track, and that we together will keep track at evening meetings. I also ask them to think about ways to keep from getting exhausted, such as not working after dinner. I give them their Christmas presents (calendars for each--e.g. one of kittens for T., the Lion King for Ph.), they are delighted. And offer to bring hats for the field for the next stage. R. asks whether they could hear from N. what they could do better next time. Then N. asks if they want to see how the program works. This was a great success--and Sam should do some at the beginning of fieldwork in Jan. I ask what they want to know, first is funerals--with guesses around the table re median number that go from 4-5 to 10. N. prints out frequency distribution (median is about 5). Then ever-use of contraception, etc. All are clustered around computer, and I think they see the outcome of their data gathering (at least this stage of the outcome). So we end on a much more upbeat note. Fieldhhs.1A

Wednesday, Dec 20

At Fairview. Visit in the afternoon to M. B., Ford Foundation program officer for Reproductive Health, and friend of T. M.. We talk about *rariw*, and she calls in her secretary (I think), P. A., a Luo. P. certainly knows about *rariw*, but is uncomfortable with the topic--shifts in her chair, smiles, looks down. Her main point is that this is not something urban Luos have, this is a condition of rural women, maybe due to their not giving birth in hospital. In general, I think *rariw* makes those Luos who have somehow "escaped" --either into the medical profession, a la the Oyugis Health Center's nurses, or to the city--uncomfortable. Perhaps it's an intrusion, an unwelcome reminder of something they wish to distance themselves from.

M. herself wants to diagnose *rariw*, to slice it up into nameable bits: is it UTI or RTI, prolapsed uterus, something about fistulas in which she seems v. interested. Maybe the point--or one point--is that it's all of these things, a Boolean indication that these women's insides are in bad shape.

## *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), December 1994*

### Summary.:

BMETHODS: Went well, overall. The lists with which we started were almost completely accurate, with the main problems being the occasional omission of a 2nd wife, and names (often Wife 2, sometimes Wife 1 or Nyar Something, and the use of nicknames for men who want to be known by their formal names for something as official as this. The nickname issue was only a problem if the interviewer/supervisor put the formal name on the questionnaire whereas we had the nickname on our list AND the supervisor failed to put the person's ID number of the questionnaire or it was a listed but unnumbered person). We found only a few other than some 2nd wives (and those who had returned from Kericho) who had been omitted from the m-k's list; I think the supervisors always asked "who lives in that house", or "is there any other compound around here". We might have missed a few people who were not on the m-k's list (and we'll never know about these) but I think that the combination of local interviewers, the relative density of settlement, the fact that everyone knows everyone, and the diligence of our supervisors makes it very unlikely that we missed more than a few de facto residents. Comparing the m-k's list with our final sample provides some insight into the community--e.g. the relative lack of importance of women generally, and young women (those second wives) in particular. Similarly, the process by which we found people gives some insight into the extent to which the people know each other's business, at least in general--they know who's working in Nairobi, who's back on holiday, although they don't know in the specific--when will so and so be back home.

Despite three callbacks, we will probably still miss some of the most active people--and thus those with potentially the largest networks. These include women who had left to join their husband where he worked, for Christmas, and those with a job in Oyugis (thus possibly wealthier, but also with more heterogeneous "town" networks, who left early in the morning and came back late at night; we did send interviewers to Oyugis to find them if the others in the home knew where they worked--which wasn't always the case-- and we sent interviewers to some houses for callbacks v. early in the morning or late at night. And in Oyugis, because we had missed some parts of the list, some people will get fewer than 3 callbacks (or, more likely, 3 callbacks will be listed but they will have been all on the same day; again, these are likely to be the most active people). On the other hand, we did pick up a fair number of people who were home from Kericho or Nairobi for Christmas.

The community response was quite good, despite our concerns earlier when the chief was upset. The interviewers did get a lot of questions, a la this Summary, about how this would benefit them: I think they were so pleased to be working with us that they explained it to the respondents in the best possible terms. We got very few refusals, and most of those were rather sensible--the person was on his or her way somewhere else, one woman was so sick she was crying with pain, etc. Very few questions caused any problems re willingness to give information, and we have almost no missing data for specific questions. There was some reluctance among some respondents to name names: for further research in this area, it would be better to try alternative ways of getting lists of network members. I think this was probably

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exacerbated by having quite local interviewers; on the other hand, it was important to have local interviewers because they helped find houses/compounds, they had local knowledge-as when one interviewer saw a respondent who was a *matatu* driver going by and made an appointment with him, they knew what to say to establish rapport, and they were at least one way that our research brought "Benefits" to the community.

S.'s data entry program was crucial for data entry in the field with somewhat unskilled data entry personnel; the program worked perfectly. N. made many changes which she's documented for S., copies to the rest of us. The funeral maximum was too low, the children maximum was too low, the question re other brothers in the compound was dropped from the questionnaire in the last minute and was still in the program, a skip pattern in the network questions didn't work. Data entry in the field, in turn, was crucial in allowing us to catch errors at an early stage. N. was invaluable: she is highly organized and systematic. We were extremely lucky. I was the least systematic, and that was the source of our problems: because we didn't have a system of keeping track of respondents before the questionnaires were turned over to N., we ended up over-interviewing.

I think there will still be some gaps between the concepts in our heads and our data. I think the "number of people talked to" will be useless as a measure of network size. Membership in "church groups" will probably pick up not much more than belonging to a church (rather than something like a women's auxiliary, which is what I had in mind); on the other hand, I think merry-go-rounds will pick up more (it seems that they meet regularly with refreshments and they chat). The category "professionals" will be too large. But I think many of the questions will get at close to what we had in mind.

Logistics were very similar to June. Reasonably well organized, but still with a lot of waiting around. This is probably "Kenyan" and it's not worth trying to do very much about it. in addition, logistics simply are difficult, and once Allan's vehicle left, and D.'s car, we had only a fragile Landrover.

Batteries are also a bit of a problem. They last longer for the Compaq, M. K. says because the software on them is less complicated.

**Meeting:**

F. says lists are v. accurate, better than Oyugis. Main issue was having people who are too old. F. surprised at no. of women who are separated, gone to their homes, and they talk about it freely, talk as if they've gone to have a good time and will come back. R. thinks her area (Radienya) particularly hostile because they think we're SDA and there might be a war between SDA's and Pentacostal. T. says they also heard that we had paid some people for practice interviews, why aren't they being paid? R. said one woman said that if we would hire her and pay her she'd be a respondent. Ph.: still complaints that we've hired interviewers from other areas.

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In these discussions, it became evident that neither DW nor AF had gone over the final English questionnaire very closely. And I think it would have been desirable to have someone not associated with the project translate from English to Luo and then back-translate.