

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Jan20

Kenya 3

Study Director: F. O. A.

Supervisors: R. O. (asst study director), P. O., T. A., G. A.

Data Entry: C. O. and D.M.O. [F.' brother]

Drivers: J. and S.

Jan 12: Airport has improved, more shops. Other than that, however, still looks pretty ratty. Visa fees have gone up to \$50—I think they were \$30 when we first came.

AIDS: Taxi from airport, Kikuyu driver, I turned the topic to AIDS. He says many have died, but no one in his family, only one friend. I asked in several different ways whether the friend talked about AIDS, he kept answering “we all knew what it was”, “he wasn’t tested”, only finally said they didn’t talk (I think he couldn’t imagine such a conversation so couldn’t imagine that’s what I was asking). I asked if he had been tested, he said no, I asked whether his wife wanted him to be tested, she did. But he hasn’t gone yet, said he would do if she would, but I rather doubt it because he said over and over that if you found you were positive you would die right away. I said that wasn’t true, it was because people usually didn’t get tested until they were already very sick, but he didn’t believe me. When we said goodbye he asked me whether I had advice for him, “What should I do?”, I think taking me for an expert.

Some of the people at the Fairview are the same.

Jan 13: BMETHODS: Wonderful to meet with the supervisors: Ph, Th, Fr and R are from the first time we came to Kenya, and G (P’s husband) from Kenya 2. Only M. (fired after K1) and R.W. (in K2, to come this time also) are not here. It would be better for them if they had gotten full time jobs and weren’t able to be with us, but since they haven’t, I’m delighted to be with them again. Only T. has had a full time job, and that just ended a few months ago when the grant that was supporting her position ran out. They were part of my first romance with fieldwork, and thus very special personally. And after having done two other surveys plus the ethnographic phase, they can now run the show and I can stay in the background.

We meet at F.s’ new office, in a bare concrete building on the edge of Nairobi, no elevators, little furnishing, quite spartan. But it is an office. A fair amount of milling around—e.g. we are just about to

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

leave for the Fairview when G. appears walking down the road.

AIDS–Fr said in the Kisumu study (1000 women, 800 men) where they did serotests, they told respondents that if they wanted to know the results they had to come for counseling and then be tested again. Only 5 came for counselling, and only 2 for the test.

I asked F. what's new over the last three years, how have things changed. First answer was inflation, "things are so high now", next answer was that the roads are much worse. I asked whether the new Suba district had made a difference, e.g. district hospital. Answer is yes but it's the old clinic. He seemed to believe that it would happen, though, that the district would get the development it was seeking but it just takes time. Noted that Luos now in coalition with the Kalenjin.

P. says there are ATM machines, used to be just a bank's now more general.

BMETHODS/FIELDWORK: Frustrating that respondents can find some many ways to exercise agency—not answer, talk too little, no NWPS. At least with quantitative study you can pretty much force them to say something, even if it's only dk, or yes/no. With qualitative study they can talk around you, lie, etc.

BMETHODS: Gifts. Going over questionnaire, I asked about gifts. R said we had to give them. I asked whether before or after, the others all said it's customary to give gift at parting. I pointed out that we had been here 2x already, and maybe if they were stubborn because our research hadn't helped them, it would help if we gave them first, R and then the others agreed.

Jan 14: BMETHODS/AIDS/GUIDES: I asked R whether respondents would turn the question around and ask interviewers if they use FP, she said no. R says when she worked as an interviewer in Kisumu study people would ask them for advice "because they think we are experts", but they don't ask us personal questions. Re AIDS, she said there are now more PWA living positively, publicly [this might make testing easier]. Said that if people are healthy you can tell them that they are HIV positive, but they won't believe it. [May be that they say on survey that if healthy can still be infected, but in another part of their minds, day to day, it's hard to believe]. Told story about someone who died of AIDS, his wife was beautiful, looked healthy, several wanted to inherit her, said "I'd rather die with this one."

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AIDS: Newspapers have more obituaries than I remember—I think when I was here before there were 1 or two pages, now it's four. Sometimes they say "died suddenly", or "after a short illness", which I think is meant to signal that it's not AIDS.

BMETHODS/QUESTIONNAIRE: Discussion of questionnaire. "Last conversation" is about FP-K2 questionnaire didn't say that, but we rectified and that's what the training said. Marital status: Person who is inherited will describe herself as widowed. Person who is inherited can remarry, but not likely to be in the village unless she herself is from a nearby village, marries someone in the same village as her husband lived in. Inheritance discussions start as person is dying, seems to occur rather quickly. Some "professional inheritors", not relatives of dead husband. B

Dinner w/N at SeR.: AIDS. She said in Rakai they treated everyone with antibiotics, whether they had them or not, said didn't reduce HIV, several articles in Lancet.

GOVERNANCE: Taxi driver at Fairview, to Haandi: I said I had been reading lots of stories about corruption in the newspapers, he said "Yes, L. is going after it, but we can't tell about the government." He said L. even going after ministers, even B. Thinks that it was the IMF/WB that forced M. to appoint L., and that after the govt. gets the loans restored M. might fire L. I brought up the topic of inflation. Two years ago petrol was 28ks/ltr, now it's 50. Flour also up: now it's 60ks a "packet", which would feed one family for only one meal. A casual laborer only makes 80-100ks/day, the 20ks wouldn't even buy vegetables. He makes more, about 500ks/day (he doesn't own the cab, works on commission from its owner). He has four children, oldest 12.5, youngest 5. Says most imp. thing is to provide them with good health and education. I asked whether they go to govt. or private school? They go to government schools because "I can't yet afford private school" (optimism?). PRICES: Fees are Ks6000 a year, but text books cost even more for a year.

Jan 15: We check the men's questionnaire in the a.m., and I give out presents (shower curtains from Urban outfitters for R and Ph, transparent pillows ditto for Th, a cd selected by Fr for G, a photo frame for C .O.). BMETHODS: I clarify that they understand they pay for their own food from their per diem. In K1 and K2 they got per diem and we paid for everything, which E. objected to for K3. I guess we are overpaying them since there was no objection when F. told them this at a meeting before we arrived.

GENDER/SECRET USE/BELLAGIO: In the evening we go out to dinner with Ph and M. B. Ph has had her hair braided and looks v. elegant, as does M., though En. L., N. and I are not as well dressed. I say we could eat at the Fairview, and make it clear that it's my treat. M says maybe he and Ph can

think of another place. We start looking—the first place isn't where he thought it would be so we go to Sarit Center, where M thinks the Minar is, but it has moved. There is a food court there, M thinks we could "sample". P. doesn't seem to think it's quite appropriate, but we do it anyway. We talk some about gender, as M belongs to a men's support group (about 15 members), the aim of which is greater gender sensitivity. Some of it seems to be papers presented, some exercises (e.g. how to phrase a request to the wife). Again a picture of downtrodden women. I object, saying that they use secretly, which I interpret as a lot of agency. M disagrees, says "women are still subordinated because they have to use secretly". And that secret use has been "made easier because of 20 years of preaching." M goes on to say that he thinks changes in gender roles are due to economics—i.e. women are contributing more to the household budget because the men can't—an argument that En points out is much like Kathy Edin's re African American ghetto families. I say to M that his argument is economic, isn't there room for ideology, what about the influence of feminism? He says not ideology: all that is "middle-class women preaching to the converted, other middle class women."

Jan 16, Sunday: slow relaxed a.m., at 2 we go to P. N's house for a Senagalese lunch (the APHRC fellows—S, M. M., E.—plus F.B. who's here for a site visit of AMREF, plus the mother of E's research assistant. I chat a lot with F about NavR.—and he introduces the topic of the lack of women in their project, so I suppose he knows that I had noticed.

AIDS: I also chat with the mother of E's research assistant, a woman who must be in her 50s. She's from Malawi, a Tumbuka, living in Nairobi because her husband is with an international organization, he does a lot of traveling for months on end. I ask her about the reaction in Mzimba (where she's from, and where she visited in '98) to AIDS, she says there is still a lot of silence about it. But then she said her own brother died of AIDS, and another brother is probably infected. The first brother had been sick off and on for a long time, finally she went to his doctor and said that she thought it was AIDS, was it, the doctor said yes, but was shocked that she wanted to know (he hadn't even told the brother yet). She went on to say that they took the brother home, their mother cried for a month but then said she wanted to take care of him until he died. The second brother still looks healthy, but the wife has given birth to two babies who died, and she looks poorly. I think nothing is said in that family. I talked about the worries that the women in our Malawi sample had about getting AIDS from their husband, and asked if she herself was worried, since her husband was away so much. She didn't answer me directly, but said that some years ago she began putting condoms in her husband's suitcase when he packed for a trip. This caused some strain in the marriage for a while, but now he asks for them. She also puts condoms in the bathroom shared by her two grown sons, and she thinks they sometimes give them to their friends as well. I asked about the daughter, E's RA, but she hasn't said anything to her—said she and her husband feel the daughter can take care of herself, she's always been very tough and directed. She also talked a lot about how difficult it was for her not to work in Nairobi. She's always worked, even in school, and before leaving Malawi was an executive secretary in a bank.

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I find I am just not as excited about the prospect of fieldwork this time. It may be because it seems more routine, or perhaps I don't think I'll learn very much that is new. I think I'm more interested in writing the book on the population movement than in the results of this study.

BMETHODS: Sunday night R. calls and says she will not be able to participate: her sister just had a Caesarian and she needs to stay and help her. Since she did not come yesterday or the day before I had not fully realized that she was part of the team—it is rather late to call things off.

Monday Jan 17: FP/BELLARIO: A.F.comes by for coffee. He's very curious about the possibility that there is a decline in contraceptive use and rise in fertility in Western Kenya. Not in Central because much longer program/use, more internalized. But in west they were told lives would be better w/FP, and it's not. They did a follow up from 1994 in Bungoma and somewhere else. In the cluster they surveyed in Bungoma, current use was down from about 33% to about 18%; knowledge was lower, fertility higher, ever use higher, and CBD activity higher. At first he thought it was due to the strike of nurses in Nov 97 to Jan 98, but it turns out it started before that, though just about that time. AIDS: He thinks it's because of the deterioration of the economic situation and because of AIDS. He says the devastation of AIDS is evident. People switching from grains to cassava, which requires less labor. Houses not fixed up because don't have the labor. Children of 13-14 heads of hh: both parents have died and relatives can't/won't take them in. Tony J.ston thought children being pulled out of school because of AIDS, but found little differences in their Rusinga study in proportion having lost one or both parents in school and out of school. AF asked kids if they knew people who died of AIDS, yes, then in their community, yes, then in their village, yes, then in their family—"well....". So reluctant to say.

AIDS/OPPOSITION/DONORS: MOH has deteriorated, esp Homa Bay. MOH last week announced that a study showed that 20% of school kids 14-17 infected. This year the GTZ calendar had a three-panel cartoon. In the first, two kids in school uniforms with little hearts above their heads; in the second, she imagines herself pregnant and he imagines himself going to an STD clinic, and in the third is a condom. The MOH counterpart objected vigorously, made them paint out the uniforms—not the condoms, said can't show school kids having sex. Nyanza does have an STI project, supported by British ODA, antibiotics delivered not to district level but local dispensaries. He says little public action at the govt. level on AIDS until Nov99, when a seminar was held by NASCOP for all MPs, and Moi declared AIDS a national disaster (AF said this was "stage-managed", I presume by NASCOP [maybe other donors]). Then Moi spoke out against condoms, and then one week later reversed himself and came out for condoms. But no Luo politician has spoken out for condoms, although the PC Nyanza has. (He actually said no politician, so beyond the Luo ones). I asked what A. would do if he were made Czar of AIDS programs: he said getting the youth curriculum in (still not in), free screening and counseling, condoms, president on TV. But when I pointed out that people don't go for testing, using Fr's report of the Kisumu experience, he started to rethink, and also couldn't think of ways in which knowing your status would make a difference, other than if you were infected to get better nutrition.

FP: AF went to Turkana, far north, mission where internal refugees settled, women v. interested in FP. But not much going on programatically.

BMETHODS: Lot of waiting this morning: unlike my first trips I'm not anxious, things will happen. We had already decided that part of the team will go today, but E., N. and the two data entry people will wait until Monday. E. said E. had picked up the equipment from Malawi, but when he sent the list of what he had did not include the keypads, E. queried by email, E. answered that he didn't have them, so he got in touch with F. in Malawi to send them by DHL. Then, however, it turned out that E. had the keypads after all, so we are not sure what F. sent.

BMETHODS: The team arrives on time--9:30--and we load the vehicle--, but F. comes to say that one of the two vehicles --he tested it for shopping yesterday--lost its clutch and we have to wait while he looks for another one. This turns out to be very complicated: the owner isn't there, he has to come back, then has to go home to get his passport as surety. Also has to use their driver, which is a pity as S (from K2) has already appeared and been waiting, eager to participate. Around 2 F. comes to say that we should leave--it's already late, the trip takes 7+ hours, and this driver doesn't know the roads there well. F. will make the final arrangements for the new vehicle, and will take the overnight bus from Nairobi.

BELLAGIO: Driving here, I can't see that much has changed. Although Fr said the roads were worse, that doesn't seem like the case to me. Nakuru is evidently thriving--seemed to me like a lot of new construction, new pizza parlors, etc. M B had said as much, and it's not surprising, given that it's the capital of Moi's home province, Rift Valley.

AIDS: I look for AIDS posters, see almost nothing. There's one sign on a roundabout in Nairobi that says "Discuss AIDS openly, Save your family", sponsored by the MOH. And I see two Trust Condom ads in the outer reaches of Nairobi.

GENDER: L. talks with R (I'm in the front seat), when we stop for fuel she says she was talking about the kinds of marriage. R said there are several kinds and several words, with different words for men's marriage and women's marriage, i.e. by gender. One of the words for women's marriage is "bound to cooking."

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When we arrive, almost everyone here to greet us: C (the housekeeping head), J (a cook), two Js, someone else whose name I don't remember. Fr had called them that we were coming late (he also asked them to tell G, and to tell him to put up signs about the jobs, but even though G was here with his daughter C, the news didn't get to him). Much excitement, hugging, I show pictures of D., etc. El. not around, though—she's here, but has had severe diarrhea and is in bed. Much building and landscaping since we left. We have dinner (rice, cabbage, chicken) and go to bed. Everyone has separate rooms—F. is feeling too flush. I should have specified that if they want separate rooms they can use their per diem for this. I'm told the solar-heated showers work when there is rain, but for the past 3 weeks there has been drought, so we will get pails of hot water.

Tuesday Jan 18: Noise very early, knock on door re hot water. Breakfast on time. Lukewarm eggs w/lots of grease, untoasted bread and margarine, bananas, tea and people come to greet—e.g. the accountant, and then I see El as she is leaving for the Aga Khan hospital in Kisumu. She says she is planning to spend more time in the UK. Still doesn't have a replacement for herself, though I meet N, the new manager (E. Says the one here before, L, also wanted to be a consultant, so he was away too much—e.g. for 6 weeks in Uganda while she was in the UK).

BMETHODS/INTERVIEWER SELECTION: The first interviewer applicants start to arrive at 7:45 (time was 8) I suppose these are either interviewers from before or people who have heard from them that we are strict about time. R has told those who've arrived by shortly after 8 that we'll wait a while for others to come. In the end, it seems that there are about 70 or so applicants. Last night we talked about having 5 interviewers/supervisor (which means hiring 25), that gives us some flexibility to fire some and perhaps to use some earlier for checking up on things. Quite a few of our old interviewers—M1 and H, N, M2 (I think), A (who was quite pregnant last time), J. There are two teachers, team thinks O.K. to take J because he worked for us before, but not the other one. In Malawi the team wanted to check education certificates: that hasn't come up here. Maybe the supervisors think they can tell better. Or maybe they don't trust the certificates.

I ask M what has changed since we were here, she says nothing. I asked if H finished his teacher's college, he has and thinks he will get a job next year. They still have the *Duka*.

As I go back up to my typing table, one of the workers comes by, greets me, is clearly interested in the interviewers and probably envious, says it's good that we are hiring these young people “so they can express their intellectuality.”

BMETHODS: The chief of West Kamagak (which includes Obisa and Kamagak) arrives—just about

the time his uncle's daughter arrives (I asked the chief if he had a child here, he said "that one", pointing to one of the late comers who is taking the test, and only when I said oh, your daughter, he said yes, his uncle's daughter). I ask why she's so late, he says he told people a week ago and she forgot [which means that it's good to put posters around the time]. I prepare for the possibility that the "daughter" will fail by telling him that we go very strictly by the aptitude test because everything has to be transparent, and he fully agrees about the importance of transparency, goes on a bit to make it clear to me that he understands the issue.

AIDS: It's tea time, so we sit and have tea, with L. and I asking him questions. I start by asking what has changed since we were here three years ago, he says things have changed "economically"—I think meaning things have gotten worse—and then "and so many people are dying." He talks about all the orphans, they are many, I ask how many in his location, he thinks about 300. His office tries to help, they are having a harambee (he didn't emphasize this, though I suppose he would like us to contribute). We ask what he tells people about AIDS, he starts off by saying that they have to give up the old customs of "inheriting and having many wives". He goes on about how a man might die of AIDS, not good to inherit the wife. I asked him whether he tells them about condoms, he says "We tell them about condoms because that has been directed by the head of state." I ask what the people say when he tells them to use condoms, he says here—and often throughout our conversation—that "the learned ones, they understand." I ask if he tells them to use condoms with the wife, he says yes, "we tell them to use condoms with the wife because they can't know what she does" [i.e. to protect themselves, not protect the wife.] I said I didn't imagine many liked that, he said "some few learned people understand." I ask if women move around too, he says yes, "women move because they have friends who can't understand the teaching." [note gendered picture—men don't understand because they are not learned, women move because influenced by friends]. I ask him whether he himself uses a condom with his wife, he says "no, but I should, I should be an example."

BMETHODS: I ask him how he got the word to the many who came for our interview, he said he told the miji kumi to tell the young school leavers. I said I noticed not many older married women, was it because they weren't form 4, he says yes but emphasizes that "married women, maybe they have a job, maybe they are a housewife." It's clear that he doesn't think older married women are appropriate for this job.

AIDS: L. asks how he as chief delivers his messages about AIDS, he says they go to *barazas*, and at funerals "we announce that so-and-so has died of AIDS, and that you men should be careful about inheriting the wife." I ask how they know, seems to be both by symptoms—he often mentioned coughing and "sick for a long time"—but also it seems that they get information from the clinic, i.e. they ask the clinic personnel. "We encourage testing. But the cost of testing is high." At the govt. clinics costs about 50-100KS, they are asking govt. to provide it free. I ask whether if we go to the clinic to see whether the people who have died since we were here died of AIDS, would the clinic give us the



information, he says yes they would—they give it to his office, and even more to us. I asked again about whether really could say to the family of someone who is being buried that the person died of AIDS, the answer seems to be yes, that “we have to do it to warn people about inheritance”, “in case anyone wants to inheritance). But I doubt he does it. He says his office has to fill out a burial certificate, they give the cause of death as AIDS. I say but often the person dies of TB or malaria, he says they write malaria and then “aids suspected”. I ask how many funerals he went to in the last month, he answers 50 in December, I ask last week and he says 2-3. I say that doesn’t add up, he says that he goes to 2-3/week in the location personally, on the weekend, if they are during the week when he has to work a clan elder goes, always someone official or elder. But I think funerals are always on the weekend. Later on, in another context, he says that people don’t travel for funerals any more, unless it’s a relative. I ask about the former chief who died, he says “he died of AIDS too, he married another woman, from Nairobi”. Says his own brother in law is in the hospital with AIDS. But “you have to provide water, medicine, food, and also 40ks for the bed.” “He’s just in the hospital to sustain him, but it is permanent. Sustaining the life of someone who will not recover is expensive, it is making people to be very poor. One to three years of sustaining the person is very common. People sell all the goats, the cows, they sell almost everything, even what they need to make a living.” We ask whether the family can just bring the person home, he says “the patient becomes furious, says this (staying in hospital) must be done.” But he says they will bring brother home, because of expense. Most people go to Kenyatta Hospital in Nairobi, even from the rural areas. We ask why the family keeps paying, he says “they pay because they sympathize with the suffering one.” And says that the clinic advises that the sufferer stays in the clinic because “if the sick person is at home, the family will be worried and sympathizing and nothing will be taking place. If patient stays in the hospital they pick up small courage to do the work.” This is baloney.

AIDS/GENDER/CONDOMS/MOVING: Chief also says it’s the wives that are resisting inheritance, says the wives are the ones who are the most worried about AIDS, because they are left with the orphans (why doesn’t he say that they are worried about being infected??). At various times he goes on about this, that the wives are the ones most worried because they are left with the burdens when the man dies. Says wives especially are being careful. We ask what they can do, he said “the women make a noise, they come to my office to ask for help with their husband.” Says some women separate, they go home or they find a way they can say like a small business in Oyugis, or the husband promises to behave. (My sense is that not many go home). Says “we tell those who stay with husband” and the husband to use condoms (in the marriage), but “we can’t see what they do in the bedroom”. They also instruct the woman to behave when the husband is away. He went even further, saying that if they hear that someone has been moving, they call the wife in and tell her she should resist sex with the husband or use condoms. We question what she can do, he says sometimes wife comes and complains that the husband beat her. We ask how many women he counseled last month, he says 3 came in December, but none so far in January. Said in October they had a general meeting, women and men, about development at which they talked about AIDS. Also have called women groups, social workers, ask them to talk to women, sounds like peer counseling although he didn’t use that words. He talked to them, combining economic advice —“they shouldn’t steal food but should farm”—with advice not to move

around. L. asks how he knows if they follow this advice, he says elders report if behavior changes—elders meet once or twice a week in a house (which he describes) built by NGO. He also goes to the Oyugis market on market day, available at a shop so people can come talk with him. “Lot of evils in the town.” He said that the Oyugis town council is over all the sublocation (I may not have understood this correctly), says the “population is high, people come from all over to do business here”.

ETHNICITY/AIDS/MEDIA: I say we didn’t see many posters, he said the drunkards pull them down. I ask more generally what govt. does for AIDS, he says they don’t do much. Nyanza has been especially hard hit, he says. Then, rather surprisingly, adds that govt. doesn’t care if people from Nyanza die, because if there are fewer voters, he says, it will be better for them. But it’s now in other provinces. I ask if the govt. does more in Rift Valley Province, he says yes, because the President’s tribe (from RVP) is small, they need the people. (Note that this is very much what they were saying in the 60s about FP, and we also heard it when we were first here, linking FP/now AIDS to the size of the electorate).

BMETHODS: I say one of the problems we face is that people ask us how our research will help them and we don’t know what to say. He answers that the main problem here is water—seems he understood me to be asking him what we could do for the community. He goes on to say that the water is not pure, “typhoid is rampant”. The rivers are contaminated by washing “and other activities”, and there is only one line of piped H<sub>2</sub>O. There are some boreholes, but most are not protected. He expects electricity in 2-3 years. A lot of talk about how politicians don’t keep their promises.

AIDS/CHIRA: I ask about *chira*, he says people don’t talk about *chira* any more, but then adds “after the person dies they say it’s not *chira*”—so I think that they still do diagnose *chira* earlier in the course of the illness. Says Ra (O., leader of the NDP and now an ally of Moi’s KANU) told the elders in Nyanza that there is no *chira*. I asked about the plans to have a chief’s campaign against AIDS (I had read about that in the paper, I think a year ago, in something Terry gave me from the Internet), he says there was a plan to organize the chiefs to give them a seminar, but it didn’t happen. There was a seminar organized by CARE-Kenya that included chiefs and public health people, went on for a week, but he thinks it would be better to have one just for the chiefs. I asked why the chiefs just didn’t do it on their own, but it was evident that he couldn’t conceive of a meeting that wasn’t organized by a sponsor—“you need writing materials, lunch, small entertainment”. I pointed out that they could take lunch from home, he thought that was impossible; I said people traveled for funerals, paid transport, he said not any more unless it was a relative.

GOVERNANCE: He says the government always says there isn’t money, I said yes, but they put some in their pockets, he says “The problem with Africans is that we are stealing [from] ourselves, that is why

we are not developing. “ Goes on to say that “This case of AIDS can be stopped if our people are realistic and they get sponsorship, but the first person to see the money takes it.”

AIDS/MEDIA: L. asks again about posters, he says “posters are not going to the rural areas where people are still backward. There they need someone to interpret it for him, he cannot understand, no one is there to interpret for him.”

Unfortunately the chief is still there when the supervisors announce that which applicants have been chosen and then all return to the hall—probably gives the appearance that he plays a role. When I say this to R. she says but his relative not taken.

BMETHODS/AIDS: Overall: Chief is making point that AIDS is a big problem and they are working hard on it, talking everywhere, advising people about their behavior. His language is a combination of “as chief I have this obligation”, and also as a Christian—lots of religious language. Some of what he says he does, however, is hard to believe—like advising couples to use condoms, or calling in men and women whose behavior is seen to be bad. At lunch I ask G—who lives in Oyugis—whether he has been to funerals here, he says yes, I ask whether someone from the chief’s office tells the mourners that the person is suspected of dying of AIDS, G is astonished, “at the funeral?” He says he has never heard it and doesn’t believe it. And adds that if the person is “powerful”, an important person from Nairobi who has been returned for burial, if the chief were to say that this person was suspected of AIDS the chief could lose his job. G has been to *baraza* but only when he was here with the Hopkins project, says those who go to the barazas are conservatives, *miji-kumis* (I think a high overlap, but not sure). L. says if even the chief exaggerates and doesn’t tell us the truth, how can one expect the respondents to do any better? I think about asking the interviewers not to accept pat answers, but I think that wouldn’t work—and in any case we didn’t do that before. I thought maybe the chief was pulling my leg by saying there were funerals in the week—I’ve only heard about weekend ones—but G. says the funerals for local people can be in the week, they are buried three days after death (ck), but if the person is from outside it’s on the weekend. The next day I bring the issue up again at breakfast with P., T., R., F. and L.: why would the chief say they announce the dead person had AIDS? Do they think white people will believe anything? Do they think I won’t check? That I don’t know anything about the community so I won’t think it’s odd? L. thinks he is talking in terms of ideals, F. agrees, and points out that Moi has just announced that AIDS is a national emergency—this could be right, as the chief mentioned Moi’s deC.tion right at the start of our conversation. T. sniffs, saying it has been an emergency for a long time. I point out that L. and I both queried him on it, how can this really happen. P. says that he thinks I won’t check, that “the story ends there”, with him telling me what he does. There’s also the suggestion that the chief might think that I will take the word back to Nairobi that he is doing his job as a chief well. Also next day L. visits a school in Oyugis, where it turns out that the teacher is the chief’s wife. L. asks about AIDS, about barazas, Chief’s wife says in *baraza* not all people attend, and they (not clear if it is the govt here or the attendees) discourage condom use because it encourages immorality.

BMETHODS/INTERVIEWER SELECTION: There are 73 applicants, including 21 women/52 men. Last night we discussed whether the old interviewers had to take the test, they said yes, “for transparency”. We take 32 for training, 20 men and 12 women. Of these, 8 are old interviewers (F.N., N.N., E.O.N., J., H., F.O., A. A., M.)—two women. F. proposes giving the ones who passed the aptitude test but not the interview some money, 100KS, “for public relations”. F. starts the training with introductions, first the team and then asks them to introduce themselves saying something interesting about themselves. The first two can’t think of anything, the third person says she is to be married soon (everyone claps), and the next person says he is keen on sports, after that most people follow these leads and mention their marital status and their sports interest. Then I say a few words about what we are interested in and how important they are—most probably didn’t understand a word, but they looked v. serious when I talked about AIDS. Then F. tells them they will be paid 750KS/day that they work, we expect 5 interviews a day, they will work for 10 days, then callbacks and some may be dismissed then. (This isn’t quite right—probably 8 days and then callbacks). And they don’t yet know what “callbacks” means. Lessons learned: The selection process went smoothly because the supervisors are so experienced. They had prepared: we had enough aptitude tests and pencils, they graded the tests quickly. At first we had said we would take 17 men and 17 women, i.e. 34 for a desired team of 25. But to get 17 women we had to go down too far in the grades. In the first year they might have done this, but now they realize that if the person has a lot of trouble with the test, they will have a lot of trouble with the questionnaire, and that in turn causes problems for the supervisor. The aptitude test had about half background information, which wasn’t graded—how much school they had, how old, where from, etc. Even here, tho, some didn’t understand—one question was whether they had worked as an interviewer before, one woman answered yes, she was a tailor. Some of the questions were related to logic (if A is greater than B and B is greater than C, is A greater than C) or background (circle the even numbers that follow an odd number—a lot of people got this wrong). Some were more related to the questionnaire—a skip if they hadn’t worked before, calculating age if a person was born in 1957, translating a passage from English to Luo (and a lot got this wrong—they translated the instruction “translate the following into Luo” into Luo, but the question itself (has the number of animals in your hh increased or decreased) they answered in English: the ones I saw said there were more cockroaches, more “*dudus*”, etc. I was there for the selection, but I think if I hadn’t been it would have taken longer as they showed an inclination to want to discuss each candidate seriously and in some detail. We took all of the old interviewers, although one of them didn’t do very well compared to the others. They also were quite aware of the potential public relations issues. Although the chief and *miji-kumis* had been told people were to be here by 8, I doubt that this got passed on with force, and I think the team understood that: thus, we let anyone take the test who came before the actual training started. Because they have been here before, they recognized some people—in the afternoon there was still a shabby man hanging around, he turns out to be the man who had rasta braids last time, who aced the aptitude test, but who we let go because he was notorious as a drinker/junkie, so we didn’t even let him pass this time. They’ve also learned to keep the questionnaires rather than returning them. They are useful to have if anyone insists that he (or his “client”) did well but failed—and G. went over the failed exam of M.’s son with the son—but I heard F. explaining to L. that we don’t want to give them out because we want the flexibility to take someone who didn’t do so well, in this case an old interviewer. We have

### *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

translation from English to Luo, but would have been good to also have vv, as evidence for the choice of language of the questionnaire.

BMETHODS: They appear about 5:30. First thing F. said is that some will have to go tomorrow, they are not understanding. F. said the second vehicle broke down outside of Nairobi, again it was the clutch. E. called—useful to have someone in Nairobi. F. is trying to get in touch with the company, if he can't he will go to Nairobi early tomorrow a.m. F. said the way it works is that you go to the company, give them the money, they know owners of vehicles and arrange with them. He doesn't seem to be worried about getting the money back—says “they will have to give it back”, I think he meant to the company, and the company will have to get us a new vehicle.

One of the Amani workers brings her four children to meet me. I give them little Hershey bars, we sit and talk a bit awkwardly. All are in school (except the 7 months old baby, Bill). I ask them what they like best, the oldest girl (standard 8) says “the uniform”, so does the younger girl (standard 3). The middle boy said something else that I couldn't understand.

#### Meeting:

Stories?

Going to ask this a lot at meetings, want to write a book based on Survey Team's experience and ad vice, and what I've learned. When I came here didn't know much, most of you were pretty inexperienced as well, but you have become very competent indeed. Want to pass this experience on to others.

Can we do better on aptitude test? selection?

Aptitude test: They said the question on age was a problem (which it was). But then I asked them to think not so much individual questions, but what questions would help them most in selecting people who will be good interviewers. P. said things that were related to the questionnaire, like whether they can translate from English to good Luo—that way you can tell if they will be a good Luo speaker (P. is the expert on this, she usually checked the Luo translations).

Selection: They thought they selected too many people to pass the aptitude test (and I think that they didn't explain well enough at the beginning that there were two tests). So the people who were told they passed the aptitude test “sighed with relief”, and then later they had to tell them they didn't pass the interview part. They suggest in Gwasssi that if we want 25 we choose only 30 because hard to be

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

dismissed; also that not so much emphasis on gender balance –and the female supervisors agree, T. said it's not fair to take a woman with a score of only 9 when we won't take a man with the same score [very meritocratic].

Posters? Think can't send a local interviewer because won't know the strategic spots to put the posters

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Teachers? J.–has just been transferred, asked headmaster to release him. Lady teacher: said she is on leave until we finish, she looks good. They think hiring the two teachers is O.K. here, but we certainly shouldn't do it in Mfangano.

Did anyone challenge results? Almost all of them came to check but believed T. when she showed them the results and explained what they did wrong

Language: Gwassi: in interview, Eng to Luo and Luo to English—we can put this on a card and see which they do better

They are in charge, making decisions. I will worry only about three things:

Data quality—and I'm not v. worried. Report to them about the interviewer effects, our survey and the DHS

Budget: patron client. Have more for you, but have to be careful. E.g. of paying people we dismissed after the interview. Turns out that came from the team, not F., and after he talked with me and I raised questions, he convinced them. (Afterward I talked with F. about more sharing of rooms, he thinks they will agree)

Schedule:

Related to budget

Related to our leaving, explain why

Christmas and PAA

Extra days for short interviews

R. said she understood about wanting us all to return together, but says we shouldn't compromise the data quality for time. I agreed, said I didn't think that would be an issue. With 5 supervisors with 5

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

interviewers each, and each interviewer doing only 3 per day on average (5 on good days, 1 or 2 when we get to the tough callbacks) for Oyugis, where there are about 450 respondents, we should be done in 6 days. (We have two weeks allotted, minus 1 rest, 3 training, 2 short interviews) we should finish here 2 days early. And the other sites are smaller.

Misc:

Eating and drinking in front of them?

I asked them what they would change for next time. They only say not to pass so many people on the aptitude test.

AIDS/BMETHODS: I tell them what the chief said about announcing at funerals that the person died of AIDS, they all make a dismissive sound. They say it's true that someone from govt office goes to all the funerals, and often talk about AIDS. T.'s aunt died, at the funeral the government person talked a lot about AIDS, said people not dying of *chira*, AIDS is here, it's real. (This is one of the slogans on a poster\_. I asked whether her aunt died of AIDS, she said didn't know, her organs failed, that's all she knew. I said it was often like that, people unwilling to say a family member died of AIDS, but T. said no, her cousin is HIV positive and he talks about it.

BMETHODS: I ask F. to tell the driver, J., not to drive around in the vehicle—F. said he did already—and that he can pick up people in our villages but he can't charge anyone (he will tell him). J. isn't at dinner. Seems that he takes the vehicle to Oyugis to eat and sleep, probably because it's more expensive here. I point out that this means he's saving money by using our petrol. And that I think if he wants to do that, he should pay for the petrol—it's about 6 km round trip, and we get about 7-8 km/litre. I ask the others what they think. P. ducks: "This is a problem for management." I ask P., who says it depends on what per diem he is getting from the company (the company pays his salary and per diem), she says maybe he doesn't get very much. I say why does it depend on that? He can get the company to pay the petrol, then. They are dubious. But F. says he will deduct the petrol cost from what we pay the company. Some discussion about Gwasssi, where there is no alternative.

R. brings her daughter, K., to dinner—she's about 3, lively and cheerful.

Before bed, F. comes to say that there is another vehicle, they will leave Nairobi at

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

8 with S. driving. Then before we go to Gwasssi this vehicle will be exchanged for the repaired 4 wheel drive.

Wednesday, Jan 19: Again, commotion starts early. The generator went on about 5:30, and as I had not turned the light off last night (it went off when the generator was turned off at 10), the light in my room went on. Shortly after there was a knock on the door and the announcement that my hot water was there. I get up and search for tea, which is already ready, and as yesterday take it to the little veranda off the meeting room and watch it get light.

ETHNICITY: At breakfast I ask about the chief's comment that the govt didn't care that there was much AIDS in the western part of the country, only declared it an emergency when the Kalenjin were affected. F. says this argument was in the Post On Sunday, and he has heard people talking about it.

BMETHODS/INTERVIEWER TRAINING: Almost all the interviewers are on time. 5 were 5 minutes late (R. kept track), F. took them out and gave them a warning. The training starts. They were supposed to go over the questionnaire carefully at night, but R. says some have not done this. T. launches into the training, and it's clear that the team has already created a good spirit in the group—they do correct each other (or at least offer alternative readings), there's a lot of laughter. R. has a list of those they are keeping an eye out for. One of them is a woman whose Luo is not very good. I ask how this can be, R. says that perhaps she grew up speaking English or Kiswahili.

I go down again at break. Again they mention some who don't have good Luo. I ask whether the personal interview was in English, they said it was, I suggested perhaps they do it in both languages, and G. recalls that we did that in some of the sites last time. I wonder why they did in English—maybe because the questionnaire is in English? Or to establish status? I also say I'd like them to rank the interviewers when the fieldwork is over, so we can see if the ranking matches the aptitude test. Again they laugh when I suggest that respondents might lie—as they did when I said the chief lied-- and I ask them why they always laugh? They say it's because of the way I say it--“But they lie anyway”—but maybe it's something else, that in Kenyan culture it's not really done to say outright that people lie. G. says there was quite a discussion with the Kisumu study, whether men were over reporting sexual contacts or women under reporting—perhaps this is the only experience he had with the possibility that respondents not telling the truth?

M. comes by to greet me for the second time today (and twice yesterday), tells me that he had a daughter in July, and has given her the nickname S. because of me, because I'm such a kind person. I



### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

suspect a request for money is coming, and try to head it off by showing him pictures of D.D.F. But it doesn't work. He returns to the topic by saying she has been sick, they have taken her to doctors, and then asks if I can give him something to buy "little presents" for her (I think he means medicines). I frown, and say I'll have to think about it, that if I give him something others will want something small too. He says no, it's because he and I have such a special relationship, and I say that others say that too. I say that I will discuss it with F..

Group goes to Oyugis. Chief said always there, but he wasn't. Then went to the school, they gave L. a poem and songs about AIDS. But the boys aren't taught these, they are taught to dance. L. asked the teacher, the chief's wife, why, she said because when they went to the competition the boys are supposed to dance. The girls are about 13, standard 8. Chief's wife asked L. whether it was good to give all these FP drugs to young unmarried women. Also talked with a sort of aide, interesting conversation. She has been inherited, in '69, said she couldn't refuse, but she talks about him with distance. Said she had two children with her husband "and 3 with this other man", disparagingly. When AIDS came she left, told this inheritor that she didn't want AIDS, didn't want her children to be orphans. Told of another woman who is 60 years, and forced by her own sons to be inherited. Both the teacher and this woman said can't use condoms with wives because might lead to suspicions. L. asked about inheritance, they said because the inheritance means the sperm must be there. Also said "people don't care, they see people who look healthy, they find excuses". She said can't do the test because it would be doing something different, nobody does that, people would say something is wrong with you. L. asks what about having the nurse test the dead person and give results to the dead person? Chief's wife says in *baraza* not all people attend, and they discourage condom use because it encourages immorality.

L. says F. says that chief appointed, and don't need support of people—in fact govt might prefer that you don't have, so you will follow the govt. A requirement is that have worked for the govt, e.g. as a teacher.

School song

AIDS OH AIDS [typed as written]

1. AIDS OH AIDS. The mention of your name scares me out of my skin, out of the darkness you kept in and swept our continent. From north to south and from east to west. Thousands and thousands you've killed, spoil the beauty of continent causing no meaning to life yet you're not satisfied. AIDS, do you have mercy? ??

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

2. AIDS OH AIDS. You're a deadly monster. You've taken our fathers and mothers, sisters and mothers. Homes are but full of grave, children are orphans, women are widows, men are widowers. Why? Just because of Mr. S. Others call kill me quick. Scientist have gone to the moon made nuclear weapons yet your cure has defeated them. AIDS do you have mercy!!!

3. Dear brothers and sisters, friends and relatives, sons and daughters and to my loving parents lend me your ears and get this massage. Right with a broken heart I'm asking you please please take care to the youth, stop bad habits, husbands and wives be faithful to each other. This monster never sleep. There's no cure for AIDS. AIDS, do you have mercy!!!!

At lunch we talk about AIDS, a lot about testing because that's what L. is v. interested in. They come up with stories about people who falsely tested positive. F. said in the course of some project he worked on he talked with 10 guys who had been tested together, all were positive, but two of these were very doubtful about the results. They went to Kenyatta for retesting, turned out none were positive. Others had heard other stories about false positives. T. said that people now are sticking with the sort of people like themselves, "like me and F. and P.", they are "cocooned for safety, they only sleep with each other." Now they are dying too. Then P. be told a story about being at the hairdresser, someone came in and said so and so died of AIDS, another person said "I knew she would", that a woman married to someone who moved suggested to this woman that she sleep with her husband. (This sounds like a new version of the "revenge promiscuity", "I don't want to die alone".) I asked whether the obituaries that say "sudden death" or "short illness" are a way of signaling that the person didn't die of AIDS, none of them think that people would do this. And they point out that people do die of other things besides AIDS. F. says he knows three women who all died of uterine cancer, tho people said it was AIDS because it was after a long illness. F. recalled that when they were young one of his friends looked forward to funerals because there was dancing all night long, but said that now there are too many funerals, people don't dance. AZT is available, but expensive—30,000 a dose. Frances also said a Dr he talked with says AZT doesn't work for Africans (a version of the FP story, that depo would work differently on African bodies). I said not true, told them about the study in S.Africa giving AZT to pregnant mothers, but F. said might be different for adults. (I also think might be different because I suspect Kenyans don't get tested, and don't start AZT, until later than in the states). I asked about what the chief said that the hospitals say patients better off in the hospital, F. says the drs advise moving the patient to home or to a cheaper hospital to spare expenses.

FASHION: Out of the 11 women interviewers (1 dropped because couldn't organize care for her five-month old child) 3 of them have additions or braids—one wit the latest Nairobi fashion, says P.—and 2 have "relaxed" hair. F. said he was at a bus-stop when some women out with trousers, the man he was with said "those are modern ladies, not indigenous".

FIELD: The vehicle with S., N., E., C. and D. arrives around 4. Quite a saga. Car broke down a few miles beyond Westlands, N. and D. try to call the car office and the woman they talk to hangs up on them. Then they go to Westlands to a phone booth, N. calls E. to take care of things (commenting that maybe as a woman she should do it herself, but it was hot, not enough change for the phone, etc). Lots of back and forth about the vehicle, finally they get S. and his vehicle and go back to the Fairview, leave vehicle there overnight. Tho N. wakes up at 2 a.m., worried, S. has key, suppose he steals the stuff. So she goes out to check.

RARIEW/CLINICS/AIDS: I talk with N. about her visit with S. B. at GTZ (M. M. came with her). They talk about *rariw*, symptoms, etc. S. convinced that *rariw* is chronic. Even if the woman does something at an early stage, if she just goes to the traditional healer it never gets fixed. She was willing to criticize the clinic--thought it a failing of the health system that they don't take *rariw* seriously. And agreed with N. that educated people don't want to talk with the women who say they have it. S. also said that govt has free STD program, hospitals have free STD drugs, but then N. said some of them may not have the drugs, and S. then agreed that the drugs often aren't there. S. talked with N. about ways of seeing whether treatment the clinics give women for *rariw* works, but never suggests, despite indirect hints from N., that she herself might organize tests via GTZ to find out what it is (S. is a gynecologist or obstetrician).

AIDS/SEX: L. comes back, she and F. have been to the district hospital in Oyugis (DH because Oyugis now in the new Karachuonyo district). They talk with the medical officer, a Dr. Bongo, and the in charge: again, what these men say is more interesting for what they apparently think they should say to foreigners than for the substance. L. asks them about reporting, they say they do report AIDS deaths, but say that the private clinics don't, because deaths from AIDS are not reimbursed by insurance--thus, they say it's malaria, or TB. L. asked if the clinic personnel go if a person dies at home, they say no, they are hoping for authority to do that. Interestingly, they make a distinction between monogamous and polygamous husbands in advising re condoms: say they advise the latter and inheritors to use condoms, but advising the former would be going too far. L. asked why, they said with a second wife you don't know what she's been doing. (Recall the chief who said his predecessor died after marrying a new wife from Nairobi). I think that second wives may be suspect for a number of reasons--they are younger, and thus may be believed to be less sexually satisfied with a polygamist; they are usually already tarnished in some way (e.g. child out of wedlock); maybe men who haven't made it to polygamy are simply jealous. The MOH of the hospital said that they have campaigned about AIDS but it didn't work: they put up posters, talked at *barazas*. L. asked why it didn't work, he said he's a young man, even tho he's a doctor he can't advise older men. Now they are trying to work through the elders. They are going to try better counseling for PWAs, training is going on now. Across the street from the hospital is a Youth AIDS Center. No talk of condoms there--altho the workers are volunteers, it's supported by a church. One of the guys they talked with indicated that the problem was

pornography, have to get rid of porn magazines. N. recalled the chiefs/elders' meeting that she went to when she was here last year, where most of the people said the solution was to go back to the old ways. One woman speaker recalled at great length that when she was young women were virgins, now they aren't, we have to go back to the behavior of those times.

P.'s mother comes to visit.

INTERVIEWER TRAINING: Meeting: F. reports that training is going very slowly. The question about family members takes a long time. People are coding side effects as "trouble getting pregnant" (which I think is because people here believe that one of the main side effects is that you might not be able to get pregnant again). Also having trouble with networks, and with instructions like "if man is polygamous...". The "small and no risk" question is difficult in Luo because of the problems translating the concept of "chance". Most of the people doing v. badly are women. F. says "If they were men they'd be gone, but because they are women and you are women we're giving them another chance tomorrow. But if they don't improve-- 'c'est la vie'". Later, at dinner, P. says the question about "how many brothers in law have you talked to" and "are any CBDs" also takes a very long time. So they think the questionnaire is not shorter, and training may take longer.

I say it might help them understand the questionnaire if they understand what we are getting at in each section. (They see their job, rightly, as getting people who have never seen a questionnaire to understand e.g. skip patterns, to know how to code, to figure out what code is best when the respondent doesn't answer with the coding categories. But since we have found that the interviewers do not in fact read the questions exactly as they are written, I think it is very important that they understand what we want to know and why.) They say they do explain what we are interested in for each question, and T. says on some of the sections, like the gender questions, she doesn't know what to tell them. F. asks if I would explain this tomorrow to the interviewers. I say yes, but I'm not sure they understand my accent. F. says they will take notes and explain it again in Luo. They say they will like something different, not just going over the questionnaire yet again.

They ask about the labels. E. shows them the sheets of labels, and they point out that on the labels some of the letters are missing. E. explains that she was trying to take out spaces, didn't realize she was chopping off letters. She was planning anyway to make them a list of all the people in each village that should be interviewed so they can keep track. They also point out that all the labels on each sheet aren't from the same village. We agree that the Americans will put the labels on the questionnaire, and organize them by village. F. says they remember what village they supervised last time, but T. isn't sure, so E. will print that out. Question comes up about the people who were listed as dead last time—E. says she will print out a list of these too, so they can make sure (sometimes maybe the person was just

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

thought to have died but didn't)—the supervisors think this is very unlikely.

I refer back to the lying chief, and say it's always a problem. People just may not tell you truthfully what you want to know—use e.g. G. used of men over reporting, women under reporting sexual activity. Emphasize the importance of rapport between interviewer and respondent.

Eat and drink in front of interviewers? We still didn't get to this.

Lunch money—already told

Bonus for interviewers if finish on time AND data quality good. F. said E. suggested we do what we did in Malawi, give them the bags. I ask how this sounds to them. Seems to me that T. and P. not so keen, but R. says they will definitely like the bags so I go with that. They say that if they do very well maybe a bit of money, I say no.

During training, have them enter a questionnaire on a laptop? Maybe 3 together? (They are dubious==perhaps they think the Form 4s can't cope with a laptop? Especially since they themselves don't know how to use them, I think?

GUIDES: At dinner, I reminded F. to test the generators for two days. I also raise a question with P., who is sitting at table with me until E. comes, when she skedaddles, why she thinks people talk with us. P. says why not, it's something for them to do, and they don't have so much work. She says people in Nairobi would never agree to sit for an hour interview. I say but they could talk with their friends, P. answers that they have already said everything to these friends. Seems to me that this is not an uncommon urban position—that rural life is boring.

Jan 20:

FIELD/INTERVIEWER TRAINING:

All the interviewers are there on time. The training begins with my explaining what the research is about.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

I begin by setting out the largest issue: Nyanza is a poor province and there are a lot of health problems. We want to know about these. When we were here before we asked about rariw, and we've written what we have learned in a report that we have given to the MOH. This time our focus is on family planning and AIDS.

Family planning:

When we were here before we found that many couples were using family planning. Some people say that because of AIDS not so many people are using family planning: they say "so many people are dying, we need more children". Other people have a different idea, they say "we should not have so many children, if we the parents die of this AIDS they will be orphans, who will take care of them?"

How do people decide what to do? Do they think it is better to use family planning, or not to use family planning? To help them decide, they might go and talk to the nurse at the clinic. What will the nurse say? She will probably say to use family planning, because the nurse works for the government and the government wants to use family planning. But do you think people will use family planning just because the nurse or the government tell them to do it? No. They ask other people. M. might go to a friend and say, "do you use this thing?", and the woman might say yes, and now I feel much healthier, I am not so tired all the time. But she might go to another friend, who says "I used it before, but it made me so sick, that now I have stopped and I don't use it any more". We know from our work here before that men and women do talk with other people, not just the nurse or the CBD. What we want to learn on the network questions in the questionnaire is what kind of people they talk with about family planning: do they talk with people who are more educated than they are? Do they talk with people who are less educated? Do they talk with people right in their compound, or do they talk with people who live farther away, say in Nairobi?

AIDS:

We have the same questions about AIDS. Everyone here knows that AIDS is a dreadful disease. They know that there is no cure. They know that people are dying a lot. You will find that when you go with your questionnaire to a compound, sometimes you will find that someone who was alive when we were here before is now dead. But people don't want to die. What are they doing to prevent it?

What are the best ways to prevent AIDS? (I ask J., who answers with monogamy and faithfulness—no mention of condoms. Another man says condoms.) What do people here do? (The first person I ask answers "the radio should create awareness"—he answers with an outside program, not what people

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

do). I ask again but what do people here, in Nyanza, do to protect themselves. What do they say about just having one partner—they say “you can’t eat the same *ugali* every day”; “she is so beautiful let me just die with her”, some then come up with other things. What do they say about condoms? (Lots of answers here—“they are infected”, “they have holes”, “they slip off”.) So what do they do? Some answer “they change their behavior”. I ask someone who says her brother changed his behavior, he became more spiritual, Born Again. What else? (Again, no one mentions condoms), I say some might use condoms with a bar girl, but not with a village girl). How do they decide what is the best thing to do? They talk with other people. H. might say “Ah, my friend F., I would like another woman—do you think that G. is healthy or do you think she might be infected with that AIDS bug?” Or J. might say “Ah my friend, I am single and looking for a wife, do you think that one is O.K.? She looks healthy, but is her behavior good?” Again, we want to know what people they talk to—are they more educated or just the same? Richer or just the same? Do these people use condoms or have extramarital partners?

These are the most important parts of the questionnaire: who people talk with about family planning and AIDS. But there are other sections.

Economics: We ask about their economic situation, animals and things like sofa sets. Why are we asking this? (Someone answers by repeating what I have said—“to learn about the economic situation”). I say yes, and to learn how it has changed. I ask someone whether things have gotten better or worse, he says better. I ask another who says they have gotten worse. I say yes, people have different views, and we want to know from each person whether their situation has gotten better or worse: do they have more cows than when we were here before or do they have fewer? Last time we asked how much they earned in a month, and this time we ask again, so we can see whether it is more or less. I ask M. whether people will just tell us what they earn, she says no, it is a very private thing here. I agree, and say that is why it is important to be a good interviewer, to establish rapport with the respondent, and ask T. to illustrate.

Gender: why are we asking these questions? I begin with secret use, some people hide from husbands. Some say “I can’t do anything unless my husband says”, others say “Ah, the children are the woman’s burden, I will just use and not tell him”. it’s the same with the questions about going to the market and clinic: some one say “Oh, dear husband, May I go to the market?” (They all laugh—I think women here wouldn’t do that), others just inform him “I’m going to the market”, and others just go. I ask what word in Luo would describe such a woman who “just goes”, and P. settles on “strong-headed”. I say it’s the same with leaving the husband if he has an affair or beats her.

The last section is a mix of questions. For some, we are trying to find out whether this is a person who is knowledgeable or not. E.g. the question about country that is furthest away—which is more knowledgeable, the person who says Uganda or the person who says Japan? Have they been to Nairobi or not? We also want to know which people are more modern. I look to see what female

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

interviewer is wearing trousers (one is): is she modern? Yes, they say.

I notice that M. Ndege is pregnant—last time she had 3 children and was using FP: her husband knew but they had not told his parents. She said “he wanted another so I had to accept.” But this is the final.

BMETHODS: The responses to questions can be read, in part at least, as reflecting the govt/donor programs. For example, on surveys most people answer that the way to prevent AIDS is avoiding extramarital partners/one partner only etc, rather than condoms—which neatly matches the direction of the programs here. Similarly, on S. B.’s GTZ study of youth, most say FP is “have only the number of children you can cater for”, a much smaller proportion say “to have fewer children”—this reflects the way that the nurses interpret the program, I think.

E. says the medical facilities here have improved—the clinic has become a district hospital with two doctors, they are building, etc. I ask G. whether it’s true that STD drugs are free, he says yes, last year he took some boys there, drugs were available and free.

GENDER/SEX: At lunch, I say casually that in Malawi we had a problem with the male supervisors having sex with the female interviewers, and that we even fired one. G. and F. immediately say ‘but it might be the woman’s fault.’ I go into the spiel about power, that the supervisor has the power to fire her, so he can’t do it. When I say “it’s not professional” they are a bit startled—maybe they don’t think of their work and sex in the same domain-- but agree. They are clearly not persuaded, however: if the man has power, all the more reason for the woman to use sex to get what she wants. The whole discussion was revealing about gender and sex—the deeply held notion (by P. as well) that if a woman wants to entrap a man, he will not be able to resist.

GUIDES: Someone points out that there are now several women DO’s and DC’s. They said the DO’s and DC’s are university grads, “so they understand” about women’s equality. Some discussion of the proposed education reform, tho no one knew much about it (It’s just been announced). They said Nyanza for years was #1 in the KCPE (primary ed certificate).

GOVERNANCE: There’s then an equally vigorous—maybe even more—discussion about Luo politics. F. is going to stand for election from Kisumu municipality next time. He defended R. O. against loud attacks from P. and T.. I didn’t understand it all because they were using a lot of names of politicians, but the gist was that F. was most concerned about competing with the Kikuyu, while P. and T. were



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

arguing that when R. started cooperating with the government all these promises were made about opening up the molasses factory, sugar cane, etc, and nothing has happened.

Meeting:

Labels: point is to help interviewer make sure they have the right person

Importance of making sure have right husband and wife matched—don't want to have disagreement about whether they have a sofa set be due to the fact that we have the wrong spouses matched

Look for new women of repro age, won't have label

What do they learn from the personal interview?

F. begins by saying they didn't fire anyone: the ones who were poor yesterday were much better today (they had been warned), and others today were not so good. They will decide tomorrow. They talked to the poor ones after the others had left. They asked "do you know why we asked you to stay", the interviewers said they thought because they weren't doing so well. They asked the interviewers what their weaknesses were, and they said. I said it was O.K. with me to keep them all—we will finish faster and it will cost less because we won't have to pay them (the supervisors) so much. But can they handle 6? They don't think so. E. says P. will pick one to fire so she will only have 5 interviewers.

They are still struggling, the interviewers are not ready to go out. F. thinks they are not as good as previous years. I say they could send some out and keep others, but they think that if someone can't get it after 4 days they won't get it after 5. N. suggests giving a test like in Malawi; they say don't need to because they have identified the weak people and check the questionnaires closely as they are instructing. I say maybe their standards are higher, but they don't think so.

QUESTIONNAIRE: Problems that arose in the mock interviews this afternoon.

F4a: marital status of NWPs doesn't have "single". —write it in

F10: single man, should he give father's roof—yes if he's living in his father's house

E2: usually stay—what if husband dead? ask about when he was alive

F6—are any of these CBDs?. This is for NWPs, but question says "are any of these"

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

AIDS/GENDER/STRATEGIES: I ask them to note whether a woman who is not there left because she separated/divorced or left for other reasons, explaining that I think women may leave as a strategy for protecting themselves from AIDS. P. thinks this is ridiculous: they leave, only to find that they are getting infected from some other man, and then when they are sick they have to come back. I say that's a stereotype, that women who leave their husbands are loose women, they all vigorously insist that women who are separated become prostitutes. I say they have no evidence at all, they say they do, they see it. I say what if she just quietly becomes a tailor, P. says "That's just it, she's a prostitute." There's a discussion of whether women leave husbands who have affairs because 1) she wants her own freedom (R. 2) he probably isn't supporting her so economic stress (T.). P. said can't leave without evidence. T. says in our society women don't have much freedom—woman needs evidence to leave, but man doesn't. I say P. could leave, P. says yes she could "but I am 1 out of 1000." R. stresses that if the husband is unfaithful the woman would rather leave this person so she's completely free. F. points out that the land is his. And if you go home the mother will say "such a small thing, go back". E. says "even now with the fear of AIDS?" D. says hard to pay back "dowry" (bride wealth.) P. tells story of woman—they all know about this case-- who wanted to leave unfaithful husband, her family kept saying "go back go back", she committed suicide. P. says "She was a modern woman, she had degrees in I don't know what, she was working in the First American Bank, the parents were affluent." If she can't leave, there's no chance for these rural women.

They say a separated man will still say he's married even if the woman has been away for years. I try to check in our data, only to find out that Mark installed Stata without putting in the proper license information. E. looks later, but we didn't ask marital status in K1 or K2, only "are you married" in K2.

Team plus L. go to Oyugis for beer and dancing.

Jan 21:

At breakfast I casually mention to E., but in the hearing of others, that this malaria medicine is giving me more vivid dreams, some about old boyfriends. The reaction is what I wished—they are very interested to hear about my boyfriends. After yesterday's discussion I thought that they might dismiss what I was saying about sex and power on the grounds that I had no interest in sex or hated men, and I wanted to make the point that they couldn't conclude that from what I said.

I review a questionnaire that one of the interviewers did last night with a family member. It's excE.t. It

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

does, tho, raise questions about how the question on “how are you most worried that you will get AIDS” is being interpreted. So I talk to them, trying to make it vivid that we want to know about the life they live today. This respondent was most worried, he said, about an inherited wife—but is he really worried, or is it because the Luo leaders have been warning against it? (You can’t use a condom with the inherited wife, at least in the first ritual intercourse).

#### Meeting:

If other problems with the questionnaire arise in the field, keep track of how you resolve it with the interviewers so you can tell the other supervisors who tell their interviewers.

No daughters alive includes not born? Yes

F. says can do without the personal interview, they feel more comfortable

They say questionnaire longer than K1 or K2.

Spirits definitely low this evening. Not clear why—maybe because tomorrow begins the hard slogging? They know what it’s like.

Gifts: PRICES/GENDER: they planned to give *ugali* to the men, soap to the women “because women are responsible for cleanliness”, and sugar. Sugar is 45ks, (we give 1k) maize 55 (we give 2k), soap 30 (bar about a foot long). I pointed out that this means the men get more than the women. So they switched. .

Jan 22:

Team is very organized this morning. I don’t wear a watch so I won’t look at the time, but I think they got off just fine. Each supervisor has a list of the respondents in the villages he/she will be responsible for—all the women on our initial sample list, whether interviewed in Kenya 1 or Kenya 2 or not, plus exhortations to find any new married women (e.g. those that have married into the village since we were there last). They have verbal autopsy forms for respondents who have died, village questionnaires to ask an informed person, and one-time questionnaires for the interviewers to fill out for analyses of interviewer effects (these should have been filled out yesterday at the end of training, but were

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

forgotten). .

Mid-afternoon: rain. The early mornings are usually overcast, then it's bright sunshine until mid-afternoon, then dark clouds gather and it rains briefly but forcefully and with thunder. It livens up the plants around Amani, but can't be enough for the crops (or to fill the water tank so we could have hot showers).

Team back late, around 8. We were worried, but it turned out they had told the kitchen (but not us) that they would eat in Oyugis. They were in good spirits, thank goodness.

Meeting: F. did 11, R. 10, T. 10 +\_ 1 CB, P 10, G11. R's know the questionnaire well, G. said they've "gotten so experienced with the loops", bored with the AIDS questions. some wanted to go to town. One woman named 3 NWP's, then when asked the list of those she had chatted with added 10 more, but refused to go through the NWP's again. R. said the questionnaire takes an "eternity", longer than Kenya 2. They think it unlikely it can be done in under 2 hrs, maybe 1 ½ at best.

AIDS: The question about risk is inconsistent. One person said his NWP doesn't have other partners, but says his worry is getting AIDS from other partners. T. said everyone is answering inherited wife for A24; F. and G. say that's because of the Luo Elders' campaign. The interviewers are trying hard to insist "you yourself", but it's not working. R. had a respondent whose NWP is a prostitute, but says the NWP thinks her risk is low because she trusts her clients. F says he had a man who inherited his wife who was most worried about transfusions.

The question of marital status of AIDS NWP's appears twice, E. told them to answer A10a, not A8a.

G. said in one of his households, the 1st wife had left but the new wife insisted she was the one that had been interviewed before. G. checked with the husband's father, who said the 1st wife had left, this was a new one.

If NWP single, the question asks about husband; they decided to ask about partner, which is fine.

G. said one of his couples, the wife said it was unlikely the children would go to secondary school, the husband said it was very likely. G. was curious, asked the wife, she said the husband meant "the other wife's kids".

They have found some new couples—one moved back from Migori, a new marriage.

R. said they are very happy about the gifts. One of her interviewers had a very difficult respondent, she struggled through the interview, finally finished it. Then another interviewer, O., appeared and the R. went up to him and said he hadn't been interviewed [perhaps he wanted another gift?] T. said one of her respondents had a small kiosk and they interviewed him there, there was sugar all around. But he was pleased—all of his family has died, "every brother, every sister", and the household has 20 orphans.

E. talked about her new logging form, with a column for "done" or "call back". F. wanted only to put "done," because "we normally go for callbacks 5 or 6 times", sometimes we are just passing by and check. E. said O.K., what's really crucial is the "done" and the verbal autopsy/living. Some village names have changed—arrgh. They are to put the new name in brackets in case there's a Kenya4.

T. said one man, not in our village, saw them coming (she said the team can't be missed, they are all in their t shirts with red and black knapsacks) and said "Hey, the AIDS guys are back with their questions, this time everyone will die of AIDS. "

We had asked them to confirm that the deaths that we recorded in '97 really were deaths, but that has proved to be awkward: the respondents say they already told us that. So I said they don't have to confirm, but just make sure the person hasn't risen from the dead.

Jan 23: E., L., N. and I start checking. The questionnaires are excE.t—only one or two have callbacks for things that weren't filled in, and there's often a comment re things either the supervisor or the interviewer would expect we would query.

*Meeting:* Questionnaires in excE.t shape. Very few things missing, most of our questions are to supervisors to help us understand things that appear inconsistent to us.

At the meeting before the 1st day of fieldwork E., recalling her experiences in Malawi, told the team that they could reach her before 11 at night, but not at 5 a.m.—(in Malawi the supervisors often didn't think about the fact that they needed to take questionnaires to the field until early a.m., when they rapped on

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

her door. ) She now tells them that was totally unnecessary here because they are so together, not like Malawi at all. They appear pleased.

As ever, some queries:

Tell interviewers not to specify unless questionnaire instructs (takes too much time), e.g. F5, B21D,

Marital status:

Don't interview inheritors unless interviewed last time

If man was polygynous but other wife/wives died and he now has only one wife, we consider him monogamous (even if he describes himself as polygynous).

If a man is polygynous (more than one wife) but had an elder wife who died, when we are asking about conversations with his wife re FP, etc, we mean the eldest living wife

Children:

Last time we had instructions re barren women, this time we don't. Tell interviewers that if woman has been married more than 5 years with no children, don't ask her about children.

Up to interviewers: ask the ideal number etc if doesn't seem sensitive

B18-B20: should refer to schooling of their own children, not orphans

Wouldn't consider orphans as children

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Economic:

Monthly salary of 880ks?

Herdsman, working in supermarket

Husband gave her money—this doesn't count unless he sent it from outside; if he's there and just gave it to her, would go under other

Family planning:

F1 and F19 should agree—e.g. if talked w/11 in F1, F19 should have those 11

F30—for non users, why not using: no code for “she doesn't approve”, only for H doesn't approve. If she doesn't approve, that should go in “other”

If she's “too old”, it should be 1, “trouble getting pregnant”

Gender:

Clarify re asking permission to go places. E.g. in one questionnaire (F342) G5 said she can go on her own to visit in the village, but for G7, “when you ask does he always sometimes or never agree”, code should be 4—one questionnaire today had coded 3, which means “he never agrees that she can go”. But since she doesn't ask him, that doesn't make sense.

G9-G12 (E. to do)

AIDS:

A3: Here what we want to know is whether respondents perceive that sex within marriage transmits AIDS as well as sex outside of marriage. Everyone should say yes to both. But most are answering “sex outside of marriage”—why? We don't want the interviewers to probe or to lead the respondent, but we do want to make sure that the interviewer is asking for all the ways they know of that AIDS can be transmitted. This is a knowledge question, not a “are you personally worried” question.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

F. thinks women don't think about getting AIDS in marriage, they get it from husband who got it outside marriage.

A5, what ways have you used to protect against AIDS:

Do not list, just ask "what ways", circle yes if mention it, noting if they don't. Then probe, circle no if don't mention after probe, and probe if mention it after probe.

A20 and A21: Note that multiple answers are possible. Logically, a woman who thinks she has no risk should say

Sex only with spouse, spouse has no partners, no blood transfusions, no injections

Limited no. of partners(she), uses condoms (with those other partners) and spouse has no other partner (plus no transfusions no injections).

GUIDES: G. said they used a vehicle with Discuss Aids: Protect your Family in Siaya, had to cover it up because people said "here are those people coming to see our AIDS patients"

G.: billboard in his village, nurse saying "these people can really get aids", there's only one nurse in the village, D., they said "Ah, D. is giving AIDS", everyone laughs at the silly villagers.

P. said polygamous wives are worried about the co-wife, not the husband.

R.: lots of reasons for getting a cowife, not necessarily because he's a hot one, might be because one wife is barren. If they say they are worried about cowife, might mean that they know the cowife is moving around. G. thinks young polygamous wives are trophy wives—T. remembered that in the qualitative interviews people said worried about young wives who are sleeping around.



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

EVERY married person who thinks they aren't at risk should at least say that "has sex only with spouse" and "spouse has no other partners". But if they don't, that's interesting—that they are only thinking about themselves, not what's happening with their partner (which we get later in the "suspects partner" question.

We don't want interviewers to probe, but we do want to be sure that interviewers are understanding the question correctly, that they know what the possible answers could be.

Consistency checks (d:\africa\papers\ aids\gsmb\commentask3

Clarify why we mean for G9-G12

If when probe circle, if not circle 0

A5

A21, multiple answers

A3: transmitted within marriage? Why so few saying this? AIDS

Contract for interviewers, ala A.B.? Amt of pay, when, what free time, grounds for dismissal (cheating no.1 1) bonus if data quality high and finish on time? First they say yes, but when I ask why, F. says "because you suggested it".

T. said that because of the gifts, they have to check more closely that they have the right respondent. [all to the good].

P. said she talked with an inheritor who saw no risk of AIDS because this is a marriage, it's not "moving around". R. pointed out that an inheritor "benefits so much because usually the inheritor has lower status, now he gets the suits from the dead husband, extra tea, he goes "top class", it makes them feel important." P. said (and acted out) that the inheritor was sitting on a stool right in front of the bedroom "as if to say 'this is mine.'"

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

AIDS/GSMB: F. says it's difficult to say one suspects one's husband, though some women do say it. But it's legitimate to say you suspect husband, worried about getting AIDS from him, if he has inherited, because you aren't accusing him of an illegitimate relationship and because there has been such a campaign against inheritance, the Luo Elders are against it.

AIDS/GSMB: It was clear that the supervisors themselves hadn't thought much of the magnitude of the risk of getting infected from one's spouse: to this extent, I think they share the views of our respondents. Only part-way through the discussion this evening did P. clarify by saying "in other words, you think that there is a major risk from the spouse?" (Maybe she said husband). They pointed out that the risk comes from outside relations: I argued that was so, but in the life the men and women of the villages lead, it's the spouse from whom they are likely to get infected. And in some sense they recognize this, as shown in our Malawi ethnographic interviews. They went out to dinner, and when they came back I talked with F. about 2-3 questionnaires I had checked in which the women respondents suspected (or knew) their husband had extramarital affairs, they were very worried about their risk of getting AIDS, they thought they would get it from the husband, and yet they said the "best protection" was sleep with spouse only. F. clearly hadn't ever thought about the irony involved, now is fired up and will query respondents who make these responses.

BMETHODS/TELL THE COOKS: Re expecting us to be interested in FP: N. said that when she was here before talking about *rariw*, but not FP, a woman with one child said to her she was "really interested in FP". E. said that in Malawi, she was only talking about husband-wife issues, women wanted to talk to her about diseases, and a man asked her "can you tell me about FP"?

Jan 24:

P. chatting over tea when they return. I've just been reading field notes from K1 and K2 about respondents running away, etc, asked her if this is happening now. She says no. I asked if they still say "how will this help me", she says sometimes, but they ask it in a way that means how is this helping the community, not personal. She thinks that both the familiarity and gifts are relevant. BMETHODS/fieldwork: When people see her they recognize her, ask "Hello, how have you been". If they don't want to be interviewed they won't run away, they will be more polite. And she thinks the gifts help—they make the R's feel that we appreciate the time they are giving us. I asked whether news about the gifts has spread, she says it has. One woman came up to her and said "aren't you coming to interview me" P. asked where she lived. And then said if you're in the sample we will interview, if not not. The woman said "please come and talk to me". I was worried that the gifts would be too heavy for the interviewers to carry, but she says not. They each go out with two sets in case there are two people at home, and the vehicle is nearby so they can return and replenish.

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

We talked about how long we would take here. P. said she liked Kawadghone best, because we stayed at the Tourist Hotel and, “as you know, I like my comforts.”

BMETHODS/AIDS: P. today had a woman who said she “knows” her husband has other partners. I asked whether she would only say this if she had evidence, she says yes; otherwise she would say “suspects”.

FIELDWORK: T. joins the conversation by saying “these women are all liars”; P. says “Men are worse”. T. was in a woman’s house, and knew one of the NWPS she named, because T has always used the house of that NWP to distribute questionnaires to the interviewers. The R said the NWP was “worse off” than she was, but it’s not true—the NWPS house is very nice indeed. And the R said the NWP uses family planning, but she doesn’t—the NWP hasn’t had a child yet, and wants one.

L. asks P. about the “expect” your children to go to school, and the “very likely”/not likely. P. says in Luo “expect” is more like “hope”, not likely is more like “not possible”. P. says she’s interested in this question: “I got curious—maybe they are answering “not likely” because this time we are giving sugar, next time school fees.”

At dinner, F. also says few refusals. Though one woman refused to take the gifts, saying “something will follow”, meaning spirits, bad luck, but the husband took the gifts.

T: followed by 3 elderly women, insisted that she give them something, why talk to the little ones not us, T. explained, but they insisted no, we just need something. “Unfortunately your name is not in our sample”, “O.K., why don’t you put our names in our sample”.

BMETHODS: Meeting:

SELECTIVITY: Send one interviewer w/male and female questionnaire, like P.?

T. sends pairs, but 5 so sends one with both

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

F.: Send out pairs , changes every day

R.: Sends pairs, but each person in the pair is responsible for a male and female but they might switch depending on who is home

G.: Will send three to a polygynous hh so they can interview spouses simultaneously

T. says at random unless the man looks a little wild. R. says it takes care of itself, might be who is ahead walking. If the person is a bit more complicated the person who is more comfortable does it. They see some and don't see some. P.: sometimes it is so natural: if couple of interviewers and couple of respondents it's same gender.

T. asked woman who thinks husband moves, but insists that the problem is the other partner, not the husband himself.

R.: is it chira or AIDS? Said "it's punishment from God." Said that person very religious, refused to take the gift, said must be some poison in the gift. Very poor family.

**Economic:**

Credit merry go round should be YES only if it was R's turn last month.

Is DK for amount earned from selling bananas O.K.? Wouldn't she know? Yes--might sell 7 days a week, get 2 some day, 10 the next, and they use it right away.

Cattle: A.A.: Husband says they have 5, she says they have none. Does interviewer understand that this is the household's cattle? It's not like K2, hers to sell. (But the monthly income question is for each of them separately). They said yes , they understand. M. interviewed another man, knew he was lying, said radio not working now.

**Expect hope:**

Very likely/not likely--most of them are thinking in terms of school fees, that's why so many say no not likely.

FP:

Note that this is “ever chatted with anyone in this category”, not just repeating the NWPS already named and the categories they are in.

AIDS:

R says on A20 that not much risk because “sex only with partner” AND “limited number of partners”. Sounds inconsistent—and they say it is. In Luo might say only sleep with spouse, only one partner so interviewer checks both.

R says she thinks NWP worries about getting AIDS from husband, but that the NWP also thinks her best protection is “sex only with husband”.

Jan 25, Tuesday:

BMETHODS/paperflow: Last night the four of us—N., L., E. and I—checked questionnaires until 11:15, finished all except G.’s, who handed his in late. It took maybe two hours for the four of us to check about 40 questionnaires—much less onerous than when I was checking them all, and it would take a whole day. It’s also very useful to check together, especially at this early stage of the fieldwork, as we can talk about some of the apparent inconsistencies we find. For example, L. comments about a questionnaire where the woman said she had two, wanted to stop, but when asked how many children she wanted said 4. I used to do callbacks for this, but now don’t: I’ve come to think it’s imposing false consistency. The woman may be genuinely ambivalent, and not see the connection between one answer and the next that we, interested in fertility and family planning, see. Where there are problems we can come to a consistent coding. For example, we have a few inherited women. When asked how they think they themselves might get AIDS, it is sometimes coded as “husband” or sometimes as “Other-inheritor”. Our instructions say that a widowed woman is to be asked the husband questions about her husband when he was alive, not the inheritor; on the other hand, a respondent may not have been worried about getting AIDS from her husband when he was alive, but is concerned about the inheritor, either because he might be infected (she may not know much about his past, she may not know much about his current movements since he often doesn’t live with her, and she may know that the inheritor has inherited other women as well, some of whose husbands may have died of AIDS). So we have decided to keep “other-inheritor”, and we may make a new category for data analysis. Some of the oddities are really unexpected, and I doubt that any pretest would have picked them up: e.g. one network partner was said to have used family planning, but for the next question, “did her husband

know?”, the marginal comment said “her husband died and she only started using FP after he died”. I recoded from the “no” that the interviewer had circled to “DK”, which in this case really means “not applicable”.

On the NWP for FP, there is a sense in some of the questionnaires that the respondent is trying to make her NWP respectable re FP. If the NWP is not using FP, there will be a comment that she is “old”, or “menopause”, I guess so that we will understand that it’s not that the NWP has any objection to it. Or that the NWP only has one or 2 children, as if it has to be excused—to us, as I doubt that they would add this explanation in an ordinary “chat.”

L. is going to keep a list of these coding decisions, to be a sort of dictionary of the variables: I should have done this for K2 (I did some for K1, it’s in the dictionary). L. commented later that hardly any women want to wear blue jeans or trousers. I said “it’s trousers only”, she said “No, on the questionnaire it is ‘blue jeans/trousers’.” I groan, that’s a mistake, we’ll have to live with it in Obisa and make sure the in the next 3 sites the interviewers understand just to ask women about trousers, men about blue jeans. That’s one more thing they have to learn, and we won’t be able to compare with Kenya 2. At breakfast today L. mentions it to R., who says “We already told them that in training.” They really are amazing: they knew what the question was last time, and just corrected. There may be a downside to this, however. On household animals, in Kenya 2 we asked about animals the respondent himself/herself owned, i.e. could sell: this time we are asking household. I have noticed some quite discrepant responses from husbands and wives, so it may be that some of the supervisors assume that we really mean this question to be the same as K2. I had already gone over it in meeting last night, but the blue/jeans trousers leads me to think that it’s their memory and diligence that might be an explanation.

**BMETHODS:** It seems that we are using about 15 litres/week of petrol for the generator. Amani turns their big generator on for a few hours at 5:30 a.m., I suppose so that the cooks can see to do breakfast (though it wakes me up every morning). They then turn it on in the mid-afternoon, keeping it on until about 10:30 or, if they see we are still working, later. In between, we use our generator, as some of the computers don’t have much battery life. The petrol is about 50ks/litre, so that’s about \$10 a day. It will undoubtedly be more in Gwasssi and Mfangano.

Market day in Oyugis, so supervisors expect that it will be more difficult to find people. Interviewers are still doing only 2 a day, but some are getting it done in an hour, even with NWPS.

Stephen M. wandering around again this morning. He’s the interviewer that we hired for K2, but

released after the 1st day of training because we were told by Amani people that he was nuts/did drugs. He came for the test again this time, wasn't hired. He has come around several time—saying he couldn't find his book, or that he had given a notebook to T. to correct and wanted it back. Yesterday morning he was wandering around with a piece of rope around each wrist. It makes me a little nervous: although we take the equipment in to our rooms at night, we leave our questionnaires out at night—Amani feels very safe, and there are no goats wandering around, as at Gwasssi, who might eat the questionnaires. But this morning C., the Amani accountant, said that last night M. broke into the chief's office, messed up some files and took some papers. C. is going to try to keep him out. It might be difficult, though—although there is a night watchman on the drive, Amani has quite a bit of land and it's not fenced, so it's easy to get in.

FASHION/GLOBAL: At breakfast I compliment P. on her pink T-shirt, R. says in Luo “was it D.”s” and then when they all laugh they translate/explain. The day after D.'s funeral, the second hand clothes hawkers here were holding up this bit and that of clothing and saying “D.”s dress! Just arrived!”

There is some talk about “flouncing”—it seems as if the word has become a codeword to refer to P., and the time at the HB Tourist hotel that I chastised her for leisurely finishing her breakfast sausage while the interviewers were waiting by the side of the road, and then flouncing out when she was good and ready. It's by no means a secret codeword—more like “Ah P. e, are you flouncing again?”

I go down to the vehicles to wave them off, and realize that I am very happy here. I think a good part of it is being together again with Survey Team Inc: we now have quite a history, and we have grown in competence together. I didn't know much about field research when we began with the ethnographic interviewing in the summer of 1994, or when we began K1 in Dec 1994; they had some field experience, but not in a project that emphasized strict adherence to the sample and data quality, nor, I suspect, in a project where they were so often asked for their opinions and ideas about why respondents say this and that, what does this mean, etc. This time, as previously, our meetings have a business period (though now this is very short as there is very little to discuss) but a substantial part devoted to asking them questions on which they are more expert than I. I think they are also happy here. Of course with the money, but they have become friends with each other as well. And just as I felt good when the Amani people welcomed me back with big smiles, I think they like returning to the same villages they were in before and the respondents greet them with smiles, “how are you”, etc. Also, I'm sure they like it that they are really in charge here. In K1 and even in K2, though less, I was anxious about interviewing everyone, getting perfect data, doing it quickly to stay within our budget, unexpected things that might happen. Now I have no worries. The team is so good, and in addition E. can handle the data entry supervision very well, and there is help checking the questionnaires. This also means that I have lots of time to think and write, without interruptions, which is a great joy.

WHITES: Yesterday a.m. I asked the kitchen/hh staff to keep an eye out for one of my purple hair

combs: I had it yesterday a.m. but couldn't find it in the afternoon. I emphasized that I thought I just dropped it somewhere, so they wouldn't think I was accusing anyone of taking it, but I still wonder if they might not be wary of white people claiming that things were stolen. It turned up on night table after the sheets were changed, so I expect it was somewhere deep in the blankets (I had looked in the bed and on the floor). This a.m. the kitchen staff asked me if I had found the comb, and were very relieved to learn that I had.

AIDS: L. is checking questionnaires. One the "great/moderate" risk for NWPS, all three NWPs check "spouse has other partners". She thinks that this refers to cowives, as a subsequent question (A24) the NWPs are worried about spouse's younger wives. The issue is whether to distinguish spouse's other partners who are cowives vs girlfriends/bar girls. We decided (really I decided) not: to switch it to the "other category" means it is at risk of getting lost unless there are a lot of them, and to give an instruction to interviewers to distinguish between NWPs in polygynous marriages and those who are not (which we didn't ask) after training means that some will get it, some will get it less well, increasing interviewer effects. It's also not clear what the distinction is from the perspective of the wife. It may be that being labeled a cowife makes that relationship safer, the way they sometimes perceive the marriage bond to someone be safe from HIV and thus blame other partners rather than the husband. On the other hand, we do hear concerns about cowives, esp younger ones, moving around. And one of the ways people evaluate whether someone is infected is by local knowledge about their behavior, their "movements": with a new cowife you may not know this. In Malawi it appeared to me that the distinction between a husband's new cowife and his new girlfriend would appear to the wife to be small: men would meet a woman on the road, propose, marry her and there's a new cowife, usually living somewhere else. E., though, thought that the worry about cowives was the search process—if a man is looking for a cowife he has license to sleep around.

AIDS/GSMB: Chatting with F.: F. asked a woman (not in our sample) why women say on our survey that they aren't at risk from their husbands but their husband's partners. She said 'you know we don't have a choice, we have to sleep with the husband.' And also said that 'women [wives] don't move out, men do. F. queries this, but she said 'very few if any women move out but men are well known.' Another woman, walking by, stopped to chat with F. She's a Form 4 leaver, says hasn't worked since school, says 'ever since I was married my husband hasn't given me a shilling.' Husband form 4 leaver, hasn't done anything, 'wakes up in a.m., weeds shamba, goes to Oyugis, comes back and waits for me to feed him. Life is really a struggle but my own choice that I came there'. Husband sometimes drinks and sometimes doesn't come home. F. asked 'Where do you think he sleeps?' "Oh, he says he sometimes sleeps in a friend's house or by the side of the road. But that's how people get AIDS.' Her mother has come 3 times to take her away, but she has refused. She explained that she married this man straight from school against her mother's wish, so feels she doesn't want to be a failure.

AIDS: Circumcision: F.' study (I think Kisumu) brought out that circumcision matters. But Luo elders



### *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

cautious because worry that people will think that if get circumcised they can move, so not much has been said about it. “When we presented that part of our study, Prof. O. [G.E.M.O., had a opened piece in the Nation]. and Prof A. said “no, you have to go slow on this because this is cultural, you can’t change over night. Inheritance we are working on, but when it comes to circumcision you have to go slowly. S: Why is circumcision harder? F. said doesn’t know but things it’s because “it has more to do w/politics, because others talk about Luos not being real men, that’s why they can’t be president, so probably Luos feel that if they start talking about circumcision now, the other tribes will laugh at them. Also, circumcision is very physical, like removing the teeth, but with widow inheritance you are not branded, not visible.

Re the personal risk question: F. says the interviewers really know it means personal risk, but the people insist on answering generally. Talked about one R who had NWP’s all worried about inheritance because sympathetic with the inheritors. But I think this possible—maybe that’s really what they talk about all the time, so the R would think that’s what they are worried about.

Talked about a R. male whose wife left in ‘96, “she’s just moving around with other men in town, she’s become a prostitute”. He believes there is no AIDS, had 20 partners, never uses condoms, and NWP’s also had many partners, no condoms. At the same time, F. said, there’s a young man in the compound who is ailing, has to be carried. .

Meeting:

Do verbal autopsy instead of comment on questionnaire.

Note if refused gift

E.—re P.’s interviewer questionnaire

Now a folder of people who died but who still need verbal autopsy forms)

Apparently some problems still with matching. F. found a woman with two husbands. P. had one wife with two different stickers as if it were two different women. E. is going to see whether

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

F.: woman had child recently but said doesn't need to use FP because "stopped naturally".

F. said KO. is really one village, includes A,B,C. Should have only one community questionnaires. P. said when ask informant re community questionnaire he wouldn't confine himself to his area, just said "so many".

Feb 2 drive to Gwasssi

Feb 18 drive to Kawad

miji kumi appointed by government, assistant chief takes him seriously. Chief is location, subchief is sublocation.

J. O. A.—location chief; there's a subchief for Obisa, but F. doesn't know him.

Jan 26, Wed:

Slow day. I spend most of it fixing up the dictionary for K1 for public use, and starting a dictionary for K2.

Team back.

AIDS: F.: from doing village questionnaire w/miji-kumis says no. of funerals in village is low, so they must go to a lot of funerals outside the village. Also said one guy said govt. Should make HIV testing mandatory, and then take all the HIV positives, put them in a boat, and send them out to sea to die.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

FASHION: P. says I'm trying to look local today." She's wearing a *kanga*, but you can see the blue jeans under it (not to mention her braided hair).

C., at her data entry: "This time everyone is talking to somebody—it's not fair."

Meeting:

Jan 27: No meeting last night. F. had an appt w/the DO at 8:30, so they rushed there from dinner. DO not there, so they went drinking. L. said it was the same bar, same music, same people [rather like a club?].

I didn't get stories last night, but did this a.m. I'm sure there are always stories, and the best way to get them is just sit around when they come back and be interested. There are also probably more stories at the beginning of the fieldwork, when they are fresh, curious, energetic—it's the same with me. As usual, I had woken up around 6:30, went to the kitchen to get a cup of tea and banana, and sat on the terrace watching it get lighter. R.'s the first one I see, and she says "I have a story". I didn't have my pen and notebook, but the gist of it was that the man they talked to lied about which woman was his wife and which is sister in law, and did so in front of his parents. She has no doubt that he was lying—not just a suspicion, or "these people sometimes lie". She says G. also has a story, tells me briefly but says I should hear it from G..

AIDS: Then G. comes out for his cigarette, and tells his story. Says "rural notables"--, someone from the Ministry of Education, a town councillor, another "rural notable" came around, asking what they were doing, G. explained. The M of Ed guy said that as far as family planning went, he thought "there was a lot of awareness" here. But then said "But for AIDS, you people are too late. The people you are talking to, I doubt they will be here much longer, I don't think your report will be much help to the community. They are all dying, they are being cleared." Then G. talked to a woman, a nurse and sickly. Her husband divorced her, married two others. The nurse and her mother went to their home place, only the brother's wife (the nurse's sister-in-law) was left there, and she was also sick, she had been inherited, the man who is the inheritor has two wives. The husband (the nurse's brother) used to have a girlfriend, he committed suicide, leaving a note "I can't reach the diarrheating stage" [I.e. I don't want to]. So all knew what was going on. The nurse asked her sister in law "why, why did you agree to be inherited?" Apparently no answer to this or G. didn't give it to me., but it does suggest that women can consider refusing inheritance. What the nurse is worried about is her 6 months old baby, says the baby is going to die (altho the baby still healthy now). G. and I talk about behavior change. G. says "they know, but there's no behavior change," only a few enlightened people are doing something".

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

. I ask him if he thinks that's really true: what about condoms, aren't men sometimes using condoms with their girlfriends? He says yes,

"They really do know, they are comfortable using condoms with a person they don't trust. But they see a girl over time, 5 months, she's not sickly, so they think it is O.K. to stop using the condoms. "

I try to convince G. that this is behavior change, and he does agree somewhat—"they are being more careful, but briefly". He talked about something he read in the paper, a study where the condoms were treated with die, probably CSW's, afterwards they examined the women and found the die inside them, proof that the men really were using the condoms. He then segued to a conversation he had when he was working on a project in Kisumu, with a pastor's wife. She asked him whether it was really confidential, he spent about half an hour explaining to her that it was. Then she opened up, and said she had a boyfriend. He asked her why, she said that her husband, being a pastor, is away a lot, and "naturally...." she wanted a partner for sex.

I'm becoming convinced that a lot can, and is, happening without much of a program. Widow inheritance is an example. At first I thought that people were using talk of traditional customs as a way of avoiding the central issue of marital infidelity—that was my reaction to the focus group with Amani workers last time we were here, they kept wanting to talk about inheritance rather than condoms. I now think they are much more genuinely worried, especially the women. I don't think there has been much of an IEC program about widow inheritance (and it would be interesting to know why—it's not just a Kenyan custom, so it's not like it's too parochial for the global agencies to take into account; maybe Uganda has actually put it in the IEC programs?) There has been talk about widow inheritance by the Council of Luo Elders, but that's not the same as a national campaign: had some press coverage (G.E.M. O., Kwach) but not posters etc. More generally, there's not that much of an AIDS campaign here: On the drive from Nairobi to Oyugis I saw one "Discuss AIDS: Protect Your Family" poster in Nairobi roundabout, and a couple of Trust condom signs, but that's about it. No doubt there are more. People like the chief say there are more but people tear them down, but I don't believe there were a lot of them—probably reflects the general view of the authorities that the rural folk are brutish. Even G. (supervisor) talks about "the few here who are aware." Yet I think people are very aware and very worried—and they didn't need a program to tell them that people are dying all around them, they are "being cleared", as R. said, or "we are all withering here", as the woman in Malawi said.

Like early days of program, advice is too stern.

Dinner with anthropologist doing evaluation of GTZ's charge for FP projects, along with the GTZ nurse from Kisumu (Njeri Mukoma), someone from the MOH and a clinical officer (who doesn't speak English well and seems bewildered). The anthropologist, Judith Brown, lives at Chogoria, where her husband is a doctor (I suspect a medical missionary, as they previously lived for years in Zaire). They

are evaluating GTZ's experiments in letting CBDs sell pills and condoms. I ask about the free STD treatment, the MOH and GTZ reps say it's like other things, in principle free but in practice not. Njeri says GTZ not doing AIDS because the field is overcrowded, everyone is doing it, there is an enormous amount of money. I say I don't see much of it here, not even posters. The MOH guy says that's because it's being "eaten"—NASCAP is a source of enrichment for those involved, there's so much money that that's why it was taken from the MOH (I think that's where it was) and moved to the President's Office [which donors might think was better as demonstrating "political will"]. He says his neighbor works for NASCAP—pauses, says he's a nice guy—now has accumulated 10 vehicles and 5 houses in Nairobi.

Meeting:

How many left to do?

F. 50

R. 40-45

G.- 15 to trace

P.-26

T.-20

Some interviewers still taking a long time—e.g. 2 hr interview for 5 NWP.

Don't have watches,

P. sat in on an interview with an old man, taking his time.

R.: tell story down of man who lied about who was his wife.

Two interviewers and R. went to this house, parents there, he walked in, asked are you a son of this home because didn't have name, said brother in Kericho with two of the brother's wives, but one of those was actually his wife. P. saw an interview, then can't match the people because they are completely different, we are really stranded with those questionnaires, so she told them to go and ask from outside, it was explained. They asked him and he said yes, that's my wife, I don't have a brother in Kericho. Sometimes they tell you oh he's gone away, he's dead, if they don't want to talk to you.

T.: Respondent, we had the wife's questionnaire as dead, interviewed him, he said he was married, didn't say wife died, we asked neighbor who said he's never had a wife die, wife isn't dead. He then explained that in 97 he was interviewed but it took so long he just said his wife was dead (now she is resurrected). It's amazing, some of them don't even know the wife's name, he goes to her and says "Eh, what's your name?", he looked sincere, didn't know her first name just the last name. Another one mentally ill, couldn't get her first name either, husband didn't know it either. So as matter of interest asked how he got her here, the person said he just carried on his head like some package.

P.: went we went to interview the man he said wife died. Asked someone else who said no she didn't die she left, went back, he wanted the new one to be the sticker of the old one.

They often ask the neighbors. R's have their reasons, someone said our gifts are bringing AIDS along with us.

G.: yesterday R, inherited, inheritor died yesterday, said "how can this man die in my house, I'm never having sex again." His other wives wanted an explanation of how come he died in that house—they look at the inherited wife as some kind of outcast.

Land transferred outside the family

KO. two people sold a little bit of land.

Is there a stigma against inheritance? Are we missing some women who have been inherited?

They will always say they are widowed, or "there is just some man who comes here".

If they say they are "married", even if husband deceased, we would not ask them inheritance questions.

Too many DK's for ages of family members—can you get at least as "children", in 20s, 30's, 40s or over 50?

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Interviewers who write comments—don't erase them.

There are more answers to A37 (small risk) that add "wife has no other partners". Make sure interviewers do not probe.

Interpretation of different kinds of music? General Nitti/President Zulu? Any way to see if people are bragging vs genuinely confusing? Are they just saying yes when don't know, or are they genuine?

Luo music—even F. listened in K2.

Gospel music quite popular in Nyanza since a new group came.

Lingala: "modern", not very modern but not rural. Lingala from W. Africa

Wazungu—

P.: it's Nairobi guys that are wide awake, they know these things, not these rural people.

R.: can't see themselves being put down because they don't have, they don't know.

F. said the world cup Kenya that man wasn't joking. R.: if they think the question isn't serious they will just say anything. Supervisors don't like it that we are trying to see if they are lying. When sit in interview they look so innocent, they are thinking, they are so serious. Think Nitti a Yugoslav general.

What if NWP is very sick of AIDS, then they say has no risk because already dying . This woman had 2<sup>nd</sup> inheritor die, named him as a NWP, said "even this one I know".

F.: has there been any kind of campaign re widow inheritance, or just some statements by the Luo Council of elders.

G.: if NWP female does husband know. One of NWPS had a vasectomy, asked “does your wife know”. Didn’t know whether to rub or not.

T.: lots of inconsistencies on NWPS AIDS, they keep saying have sex outside

When say “other partners” may mean husband’s other partners, or they may mean their own other partners, or they may mean “out in the world”

Friday: Jan 27

I ‘m reading yesterday’s Daily Nation, and comment to G. that there seems to be more unrest in Kenya: newspapers seem to me to have more stories about rustling and killing, fights (e.g. over the parliamentary reform 2 MPS got into fisticuffs yesterday, when we arrived there was a street brawl), and corruption stories. G. attributes the unrest to the constitutional review and rivalry w/the Kikuyus. I ask what that has to do with constitutional reform, he says it’s because the Parliamentary Select Reform Committee is headed by R. O., a Luo, but the religious reform group is led by Kikuyus, so people think that if the Kikuyu group gets their way it will affect Kikuyus living in Rift Valley, and they opposition (KANU, with which O. now allied) wants to get the Kikuyus out of Rift before that happens. And G. went on to say “you know, some of the ministers are illiterate”, mentions one from Pokot. [ENLIGHTENED/GOVERNANCE/ETHNICITY]

Around 3 the driver, J., picks up the computer crew to go to the market in Oyugis (Friday is the day of the biggest market). It seems to me the market is if anything bigger and more prosperous—more jua kali, I think. E. noticed that one doesn’t see as many women with babies on their backs as in Malawi—indeed, almost none, whereas in Malawi it was rare to see a woman without a baby. I think far fewer women are wearing *kangas*, at least in the market (no doubt they still wear them at home): most were



***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

wearing dresses. I stopped at the clinic to get tetracycline eye ointment for an eye infection, and got a proposal of marriage (100 cows).

BMETHODS: At dinner, F. told story of man who didn't want to be interviewed, told interviewer to leave compound, just kept standing there sharpening his panga. His nickname is 'Jalango', stabbed someone a few years ago. T. talked a lot with a CBD, who said that since the opening of the district hospital they haven't gotten any supervision and hadn't been doing anything. She talked with her about rariw, but nothing new. I told her about N. finding a herbalist at the market: N. wanted some of the herbs for rariw, the guy said she'd have to buy a whole treatment worth, which is 250ks. T. agreed that that was way too much, said she herself had tried to buy a small bag at the market (a gift) the guy overcharged so she didn't buy, "he must have looked at our faces." Also about one R. who had 0 NWP, didn't want to name names because we were "sent by the government." [clearly gifts don't win everyone over]. My impression is that we seem to be getting fewer refusals—and certainly fewer 0 NWP—which I thought was because we're now known, people aren't worried, clearly some aren't persuaded that we are harmless or worth their time].

AIDS: T. said one R said he uses condom with spouse. He's inheritor, has several inherited wives, she insisted: they don't have sex much, only at ritual time when it's time to plant the crops. T. says there is a lot of pressure on women to be inherited: if they refuse, they can't go to other homes, can't visit parents, etc. If they go to other homes, they think someone in the home will fall sick. But then she pointed out that her father died in 1997 and her mother refused to be inherited. I asked whether her mother goes to other homes, she said of course. Her mother lives in rural area, not so far from Homa Bay.

Meeting:

today a terrible day. F. said everybody was "no no can't talk, now going to market." Says if there is a Kenya 4 the team should take Friday off rather than Sunday when we're in Oyugis. F. tells his panga story, then R. one about a boy who hit their vehicle with a panga. She chased him, "We really chased him into the bush and disciplined him, he wet himself. People gathered around to watch."

T. says one R very hard of hearing, the interviewer was shouting, so T ended the interview. The R was very disappointed because wouldn't get her gift. I said she could give her one tomorrow, the woman was really trying.

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

E. says about 313 left, tho a lot may be cover sheets, people not interviewed in K1 or K2 and still not back. Reminds people that have to have a cover sheet.

I ask if they can send interviewers alone on Sunday so they can rest: we'll be in the field 8 weeks, can't work every day. They said they had discussed it already. They said interviewers have already done some questionnaires on their own at night or in the early a.m., so they will send interviewers Sunday alone. F: "They know we countercheck with the old data, so they can't...."

POSTERS—G.

Luo Elders meet in town, try to go out to places and talk about AI'DS, talk about Luo customs, they are from this region. Who are the Luo elders? F: just some elderly men, most are over 50, but have women in the group. Word of mouth or hearing talks, the newspaper stuff was just a couple of days. R. says there is a radio program that teaches people certain aspects of life that relate to Luo customs. F: It's widespread from the time they had the 1st meeting in Kisumu they have really done a lot, there's that foundation, HAPAC funded, DIFID and Futures International, Jaramogi Oginga O. Foundation.

Saturday.

Last night we didn't finish checking questionnaires until 11:30, I slept late, feel a bit listless today, just reading papers for the paper w/N. on reception of RH policies. And a long nap.

BMETHODS: Very few problems matching respondents to labels, but there are some. Most, I think, have to do with women, in situations where the woman was away for K2—is this that woman or is it a new wife? The names aren't decisive, partly because the supervisors think that sometimes the R gives us the name of the old wife, perhaps because she wants to be interviewed for the gift.

Meeting Sat:

Meeting early because they want to go dancing in Kisii tonight.

Supervisors graded the interviewers:

D means "don't hire again". Unlike Malawi, where the supervisors wanted to give everyone an A, the supervisors were quick, decisive, and the grades varied. It does not appear as if the aptitude test is by any means a perfect predictor; more surprisingly, some of the interviewers

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

who worked for us before were not given particularly high grades.

Talk about the day. Bad day for F.. Church fund-raising at SDA church, they were dressed, ready to go, didn't want to talk, can't sit down, calling "can you find my shoes, where is my *nini*". . But said H. and M. could go back. Same w/T.: people were out by 8 a.m., back for lunch at 12, out again at 2. F. asks whether this village is so religious, they are all going to the fund-raising,—maybe also it's social activities.

F.:

S. O. M. [M180]— S. died, two wives sick, they were very hostile to us. Said had too many deaths don't want to talk to anyone about anything. Then went to brother, E. and one wife had died, the other was sickly, the remaining wife said the same thing.

E. O., when one of interviewers went to home, wife said he was out (works in Kericho) but interviewer thought it wasn't true, neighbors said "as you were coming in he was walking out the door."

An old man (but in our sample) sat w/F., said 'you asked me about my roof, it's thatch, the best you guys can do for me is put up four poles and a mbati roof and let me deal with the world.' He said he knows 'donors don't do everything for you, so you just give the roof, I'll do the rest.' He doesn't seem to be impressed by the gifts. He also said 'what is sugar, I buy sugar every day', but the shopkeeper was there and said 'you haven't bought sugar in two years'. And he said 'maize, we buy maize all the time', but shopkeeper said 'you don't buy the nice white flour' but the coarse stuff.

C. O.: wife was insisting we interview him because she wanted the gifts. "The guy is gone, literally carried from the mother's house, put outside in the sun, covered with a blanket. He stammers, says a few things. He can't talk." So F. "I thought it wise just to give them" soap and sugar. Once he gave the gifts the wife stopped pressuring. He's the brother of the guy who says there's no AIDS, has had sex with 20 women.

T interviewed lady who was "very thin, hair gone, looked like she's going in the next few days" The interviewer said he couldn't ask the "thin and dies" question.

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

G.: A man who had said his wife died in 1992, now said she just left me.

AIDS: F.: rate of separation in village is so high. All the time go with a label, they said “that one left”. P. said not so many deaths in Kamreri C as Kamreri B, and not so many separations. And T. says a lot of NWP are widowed. P.: H. one of the NWPs in one interview. T: one P. a NWP to lots, but she only lists 2 [indication that not reciprocal in listing NWPs]. Fr: some people who give network partners get fed up by the time the interviewer gets to the fourth, says ‘no no, I’m not talking about more’ because takes a lot of time; interviewer has to erase the fourth name. P.: quite frankly, it does take so long. The lady (respondent) had gone to the shamba, was called back, hadn’t made breakfast for the kids, they were screaming all over, “I want this, I want this, 3 of them in a chorus.” So P. told M. (interviewer) to wait, but wife said “no go on, let them cry”, “I felt she was just rushing through.”

Left all the questionnaires w/the interviewers, that’s it, no more to do!

Sunday Jan 30:

I wake up early, having gone to bed at 11 –we didn’t check questionnaires last night because the team went dancing. The sun is just coming up, rosy sky over the mountains. The kitchen is up so I can get tea, and C. says she will fix me a Sunday breakfast (cheese and tomato omelet and toast).

The first site has been a great success, or at any rate that’s the way it looks before data analysis. The questionnaires are remarkably clean. The interviewers make few mistakes—there are few red-pen corrections by the supervisors who check them. And most of the checkers’ comments have to do with apparent inconsistencies: we query these, and most turn out to be not interviewer errors but real inconsistencies. We will finish on time, even though this is the site with the most respondents. It’s probably the most difficult site in another way: it was always the first site, so it is where we discovered problems with the sampling list, or with the questionnaire, where the supervisors really learn the questionnaire, and where members of the team who were unfamiliar with the project (i.e. Penn students) learned what was going on. But for the same reasons it’s the most interesting site—it’s where I really get a sense of the difference between the way I expected respondents to answer the questions and the different logic that they sometimes seem to use. Things that are provocatively inconsistent here will seem routine by the time we get to Wakula S. Here the most inconsistencies came in the AIDS questions, especially the new ones borrowed from the KDHS about what the respondent thinks is his/her risk of AIDS, what’s his/her personal level of risk, what does she think is the best protection for her. People will sometimes answer, for example, that their level of risk is small, that they think the main source of risk is the husband, and the best protection is to avoid injections. It is amazing to me that

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

despite the indications of underlying contradiction between our logic and those of the respondents, and the variability in their responses to the same questions over the years or between husbands and wives (on questions where there should not be variability, such as age, or whether the household has a sofa set) these are often smoothed out in the analysis. Or at any rate I think the “noise” is smoothed out when it’s random. But it is sometimes not random, I think—I worry a bit about the interpretation Hans-P. has given to the differences between Oyugis and the other sites. It is quite true that Oyugis has characteristics that the others don’t have, e.g. the big market. On the other hand, it’s our training ground for the rest of the sites.

I woke up wondering whether it is right for us to be asking people who are so surrounded by AIDS about what they are worried about, do they have living siblings, etc. It’s one thing to want to know these answers at Penn, another here, where some of the respondents are recent widows, some are sickly looking, there are funerals every day. AIDS/BMETHODS

Team drifts into breakfast. They got to the disco in Kisii around 11, home around 3. L. says no noticeable wazungu music at the disco, E. says v. few women. Also says some men dancing together very erotically—questions the common statement that there’s no homosexuality here, may not take action but the same-sex eroticism is there. When unknown men got to close to our women, T. would put her hands on her hips, make a face, and say “no!”. P. tended to protect our women by dancing, turning her back to the man and pushing him backward with her back. On way there everyone dozed, on way back laughed and talked telling this story and that story about K1, K2.

After breakfast, most of team goes to Kisumu: C. and D. stay here, N. stays here because her interviewer, L., invited her over (and she spent time in Kisumu with K.), P. goes to visit her aged grandmother, and I stay here and relax and work. Most of the staff goes to the funeral of the father of N., Amani’s manager. They come back, drop E. and L., and then go to meet their interviewers and collect the questionnaires they did on their own. So lots of checking at night—we don’t finish until after midnight.

G. is going to Gwasssi and Kawadghone today to put up posters, but they didn’t make the posters last night so E. has to be woken up. G. tells me this at breakfast, says “but I was clever, I told R. to do it.”

BMETHODS: The most problematic issues for K3 sample are people who were not interviewed in K1 or K2, and for whom we are not sure if they are the wife the miji=kumi’s had in mind when they made up the list (or perhaps they are Wife 1 and Wife 2 on the list, although we had gotten names for most of these in either K1 or K2). Things didn’t stand still—some of those initial wives left, some died, there

were new marriages. And the names are often very similar. We interviewed a J.t A.: is she the same J. A. that was on the miji-kumi's list? We interviewed S. A. as F327, but on the m-k list that is S. O.: are they the same? (In this case, yes). If they have been interviewed it's usually possible to tell from their data, but if they haven't been—e.g. if they were away, or especially if separated-- it's not easy. We use compound head, but sometimes that name isn't obviously the same (e.g. is O. A. the same as J. O.?) . On the other hand, brothers don't have the same name. On B21, where we ask for brothers and sisters, none of the brothers have the same last name. And although we made strenuous efforts in K2 to make sure the right husband and wife were matched, we clearly made at least a few mistakes—E. O., R. C., has (or had—he died) 3 wives but two numbers; two share F358, and one of those plus the third share F359. Two of those wives left after he died. E. typifies the source of the problems: he works out so he was never interviewed, he's polygamous (and probably had one or the other wife with him, maybe different ones at different times), and separation was involved (one wife we tried to interview had left him—and it's likely that those giving the information are either not interested in her any more (she is no longer a member of the community) or may be even hostile. And E. himself was no help as to who was who.

In K2, when some respondents didn't want to talk to us, I think they said “no, I'm not so and so”. In K3, when we are giving gifts, we sometimes have the reverse problem: they think they have to be on our list to be interviewed, so people who aren't in the same insist that they have been interviewed before.

INT-SELECTION: G. comes back. Says he met a number of our interviewers in Kawadghone: every day they come there to check if we are there yet, because the dates got confused.

Monday Jan. 31: Team off. Very little to do today, and they expect to be finished by tonight. Interviewers will come this evening to be paid, and I'll debrief some of the best ones.

BMETHODS: L. has list of all those on our list not interviewed in K1 and K2, checking that asked questions B1-B7.

Dinner: Some chat about how well we're doing, and “only woke up E. once”. R. goes on about how she told G. he had to do it, he said “Me, the only thing I'm going to do is take those things to Gwasssi”. So R. tiptoed, called E. in a low voice, said if R. hadn't answered she would have gone away. G. reports on his trip to Gwasssi. The roads are even worse than when he and F. went before. Said he got to the SDA clinic, they were having a meeting, “village politics had started, the selection of the cooks.” They have tables and chairs, but only three beds, and they have put them all in my room. I said I'd share—not the rooms, but

Meeting;

Bad news and good news. The bad news are the number of deaths—we've counted 23 among men, 15 among women in the sample, which is a lot. Makes me worry about asking questions about AIDS. They say not a problem asking questions, except when the person is obviously sick. But P. says the verbal autopsy is difficult, why did they die. "They look at you like you have no business asking such." R.: had many don't know, didn't remember ages. T.: The look on their face is "you really don't care, why are you asking". P.: "You are just somebody coming out of the blue, they know you aren't related." E. suggests that the interviewer ask, P. says that's good, "the interviewer can say 'Oh, sorry' and ask how it happened." We'll try that.

The good news is that we are almost done, and done very well. Everyone is to check with E., who has a list of the people she hasn't yet logged, to make sure they got them today.

We talk about preparations for Gwasssi. Everything seems to be in order—they either have what we need or they have plans to get it in Homa Bay on the way. I ask what about gifts, they say there's enough in Gwasssi to buy there, it will be less weight—F. is worried about the weight of the vehicles over the bad roads. R. suggests that for weight reasons we give half a bar, but F. and G. say a half bar is nothing. It turns out that they already stopped giving maize, because of the weight, were giving soap and sugar to both men and women.

We'll talk about training tomorrow. P. raises point that highest scorers aren't the best. And they decided not to do personal interviews. F. suggests hiring a few extras so if they don't work can get rid of them, so they will do that.

Tuesday, Feb 1:

Slow day. Very few left to do, just cleanup. Interviewers coming at 2 to be paid. At breakfast, F. looked a bit quiet, said that you work so hard to get the interviewers really good, and then you have to say goodbye and start all over. We don't know if E. sent money—called yesterday to have him wire it, he was in a meeting, gave message to E., no word from E. called again today, but all are again in meeting. F. should have thought about money a bit earlier.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

Lying chief comes again. Confirms that he goes to funerals and says this person died of AIDS you should use condoms with your wife. I said I had talked to people in the community who said they never heard of that, he said some people are not educated, they aren't aware.

If so many funerals, why so few dead siblings?

If new couple, note why—moved back, just married A35: If it's "other partner", we mean the respondent's other partner; if she's worried about the husband's other partner, it's "husband".

List from R. and G.; ;make summaries .

Training:

Ask them--

New people:

Only 3 reasons:

New marriage of de jure male resident (not married before or new wife/polygyny)

De jure residents who have consistently lived elsewhere

We missed them—so let's try to make sure that it's a new marriage or return.

Have interviewers ask if this is a no label person.

If no label, ask B1-B7. If no label and not on list, person says they have been interviewed before, check. If woman clearly too old, don't interview.



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

B21: estimate ages –in 20s, in 30s, etc.

F17 and F18: if NWP helped her decide to keep using, it's yes, 1 for F17 and 2 (start use/use) for F18.

F19 and A26–how many sisters etc, should definitely be larger than the number of NWPs. Reassure respondent that not going to ask questions about them.

G7: #4 if “go on own”, “don't ask”

A2: Point of this question is if you can tell by looking that someone is NOT infected, i.e. safe

A20/21 and A37/38": do not read.

If it's moderate/great risk because suspects husband, doesn't trust him, i.e. husband's other partners, then it's “husband”.

Limited number of partners–“he just has one girlfriend”, or “he just has 3 girlfriends”, “he used to have many but now he has a few”. If R is single male and has “just one girlfriend”, it's “stick to spouse”.

Backup on zip disk

Wednesday, Jan 2: Travel to Gwassii. We leave at noon rather than 9 (although I didn't expect 9 to be firm). Last minute trips to get things to Obisa, and probably other things F. didn't want to tell me about. Leaving Oyugis, I see a ratty store with flowers–unusual enough to be noteworthy. Also a “Unisex” saloon, but the sign only has things women would want–pedicure, waxing, etc. We go by way of Kisii–the road is truly terrible, as we had been told. It took 50 minutes to cover 20 km. One AIDS poster just outside of Oyugis: “AIDS is not witchcraft: AIDS is real. Avoid sex before marriage, Be Faithful or Use a Condom”. Then several in and around Kisii: another witchcraft one, “Anybody can get AIDS” (very faded, probably there a long time); “Protect Your Family: Use a Condom Every Time”. Poster

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

has husband/wife and 2-3 kids. (The MOH man who was at Amani with Judith Brown said “Family” meant children, not spouse.) Around Kisii saw two trust condoms billboards: male and female silhouettes, female has a pony tail, suggests they aren’t married. And a store “Cosmetics and Farm Inputs”.

We stop in Homa Bay to buy vegetables and fruits, have lunch at the Hippo Buck. The same waiter who messed up orders in ‘97 (and maybe ‘95) is still there, and again counted the orders wrong and wrote wrong. P., a true urban woman, says to the lady in charge “How can you run a restaurant with characters like this in charge?” As we are ready to leave we discover the Landrover has a flat. After a while the Nissan goes ahead. I’m in the Nissan, we do have some trouble on the way, stop several times to tighten the lugs on the wheels. We arrive around 4:30, so it is still light.

Lots of people here who say they have “come to greet you”. But then they mention that they need a job badly, or that a son or daughter can’t get work, etc. Lots of commotion getting settled. And the SDA committee in charge of arrangements is in a stew: My room is in the pastor’s house (it’s actually the same place I stayed last time) and he has gone with the key, no one knows when he will be back. Eventually, well after dark, he does come back, then the room has to be cleaned. They put up another wall or two, so now it’s three rooms instead of two—the pastor’s, a sort of reception space in the middle, and mine. In mine they have put up what looks like an enormous concrete chimney but is actually a concrete closet with a metal door. There is barely enough room for a single bed (with sagging frame). The room is cozy, tho not very comfortable. We all go to bed early—I’m asleep by 10—but then I hear noises around midnight, go back to sleep but have a nightmare. In the a.m. when I get up there are two men sleeping in the reception room, which turn out to be the pastor’s sons who have come for the exam.

The people we see by the side of the road and those who are at the clinic when we arrive seem to me to be poorer than in Obisa. F. says this isn’t so, though, that back in the villages of Obisa they look very poor as well. Though he said he didn’t see any children who looked malnourished, i.e with big bellies of kwashiokor. The harvest there was in December, and is still going on. Definitely more primitive arrangements than at Amani. Two pit latrines, which smell; no milk for breakfast (though we did have hot mandazis and pineapple). On the other hand, it is a very beautiful place, with wonderful views.

Thursday, Jan 3:

About 100 arrive for interviews. Almost all are Form 4, and jobless. The old interviewers look pretty happy, looking forward to a job, but many of the new ones look very anxious. Many are here before 8, most by 8—the word must have gotten around that we care about punctuality (and the poster said “8

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

sharp”). We give them the exam at 8:30. A few arrive shortly thereafter and are given the exam; 3-4 arrive after 9 and are not given the exam. I would like to hire them all—there is such a sense of desperation here. Yesterday J., an old interviewer, was here to greet me: she has qualified for a teacher but there are no jobs, she kept showing me her hands, she is only doing manual labor on her own shamba or for others. Her husband was there also, married after ‘97. F. remembered that she was unhappy talking about sex last time, made it plain to everyone that she was a virgin. She described her husband as “a rib from my body”. He was wearing a double-breasted navy blazer, white shirt, tie. He also is qualified as a teacher but can’t get a job. When F. calls them to order he asks for hands of anyone who is a teacher, there are about 3, he asked them to step out, but then it turns out they also are unemployed.

I make a little speech in which I use the word “transparency” a lot—even President M. would not be hired if he didn’t pass the test, no difference Catholics or SDAs, etc. . It is clear that we have to emphasize this. The fault lines in this site are not clan but religion, Catholics vs SDAs—and we are staying at the SDA clinic, and SDA “committee” is very visible. Last night the Chief came (a v. nice man), said that last time our survey had an “impact”. I said Oh good, what was it, he said people were suspicious about what we were doing. He then said that we needed to be even with our jobs, I said it was all transparent. Later I asked why the clinic closed, he said that the management of the SDAs kept all the money, didn’t give back “even something small” to the community. Many people came to “greet” me last night, and then mentioned that they had a son or daughter or brother who was taking the test; even the chief had four young men (at first I thought they were something like a body guard) to whom he wanted to give a “push”. Again I talked about transparency.

They sit down and take the exam (first they have to be spread out). Nonetheless, a middle-aged woman, a CBD who had been here to greet me yesterday, was seen getting assistance from someone near her. We graded the exams. As usual, the scores of men are much higher. The supervisors made their selection from men with scores above 15, and for women with scores about 11. Two of our former interviewers (B.U., B.Y.) didn’t quite make it but we took them anyway; two others, females, the supervisors didn’t want again. 122 took the exam, we took 30 for training. I looked over the exams of those who failed. Most seem to have been out of school several years (5, 7 etc.), with one job listed (clerk in a store, clerk for the Census. Some who got very poor grades (2, 4, 7) did have Form 4, or said they did.

I should have been more alert to keep the SDA committee out of the way while people were taking the test. Fortunately, the SDA pastor’s two sons failed, as did two of our former interviewers, so that will help our reputation for transparency. Later, when F. was beginning to instruct the interviewers, Harrison (the SDA sleaze) came up to the head of the group to say something—I suppose to establish himself as their patron. F. let him, but I got him out of there.

Houses are sometimes destroyed if everyone dies of AIDS.

They read the questionnaire while we have tea, and then F. asks me to give an overall picture of the questionnaire. I say we are most interested in family planning and AIDS, what people here are doing. I ask whether people are worried about AIDS, and as a chorus they say yes; I ask if there's anybody that isn't, they said no. I ask them how they are worried they will get it, and most say sex outside of marriage, although some add injections. Women, it seems,,,,,,, are most worried about getting AIDS from the husband. When I ask what can a woman who thinks her husband moves and is worried do about it, there is a chorus from the women interviewers of "Nothing, she can't do anything." Then one of our former interviewers say the woman can ask her husband to be tested, but as he goes on with this the others laugh.

S. and L. go to Sori to buy petrol for the generator. They didn't buy it in Homa Bay when we came through "because the jerry cans were on top of the vehicle", so they had to drive back to Sori over terrible road to buy it. Then it turned out when they returned that they bought regular, and the generator only uses super, so in the afternoon they had to drive to Homa Bay, again over the dreadful road to Sori and beyond, about two hours each way.

I take pictures of the cooks, who are delighted. Two ask me for T-shirts, which they refer to as my "uniform"—perhaps what is so attractive about them is that they are something like a uniform, here associated with status and a salary (e.g. nurses, chiefs). Other than that, spent most of the day going over past field notes and then entering deaths and separations onto the miji kumi lists.

F.: Reporting about training. T. is Chief Training Officer. They went through the questionnaire in English first. In Oyugis they read and translated at the same time, and people were very confused. F.: "Two women we have to keep a close watch on, this one who keep on getting fired every other time"(M., who was dismissed after two days training last time). P.: "there are also two men." G.: "They sleep too much". F.: "One thing they really did appreciate was that our testing was very fair. One person who failed said you people are very clever, in this case there is no way anyone can complain." G.: "a postgraduate who didn't do well wondered why, but then saw the exam."

F. talked to old men: began by praying together, and then a long discussion. The issue was just about money (every time we have come a price has been negotiated ahead of time and then the SDA committee running the show asks for more). He hasn't told me the details and I haven't asked.

The lights are great—loops of wire and bulbs from the generator, even to my room) but they attract tiny insects. It's impossible to type after dark—I can see, but the screen is full of these insects. Ditto reading in bed, even with a net. We use candles at dinner instead of the lights, much better. Though the dinner is dreadful, tough/gristly meat, rice/ugali, sukumawiki, as usual. But delicious pineapple—we bought 30 to bring with us.

Friday Jan 5:

Interviewers are all on time. Indeed, some are early, and are out on my porch practicing the questionnaire with each other.

L. and I spend most of the morning fixing up the variable dictionary. At break, F. says the interviewers here are much slower to learn than those in Oyugis. He comments that they don't even know the words "gender" and "inheritor" in English.

Around noon, starts to rain/pour. It rained early this a.m., and the previous early a.m.

After lunch one of the nicer committee members comes around, starts chatting about what our project is about, whether we will come back again in two years (F. had said if they asked I should tell them yes, so I did) how it will help the people who are poor, then goes into how expensive things are—clearly a follow-up to his efforts with F. yesterday to raise their fee. I sympathized with the high cost of everything but said it was his problem, that's why the committee was managing it all.

Gwasssi to do:

Check B1-B7

Enter m-k list in Access: if didn't have number in K1, "Not on sample list in K1 because said to be living outside the area"

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Do some initial runs:

0 networks compared to K1 and K2

Time of interview

New hh goods 1994-96; 96-2000.

Get total of deaths and separations, K1, K2, K3 for Oyugis.

"G1 and 2"—look at those who separated after K2 by whether in K2 they said had to stick w/spouse if have AIDS.

Proportion saying Chira

Block out tables for HTR

Keep track in next sites where problems arise with matching and what they are--

Saturday, Jan 5:

At breakfast somehow the talk goes to F.' aspirations as a politician. He says what you have to do here to get elected is go to funerals, "and I'm very good at going to funerals". The important thing appears to be to talk at the funeral, "they fight for the mike". But if you give money for the coffin, 150,000-200,000—then you can talk. F. says he tells them that the MP from here is a jadok, he's not from here, but F. is, he talks about his parents/grandparents/great grandparents and then sits down. We also get on to corruption. I said I thought some was due to the huge amount of money donors gave here during the Cold War. They say it used to be that if someone did something for you, you gave *kitigondo*, T. says "a thank you, it's our tradition". But she went on "Then the foreigners came, instead of a goat as a thank you, we gave four goats to get consultancies."

F. has made a deal with a woman in a nearby compound to use her pit latrines, which are much nicer. F. was motivated because the ones here are v. small, and he is too big to squat without his feet going out the door (or facing the back, which is unattractive). The new latrines are much less smelly, bigger, airier.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

After breakfast E. and I make a table comparing K1-K3. At break I show it to the supervisors, who are very interested. Before showing them the ec questions, I say everyone says things are worse, P. says definitely “they are”. But our data don’t show that; G. speculates that it’s harder to buy these things like sofa sets, bicycles, more painful, but they do buy them. T. suggests that might be better in Obisa: she says there’s more use of fertilizer now, and 3 new breeds of maize.

That reminds me to ask whether houses demolished when husband/wife died, as F. said about E. O.’s. But that seems to be an exception, usually doesn’t happen. Then we talk a bit about inheritance. I comment that when people talk about inheritance they paint it as “the brothers taking care of the wife and children”, but a lot seems to be “grabbing the land and the radio”. They agree that this is more of it, and not just the husband’s family but the wife’s too. G. says and “the groups from the wife’s place are very dangerous”. T. says that it used to be a very good way of taking care of widows and children, and I agree, and they all say that some brothers do take care of the brother’s widow and children. I ask whether separated women who die are returned for burial. They say yes, but then I point out that in our verbal autopsies some don’t know when the woman died because she died at home. They then revise from the ideal picture and say they should be, but these days not all are. G. thinks some of it is money: if the woman dies at her parent’s home rather than at the hospital, unless they have money to keep the body in a mortuary until arrangements can be made to get the body back to her husband’s place, she has to be buried there. And G. also says husbands are refusing to take the woman’s body back, they say “she wouldn’t come back from those sides when she was alive, she’s not coming back now.” The others go back to training, but P. and I continue talking about the poverty here, and the desperation for education even tho there are so many who can’t get jobs. I tell her that in Malawi some v. poor people say “can’t have more because I am too poor”, others say “must have more because I am too poor, how will I survive without children”. P.’s response is “can’t they see that without money their children can’t do anything to support them,”, I try to get her to see it from their perspective. It’s hard—although she gets the “4 children give 1 KS each=4 KS, whereas 12 children=12Ks”. But then says “but not all give”, I point out that if half give, it’s 2ks and 6ks, still better off with more. She says even for housemaids now you want someone with form 4, suppose someone calls in English on the telephone, suppose you call from America, if the housemaid can’t speak English....the call is expensive. And they have a watchman who has Form 4, another has Form 6. I say I also think Kenyans really value education for other reasons, that educated people are called learned, aware. She says “Even me, I am proud to be a University graduate even if I am unemployed, it is a special category.” Then talks about her mother, who has only standard 3 but can read letters, if she couldn’t she’d have to take the letter to the nearest person who can read and she would have no secrets, the neighbor could “see I sent my mother 20 bob”. She said “education makes people different, they look different, they dress different.”

Nice bathe—in bam boo-like structure looking out over the hills and the lake, bright sun. One side is open—and some small boys walked by in the near distance, but didn’t seem very interested.

Meeting: F. says the news is bad: they have released 4 interviewers, 3 of whom are women. The male stammers badly and, by his own account, thinks slowly. All had been warned the previous day, told to go over the questionnaire at night. The women said they couldn't do it, that when they got home they had to take care of the children, fix the dinner, etc. They all begged—the women asked if there wasn't something else they could do like clean up here, or get water. I talked a bit about the many refusals we had here in K1; G. said they had a lot in K2 in his village, Orote (a very large village). F. says the interviewers aren't as good as Oyugis: "In Oyugis after 3 days of training we had much more confidence in the interviewers than here". They will take Sunday off, resume training on Monday.

Sunday, Feb 6: Pastor up early, 5:30, and I hear coughing etc, then prayer, then radio. Eat chocolate and read an old New Yorker. We had told the cooks breakfast could be late, and it is. Team starts coming around 8:30. Hot mandazis and chocolate/tea/coffee, though the milk hasn't arrived yet. There's a woman and boys loading the jerry cans on donkeys to go to the lake for water—about half/hr walk. L. wonders why people don't ride the donkeys, as they do in Sardinia. F. wanders in and we ask him, he laughs. Then he goes and asks the cooks. They say the young boys sometimes ride them, but "why would a grown man like you ride a donkey?"

Schoolteacher Barrack comes by, asks me to take him to America to see it. The pastor and the committee guy who's managing had asked that yesterday.

Priest at Kiranda Mission: L. went to church this a.m. She was curious, and I encouraged her as I wanted it to be visibly displayed that we are not SDAs but have Catholics in our group. Afterwards the priest invited her to lunch w/four Italian visitors—good chicken, tomato salad, and a toilet that flushes. The priest has been in Africa for 30 years, and here for 13. AIDS—he says the people don't care, they don't mind dying, it's not like other areas of Kenya (he's worked all over, tho since he's been here 13 years it can't have been during the AIDS epidemic). Income generating groups: said when the donor money was there people were very happy, but now they don't exist any more. Radios: he says passed around family members, so a man might have it one month but it goes to his brother the next. He doesn't like Luos. Priest said teachers strike led to a promise to increase their salaries in two stages: the govt gave one, raising from 3000 to 5000, but hasn't given the second so the battle is still on. 1000 orphans in this area, they are taken in by grandparents or other relatives, but they are lowest on the totem pole. He thought 90% of the men faithful, 100% of the men are not, according to the confession. The young men, under 25, all want two wives. The older men with third wives, they know she sleeps around with everyone, but she'll have children "and they're all black, so it doesn't matter." L. also talked with a nurse at the clinic at the Kenya-Italian Scout Camp, who described the Luos as fatalistic about AIDS.



AIDS/STRATEGIES: Chat with interviewer W., who is buddies with B. O. and C., other interviewers, and worked for us before. Since we left he's been in a 3-yr training program in corporate management, with school fees paid by his parents who brew and sell changaa. He said it was a pretty good living, tho sometimes, like now, when there's some hunger here (the last corn was harvested in August) it's not so good. I asked him what have been the big changes here since we were here last, he said so many, many changes, when I pressed him what he said "so many deaths." I asked if people are worried about AIDS, he said oh yes, they see people dying. I asked him what his friends were doing to protect themselves. He made the sort of hand motion that people here make when they indicate going around something, "they are trying to figure out a way to protect themselves. You know young men here, they move. But they want to keep from dying" I tried to ask him about his last conversation, but he said it was in 1997, then I said you haven't talked more than that, he said yes he has, I said when, he said 1997. So I focused on C., does he have a girlfriend? Yes. Does he sleep with her? He looked a bit shy but said he thinks so. And turns out that C. uses condoms—he says C. trusts the girlfriend, but also says "you can't trust any woman". W. has 3 brothers in Nairobi, two of them have their wives with them but with one the wife lives here because they thought it would be bad for the children to have to switch schools. Says the brother visits or the wife visits 2x a month. I ask whether the brother trusts the wife, here all alone, he did, and is certain the brother doesn't have girlfriends. The brother told him instead of girlfriends he takes beer, "beer is the second wife".

A young man who had "come to greet me" the 1st day came back again—good looking, nice sport shirt, big smile. Asked me if I remembered my promise to him, was astonished that I didn't, since it was a promise to bring him a pair of shoes. I insisted I never make such promises.

I think T., more than the other supervisors, wants our study to bring tangible benefits to the people in the community. She's the one who most often says that people are asking her "how will this benefit me". She understands that any benefits are distant and unlikely, and I think it may seem to her that the money could be better used in other ways. She puts this in the voice of "some say", but the sound of her voice suggests that she understands their position and sympathizes. When I try some of the explanations—maybe donors will be attracted to Nyanza—she responds "But they say 'How will this help me?' They want to know about themselves."

Relaxed hair—where done? C. says any hairdresser can do it, even small local ones. So it's probably not very expensive.

Monday Feb 7: Remembered that the other day I asked F. what he knew about the way the KDHS

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

was done. He said they hired primarily (but not entirely) graduates. The supervisors are chosen among those who had some previous experience, and they stay in the field and check the questionnaires. People are not permitted to refuse to answer: if they do, the supervisors can go to the chief.

I commented to R. that the interviewers in Kenya seem more motivated by the money and less by the possibility of doing something new and interesting than was the case in Malawi, but she said they also really like the latter as well.

At breakfast conversation turns to men and women, and becomes very lively. Started w/difficulties of the women interviewers who can't just practice the questionnaires, but have to be thinking about cooking, the children, etc. F. says why else get married if you're not going to have these things done for you? When E. asks why is it that women get married, F. says "For Love!". E. asks whether M. will get his own socks, she says of course, if he starts asking she would say "I'm looking for my socks too." F. asks P. whether she puts out M.'s suit and tie every morning, she says no, he does that all himself, he takes his clothes to the washing machine too. F. says "Ah, but he went to school in England. Us, we went to school here!" and everyone roars with laughter. G. says something I don't hear, and R. says "There's some here that shouldn't comment....". F. is back to having his clothes set out in the a.m. P. says if he marries a career woman a maid can do it, F. says "but how can a maid know what I want to wear?" I say the only hope for him is to marry a village girl; F. says how can a politician do that, suppose they have important guests from America like S., you can't have a wife that's a village girl.

INT-SELECTION: Most intense anxiety in Gwasssi and Mfangano, because so few other opportunities for Form 4s. Not great in Kawadghone or Oyugis, but exist.

Meeting:

I want to make sure that we know what has happened to everyone who was on the initial miji-kumi's list. The miji-kumi's listed compounds, and within each compound all the married men and their wives. compared miji-kumi's list made before the 1st survey in 1994/95 with the list E. has made for you. Some of these had names tho E.'s list did not, and I put them on. At the end of the list I put people and numbers who were not on E.'s list: most of these are women who had a number but the husband did not because the miji kumi thought they were in Nairobi, Mombasa, etc. I suppose the women were also there, since they weren't interviewed either in K1 or K2. But I'd like you to check. If they are there, interview them (and the husband, if he has returned). I'd particularly like to find people who were away for both K1 and K2, to see if living outside the area makes people different.

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

You need to make cover sheets for all the missing people—and if you can, say why not interviewed in K1 or K2 (e.g. lives in Nairobi all the time, separated before K1, etc).

Are we picking up jodaks? N. says they will marry wife from the village. Moving to village would

Interviewers secondary school outside area?

Old interviewers:

How worried are people and what are they really doing about it, not just what they think the right answer to give us is.

Some people say the people of Gwasssi don't care about dying from AIDS; others say they do. What do you think?

For NWP and self: level of risk and why--

Ways they have used to avoid—and if used none, why not? All have to die?

Men on questions about sex with someone else and using condoms.

Can tell woman/man NOT infected by looking

For suspicion of spouse: why?

Last time we were here a lot of people said “can't know what she does”. Now more are saying “suspect”, but also “probably not”—why?

Anything about conversation with spouse about AIDS

KINTER/AIDS/STRATEGIES: Talk with old interviewers (W., C., J., J., R., B.Y., B.U., W.) to ask

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

them to write notes about what people say when answering some of the crucial AIDS questions—esp. estimates of personal risk and what doing about it. They can write in the margins, or if it seems O.K. chat with them a bit afterward, not writing down then but later.

Everybody is worried, and they insist that they are doing something [these are young people, though, most not married]. When I asked what, they say not moving. But when I probed, it's not moving as much—not not moving at all. I asked about what husbands do if they think wives are moving, wives if they think husbands are moving. J. said they would “discuss”, he presented it as a calm reasonable discussion, and they would agree. But when I asked whether if the husband agreed to stop moving whether the wife would believe it, they all said, again energetically, NO. They didn't mention condoms, but talked a lot about widow inheritance. J. introduced it by saying you know we have a custom. But they did say that sometimes the brothers are supporting the widow financially, but tell her to find a husband (she has to married to have a home) somewhere else, not with them. And Jennifa said a widow said at the funeral “my husband died of this and this and this, I'm not very sure of what he died of”, dissuading others from inheritance. They also said some women leave/separate, altho this was in response to a question from me so they may have been agreeing. They did say that young men are checking out the possible partners more than they did before—and J. brought up, as had the young dramatists in Malawi, that your friend might be interested in the lady himself so might try to cheat you. J. did talk about the “revenge” moving around- -perhaps picking up on the theme of cheating and distrust. I asked about whether these men with many wives were worried about the younger ones moving, they said yes, they were (in a chorus, all agreed energetically). But when I asked what they did—not sleep with that wife?—they didn't answer, I got the sense that would be impossible. J. said that people here needed “awareness”, they need people to come and teach them. I find that odd—they know what they need to know, and J. knows this, so why the “awareness”, “outside experts” language? And when I said that they know what they need to know, they agreed, one said but knowing and doing aren't the same thing, and they agreed with me that having an outside expert tell them stuff wouldn't mean much. At the end I asked about circumcision. W. thought that the risk of uncircumcision was the risk of getting circumcised in unsterile conditions, but the others understood. J. has read that your risk goes up if you aren't circumcised, but said he wouldn't consider it “unless it was necessary.” I said you'd only know that when you already had AIDS, and they all laughed, including F. who was listening in. N. asked about Luo Council of Elders, J. said they don't come here, they go to other places in Nyanza. J. also said that people might refuse to talk (in general, like last time) unless we give them something, I said we were, some were surprised—not all the supervisors had told their interviewers about the gifts. They thought that would definitely open doors. (Later, F. says that J. is very interested in politics, always talking about it.)

The widow inheritance and the “revenge” sleeping around are interesting, because both are inevitably part of any conversation I've had about AIDS. I'm not sure what is underneath them, what is being said through these discussions. With widow inheritance, it's certainly not something that's pushed by the program, although I imagine that nurses might be disparaging of those traditions—N. talked to a nurse

in Oyugis who said it was widow inheritance and polygamy, that's why the Luos have AIDS (the nurse might not be a Luo, of course). It is the major recommendation of the Council of Luo Elders, I think (inherit but don't have the ritual sex), but it's not clear how widely known that is. I suspect widow inheritance is particularly salient because when the husband is suspected of having died of AIDS, there's not as much ambiguity about the HIV status of the woman as there would be otherwise. On the other hand, there's a sense of identity, of "it's our custom", "our tradition". They have certainly given up/changed other customs, and maybe this one will go too, but perhaps specially in a country where ETHNICITY is so salient, it's comforting to continue to define oneself by the old customs. The revenge sleeping around is another issue. Perhaps it represents a deep distrust of the motives of others, an extreme form of "cheating". It certainly seems to have resonance.

The team didn't want to hire M., even tho she did better this time they don't think she can cope with the questionnaire. So I said I'd use her for more informal interviews. She was very grateful. I said we'd talk about it tomorrow a.m.—I think she's probably too tired and tense to pay attention this evening.

INT-SELECTION: Local interviewers: I think they probably aren't as smart as the university grads (altho some probably have a lot of native intelligence and just didn't go further because of lack of school fees) But the great advantages are that the social distance is less, and the morale higher. I probably don't see the social distance issue as well as I do with the supervisors, and maybe it could be argued that because it is small it will be emphasized more, it can't be taken for granted. But I think they probably do feel more empathy/have more rapport w/the people in the villages. Re morale, I think that's less ambiguous. Especially in Gwasssi and Mfangano, where there is so little for Form 4s to do, they seem to be delighted to be earning money and doing something. A downside, however—of which I became very aware in Gwasssi<sup>3</sup> as well as Mfangano<sup>2</sup>—is that there is no way to avoid being interpreted in terms of local politics. In Gwasssi<sup>3</sup> (and presumably the other times, tho I wasn't as aware of it) we are identified with the SDAs, and I've heard there is grumbling from others, e.g. Catholics. This is, as far as I know, the only place to stay (we had considered the Italian Kenyan Scout camp, but the facilities were poorer, and in any case it is Catholic because of the association with the nearby priest). On top of that, the supervisors take it for granted that the SDAs have hired their relatives to supply the food, the water, the cooks, thus not spreading the jobs around. The style is patron-client, not to mention that the bigwigs want as much income coming into their own families as possible. I think the interviewer selection is probably perceived as reasonably fair—altho it's also likely that some people just assume it is biased and haven't heard that we didn't select the pastor's sons.

AIDS: R. was by the lake, saw boys as well as girls carrying water at lake, R. thinks parents are teaching both of them hh tasks in case no woman survives.

Meeting:

Secret of their success at training?

F.: “Threats! One thing is to get their interest. Talk to them reassure them, tell them that they are good, very important. And we don’t make the training so formal, T. often has a joke up her sleeve, P. says ‘you people need to talk like me,’ G. said don’t keep your head in a pot. R.: “I think when they are being trained we can always notice what their faces look like so we can definitely know there’s a problem somewhere, and we ask them to read something so we can find the problem and put emphasis there.” “Fr: I also think the process of changing over so it’s not monotonous.” G.: And the threat factor comes in when you tell them you’ve been taken , fine, but if you don’t catch on you go away, so they really put a lot of effort. P.: D.’s training.

R.: I think the fact that it’s done in Luo, whatever they don’t understand they can easily express themselves. They translate from English for themselves.

In Oyugis the old interviewers were showing off a bit more, telling their experiences, than here.

P.’s interviewers would say “you new people....”

G. says callbacks could be reduced if we knew what you wanted with the “did they influence you”. E. explains that it just looks funny if the NW partner uses, approves, but then advises against the R using. It could happen—maybe the NWP had a bad experience, or maybe it was good for her but she says the R doesn’t have enough children yet. So just check w/the interviewer, make sure they understand the question.

FIELDWORK: No one wants Orote. G. says those fishermen are trouble. “Those guys, I really just don’t know how they think. But last time problems also in Sokoni because we fired the lady from there. Fired person was a widow, went and raised hell.” F. says our policy not to employ widows. G. thinks “for fisherman it’s the Catholic thing, we had to get Ugesa to go and walk there.”

Cover sheets only because suspect won’t be there, but if they are interview them. If they are not, find out if live permanently away so can say K1k2k2.

Debriefing:

Schooling questions—expect sons/daughters to finish

Help decide to use f/p or not—do at

February 8:

KINTER/AIDS: February 8, 2000, Gwasssi:

M., older woman, 7 children, rejected after interviewer training. She had tried in K2, turned away after one day of training: she's the one who told me that the younger people can study but she has spent her time "smoking in the kitchen", i.e. over the wood fire. She tried again, I encouraged the supervisors to give her a chance and help her in the training, but they said she just couldn't do it. So I told her I would hire her for some days. Her son, J., is an interviewer. He went to Lenana HS in Nairobi (a national HS, very good one). Passed with B, he might get a job or join the University if possible.

I asked if she had sisters-in-law, she said yes, 3—one of them is M., one is Julia, a third. M.'s husband died in 1995, AIDS suspected. I asked if he moved, she said yes, I asked how they knew that. "We knew one of his girlfriends." She said M. "was worried, she spoke to him, and as you know men, he would always resist". Did she speak to him more than once? "Yes, more than once, often." But he denied that he had girlfriend. I asked whether he worked somewhere else, she said "Yes he did, he worked in Karungu, he did not come home at night.". I asked what M. said to her: "She came to me and told me, 'now you see, your in-law is just moving about with other women, and you know we are now afraid of the risk, now what can I do?' What did you advise her? "I just told her to talk to him bit by bit, slowly, often." She (the sister in law) even went to Karungu and continued to talk to him, "but as a man he did not allow the woman to interfere." I asked if M. ever thought about using condoms with the husband. "She didn't think about condoms, tho later on she thought maybe it could be better that she used it." Did she think about leaving? No. Husband got thin, came first, sick at home for a while, then to Migori hospital and died. I asked whether he knew he had AIDS, she said "yes, M.'s husband also knew he died of AIDS because all the symptoms. Even if he could not tell anybody, inwardly he knew it was AIDS". I asked whether M. and the husband had sex after he came home, she said no, "He was too weak to have sex." I asked whether the wife took care of him: "She took care of him very well" —she said this with some pride/respect for her sister in law. I asked if she blamed him at all, but Mellon said

"She did not upbraid him." The mother also took a lot of care of him. "An in-law inherited her." I asked whether he was worried about getting infected, she said not at first, "He was worried later, after

inheritance. M. was healthy when he (her husband) died, so probably people thought he was killed by something else, not by AIDS.” I asked whether M. knew she was infected. “She knew she was infected but she wanted to be inherited.” I asked whether M. was getting sick: she made a gesture of so so, said “She’s not really sick now but she is getting thin.” I asked whether M. has spoken to her about thinking she will die, she says “She always tells me ‘Ah my life is not so long, I don’t know how these children will survive.’” I asked whether M. talks with the other sisters in law, she says no, she talks with M. but not the other sisters in law, “she’s my best friend.”

I asked whether she knew other women like this, she said “so many”, so I asked her to tell me about her next closest friend. This friend, C., was married to P. K., who “got thin, sick, thinner, thinner, and died. The parents were so poor they couldn’t take him anywhere, he got thin in the house and died”. C. “was worried before because the other women he was moving with had died.” I asked how she knew about these other women: “Other women told her ‘your husband is friendly with so and so’s wife’, she was worried about AIDS”. I asked when she heard this about his moving and when he died: he died in 1998, it was maybe 95 or before that knew he was moving. C. talked to the husband, told him “I know you are moving to so and so’s home while you know he died of AIDS”, but he never stopped. Later on the woman died of AIDS.” I asked whether P. was worried about getting AIDS from the other woman, she said “P. wasn’t worried because the woman showed so much love to him that he never thought of that.” I asked if C. came to her for advice. She did, she wanted M. to talk to P. “I talked to him, ‘You see P., C. came to me and she told me you always come back late at night, she doesn’t know where you stay’. He said ‘you know C. is my wife, and she can’t always know where I’m going. Because I’m the man I should not ask her for permission.’ So I told him ‘the deadly disease is now, you should stop that one, she told me she was told by the other women that you go to so and so’s home.’ He told me that ‘the man didn’t die of AIDS he died of something else.’ He said ‘the wife is even healthier than C.’” The other woman eventually died, I asked if she said something to P. then. She did, she said “‘You see what had happened’, P. said ‘That was just like a road accident, maybe.’” I asked if he knew he was dying of AIDS, she said he did, he said only “‘I will die just like other people’”. After his death, C. –who was a young woman– she left for a while and took the children and went to stay with her brother in Nairobi. She knew she was infected. But she came back, “our custom is that when you have a baby boy from a man you can’t stay away.” She came back because her son had to come back.

I asked whether women think of leaving their husband if he is moving. I think she interpreted this question in terms of inheritance, since she answered “They think it is something else, he is killed by other men, as a reason for not leaving.” That’s not possible, she said: “In our custom when you have four or five children you cannot go anywhere, there is nowhere for you to go and settle because the children are a burden, you cannot go to your own home.” No one else will take her. I said what about going to Oyugis or Nairobi to get a work, earn something small, a little business? “When you go to settle it needs a lot of money to go and settle, when you can’t get that much money you can’t go and settle with your children.”



So many women are afraid of AIDS.

I asked what about the women who say on our questionnaire that their husband probably is not unfaithful. Does she know any of these? She said no, she doesn't know any women who think husband doesn't move. I probed, and she told me the story of S.

She began by saying that S. is in a monogamous marriage (which appears to be relevant). She told M. that she doesn't think her husband moves. M. answered her that "all men move" but S. says "I don't think so, he always comes home early, where can he move?". But I always tell her 'Even if he goes for salary to Homa Bay he can just move there,' she says 'no no, he is faithful, he just goes there and comes back early.'" S. is M.'s age.

E. is also M.'s age. E.'s husband is a church elder, E thinks he doesn't go anywhere with other women. Mellon thinks religion keeps him from moving, and S. is in the same church.

I asked if she knew a married woman who moves. She said yes, told me a story about a married woman who went to a funeral somewhere and was taken to sleep in a different house but "she did not sleep there she escaped with a man to another place. The following day we were told by another woman that she did not sleep there, she went off." She had talked to this married woman before, "That same same woman told me of that man earlier. She told me she wanted to go and collect some maize from him, when I asked her the relationship, she told me they were close." M. asked "in which way? Then she told me. I told her that 'a young man, not married, how come?'" She said she "wanted to squander his money because he's a hardworking boy." I said maybe she liked sex with the boy better than the husband? "She liked sex with that boy better than the husband"—but Mellon said "—she didn't say that but I noticed from her."

February 8, 2000, meeting with Gwasssi CBDs from Luanda:

P. O., E.K., R.A., M.A., C.A.O. and J.G. (the chairman of the group). Another CBD, K.C., came late. All are from Luanda. R. had been here when we arrived, and took the interviewer test but didn't pass; I think K. took it also.

I began with their work as CBDs. I asked how they were selected, they said “by the chief. There was a report from Mbita HQ that they wanted some people to support the government, to support this distributing FP, so the government sent some people to come and train us.” I asked why you and not others, they said they wanted people who speak English, Kiswahili, Basuba.” I asked why they did it if they were not paid, they said no they weren’t paid, “we are volunteers”, but they said there are some advantages, they get first in line for kid’s polio, the AIDS program. I asked what the latter meant, they said there is a program coming for AIDS, and they are going to be supervisors, “taking the others to homes and advising them what to do because we are already trained.” They laughed when I asked whether they were related to the chief, they said no, it’s the languages. They were trained first in family planning, then for primary health and about AIDS.

was the training for primary health are, family planning first, and about AIDS.

N. comes and asks them about *rariwe*—they all laugh and look down. Here it’s *ruoth*. In much of this discussion, they talk about the question with each other first, I think explaining the question to those who didn’t understand and agreeing on an answer. It is often P. and C., the chairman and the “Vice” who answer. “This one is for women.” N: Do you see it often? “Yes, so often”. N: Do they come to you with it? “They come to us to complain about *ruoth*, this time they are complaining so much,” they come to the CBDs, they refer them. N: Do you have anything to give them? “That one we don’t have, they told us they would provide medicines but they haven’t.” N: What kinds of things could you give for *Ruoth*? What kind of medicines do they need? Do those GTZ people know about *Ruoth*? They laugh. M. says: “You know, they are African, they know.” N: So you tell them to go to the hospital, where do you refer them? “We refer them to the nearest clinic. Or dispensary.” N: And do the nurses there help them? They look serious. M. says they help. “When they go to the local herbalist they give them the local herbs and they drink, and in most cases when we refer them they go to the clinics.” N: probe “But sometimes we refer them to a *nyamrewra*”. N: asks how do you know which to refer them to? P.: “We were trained in these contraceptives, so we prefer to send them to the clinics. With the *nyamrerwas*, there are some who decide to go on their own, so some who go there get well. Some of them when you refer they run to the *nyamrewra*.” N: What about a woman who has gone to both, what she will tell you about her treatment? Will she tell you she went to both of those places? P.: “There are some who say they don’t get treated well in the hospitals so they prefer the local treatment, and there are some that get well from the dispensary. Some say ‘with me I went to the hospital I didn’t get well so I went to the *nyamrerwas*’.” N. asks whether they ever heard that *ruoth* might be a STD, but they never heard that. M. explains that *ruoth* was there before STDs were there. N: Causes? Why are so many people are having it now? They laugh. P.: “Traditionally they say if you go to the lake, maybe there is someone who is having that *ruoth*, if you help her put the water on her head you will get it. As we are thinking about it, some are saying that people who get it, it is a kind of STD, so the traditional people believe that it can be got that way. But according to the hospital they say it is an STD.” N asks more about causes, why now? P.: “Sometimes they tell us that when this woman who is pregnant and helping, you get *ruoth* from the water. Sometimes people get *ruoth* from working too hard, carrying heavy things when you are pregnant.” N: Are they cured by *nyamrerwas*? She will give them local herbs. N: Does it work? Some people believe it works, but some don’t believe and they go

to the clinics. R.: “There are some people who say they have *ruoth* but they are not pregnant, I don’t know why they say that”. P.: “There are sometimes cases of these small ladies who complain that they have *ruoth*, so in cases like that we believe, maybe she got it from the lake the way we were trying to say. The person with *ruoth* may put it in the water so when she takes the water (gesture of bathing) she gets it.”

N: Do men have *ruoth*? No, they laugh. Only women have it, but not men. C.: “It happens when you are pregnant, the heaviness of the child in the abdomen, plus placenta, the pulling of placenta, when you have given birth it goes back, you can’t feel the pain. With us Luo we have some herbs, we put it in water, we drink” N.: but you can have it when you are not pregnant? C. says “yes, when you work hard, bending causes it.” N. says maybe men can get it because they work hard?. But C. says “no, men can’t get pregnant, do they get pregnant?” N: Do men have pain? “Yes, they have STDs, they feel the same thing, if they feel it they have STDs, but not the thing we are talking about.”

Long discussion in Luo. Can’t be transmitted from men to women or women to men, comes from placenta, “but men do not have placenta, do they have?” N: But when you ask the old people they say there was not much *rariw* in the past, but now so many women are having it, why is this? C. translates their discussion. C.: “Traditionally you get it when someone has given birth and we step on the blood with bare feet. Or helping someone with water.” NJ: But weren’t women doing that before and not getting it? C. says maybe now they don’t know that someone is having *ruoth*, or maybe you go to the hospital and you don’t have slippers, you step on that blood. I think here they said that it used to be when you were pregnant you drank medicine from a pot, so you wouldn’t get *ruoth*. N: do women still drink the medicine from the pot? “Yes, but it is rare.” N: Now why don’t they take these herbs when they are pregnant? M.: “Now they prefer to look modern, to go to the clinic”. P.: “They think the herbs are devil things, they think so, they say they are praying instead.” J.: “It depends on the family you are from.” C.: “But you have to look for the herb and some do not have it.” N: What if the clinic can’t help them?

Does it happen? “She has to go back for the traditional medicine, she’ll try that, they must go back to the herbalist.” C.: “But the hospital pushes back the *rariw* because it comes first, if the hospital can’t do that they might operate. N: The hospital knows *ruoth*? I said the nurses say they don’t know what *ruoth* is. They all say “They know, because they see that thing coming out. They know it. They only see it, tho, when they come to deliver.”

Where is the clinic? “This one [i.e. the SDA clinic]. Also Tonga, Magunga. They say the clinics, they all know how to manage *ruoth*. N: But when they fail to do it they refer to Homa Bay? “They do that when the blood is not there, the water is not there, the operation goes to HB or Migori, because of light.”[electricity?]

I asked why the SDA clinic closed. Someone first said “there were no medicines”, then the others jumped in and said “The management was poor”, “the owner failed. The SDAs? “They could not manage it well.” “But they are trying to come back.” The CBDs have their meetings here. They meet with the doctor/s who come from Magunga, once a month [and they insisted that the doctors really do come]. They, the CBDs, have plenty of contraceptives, but nothing else, not even panadol. They doctors do, but they don’t give them to the CBDs. “But they will because we have training in Public Health Care. “We have gained a lot about how to use the medicines”. One of them has brought a flip chart in Kiswahili, and English, say in Luo don’t have.

N: Do most of them take the condoms? “Yes, they do.” Women too? “Men only, not women”. “Men.” Married men too? “Married men and unmarried men.” No women? Finally they say that “some women come for condoms for a friend she is going to meet, she is going to sell the idea [I think of FP] to a friend, so you don’t refuse her, you give her. You know she is going to use it with a friend so you don’t ask them.” I tried to focus on HIV/AIDS, not FP, do women come for condoms for that? “Some women don’t have a husband so they just move. Sometimes the husband doesn’t want to come to you. Some married women do come, but we cannot tell, we cannot tell, they come secretly, they trust us, you take the name down but you don’t tell the husband.” I ask for a story about this. They tell one: “the husband died, the woman says ‘the person I am having is moving with some women, I don’t want STDs or AIDS so help me’” [but they won’t talk about married women].

I ask about unmarried women, they refer to school girls becoming pregnant, wanting to use FP so they don’t get pregnant. C.: “At first we were not giving them, but from this year we are allowed”. P.: “There was a reformation.” N: do they marry the man? “They don’t, the men just leave them like that, they go for another one”. N: Some get pregnant from their clans, can you marry your clan? “You can’t”. With some difficulty I get them to focus on women who are not schoolgirls: they come for pills. But conversation segues into STDS/AIDS [as if when one is talking about schoolgirls it’s not pregnancy but STD/AIDS that is the problem].

I ask what they are taught to do with respect to AIDS prevention. They say they counsel HIV/AIDS through barazas, clinics, beaches, funerals. S: What do you say? P.: “You talk about how you can control yourself because the thing is serious, automatically you die.” So they advise. He first says they tell them to use condoms, but then when I question that, the women say “ah ah, no.”

S: When go to *baraza* for HIV, what do you say? M: “We tell them ‘we have come to help you because of the deadly disease. Now there is a method introduced all over to use, this is a condom, it is

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

used all over the world, the government has now got agents who can supply or advise you about condoms. When someone is in need, go to such and such a person, it is not only for prevention, but also STDS and pregnancy.”

Do married men come for condoms? “Those who go to school have knowledge about using condoms for STDS.” They have a hard time understanding my question about whether married men ever get condoms for wives against STD/AIDS, when they finally get it they say no. I ask several time whether men get condoms for FP, and they insist that they don’t [thus, all the condom use in the KDHS and in our survey would be with extramarital partners]. They talk about women finding men’s condoms when they wash his clothes. J.: “When they take condoms they take it very carefully, they keep it where the woman cannot see it.” M.: “Forgetting it is rare, but one time one day you must forget it”.

To E.: Did a married woman ever come to you? Yes. E. tells her “to be patient, you can tell them to come for counseling.” They say you can’t counsel them together, you counsel the woman and the other day you get the man. But it turns out they have never done this.

J.: “The woman comes to you for advice, but the man is not ready to come because he has gone to another family to inherit. So you only advise the woman to talk to the husband to be checked for HIV testing. But if they differ, you just leave, because the man cannot come because he knows he has gone to the wrong part. But the woman will come. So my advice to the woman is to stop sex w/the husband.” How can she do that? “She knows that the man has gone to the woman of someone who died of AIDS, so she comes for advice.” M: you know, when someone inherits, they still have to have sex with the real wife.” Separation? They say the “real wife runs away before they interact. Once they interact she has already collected the disease.” But it sounds like the question wasn’t clear, because they go on to say they don’t tell them to run away, “you tell them to go and sit down with the husband and they agree.” But when asked whether they agree, “they don’t.” “If it is impossible the woman will run away.” M.: You don’t tell her to run away but to stay, other wise they will spread it. So I tell her to stay because they are going to die anyway.” They point out in several different ways that when a husband is getting a new wife—inherited or not, I think—“The husband starts as friends, the real wife doesn’t know about it for several months.”

If you wait too long for inheritance the widow will go out and get infected even if her husband didn’t die of AIDS.

### *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

When I go back to J.'s counseling them to stop sex with the husband, the other CBDs all say he can't say that, and indeed J. then said he has never said that, "it was just my opinion."

M.: "When they [the wives] go away they will be prostitutes".. K. says "they will get it again," but M. interrupts to say "not again, you can't get it again."

More on inheritance: "If the wife says no you can't inherit, the husband will go secretly." It appears that "official inheritance" is very rare, and the wife doesn't know about the inheritance until it is official." C.: "Then they know that the disease is out, they will get it."

They are emphatic that women can't say no sex to the husband.

At dinner, P. says "my respondents are complaining that the questionnaire is a book." I ask about refusals, she said at first there were, but then they started walking in "with soap in one hand and sugar in the other" (she illustrated, danging each hand as if one held soap and the other sugar), "we put them strategically on the table and then we start to ask them questions." And F. said lots of people weren't home because today was market day.

#### Meeting

T. , the CTO (Chief Training Officer) and R. did Waganda, one of the most difficult, it's very steep. They are ploughing now, so don't come back from the shamba until 9:30, most homes had just small children hanging around. The fields are pretty far from the house. And today was a market day. T. says for sure if it rains they can't move in Waganda: thick, black clay. G.: "We were solving problems." Two of the interviewers we fired were in his village, Sokoni. R.: They were the most horrible interviewers." G.: "The interviewers told the others that we are devil-worshippers, they were fired because they didn't want to be devil worshippers. The women were different, the wives said 'wait till my husband comes,' then the husbands came and said they want no part of this." G. told them the interviewers were paid, "they didn't tell you they were paid?" They said "No" and then went looking for them." I asked if he had some interviewers who knew some of the Sokoni families. "They knew E. and U., they said 'you, U., we know you and can trust you, tell us why you are working with the devil worshippers.' He said he worked with us in 97 and we didn't take him away." The t-shirts, "these are the uniform of the devil worshippers." F.: "Apparently these guys are not very smart." P. said they fired

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

one of the women from her village, she was very nice. They found out she wasn't form 4, only Standard 8, "she cheated, and the villagers said we were very transparent "because you managed to fish out that standard 8". R. thinks they were copying: there were 3 or 4 women sitting together during the aptitude test, all went. I said that we were watching, but R. said maybe they learned in school to cast their eyes far. F. says maybe we should ask them to bring certificates. E. said she already put that on the poster for Kawadghone. F. did ask for them on the 1st day of training but she lied and said it was far away. But P. said the fired one didn't cause trouble. F. said she told him that "this thing is so difficult she even knew she couldn't manage." The stammerer is from Sokoni. P. has another stammerer. He's good in that he knows the people, they say "oh, how are you", but when he is doing an interview he takes forever (P. imitates him). "But he knows guys from down here." I say that's useful. P.: "But he's not exactly my best interviewer."

Some trouble with labels and cover sheets. The chief and his wife were in twice with different numbers. And I had a cover sheet for one of them.

Feb 9, Thursday:

I was a bit worried that perhaps I've made a mistake about M.'s arrival date, and look for the Kenya3 manila folder, which was with a bunch of other folders. They are missing. I checked other people's rooms as well, but I'm sure I took them from my suitcase and put them on the rack under the table in the middle room of the pastor's cabin. It's hard to imagine that anyone stole them, but I think that's what happened. Even though they were with several New Yorkers, which weren't taken, and which I would think are more attractive. The pastor asked what I was looking for and I told him, he asked whether anyone was there when I wasn't, I said only the lady that cleaned. He said even though she's a church lady, "the devil can get in anybody, even me, the pastor, the devil can tempt me." He said I should check with the cleaning lady. And then without telling me he went to do it himself, but she said she didn't take anything (and I don't think she did).

The interviewers arrive still lively and smart in the T-shirts, only one was wearing an ordinary shirt. Some of them are quite well dressed. In addition to E., with a braided pony tail and little gold balls in her hair, B. Y. wears combat boots with the pants legs tucked in, so it looks rather like cargo pants—and he wears tinted glasses. Several other of the men interviewers have combat boots, and E. has sneakers with platform soles.

When they leave, we check questionnaires, altho most had been done last night. Then I work on the introduction to the paper with C. Another boring lunch (rice, ugali, beef stew, beans, cabbage), plus

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

Fanta.

S. comes for me and L. around 3. We stop briefly where F. was, and then go on to T.'s site, God Kwach (The hill of the Leopard, kwach is leopard). She had this site in K1 and K2, and it's very difficult—very spread out, a long time to get from one compound to the other. Now everybody knows her, while she and I were talking she saw an old lady and went to chat with her. We stay there a while checking questionnaires with the interviewers who did them, asking what people said when they answered this and that question. We then piled in the vehicle and went to R.'s site, Waganda, where she and the interviewers were checking questionnaires, and stayed there a while. She was waiting near a posho mill, not far from an enormous compound where there are nine wives, each with her own house, and lots of granaries. The compound belongs to B. Y.'s uncle, so I asked whether the uncle was worried about the younger wives moving. B. said he was, I asked how he knew, he says he talks about it all the time. "But he just goes on." Then piled into the vehicle to drive back. The sun was starting to set, and the interviewers began to sing Luo songs—rather slow and melodic, a bit like slow gospel music (and one of them was a gospel song). B. Y. led, he has a strong deep voice. The others joined in—T. with her high pure voice, also J., who used to be the choir leader when she was in college, and the others. I was in the front and couldn't see who in the mass in the back back was singing, but it sounded like everyone. I promised them a party on the last night if they would sing, and L. asked if they could find someone who plays a traditional Luo instrument. We dropped off interviewers all along the way, the last ones very near where we are staying. As we drove into the SDA center, the sun was setting over the lake. Although there's a lot of walking, the interviewers seemed very happy and earnest. I think the team is happy out in the field, although I don't know if they will want to do it again, should a Kenya 4 occur (and I don't think I would want to do it without them).

G., whose village is "the infamous Sokoni", says it is better today. He did get two refusals, but they are people who refused last time. One of them even invited the interviewer for lunch, but still wouldn't agree to be interviewed. He says the wives are better, it's the husbands. I said the wives sometimes told F. "psst, wait until my husband is gone". G. said yes, "today we cornered one as she was going to get firewood."

When we get back only P. is there, having showered and put on a clean turquoise Hooray Team tshirt from Kenya 2. She cajoles S. and G. into going to get beer. P. says they are getting some refusals. The ones who refuse say the people here (at the SDA center) are saying that we are devil worshipers, and that we have these strange white people who have eyes like cats. P. answered that "if they think we are devil worshipers, how come they have welcomed us here to stay in their place?"

Meeting:



F. says they have a big problem in his village, Nyagot Odundo, because there's a water crisis—there's only one pump working, and 60-100 women waiting, they don't want to be interviewed because they'll lose their place in line. So we talked about ways around this, e.g. standing in line for them, because it saves a lot of walking on the part of the interviewers. The water shortage also affects T.'s village. G. said they did fine, but were held up by a land dispute. Someone moved a fence, saying that the land the other guy was using really belonged to his grandmother. Lots of shouting, and women actively involved. People standing on their gates and yelling at others. The miji-kumi was there, but no one listened to him. I asked F. whether the chief (who was away) would be called on, F. said "Definitely it will get to the chief". G. also said that some of the miji-kumis were paid when we were here the first time (and they were helping demarcate the village boundaries), some refuse to do the village questionnaire because not paid this time. R., however, says a lot of the miji-kumis don't bother. I asked whether they could answer the questions—they said there "are some parts they don't know". G. says there are 6 m-ks in Nyagot Adundo, but one is head, and he goes on the cover sheet. P. said it was slow in her village this alm., especially men, who don't return from ploughing the shamba until mid-a.m. Some of her respondents told P. they expected she would have died, because of her connection with the devil-worshippers. She said "When M. brought you here, we knew we were in for bad things" (M. is Catholic). P. said she was alive, and pointed out if the devil worshippers were going to get anyone it should be her and the other supervisors first. P. said the rumors are coming not from the SDA compound, but from the women who were cooks last year but not this year. The rumors also refer to a white male devil worshipper with "eyes like a cat"—must be A. G. said that the woman they "cornered" yesterday, today she came limping up to them, saying see what happened. She said she tripped on a rolling stone, G. asked her whether she saw any devil worshippers. She said she'd do the interview for another bar of soap. R. hasn't had trouble, "they are cooperating. "

Feb 10:

Woke up last night from what I think were a passel of goats on the porch. It sounds at first like people milling around out there, so I wake up to listen more closely. Went outside and across the lake there was a lightning show: sheet lightning behind cumulus clouds, just above and all across the horizon. It was beautiful, but it also feels like we are racing against the rainy season. Although it's rained a bit several nights, people here still talk about "the rains coming soon", so I gather they will be much worse. Now the rain sinks in, and in the morning there are no signs that it's rained. But when the real rains come, the roads will be deep mud. T.'s site is the farthest away, and she began in it rather than a closer one so that if the rains do come before we leave, at least that site will be done.

Interviewers packing up. Some of them have small notebooks—turns out that each supervisor selected one interviewer to keep track of what interviews done/not done.

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

To Kisumu.

Email to C. B.: Hi C. and J.–

This is an informal report from the field on Kenya 3 (and you can pass it on to J. A.). We're now in our most remote site, a hilly area where the compounds are large and far apart. We're staying at a closed clinic that belongs to the SDA church: the team sleeps in the examining rooms, I share a room with the SDA pastor (it's divided into 3 roomlets, so there's a bit of privacy), and we work on tables in what was once the waiting room, running the computers from a generator that the project bought for the two sites that don't have electricity. Pit latrines, goats trying to eat the questionnaires, buckets for bathing, tiny insects attacking the computer screens at night. But it's high on a hill, looking out over Lake Victoria, and quite beautiful. The rainy season is approaching, and at night the sky over the lake is lit up by sheet lightning behind huge cumulus clouds. We hope to finish here before the rains start, as the terrible roads to the back villages will be black mud. Fortunately we have the same team of supervisors we've had from the beginning, and many of the same interviewers—they know where the villages and the compounds are, so we may make it before the rains come.

Far more than when we were here three years ago, the presence of AIDS is inescapable. A life table based on deaths between Kenya 1 and Kenya 2 that a student, A. W., calculated, showed a doubling of the death rate in the ages 20-40 over those two years, and I think it will be higher this time. People know from personal experience that "AIDS is here" and that there is no cure. Funerals interrupt the fieldwork, questionnaires come back empty with "Died 1998"; we are doing verbal autopsies, usually by asking the neighbors, and most usual is "long illness, grew very thin, AIDS suspected." It's hard to maintain professional detachment. At our evening meeting the other night, the supervisors said that one of the women they were interviewing had a husband die of AIDS recently, she was thin and looked sickly; the interviewer skipped the question "When someone gets very thin and dies, do you think it is *chira* [the result of breaking a traditional Luo taboo], AIDS, or it could be either?", and they asked whether that was all right. It's not possible to say "you have to ask the question", so we will have some missing values on that one. At another compound, two cowives of a man who died recently, along with a third cowife, refused to agree to be interviewed: one told the supervisor to leave them alone, "you, you still have your lives". The disconnect between our questions—how are you most worried about getting AIDS? Do you suspect your husband is unfaithful?—and what people are experiencing is deeply troubling.

The strategies of the global agencies (e.g. the World Bank) have been to focus on "high risk" populations. This suits the Kenyan government, because it means the interventions are targeted at men and women who are detached from their proper domestic space—commercial sex workers, truck drivers, army. CSWs seem an appropriate audience when the epidemic is just beginning, but when the level of HIV is above 30%, as it is in the nearest sentinel site to the areas where we are working, CSWs

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

and truck drivers aren't the problem any more, it's one's spouse. To the extent that the programs address regular couples, it's to say "take personal responsibility." Yet the essence of a marriage is that your fate depends on someone else. We get questionnaire after questionnaire that say "my risk is low because I stick to one spouse only": very few also list the necessary corollary, "my spouse has no other partners." The situation of married couples seems to me to be excruciating, and particularly those in polygamous marriages—the husbands worry about the younger wives, and the older wives worry about the younger wives as well. Even in monogamous couples, they can't be sure: there's a deep belief that men are driven by libido, and that women will look for a man if their husband isn't satisfying them sexually—which is often the case, since many men in these areas work outside the area, returning only irregularly, or they may have several wives. I can't imagine programs that try to teach wives to "negotiate for safe sex" would work—how can a wife insist that her husband not have sex with his other wife/wives? And I myself don't think I would have been happy using a condom for the whole of my married life.

When we were here before, I had the sense that people weren't responding to the threat in a way that would protect them, but now I think they are trying. We looked at the answers to two questions from our first site, one asking whether the respondent thought his/her spouse was unfaithful ("Yes, know [he/she is], "suspect", "can't know what he/she does" [interviewer comments on the margins of the questionnaires suggest that this is also a "suspect" category] and "probably not", and the other asking whether the respondent feels at risk of getting AIDS (great, moderate, small, none at all). There is a small increase in those who feel that they are at "great" risk of getting infected, but a large increase in those who feel that their risk is "none", with a decrease in the intermediate categories. There's also a small increase in those who say "Yes, know" the spouse is unfaithful, and a large increase in those who say "probably not", with a decrease in the categories "suspect" and "can't know what he/she". The impression of behavior change is supported by more informal talks with the interviewers, with people who hang around the SDA clinic, when the supervisors chat with people in the field, and by the interviewers' comments on the questionnaires. Men are taking condoms from the CBDs (I saw the CBD notebooks); on our questionnaires there's lots of "talked with spouse" who said the best protection is "stick to one spouse only", and when I ask women what they talked about with their husband they are telling him over and over to stay home. There are stories of widows who have refused to be inherited, and of men who have refused to be inheritors. And of women leaving husbands who they have found to be moving around with other women whose husband/cowife died of AIDS—my impression is that more of our questionnaires are coming back with "the wife left.", which I think is an appropriate strategy (or would be if there were more options for women to make it on their own). Some do what they can *in situ*. The interviewer wrote in the margin of one questionnaire, "She went ahead and said that she used to have many sex partners but since she realized the existence of AIDS she decided to limit the number reasonably." It's not what the WHO (or NIH for that matter) would wish, of course. Many are not completely faithful to their spouse (I'm sure the amount of extramarital sexual activity reported to our interviewers is too low), and even if they are faithful now they may have been infected earlier. And I doubt that those who "move around" are using condoms consistently. Nonetheless, my sense is that the villagers are exercising agency, and they feel that by doing something

they are lowering their risk. And they probably are. In retrospect it may turn out to be somewhat like the fertility transition—a long period when it seemed as if nothing was happening, but actually attitudes and, to a lesser extent, behavior—were changing under the surface. The difference, of course, is that waiting to adopt family planning is not as likely to be fatal.

Enough. I've come to Kisumu (3 hours away from the SDA clinic) to meet my niece, who is coming for two weeks to be the project photographer (but at no expense to the project), and buy fruits and vegetables before we all get scurvy. There's an internet provider in the hotel, next only in attractiveness to being able to wash my hair, flush a toilet, and eat something besides tough chicken, rice, and the local version of kale.

S.

Feb 11: S. and I meet M.'s plane, and we then go to the market to buy vegetables—avocados, tangerines, eggplant, tomatoes, green peppers, large mangos from Mombasa, potatoes, carrots. Then to the hotel, and then S. goes to get the male questionnaire copied and M. and I go to the supermarket to buy stuff that the supervisors had asked for (mostly juice). Then I have a swim in the pool and a second lovely shower, then we pack up and go to pick up the questionnaires, mail letters (which I had forgotten) and buy some somosas.

FIELDWORK: When we get to Gwassii, instead of going to the SDA center directly we go “to the villages” to pick up supervisors and interviewers, We stop where F. is. There are three guys standing there, so I go to meet them, and start asking them about AIDS, what they think can be done. They say one has to be saved. I then asked them about men they knew who had stopped moving around because they were worried about AIDS. Two of them (one the chief's younger brother) tell me that they themselves stopped when they were saved. I asked how many girlfriends before that, one says 5, the other 4. Then I asked them when they were saved, and the answer is 1979 (well before there's any AIDS recognized here). Then there turns out to be a long discussion in Luo with F., which is that they want our project to buy them nice clothes so they can conduct a crusade to save people and thus end AIDS. For a bit I was fooled into thinking that these men were taking my questions at face value and seriously, but it turns out that they too are answering in a way that they think might get them something.

FIELDWORK: On the way back W., C. and B. Y. are in the vehicle. They say that people like the questions at the end, that it relaxes them, they laugh. I ask W. about the “trousers “ question for

women—he answers that they laugh when he says “do you want bluejeans/trousers”. There was a misprint in the questionnaire, the supervisors say they tell them in training it’s blue jeans for men, trousers for women, but seems to me that W. isn’t getting it. They talk about refusals—W.’s uncle was one of the refusals. I ask whether the gifts matter, they say sometimes, but also that some people think the sugar has family planning medicine inside, and that the soap is coated with AIDS virus. W. said he explained to these objectors that the soap was brought in Sori by S. and by an interviewer, “a black man, not a white person.”

As we go on to W.’s village, Radienya, W. points out all the metal roofs, a lot of which are new. I ask whether he thinks they are better than thatch, and he has no doubt at all: they all say yes because they last much longer. I say aren’t they hotter, and they say yes, but it doesn’t seem to bother them, it isn’t a disadvantage compared to the work of replacing thatch every year, or, they say, more often.

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Sat. Feb 12: At breakfast P. delivers me a note that a young woman brought yesterday.

THE CBD AGENT

LWANDA S.D.A. CENTRE

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, D. A. A., Councillor of G. South, do hereby make an appointment to see you tomorrow the 12<sup>th</sup> Feb, 2000 at 8:00 a.m.

The purpose of the visit is to understand the statistical problem which the community is levelling against your research team.

I remain,

Yours,

A.

Cllr. D. A.

I turn it over to F., who says he'll wait and talk to the guy. But it gets beyond 8, so F. leaves. F. says the man will want something in return for talking to the people, something like school fees for something. F. says "you shouldn't make promises that you can't keep" (altho F. had done just that to get out of a hole in Mfangano in K2).

KINTER: He came around 9:30, a nice looking man, probably around 50, graying hair, clean beige collarless polo shirt, from the village of Sokoni. He explains that people have been refusing, wanted to know what I thought. I asked what he thought, he went through that they aren't "aware", they don't understand. I said I thought they thought we were devilworshippers, and then he agreed. He said he himself did the questionnaire and his second wife did, but the first wife refused because we were devil worshippers. I had the sense that he did discuss this with her, but was unable to budge her. He asked me what we were doing, and I went through the explanation about research, collaboration between U of P and Survey Team, FP and AIDS, and went into a lot of people dying of AIDS here. He said yes,

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

80% of the people in Gwasssi have died. I said no, not so many, and got A.'s paper, which has it for all 4 sublocations, but only a 6% death rate for men and 2.3% for women. He went on about all the orphans and what can be done for them. I saw a request for assistance coming, so emphasized that we were research, we could tell the government and the donors, but the assistance has to come from them, sometimes assistance comes but it is skimmed off.

A lot more talk about AIDS. He asked whether I thought condoms worked, I said yes. He said but they burst. I asked if he had ever used a condom, he said yes (I wasn't completely convinced), I asked whether any had ever burst for him, he said no, I said that people say they burst, but they don't. Then he found another reason for not using condoms, that then you can't have children, "if you use condoms all the time you won't have any children in secondary school." He also pointed to compounds on the hill in the distance, and said "the water for those houses has to come from the lake, a long way, people won't have resources if they don't have children to help them. The children have to get the water and they have to watch the animals." And "If you don't have children you won't have food in your home when you are 50 and can't manage. We have tried to talk to people about FP, though people in Nairobi, Migori, other big towns, because there they have electricity, water, schools next to their fingertips, it is easy for them, but here it is very far." He said that "Now

his wives are understanding, there is the need for school fees, for food, but it's those difficult problems that are facing them." (They see the problems of many children, but with only a few how will they get water, etc.) Here there is "no machinery to work the land". And "There is not enough land, problem of school fees, cost of treating. Now Rabour (I think a secondary school) costs about 5000KS, even more, if you have five children, it can take 25,000ks and that means in the end that what you produce from your garden it will not suffice. And the question about other resources--who will bring you water, your children will have to do that, who will watch your animals, the children will have to do that." I asked about his own children. He has one child in secondary school, expects the others to go, "as a Councillor myself I can manage the resources. But others. And if there are orphans, these orphans will not move ahead. We need a good school, or a home for the orphans. I can tell you that over 90 percent of the age from 5 downwards are orphans, some are orphans now, and the age of 8 over are helping them. Because the 25 to 50 have passed away.

He insists that he attended over 100 funerals last year. "If that continues over five years, 500 will be gone." He said every household had suffered a death. I asked him to name the people who died.

V. O.--married, died, own cpd

A. O. died, own cpd

A. O., own cpd

K. O., died

S. O., died and wife died

O. A., died

A. A., died, wife died

T. N. died,

This didn't match what I expected, so I went to the miji-kumi's list for Sokoni, and he picked out the people who had died. All but a couple were "AIDS suspected", the ones who weren't were old: he said they didn't know if AIDS was the cause, "but if they are young AIDS is suspected." We counted that 8 out of the 24 hhs in Sokoni had had a death—the other 16 had not. I don't know whether he was exaggerating the deaths because he has been to so many funerals, or whether he did so because he wanted help from me for the orphans. He said all men move but some do not, so we went through the list again and I asked him who moved who didn't. He wasn't very comfortable with this, said he didn't know. But he did say who didn't move, and it was usually because they were "very religious". When we got to a young couple he would say "they are young, I don't know what they do", which I think means "probably".

I asked about his best friend, whether he was worried. He said not about himself, but about his children. He has a son at the U of Nairobi but not married; he is worried about the son, and has talked to him. I asked whether the friend had daughters, he does, but "he is not worried about daughter because she's married." He went on to explain that "by our traditions" when a woman is married she is at home [safe]. I pointed out several times that his friend ought to be worrying about the wife's husband moving—he eventually got it intellectually, but he didn't really get it, kept referring to her as married.

I showed him the data for K2 for Gwasssi on "aids or chira". He explained that "Women being unfaithful was the origin of chira. If they can't follow the traditions required—ploughing, weaning the child, weeding, chewing the green maize for the 1st harvest, obeying funeral laws like when the mother or father have died, if the elder wife refuses to play sex with the husband then the younger wife bypasses. Therefore women had to follow these things properly so that chira did not enter into the homes. These are our traditional beliefs. Unlike the present behavior today, where people meet one another here and there without knowing whether these women have fulfilled all the requirements of the traditions, it is this that has caused the problem in the society, [caused us] to get confused between chira and AIDS. Like the women we find at the beaches, we don't know what they have done in their homes, and when they come here they neglect the right way and the people who are dying along the beaches, our people still believe it is either chira, but to the smallest extent it is understood as AIDS, AIDS is only understood by the elites." He called the ones who haven't gone to school "the primitives, they don't understand."



He made an argument for inheritance which I think he deeply felt. He said that a woman has to be married, otherwise she will roam. And these days, if she roams she will spread disease here and there, all over, leading to many deaths. It was rather a public health argument. I pointed out that people believe that inherited wives move around anyway, but he didn't answer this or seem to take it seriously.

INT-SELECTION: Two of the questionnaires have things that look inconsistent and I talk to the interviewers, B. U. and C.. It's impressive that they had already recognized the inconsistencies. In one case of U.'s respondent, a woman, she had said that she'd never discussed with the husband the chances that either she or he would get AIDS, but then went on to say that she talked recently with the husband about AIDS. At first I thought that what was meant was that the R and husband hadn't talked about their own circumstances, but perhaps about someone else—that this person was running a risk, he should “stick to one spouse”. Then it turns out the wife suspects her husband of infidelity, and thinks she has a moderate risk of getting AIDS because “spouse has other partners”. It seemed to me unlikely that she wouldn't have had a discussion w/the husband about his behavior, so she shouldn't have answered “no discussion”. B. had already noticed this was odd, and probed on the “discuss with husband” question. But the woman said “that's what I told you”, and went on to say the questionnaire was too long. In the case of C.'s respondent, a polygamous man with a 2<sup>nd</sup> wife named J. A., in the FP part the man said over and over that he and wives too old to have children (and, I thought, was thus too old to “move” any more). Then in the AIDS section he says he's worried about getting AIDS from his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife. I asked C., who had already dealt with the issue—it turns out that even tho J. A. is old, the R still has to have sex with her on ritual occasions (e.g. before planting). F. adds that a few years ago J. moved out and lives at the beach, which is thought to be risky for women, and the husband told him he is really worried.

INCOMES: Interrupted by a tractor—I've never seen one here. It's old and makes a lot of noise. Turns out they are coming to pick up the stone that a laborer has been cutting since we got here, so over a week. I had asked earlier what he was doing, and the answer was cutting the stone to sell: S. said he gets 5KS for a block. There are now about 30 blocks, says D., so that would mean 150Ks for more than a week of physical labor in the hot sun. One of the guys from the tractor comes over. He has a business collecting these stones, earns 5000-6000KS/month. He says they pay 12 ks/block, and there are 130 in our pile. He says it's easy way to make money, I say this guy has been there over a week cutting. But he points out, probably correctly, that he wasn't there every day, nor all day when he was.

The pastor comes to give me the key, he's going away today. He's in a suit, so probably to services somewhere. But today is Saturday, and D. says the cook said they would have services in the church here today. So why does he leave? D. thinks maybe his deputy will do the services.

INT-SELECTION: Interviewers if they are unsure first check with each other, then the supervisor.

FIELDWORK: P. didn't have a great day. In addition to continuing problems from R. M., an interviewer who we let go the other day lives in that village, "so they don't feel obliged to talk with us." . When P. came back, the interviewer W., who lives nearby, came to talk to her about going to her uncle's funeral tomorrow, won't be back. It was evident from watching them talk that P. is very fond of W.—she straightened the ties of W.'s shirt in a maternal manner as she talked. P. says W. a very good interviewer, tho P. had been worried because W. has a six months old baby and is breastfeeding. But she feeds her in the a.m., and the baby gets porridge during the day.

In Radianya a big funeral, someone coming from outside to be buried, so it was difficult to interview, everyone was rushing to go out and meet the casket and wail (W. illustrated).

F. said one man said when you get married it's like getting a tub of water because she goes to get water for his bath. Another man said got a second wife while the first one pregnant, and the 1st one left, instructed her parents to take back the cows and got married elsewhere. First one died, and at the funeral he told people the story. F. said did you learn anything, he said yeah, I learned not to add another wife. Not one of our respondents. The chief is in F.' village. On his questionnaire he said he never had an outside partner, I queried the interviewer whether he believed that. F. said the chief's questionnaire says he uses condoms as FP, but the chief's wife on her questionnaire said they've never used anything.

The guy in charge here comes by with H., and they get the conversation to the goat. H. insists it was all M.'s fault, the in charge says I should forgive, I say I will when H. replaces the goat, which H. laughs at like it's a foolish idea.

Dinner much improved by the additions from Kisumu. We have fried eggplant, potatoes, carrots, watermelon in addition to the usual fish/chicken and cabbage. I realize that the shopping list for Kisumu had fruits and veggies from the foreign staff, juices from the supervisors.

Meeting: Big funeral in Radianya, someone who died in Nairobi—though not a big deal person, just ordinary man. Everyone in the village is involved, also affects G.'s village since they are related. T. said her interviewer was half way thru when the R heard the noise of the cortege, and told the interviewer to "close your book". As T. was walking along saw a R walking and wailing and waving her hands (T. illustrated), she saw T. and stopped wailing and waving and said brightly "HI!", then returned to her wailing and waving.

I ask about party, which should be Tuesday if we are to leave on Wednesday and start training in Kawadghone as planned and announced. T. doubts she will finish: she isn't finished with her first village and has another one she hasn't started. There are two villages that aren't touched, and none of them are finished. We talk about who will go on to Kawadghone and who will stay. I think they had not considered this, just assumed that we wouldn't show up in Kawadghone. I don't think this is possible—we can't have 100 or more people appearing with no word from us, and we also can't get behind if we are to finish on time. I suggest 3 people go on, two stay, but they say that's not enough. F. also says they have decided they need the personal interview to weed out the stammerers and the women too shy to work well (the interviewers they released this time). I suggest that the whites can do the aptitude test, and suggest that C. and D. can do the personal interviews. The latter is clearly a mistake—F. says interviewer selection is important because they have to work with them—clearly it's the loss of selection power that bothers them. I say that I didn't mean D. and C. choose but only that they weed out the ones who won't do, that's when they say their Luo isn't good enough. This is a non-starter.

QUESCOM: T. thinks so many people say “America” as the furthest away country because of our U of P t-shirts. But I doubt they need the t-shirts to have heard about America. Checking questionnaires this a.m., I think that in Oyugis there is more worry about forced inheritance—being pressured to inherit or to be inherited, whereas here there seems to be a deeper belief that inheritance is a good thing. The questions that are likely to be weakest/flakiest are those that have to do with use of FP and “stick with one spouse only.” Those who are cooperative want to show they use FP, somewhat less, I should think, concern about their nwps. Gender is probably not problematic because “women's rights” hasn't gotten far enough in Kenya, certainly not here, for it to be even seen as a “modern” issue, except perhaps for a very few.

After meeting they say it's too late to get beer (almost ten), the place will be closed. The village center doesn't have beer—F. says there's only one guy who drinks it, he's been away, and thus hasn't reminded them to order it.

Sunday, Feb 13<sup>th</sup>.

R. M. comes by. F. is asleep, P. gone to Sori, so I tell him we are concerned that people in his village have been refusing and saying he told them we were devil-worshippers. There ensues a long back and forth. F. wakes up and joins, tho without enthusiasm and with no deference to this man. M. starts by acting astonished: how could this be when he himself did the questionnaire? He is a leader, how could he go against a government research? I say I have no idea (and decide not to point out that this is not

government research), but we would appreciate it if he could just speak to people in his village and encourage them to cooperate. He doesn't follow that line, but only protests his innocence. We leave that, and he gives me a letter asking for school fees for two of his children (he has three wives, many children). I explain about the number of requests I get in letters for school fees, shoes: he is startled by the number of requests (I suppose he thinks he is the only one to need money), and critical of people who ask for such trivial things as shoes or dresses—but "school fees is another matter." I explain about budgets, transparency, the need for receipts. He is saddened, but stops asking—or rather, asks for smaller amounts more directly. I ask whether he doesn't have older children who can help, he says he has older children but they are "unable". I say I thought it was a Luo custom that older children help with school fees for the younger, he shakes his head sadly (perhaps his older children just refused, maybe because he keeps having children with new wives). Then F. comes out and says flatly that this is what we have heard, and M. he takes the whole thing more seriously, I think feels more threatened—perhaps he thought he could offer some explanation to me that would satisfy me, but sees that it won't work with F.. He starts saying he will go off to the chief right now and clear this up, F. points out that we have not told anyone, only him, that F. was going to go to see him this afternoon to tell him these things were being said. M. is in high dudgeon about people "spoiling my name", "I'm a leader here with the chief", etc. I say that if it's a misunderstanding certainly he can clear that up with the people in his village. He doesn't budge for quite a while, however, just stands there shaking his head and occasionally muttering how bad it is that people are saying such things. He asks F. for the names of people in his village who refused, but F. of course says no. Finally he leaves—he is on his way to the big funeral.

Turns out that F. and G. went to the bar last night, woke up the owner, and drank and talked until 2. The bar owner said the reason people think we are devil worshipers is that the head cook when we were here in K1, M. D., and the guy in charge, both died right after we left. They had already that we were DW's, but this confirmed it.

Team scatters for most of the day. Some go to Sori in the morning to interview and go to the market, some in the afternoon. T., M. and L. go to the big funeral in Radienya. Sofa sets have been borrowed from neighbors and set around. There was goat cooking but not yet served, they were offered a green liquor that was made from the goat's stomach enzymes, looked gross, they didn't try. W. is there, interviewing in the village when he can. Turns out W's father is a miji-kumi, which even W. didn't know: he asked a respondent who his m-k was, the respondent said "your father." I asked T. if she knew how m-ks selected, her answer was in terms of their characteristics. She has met two, W.'s father and another one, said they were both quiet, learned, speak English, and their sons very learned. She said they were elected by the community, but didn't seem like 1st hand knowledge. She also said that "for sure it's not only ten homes" that the miji-kumi covers: her village is large and has only one m-k.

QUESCOM/FIELDWORK:: Interviewer J. comes back, I go over his questionnaires with him. His

impression is that people are more reluctant to talk about FP with us than about AIDS (and this is matched by the respective size of the networks). He also said that the devil=worshipping charges have made people reluctant to name names, for fear that something will happen to the people whose names they give. , He said people are saying that the people we interviewed the first time have all died. Another respondent, however, disagreed, and said it's their own ignorance, it's not the AIDS virus in the sugar, "he was also asking for more sugar, said 'me, I can take it.'" J. said that people are lying when they say they use condoms for FP. And also lying when they say they are afraid of A"1

DS from transfusion-said "they don't get transfusions here. But injections are serious", they get them at home, just boil the needle and use it again. Re AIDS, he insists that the problem is ignorance, lack of awareness, the remoteness of Gwasssi. But when I point out that all these people he has interviewed know very well how AIDS is transmitted, he agrees. And he recalls a respondent who said he was "cornered, on this side we are infected by AIDS and on that side we are told to use family planning. It's an idea to finish the community, the Luos." "AIDS is a tribal issue". The respondent went on to ask why we were only going in this village but not that village. J. told them that when we first came some people agreed to be interviewed and some not, so we are going back "to those who welcomed us last time." J. also said he had been asked why this part of Gwasssi and not that-they are suspicious. I explain why Gwasssi (because of GTZ) and then describe the random selection of the villages.

He then reminds me of the youth organization he had been trying to set up when we were here last, for the environment, morality and something else. This is based in Nairobi, they have a constitution and they have registered. But it's been hard to find support, and to know what to do. I suggest asking the supervisors for suggestions, he raises the point that if you tell people your ideas they will steal them. I also suggest M., who is now working for an NGO and must know donor networks. I say in a roundabout way that ideas are a dime a dozen, what matters is how you implement them. But he clearly doesn't think that ideas can be shared.

We talk about AIDS, and he gets onto inheritance, "we have to get rid of old traditions". I say I think that's a serious issue, but smaller than men moving outside their marriages-and he adds "and women move." Somewhere along the line I say that you don't necessarily get infected with one exposure, something he is very surprised to hear. He's read that circumcision increases your risk, but doesn't know this. I describe the studies of couples where one is infected one not, he asks whether it is immunities, like the Nairobi prostitutes (so he knows that). He also asked me about beef, can it be infected with AIDS?

Meeting: INT-SELECTION: The supervisors want to change the aptitude test. They think some rejected interviewers from Obisa will come, and will have learned the correct answers. For the Luo passage, they don't like the one on household animals increasing/decreasing, and suggest the secret use passage. Initially I think that's fine, but then it occurs to me that a lot of the applicants will be rejected,

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

and it might not be a good idea to have them spreading the word that we are asking about secret use. T. thinks it's ok, what they will remember is that it's about FP, but G. says he thinks they will say it's about secret use, so they find another passage. They also want one translated from English to Luo, and they want small changes in the other questions. They are not, tho, giving much thought to the fundamental issue: what questions help in selecting? Maybe none specifically, perhaps it's just a filter for the really incompetent people.

Monday:

FIELDWORK: Barrack comes by to greet, says "we benefit so much when you come, the women earn a bit of money and they can buy soap, cooking fat, and the rest of it." His wife was a cook last time, not this time.

I spent the morning looking at the questionnaires that did not have labels from STATA, and thus that E. gave new numbers to. The question is why these people were not interviewed before: the cover sheets were not entered in STATA. Most are men.

Some are recent marriages—o.k.

Especially for the men, there is evidence that

M. and N. come back for lunch. M. went with F. to Komolo Otati, N. to another village to ask about rariw. M. said you can really tell that the children over there aren't as healthy as the ones over here (she had gone with G. to Nyatambe B Saturday). They are dirtier, crusty eyes, N. says there are more of them with protruding stomachs.

P. and R. said M. came to their village (they are working together). Again said how could anyone say such things about him, he took the questionnaire, his sons did, etc etc. I asked R. if she believed him, she said no.

Both P. and T. agree that there are not so many kangas around this time.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

Meeting:

INT-SELECTION: We talked about plans for Kawadghone. Someone has to go with me, N. and M. to run the aptitude test Thursday, and no one wanted to go, tho P. said "persuade me". The others thought F. should go too, because "those people in Kawadghone are difficult." G. said the chief already wrote letters just to a favored few to tell them about the jobs; G. said he put up the posters with strong glue so no one can tear them down.

Tuesday: 15 Feb

L.'s connections with the Italian priests (by virtue of being Catholic and Italian) very useful. Today she went to the hospital in Karungo run by St. Camillus. The priest there is, she said, very different from F. J.—a medical doctor, pretty much confines himself to his hospital rather than going out and wandering around, as F. J. does. She came back with a report of their blood bank for 1999. It's Table 5 & 6 of their Blood Bank Report 1999. Table 5 shows the amount of blood collected, transfused and wasted; table 6 shows total number of HIV, HBS, Ag tests on blood donors, and the number and percent positive for each test. In the year, they did 1054 HIV tests, of which 361, were HIV positive. On a monthly basis, there's a lot of variation the highest month has 54.5%, the lowest 20.2%. The blood comes from both men and women, and they first screen out the people who look obviously unhealthy. As L. tells it, he just goes into the waiting room and says you and you, we want you to give blood. L. said there wasn't an obvious class dimension to those in the waiting room—they didn't look as grubby as people in their everyday clothes, but presumably they would dress up a little to go to the hospital.

The pastor asked for my book on cultural studies, which I'm leaving for him. He also asked if he could do a correspondence course with me, I could just send books. I explained my university didn't do this, and also that things sent through the Kenyan mails get stolen, which he hasn't experienced (maybe because he only sends letters from one part of Kenya to another). I said I would see if E. is coming here and could bring him books.

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

F. comes back with two goats. I had thought they might not get organized enough to have a party, which would have suited me fine—they aren't v. interesting, the goat is cold, and I've had diarrhea anyway. Some of the interviewers are here, but as usual the team members have disappeared. Sleazy H. is here, I tell him to stay away from our goat, he's angry and says he will bring a goat tomorrow (after we leave). F. reprimands me because the SDAs "have been so nice

to let us stay here."

Wednesday: Feb 16

Despite the inauspicious beginning, good party. C. brought a boombox with wazungu music, but the SDAs objected. Maybe a good thing, as we had to think of other things to do. A round of speeches starting with me, F., G., and then the interviewers, with P. and T. raucously calling "let's hear from a Woman!" "No more men until there's a woman speaking". After a number of these, B. Y. started some singing, so they sang traditional Luo songs. Eventually I went to bed, the others lasted until around 1 (and B. Y. did an interview at 6 a.m.).

F. has badly underestimated the amount of money we need in Gwasssi (despite having gone over this with E. before I went to Kisumu to get M., when I was asked to get \$250. So H. will come to Homa Bay to get the money, to be sent by E.. F. cleverly told the whole SDA committee how much he was sending so there's no chance that H. can spirit some of it away.

Getting going takes a lot of time. The team decided that S. and J. would take the interviewers out without them, and then J. would come back to take R., T. and G. to the field, and S. would take us to Homa Bay. S.'s village is far, and he doesn't get back until after 10, and then it is a while to pack up the vehicle. We leave round noon, but about 2 minutes from the SDA compound there is car trouble—the accelerator cable. S. is able to cobble something together until we get to Sori, where it is fixed while M., N. and I have a soda and bread&peanut butter.

We get to HB and the Hippo Buck shortly after 3. F. goes to town to get the aptitude test copied; the rest of us have showers. The water is not hot, as advertised, but even the room temperature water feels terrific.

The rooms at the Hippo Buck are quite nice. The walls are clean, curtains have just been washed (so not up yet, but they do that right away). The conference room will make a good workspace—there are tables all around the room—tho the view is not as nice as that of the Tourist Hotel. I have a decent meal

*Notes by Susan Watkins*



for the first time since Gwasssi (and any meal at all for the first time in two days, other than Maggi minestrone). I go to sleep by 9:30. Up at 6 and go to the kitchen: F. has asked for breakfast early so we can leave at 7, and much to my surprise it's ready. When I ask for tea they put water in a microwave. And delicious light fluffy scrambled eggs and toast, juice, pineapple and papaya. The housekeeper isn't up to it, though. F. is attractive and attractively dressed, and did remember that we were coming—although had only just (she said) sent someone to fix the lock on the door. When we arrived I asked her whether there was hot water, she said of course, I went to take a shower and found that there wasn't—at which point she explained that there wasn't water in my room but in others. When we returned from interviewer selection I asked for my key, she said it was in the door for the cleaning people. It wasn't. It was in the key cubbies. I asked for toilet paper (the room had been made up, but no tp), she delivered it while I was in the shower. When I got out I found there was no towel either, went dripping to reception where she was just sitting, and she explained they had washed the towels.

INT-SELECTION: We arrive at the Chief's Camp and Kawadghone to see many interviewers—eventually there are 105—again, almost all young (one man looks to be in his 40s and doesn't pass the test). P. goes to greet them, shaking hands and saying hello to the old interviewers. We let people who come before the first test-taker is finished take it, but those who come later (after about 8:45) are turned away—one or two of them without problem, two of them very persistent. When I told one of them, who turned out to be the most persistent, that it was too late, he said “But then how will you help me”—another sign that interviewers (and their patrons) look at our project as “help” to them, not as a project that has its own agenda.

The chief is a problem. He is no longer a sub-chief, because Kawadghone has become a location rather than a sublocation, but he has been there since our first time—he was present when we selected the villages for Kenya 1. He's 55, and about to retire. He politics with F. for a bit, and then F. calls me in. As usual, it's an attempt to influence the selection committee on behalf of the “community”. He wants at least 3/4 of the interviewers to be “insiders”, not “from outside”, and wants us to hire the orphans whose chances are blocked because they don't have school fees. He also insists that we don't hire teachers or others who have a job, and wants to see our list before we announce it so that he can pick those out. Just as F. already had, I go through the “transparency” routine, saying we take the top 30. He wants us to take those who pass the test—a sop to merit—but then select from within those according to his categories. He is very persistent in trying to shape the selection, and I think also putting himself in a position so that interviewers who are selected will show him gratitude. It is very difficult to out-manuever him, but F. does very well. Before handing out the aptitude test, F. explains to all that we will select the top 30, that it is all “transparent”. We separate the test takers so they can't talk with each other, and S., N., M., P., F. and I walk constantly around. The chief finally gets bored and retreats to his office, along with what I assume is his assistant. He comes out again, however, as we start to grade. The team goes to the vehicle to grade—M. and N. behind the vehicle, and F. and P. in it reading the Luo to English and English to Luo translations. I collect them as they are finished and sort them. I start doing this behind the vehicle, but the chief comes out to join me so I pick up the tests and

walk with him to a more public spot in front of the vehicle and wait for him to leave. Then I sort quite publicly in piles of high/hopeless, so that everyone can see that the chief is not involved at this point. Even so, he comes out and stands there while we announce the names of the ones we are taking. We have no problem with specific people from him: he had asked to see the aptitude test, which F. described to him as “very easy”, and I think it wasn’t so easy for him. But he did want to see where people were from, and F. let him ask the group—raise your hand if you’re from Kawadghone, etc. I suppose that wasn’t bad, maybe even good—it was evident that he didn’t know how many were from Kawadghone, a sign that he had nothing to do with the selection. We then address the group, and then F. tells them to come tomorrow for training to start. They will start just the two of them, and on Saturday the others will be there.

We go slightly lower for women, and get 11 women and 19 men, a better ratio than we had in Gwasssi. One question on the aptitude test is whether they have had a job before, and if so what. Only 4 of the 11 women have had some sort of job, 2 for the Census, one market research, one for a project w/AMREF. Only 2 of the men have had NO job, and many have worked in research of some sort: for us, quite a few for the Census, for AMREF, several for an AIDS awareness project, a forestry project. I think this is evidence of gender discrimination that almost all the men have had jobs, though it’s also possible that other selection procedures don’t give women the special breaks that we do. (Tho it’s not all that much—the lowest male score was 15, the lowest female was 12 (plus one 11, someone P. that would be good) ). I would guess that Kawadghone is a relatively desirable site for others as well as for us, as the team can sleep in Homa Bay.

At lunch N. points out some inefficiencies in the field that I hadn’t thought of—e.g. in Gwasssi there was a big funeral in T.’s village, but she went anyway, rather than taking her team to another site. And although we suggested that they finish up some villages and then throw all the teams into the remaining ones, they didn’t pick up on that, so after we left for Kawadghone they will have to distribute interviewers across many villages with only one vehicle. M. commented that it was her impression that if an interviewer was from the village, they were much readier to hop up and look for someone to interview than if they weren’t—perhaps the interviewers feel surer of a welcome reception in their own village, and don’t experience any twinge of reluctance to go out, another advantage of local interviewers.

I am still convinced that local interviewers are a good idea. Certainly the supervisors find an advantage to hiring people who know their way around—in Gwasssi, one interviewer, T., was not very good, but F. wanted to keep him because he knew everyone in the village, even tho it’s more work for F. to check his questionnaires, send him for callbacks, etc. We have a relatively short training (E. said they are training for two weeks for their urban project), and it takes a few days in the field for the interviewers to really feel comfortable, as evidenced by the lack of erasures on the questionnaire, and the decrease in inconsistencies. But that may also be true in any survey project, that there are fewer unexpected answers in the training sessions than there are in the field. Some unexpected answers are simply quite

rare—for example, toward the end of the Gwasssi interviews we had a network partner who was dead: we had no code for “dead” for where lives, marital status, etc. Longer training probably makes our logic—the logic of those who designed the questionnaire—clearer, but probably at the cost of missing glimpses into alternative logics. I also think there are surely some advantages to better educated interviewers. They undoubtedly catch on quicker to our logic, and I imagine their marginal notes would be more literate, and, again, they would understand inconsistencies better. And the very enthusiasm of the local interviewers probably leads them into trouble the graduates wouldn’t get into—e.g. J. explaining that we were coming back to respondents who had welcomed us when we were there before. But the disadvantages to imported graduates seem to me to be substantial. I would think it is very difficult to maintain enthusiasm for interviewing, especially in arduous sites like Gwasssi—our supervisors are doing very well, but I suspect that, as P. said, they miss their comforts. Our supervisors also have the advantage of feeling like a team, having been together on this project over many years. Although graduates may recognize inconsistencies more rapidly than the local interviewers (who rarely seem to recognize them, as far as I can tell), with experience, they no doubt figure an inconsistency here and there doesn’t matter: especially if they think of the rural people as rather dumb anyway. And I’m sure graduates wouldn’t take as easily to close supervision as the Form 4’s; they would probably feel that they could take more authority.

Re interaction of outsiders and insiders, e.g. urban educated interviewers and rural folk, I think it’s easy to underestimate the gulf between the urban graduate and the rural people. On the one hand, our urban graduate supervisors often expressed deep empathy with the poverty of the rural people, and the nearly insuperable obstacles they faced in bettering their situation, or even surviving from year to year. This view coexisted with another view of the rural folk as ignorant, nearly uncivilized, and deceptive. Over and over again the educated urban people deprecate the rural: e.g. the Malawian Prof. in the US who said that rural Malawians didn’t understand AIDS, they thought it was witchcraft, they needed to be made “aware”; e.g. P. talking about “those rural characters”, e.g. urban Luos giggling about *rariw*. Even some of our Form 4’s, many of whom have spent time in the cities, speak that way of the less-educated. But I suspect that the local interviewers can establish better rapport with the respondents than can urban graduates—it may be that the locals get even better reports of extramarital affairs. And at least the face of the project is familiar, and the respondent will know that the interviewer himself or herself doesn’t have a direct route to any resources the project might have, as they are only local Form 4s, whereas they may imagine that urban graduates are in a position to steer some benefits their way.

Re interaction of project and respondents: Our view—certainly it was mine when I began this project—is that we are, as much as possible, replicating laboratory conditions, the sort of positivist sterility of the natural sciences applied to survey research. We do our experiments—the questionnaire—over and over, and from this get a central tendency and variation. Survey researchers are by no means naive: they know that people forget, that on sensitive questions they may not tell the truth, that they can be inconsistent in their answers—although I think that demographers in charge of research projects, at least in the areas with which I am familiar—are not well acquainted with the large literature on problems with

### *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

survey research. In any case, demographers tend to feel that their projects are in some sense humanitarian, or at any rate science put to humanitarian purposes (lowering infant mortality, lowering population growth rates) and I think we try to overlook the problems with survey research until they sit up and bite us. More importantly, I don't think we appreciate as much as we should how we appear to the respondents. The anthropologists have paid more attention to this, but demographers and other survey researchers have paid less. Yet how we appear to them surely influences their responses (and thus, "the quality of the data". By quality of the data, we typically mean things like age reporting/misreporting. But I think that we assume that the respondents are willing to join us for an hour or so in a collaborative project—at least to the best of their abilities (e.g. they may not actually know their ages, but they will join with us in trying to figure it out). I also think we mean that the logic the respondents are using is close to our logic when we made up the questionnaire. Neither—the collaborative project nor the shared logic—is the case here. Rural Kenya is no doubt an extreme: respondents in the US may be more willing to go along with our goals, or at least have a respect for "science", but I should think even in the US there are many who resist collaborating with survey researchers (altho they are more likely to just refuse than they are here), and who have different logics.

GUIDES: It is abundantly clear that our project is not as collaborative as we might wish, all the way from the chiefs at the top to the respondents. Start with the chiefs. We expect the chiefs to assist us, or at the least stay out of our way. I think we don't ponder much what they think of us, and why they should collaborate—perhaps because we are better educated, wealthier, foreigners, urban, have authority, our motives are good, we are doing science. Yet the chiefs undoubtedly see us as outsiders. In the case of white members of the team, they see us (as do others), as routes to barely imaginable opportunities—to bring a hospital to the area, to get a child into a US university, etc., as well as to items that appear to us smaller (e.g. one of the chiefs in our areas desperately wanted school fees for his three sons, another badgered us for transport money so he could go to a funeral). Behind this is, as Stoller has pointed out, a history of interactions between black Africans and white foreigners.

The first attribute was that Europeans conquer, and that Europeans had superior status in the dyadic relationship. Europeans also produced a new elite educated in Fr language and culture. (94). The attributes of the European (*Anasara*) have survived in independence. "There remains today a stereotypic *Ansara*. In times of scarcity, drought, and famine it is the *Anasara* who provides life-saving grain, a fact that reinforces the ongoing image of *Anasara* power and wealth. Despite an independent government in Niger, there are many teams of *Anasara* experts--technicians, agricultural and livestock scientists--who work on 'development projects.' Like the *Anasara* of the colonial period, these people live in fine houses, own cars, and hire servants." (95)

The expectations are less for the urban graduates on our team, but they also might have connections that could be useful.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

The chiefs, on the other hand, make their motives for collaboration quite clear. Chiefs got where they are by being patrons to those below them and clients to those above, and their continuation in their position depends on the continuation of these interactions. Kenya, like much of sub-Saharan Africa, is an overlay of western principles of governance on a longstanding patron-client system. Chiefs bring benefits to their people and, within “their people”, to some more than others—some they wish to reward, others they wish to punish. (Whisson and Lonsdale e.g.)

More specifically, chiefs assume that ours is a government project, and as government officials they have to collaborate—or at least, not be sufficiently obstructive that a complaint will go up the chain to their patrons. This is not so different from our own assumption that we have authority to work in the chief’s area—they also assume that we have at least some, although I suspect they are somewhat more sophisticated about the limits of our authority and abilities than are at least some of our respondents.

It is their position as patrons to those in their community, however, that the chiefs is more evident from their interactions with us. Thus, the chiefs want benefits from our research to go to the community. By “community” they sometimes appear to mean all the people in their area, their legitimate concern; at other times, however, they slip, and make it clear that some people are more important than others.

In our case the benefits they see are not “increased knowledge” or “more awareness”, but are much more tangible. The chiefs sometimes describe us as “bringing development to the community”, which can mean anything from a new hospital or an irrigation system to school fees for their own children. Some of them appear to be at least in part universalistic in terms of their areas: they want us to work in all the clans in their area, not just some. Usually we can offer an apparently satisfactory reason for not doing so—at least they drop that line of argument. Most of them are quick to realize that the most we are bringing is temporary jobs for some of the young men and women in the area. It is not surprising that in their role as patrons rather than as (ideally speaking) government bureaucrats, they would attempt to influence the selection process. They are concerned that they be understood to be influencing the selection process in favor of their clients (as well as their own family members). They did this by giving us lists of people that we should hire and, I assume, telling these people that they were working on their behalf. They also made efforts to be visibly influencing the process by being there when the selection was taking place, by shaking the hands of some interviewers but not others, by chatting with us.

The direction of their attempts to influence the selection process demonstrate a range of motives from

relatively universalistic to intensely personal. They did not want us to hire those who had another job. Jobs are scarce, and it was considered unfair for an individual to “double dip.” This view was shared by our supervisors as well—there are so many bright people eager for jobs that the jobs should be spread, not concentrated. The chiefs all wanted interviewers are selected from inside the area (their location if they are a chief, their sublocation if they are an assistant chief). News that we are hiring typically traveled fast, and there were often many “outsider” applicants: we faced intense pressure not to hire them. Since it was also very much in our interest to have a substantial proportion of the interviewers from the area where we were working, we rarely had a major conflict over this—although we took more outsiders than the chiefs were happy with. Among the insiders, they wanted us to hire from all the clans in the area, and in a manner somewhat proportionate to their size and importance. And within that, they had some individuals they thought were more appropriate hires than others. In Kawadghone in 2000, for example, it was AIDS orphans whose education was being blocked for lack of fees—although I suspected that the special pleading for orphans might have masked an interest in particular orphans that the chief or his assistant were personally responsible for, as they were quite insistent on this point. In other cases the special pleading was more overt, such as the chief who pressured us to hire his youngest wife, else he would “not be able to have breakfast in her house” (i.e. spend the night before breakfast there). On this aspect, we did not compromise. I think the supervisors might have compromised more with the chief had I not been present—they found some of the requests more reasonable, more legitimate than I did, and I think it would have been more difficult to oppose the more insistent chiefs had they not been able to explain that they were subject to the authority of a *wazungu* with weird views. Instead, I—and then they—used the word “transparency” a lot, a term that in Kenya is associated with the west (which is considered transparent while Kenyans are not), and with multi-party elections (which seemed to be fairly popular). Some of the chiefs were sufficiently familiar with the weird views of foreigners to try to explain to me that things were different in Africa; others agreed that we could not hire people who could not pass our test, but that within those who pass we should select according to their advice, which they said would help us in gaining the confidence of the community. Perhaps they were right: in Mfangano they were certainly right, although in other places such as Gwasssi there were other sorts of objections to us—that we were devil-worshippers, that we wanted to force the women to use family planning, and I do not believe that the chief had anything like the authority to overcome those worries.

On the other hand, our selection process influenced by what even some of our supervisors considered my paroc.I concern that we hire women, or what they call “gender sensitivity”.

Friday Feb 18: At dinner last night we (M., F., me) were first joined by G., from the Population Council, and then by E. and P., returning from Kisumu. An interesting conversation with C., a Kenyan who works for the pop council. We were talking about interviewers, he thought they had to be graduates because “graduates are more educated.” [I think Form 4's with very good supervision are as good or better, tho if you don't think you'd have good supervision, maybe better to go with the graduates]. He's in Homa Bay for an AIDS intervention re mother-child transmission, which includes

AZT for the mothers, voluntary counseling and testing services. He's now training nurses. I said my experience with the MOH here was that it wasn't easy, that what they wanted was different from what we wanted. He became more relaxed and said that there was a big hassle because the nurses wanted extra pay, v. insistent, not at all happy when he said that they couldn't pay government personnel. They could give them a bit in transportation, but it had to be reasonable. They also fussed about lunch expenses—he arranged with the hotel to give them lunch, for which KS150 would be deducted from their per diem, they fussed because last time only 110KS had been deducted. Most interestingly, he said he told them the project would supply gloves, drugs, equipment that would make it easier/possible for them to do their jobs, and talked at length about the importance of interrupting mother-child transmission in lowering AIDS deaths. When he was finished, a man in the audience said “But at the end of the day, when I go home and my wife says there's no flour for *ugali*, how will this project help me?”. C. says the face of the project in HB is Kenyan, not white—only the MOH from HB met N. in Nairobi.

F. then told a story about his project in Nakuru (I think on adolescents). The nurses wanted the project, and volunteered. But after a week they went on strike for pay. F. managed to get them back to work for a week, but then they went on strike again.

FIELDWORK: I asked whether the DHS forces consistency. The answer was that it doesn't, tho E. thot that was because supervision isn't good enough to catch it. So because of the data entry program, some responses are marked “inconsistent.” (This is o.k., but it means they don't explore the inconsistencies to try to understand why).

GENDER: I tell them that of our 11 female interviewers only 4 had jobs, of the 19 males only 2 did not have jobs. Their first explanation was that it was not discrimination, but because of the late hours, women can't do that. F. talked about an interviewer he had who worked five days, then her husband came to get her because no one was making his food.

Language: E. said in the urban project the questionnaires are only in Kiswahili, except for one area which has a lot of Kikuyus who don't speak Kiswahili. E. asks P., who worked as a focus group moderator in Luo area, whether the women could speak Kiswahili, she said some of them don't and a lot weren't good in it. I asked E. how they missed this. He said that their moderators and facilitators told them that all urban people speak Kiswahili. This, however, turns out to have been said before they did the focus groups, and subsequently the moderators/facilitators mentioned only the Kikuyus, not the Luos, as not being comfortable in Kiswahili.

E. and I work on the PAA paper. Around 1 the rest of the team arrives from Gwasssi, delighted to be

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

here. E. said the food was even worse after we left—breakfast of groundnuts, not even rice and when they did have it T. said it was badly cooked. They finished, although E. said she suspects the efforts to find the last couples were not as intense as they have been. After the vehicle is unloaded, the Kenyans take off for town, E., L. (and T.) shower and nap.

F. and P. return from training. Interviewers seem very good, he is wondering who they can dismiss to get down from 30 to 25. One woman sneaked in, came to training even tho wasn't selected: the chief ratted on her, and F. told her not to come back. Also some grumbling about the university guy that I want to hire, so he won't go for training any more but will just come here to HB to discuss with me.

February 19, Saturday

G. NyA.h, Kanyango

G. came to interview for interviewers after the selection was finished. He turned out to be a graduate of Moi in Sociology, so I thought he might be useful. He went to the first day of training, tho there was objection because he hadn't taken the test.

I asked him a bit about his background. Good 2ndary school in Kericho, then Moi University, sociology. In Kericho lived with dad, a clerk, now retired, mother there on and off when children young.

I asked him why he liked sociology, he went on in fairly vague terms, but throwing in enough buzzwords—e.g. halo effect—to demonstrate that he actually had read/learned some stuff.

I asked him how he would use sociology to understand the state of Kenya today, and he moved quickly to patron-client system. Said “people are v. politicized, they always watching for resources, If some resources come, the news spreads very fast. “ I asked him what explains what the chief was doing. He said the chief needs some “small support” from the people, wants to bring resources to them; jobs particularly important. He says “they wouldn't perhaps mind people from other nearby areas but not other district. If he keeps out foreigners people feel he is doing good work.”

*Notes by Susan Watkins*



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

I asked about reactions in the village to our project. “They don’t have anything to complain about the research itself. What brought the problem is the hiring process, people who came and sat and failed, they see it as people from the outside have taken the opportunity. Unfortunately only a few of the locals were taken.” They understand the others failed the test, but apparently there are others they think came later, they don’t think the test was fair because maybe some people took it before.”

He has reservations about using locals as interviewers: in a village everyone is an uncle etc. “You walk into the village, a lady you don’t know will call you my son. Personally, I would find it a bit difficult. I would advocate the use of total strangers, because people find it easier to talk to stranger about difficult things. Altho there are small personal feuds.” Difficult to ask someone I would call my father if used condoms. He would use trained researchers from somewhere else, wouldn’t be politics as well. Thinks form 4’s o.k but would need a lot of training. But if have graduates maybe need less training. But basically no big difference tho graduates would cost more but would work better.

Wanted to tell me his theory about how AIDS could be controlled, which had to do with reducing the stigma of being tested. “If you have lady, trust her maybe because you are saved, she is saved.” But even so you can both go for testing, it wouldn’t show a lack of trust.

Whereas now there is a believe that “only someone who was walking badly would get tested in order to protect children”

We then talked about strategies that people use to avoid AIDS. He then presented his alternative:

“Luos are romantic, they enjoy life, they are not like the Kikuyus who are interested in investment. We get a little money and we invest in immediate pleasures, build a good home, furnish your house, buy a good car even if you may be struggling to get food.” That’s compromised your ability. Says goes back to the old days, when people didn’t farm, as long as they raised enough to eat they wre happy, they only complained if there was not enough rain so the crop didn’t suffice for the whole year.

I asked how people tell if someone not infected, somehow we got to the fact that husbands suspect their wives of moving if the husband knows that in some way he can’t satisfy the wife sexually.

He’s going to try some ethnographic interviewing about strategies. Won’t present himself as working for us, just chatting and drinking beer. Later when we have the list for Kanyango, we’ll see if he can go to some of those specific people. Wanted a book to read, I gave him E.’s copy of Rubin and Rubin.

Feb 19, Sunday. Lazy day. The team went last night to Kissii, dancing, and it ended in a small fight.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

There were some young men who had been drinking who kept bothering them. Eventually they left D. with the ladies, and took on the men. G. even chased some of them out of the bar and fought with them—his t-shirt was completely ruined. So they left at 3, rather than at 5 as they had planned (E. was delighted). R. said that even though it was quite a fracas, most of the people just kept on dancing.

Feb 20:

G. NyA.h comes to tell me about the people he talked with in his village, Kanyongo (and around). He has an urban/educated approach: he wants to summarize how “they behave”, not enough actual stories. Although he’s not supposed to let it out that he is working for us, his brother—one of his “informants” below—knows, another brother is actually an interviewer. I suspect people knew he had been hired]. The most interesting things in what follows are: 1) there’s no talk at all about injections and transfusions: AIDS comes from sex outside. 2) The one man who proffered as a strategy “keeping your wife attractive with lotions and cosmetics” 3) G.’s own fascination with inheritance and other Luo customs. Perhaps this latter is a disease of the urban who feel torn between their own culture and modern ways. 4) There’s a lot of conflicting advice about the age at which women are safe: some insist under 20 it’s o.k., others—and sometimes the same people—also say that the young women are infected before they finish school because of the teachers and the older men who seek them out 4) also conflict about whether marriage is safe: in practically the same breath they say that if you want to stay safe you should get married, and that married women move around a lot.

M. O., single, 27,, Bicycle taxi-man, a friend, G. rented his bicycle to take him home. “He’s a friend of mine, he started telling me about a friend who went to Nairobi and missed me.” . Then G. asked him about the village. M. is looking for a job, was very disappointed he couldn’t get a job with us because he couldn’t pass the test, he had come here from Kisumu for the work, and is planning to go back to Kisumu to look for another job. “Eventually I zeroed in on the romantic scene in the village. I asked him what somebody can do if they are looking for a girl. He reminded me of another lady called E.—E. was another friend’s girlfriend and M. thought E. was also G.’s girlfriend. The guy went to Nairobi. He had said he thought C. was also moving with her, concluded that he was “washing her”, that “we were washing her” together,” but he told M. that he had no problem with that, it’s not a big deal. (G: At the village level, anyone who comes from Karachuonyo you can’t marry her, but if she’s not in the same clan can just have sex, just like that, because you can’t marry, for marriage have to go outside the major clan). G. said no, he was just buddies with the girl. G. asked about the village, how are things, M. said “it’s a bit bad ( *piny rach*,, then M. started mentioning AIDS, saying it’s dangerous out there. I talked to him about it, I asked what now somebody can do. He says you can use a condom, but he said he didn’t like it so much, he had tried it.” “He said I can look for a lady who doesn’t move too badly, you know a little of her background, and if you don’t know you can talk to people around here and they will tell you about her, and you can ‘skin dive’. He says sex is like food, you can’t abstain, it’s like food, it’s a basic need, you cannot do without it.” M. sees very few changes in the sexual activity of the

village. "He said people say 'AIDS is there, it's going to maybe kill us, it has already come and if it finds you well and good.' I asked about what you do if you want to get married--since he had said if you can't control yourself you get married,-- what precautions do you take? He said going for a test is completely out of the question, it's a joke, like when women joke."

O., about 37 years, married with 4 kids, small time tailor, only once in a while does he get some work to do. He had gone to Nairobi to try to get a job but couldn't so he's back. Knew him before, kinsman from around the village. "After going home I passed by a small kiosk in Kandiege that my relative has, I greeted him and took a cup of porridge with him. We started talking about the basic things of the village. I eventually asked him about AIDS. He said earlier 'you turn right and turn left it's family planning, now you turn right and left it's AIDS.' He believes that the government and the white man are not very serious about finding a cure for AIDS. He doesn't believe that men who can make an airplane and fly can't find a cure for AIDS. He did say it was dangerous out there, we have to find a way to preserve ourselves. But he said it is the nature of man and the attractiveness of women that sometimes you are overcome by your body and you can't do anything about it." He won't use condoms. "He poured some water in a condom and smelled it, it smelled terrible, from that time on it's something he can't touch, can't use, it has toxic chemicals." "He said as far as possible he sticks to his wife, that one I believed." Re returned to the point that one can be overcome by one's body: "He says there are some people who are born that way, they have something controlling them, like ladies, when they want a man so badly you can't stop them, the woman is spirit possessed, those ones there is nothing you can do about it." (I asked whether he meant men too, he said yes, but perhaps it was really ladies he was talking about.) "He says maybe because you lack a bit of something your wife can be easily compromised for a little bit in her pocket, that is how AIDS can sneak into your marriage." He's completely traditional, bound by the customs. C. explains (I think, however, that this was part of the conversation with M.): so almost everything you want to do, you have to have sex, if wife isn't there you have to go out and look for it. For example when you want to start digging the shamba. So before you plough they must have sex, then you can plough, then goes to the next eldest son, follows like that. So if they don't do it you cannot maybe plough, and if you do plough you'll have *chira*. *Chira* can come in many ways, even your children, grandchildren, you can't escape from that). He said customs established by the Luos and there is nothing that can be done about it. Sas the only way out of it might be prayer if you are a Christian. M. goes to church, but he remains very bound to the customs. (Part of bible about giving unto Caesar; Paul who says come the way you are). Also, if husband dies wife has to be inherited; for the man, it's compulsory to have sex after the wife dies, you have to "throw it out there" so it doesn't affect you. If you can find it in the village o.k., but might have to go to a bar. M. says "in the town you might meet a lady who agrees to have sex with you, but you don't know, maybe she is a lady who refused to be inherited. Women sometimes escape from the inheritance. If you have sex with such a woman you will have *chira*, and he connects this *chira* very much with the spread of AIDS." "He says the condom rarely works unless maybe you use two of them at a time to be sure." M. married in 1990. He said "there is a temptation to go out always, and other women will always attract you, but he says as much as possible or as resources will allow he will try to keep his wife attractive, somebody may look bad now but with better living, oil, cosmetics your wife can keep attractive, and you have to

keep talking to your wife to see how you can keep together.” I asked what “as much as possible means”, G. said “if resources allow, if I have the means.”

2) Another guy came up asked him for money to buy beer, “we go there, we sit, we start drinking a little. But when I was just zeroing in they were too talkative, wanted to impress me with the much they knew, (“because I was buying of course”) when I was almost succeeding some other people came in.” The talk was a mixture of issues, including about this research, “I tried to make them understand the purpose of this issue.” . I asked G. what they said. “The major issue is about 7 guys from Homa Bay district, they don’t see why they can come and work and grab something meant for them, they see it as something we brought to help these people, children, orphans, they say there are enough form fours here who don’t have a job, can’t see how people from KoC. can come and work here. They said nobody from our place went to Gwasssi to work for them, why should people from there come and take the little that there is here. I tried to explain, I told them there is a quarry, rock mining, I said for example if you are the owner of the mine and you are looking for *fundi* who can mine the rocks, the *fundi* who is the most skilled who can mine it, and someone else who can clear the soil, if you are looking for *fundi* and 50 *fundi* coming, you have to put them practically [i.e. test them], some people can do 100 feet a day. If you are the owner of the business it wouldn’t matter if he comes from outside.” They understood it but still harped on it.

3)Interview with G.’s elder brother. “From there I went to my brother, who is fairly well educated, a form six, and lost his job in a bank so came back to the village, stays there, knows much about the village, he’s a shop keeper. He presented me with a detailed analysis of the AIDS problem. This is a more informed analysis. He tells me very little change has taken place, people still believe life is short and brutish, it depends on God. If God wants to take your life today he will take it, nothing you can do it. He sees sex like recreation in the village, it’s not what it is to many people like an expression of love, it’s recreation, remains that. Says people live a purposeless life. If you’re looking forward to something, something coming, maybe like an exam you’re studying for, there’s something to look forward to, but in the village there is no hope, so it is extremely difficult to take precautions, they just go and have sex for immediate gratification. He says women have yet to internalize the issue of AIDS, they know it’s there, but he sees they don’t bargain for condoms, it’s almost a man’s prerogative not to use condoms. For some of them you try to use a condom but they don’t trust you and they can as well call it off. (Didn’t get particulars). He says the institution of marriage is now dangerous, it’s more dangerous to get married than to stay single. If you’re single you take your own risks.” G. starts talking about Karachuonyo, large area, there are people who came to that far end of Karachuonyo to settle, they have big communities, you cannot marry in the whole place. When you want to marry you rarely get to marry a woman you have known. In most marriages you go and visit your aunt, and there are often a flock of potential suitors for you to talk to, wanting to marry you, but you don’t know these women, they might have been prostitutes in their villages, and they might continue. He says there is a lot of prostitution among married women.” I asked how the brother knows this. “He knows that when a young man comes and buys some lotion it’s for some married woman. Compared to urban areas

prostitution is so cheap in the village. For many of them, the husbands are away, the husbands are struggling in Nairobi, the little they send is not enough, sometimes for six months they don't send anything, the women are hard up. He said if you wanted a lady around here it's easier to get a married woman. He said the lakeside, trading of fish, that's the worst. The supply of fish is rarely enough. Sometimes can get more fish in Nairobi than here, because the middle-men take it. So for the traders, especially the ones who trade in the small fish, there is not enough, so they get fish for sexual favors." I asked if they are married women. "These are married women too, most of the trading women are married women. He sees sex as the only recreation for the fisherman. I asked him about wife inheritance. He said it's something people don't like, it's shunned, but they do it all the same, they do it in secret, not really secret in a village but they don't want it to be known, they are slightly embarrassed about it. They do it because there's a demand for ritual sex, for example if the husband dies, there are so many things she cannot do before she gets somebody to engage in ritual sex for her. There was a time when a grandfather died, he had several sons, some of whom well educated, jobs in the city, he had two wives. The two wives completely refused to be inherited, they were in their 60s At first one of the sons wanted to build a house for the mother, "changing the house", this cannot be done unless they find someone to inherit the two women. So it was difficult, the sons themselves had to look for someone to come and sleep with their mothers. He told me about the existence of professional inheritors, some are a bit odd (G. lifted one shoulder, bent his head), they can't get wives of their own. . So an inherited wife is easy sex, you can't get it from a respectable woman. Maybe she needs the sex for planting, to build a house, the first crop of the green maize that has to be eaten, you have to have this ritual sex. He thinks in this AIDS is just an after thought. They sometimes have to bribe the inheritors. He emphasized this the pressure of the customs. He himself married about 32 under extreme pressure, married a woman who just came to the village, befriended his mother, she boiled water ( etc), impressed the parents, they said you must marry this lady, she became friends with my sister. His brothers who followed had to get married. He said there wasn't anything he could do, even if you don't believe in the traditions the family does, the younger brothers can't get married except if they keep the wife in Nairobi, but she can't come to the village. She died of TB, she had gone away because the marriage shaky, came back to die and be buried." I asked if his brother wasn't worried about the wife having AIDS, he said no, it was TB. I said TB is a major sign of AIDS, G. looked like this was news to him, but clearly didn't want to think that his brother might have been infected. "He married for the second time just like that, out of his own will. He didn't know anything about her, she just came to visit, she has a kid." "He said people are Christians but they stick to their traditions. For him, he says for the sake of AIDS, preventing it, you'd rather marry a prostitute who regularly uses a condom rather than an innocent girl from the village because they are more at risk. He says schoolgirls are the most vulnerable, schoolboys also, because the older men go for them. (He clearly meant school girls, not boys)."

G. said one of his respondents said "you go to girls of the age of 12-15, they are always fresh , you can go without a condom, but over 20 they have walked around too much. But he said that any girl who shows sign of maturity is meat for teachers, teachers are the first to notice and do something about it."

Back to his brother, I think, altho this may be some mixture of the brother and G.'s own opinion: "In the village this is aggravated by poverty and by customs. Girls (I think he means boys) have to sleep in the *simba*, so parents don't have control of them so they fall prey to peer pressure. They have some freedom, and at that age they have heard about AIDS but don't have the intellect to digest it. It's not enough to just tell people about transmission, needs a bit of digestion, so they are not yet understanding. By the time they go to secondary, they already have it, by the time they start thinking about preventing themselves they already have it. It's not from their friends but from older men. It's hard to get young girls if you're a young man, the older guys have more money. Poverty forces the girls to slip outside their parents control. Children are exposed more in the village than in the towns, since in towns more likely to sleep with their parents (i.e. at home), but in the village there are so many places you can meet, the *simbas*, the bushes, the boys' houses act almost like brothels, that is the main thing that goes on there." He consults his notes again. "He (brother) says in the village the big issue is food, daily survival. AIDS is there but it's not a big deal. In towns it's a big deal because food is there. People talk about it once in a while, but it's just like "comic relief". He says there are various categories of people who know about AIDS. A very small fraction knows it really exists, and are ready to defy the customs to protect themselves against AIDS. Then there are those for whom AIDS and *chira* are very intertwined, they talk about someone breaking a taboo and then getting AIDS. And there are those who believe AIDS is *chira* and you cannot convince them otherwise. And he says various factors that have led to AIDS. The professional inheritors. People know it's there but they find excuses. They don't want to see themselves at risk, they see it as the other person's disease, when it gets into the family the close family hides it. Because of lack of medical care (he actually said Medicare) we rarely see the throes of AIDS because of lack of Medicare. So it comes and kills off its victims quickly, but maybe if we had care people would have a chance to see the disease at work, how it progresses. It makes short of its victims. He also pointed out professional inheritors are people who have lost hope, so if there's a ritual they have to do, someone who wants to build, the son wants to build, they go there, the woman may be very sick, on her deathbed, but the old men may come up and say she hasn't been inherited, what do we do, so there are professional inheritors who will be paid a token and come and do it. (I asked if it was really a token, he said yes) They will say that this professional inheritor, if there was AIDS, this one would be dead now, or they know someone is promiscuous but he hasn't died yet." G. says they still believe AIDS is a disease for those who move around too much, not something that anybody can get. He thinks awareness is just fueling the myths, they need more than awareness, they know it's there, there need education, it's still clouded in mystery.

4) Talked in bits and pieces to others, said its almost the same thing. Recurrence of the statements "these diseases that are coming to clear us, let it just clear us." One guy said he would opt for an arranged marriage, the aunt can find you a decent lady, that's enough, you can't go and test her, that is impossible." G: people are afraid of tests because they are not very sure of their status (but he didn't hear anyone say this).

5) Another bicycle guy, "he said people are really scared of AIDS, they walk a little more carefully."

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

He advised G. “to go for the under 20s, said you don’t have to use a condom for them, but for the others you can. He said the best protection is to get married, you will just have your wife you won’t need anyone else. The single guys, none of them are abstaining, they are just going around. So after they get married, they have their wives, they stop moving around. He complained about married men, they are the ones who come and poach, they are the major problem for the single women, some of them their wives have died, they are suspected of having died of these things, they are coming and moving around with these small girls.”

Brother: says the supply of condoms is very very erratic. A consignment comes, they are distributed, and you don’t see them again.

Someone told him there’s a way of avoiding AIDS, he’s about 40, says go for the older women, those who have children, not the young ones. He says you can know if the child has AIDS, rashes, hair, funny color. So that is enough to monitor those who have AIDS in the village.

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G. thinks only a few people have been helped by awareness.

K1500 for 2 days

500 + 300 for transport—200 RT

one on Saturday, one on Monday

Kanyango

S. O.

J. O.

S. N. O.

[girl is o.k. because “me I tried her and she wouldn’t]

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

E. and I pretty much finish the PAA paper on husband/wfe responses.

The team returns from third day of training. A lot of trouble with the chief and miji kumis. The supervisors met with them: they want the outsiders fired and replaced by their sons. R. said that we may have to fire some but that they insisted that they could not hire any more; P. said that they compromised—they would neither hire nor fire, but the next time they would not hire from outside. I said to P. I was surprised that they knew the young men and women in the village so well that they knew who was from outside, but P. says maybe the women they don't know so well, but their sons they do. She pointed to D., and said if he appeared they would know he wasn't from the village. She also said she disapproves of my having hired G. without an aptitude test. That was hard to explain to them, and even she doesn't think it was the right thing to do.

Meeting:

F. is now running the meetings, although there is still an atmosphere in which they are reporting to me rather than discussing issues among themselves. The issue of "foreign" interviewers came up and it seems everything is o.k. The meeting was actually among the team, the chief & mijikumis, and the "village leaders"—i.e. the local head of KANU and his NDP counterpart. It was the latter, F. said, who were the most troublesome. The chief and miji-kumis understood that we could not hire any local sons at this point, after three days of training: the village leaders did not. F. also prepared them from the fact that some would not make the grade in training. F. also repeated what P. said—that taking graduate G. without an aptitude test caused them problems, and in any case I shouldn't have done it, not professional. I said I'd be willing to fire him because he wasn't all that good anyway, and commented on his difficulty in understanding that I wanted to know what the people he interviewed said and did themselves, not G.'s view of the situation. E. commented that Form 4s were better than graduates, who want to make things too interpretive; G. and T. took objection at the slur on graduates, I supported E. (which probably was not wise). I urged them to make sure the interviewers are doing 3-4 interviews/day: in Gwasssi they did less than 2/day. I think it's hard for them to feel that I'm not criticizing them on this, and to some extent they are right—I think there is a lot of sitting around in the field. The supervisors surely feel that just by being out there they are working hard, and they are; they are not, however, very good at planning strategically—e.g. avoiding a village where they know there is a funeral, figuring out what markets a village goes to so it can be avoided. G. says that there is a large market here on Thursdays, people from all the villages go.



### *Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

After dinner there is a party: for F.' birthday, and a farewell to L.. It didn't start until 10 and was rather subdued, though picked up later. I went to bed shortly before 11, and then around 11:30 the Luos went out, somewhere in the town. I think that there is less enthusiasm for fieldwork among the supervisors in Kenya 3. Kenya 1 was a challenge: they didn't have a lot of experience, and the standards were more rigorous than usual. In Kenya 2 they felt very professional and competent, and enjoyed their mastery. This time, I think it feels more routine. And E. pointed out that they are 6 years older as well. Perhaps I'm projecting, tho—I myself don't feel quite as inquisitive, like I'm learning as much.

BMETHODS/SAMPLE: Comparing m-k lists and E.'s: there are some couples in Kobado (1st done by M., then G.) who have nothing in STATA (not even the male or female ID numbers from the m-k list.). I have dropped these, under the assumption that these were mistakes by the miji-kumis. We are also not looking for people not interviewed in K1/K2 because had no eligible wife, even if the man was given a number.

Meeting:

B1-B7: if not interviewed before, find out where they have been since 1995 (K1)

MK S.–L. B, T. K1, he was against FP. Changed?

Wednesday Feb 23: E. said that M. M., with whom he's planning a study of Luo old folks wasn't so keen on using our sample as the basis for their work. Earlier she had told me she didn't want to go to an area where there were Suba's; now she says that perhaps the respondents would have been contaminated by being in our survey. It's another e.g. of how people really don't want to use someone else's sample—maybe it seems like using their toothbrush.

Last night as we were having a drink at the bar before dinner, T. said she was looking forward to being back in her own home in Nairobi. I definitely notice a decline in spirits, and it's a good thing that we are at the Hippo Buck—and that the next site is one they like, Mfangano, rather than, say, Gwasssi. Even tho Mfangano isn't as luxurious, they can count the days until we're back.

GOVERNANCE: Newspaper, the Nation, is full of stories having to do with corruption. Some are

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

stories about the corruption itself, some are stories about charges brought against people for corruption. It seems to be the story of the year—or at least these few months. L. on the TV: as head of the Civil Service, he's been charged with doing something about corruption. Today (Wed Feb 23,2000) : article on Former Director of City Planning and Architecture who may face criminal prosecution for failing to appear before an inspection team (doesn't say why they want to see him, tho); 7 suspects charged in court by the Kenya Anti Corruption Authority: one is a principle lab analysyst w/the Kenya Bureau of Standards, another a supplies officer in the MOH, another a senior superintendent engineer to the M of Roads and Public Works, . Four charged of falsely declaring that 7540 blankets delivered to the MOH by a pharmaceutical co. had passed inspection. Op ed piece about secondary school head teachers selling places, and officials from Education ministry forcing teachers to take students (children, friends, friends of friends); editorial on the parallel degree program (can get into University without having to have a bed there), disturbing in a no. of ways including "use of funds"; prominent ltr to editor about corruption of MPs, Kitui County Council workers on strike for unpaid wages, the Council's treasurer is accused of corruption; primary schools levying illegal fees and then expelling students who can't pay; Medical Services Minister says corruption and mismanagement have crippled services at Kakamega Provincial General Hospita;, inl. Theft of drugs by staff; Homa Bay County Council hasn't remitted union dues from its workers for 6 yrs, unions blame delay on misappropriation of council funds by chief officers who have been already taken to court for embezzling Sh2.8m; Managers of district hospital in Siyaya reported to have stolen drugs worth 2.3m; an article on repairing of dikes and about tsetse fly programs in which MP claimed that vet officials had been able to account for KS500,000.

SAMPLE: I have gone over the miji-kumi list, comparing it with the sample lists that E. made from STATA, as we did in Owich. (E. did not know about the m-k lists). In comparing the m-k list for Sibege and Stata, I find more errors than on the other lists—e.g. people repeated on the list, sometimes w/numbers sometimes not. In K1, T. had said T. mentions that her miji-kumi was "against us, he was sure we were family planning" (check whether her village differs--m-k is P. S., 08). Maybe he fucked up on purpose. We also have problems in Kobado: where the first households on the m-k list had numbers for husbands and wives, and the rest only male numbers. Even there, a lot of males Never Interviewed. This was M.' village.

Many of those who were never interviewed were people who were said to be living in Nairobi/Mombasa etc by the m-k. We aggressively looked for these, and did find a few: the others were surely out of the area in K1. In making cover sheets, we decided not to do them for people who had separated in K1: they are probably still away, and if they are not they will be picked up anyway if the husband is interviewed.

INCOMES/PRICES: Bus from Lwanda to Sori 60ks, from Sori to HB 80ks; Matatu Lwanda to HB=150KS.

H. O. from Gwasssi, the sleaze-bag, comes to get the money: we had run out, so couldn't pay him in full. E. calculates the number of days (5 people for 14 days, 8 people for 16—at first she said 7 for 16, but he caught her, she had forgotten G.—an indication that he had been counting already). He then said “what about the watchman?”. E. said that F. had told her that the SDAs would cover the watchman, and that H. himself had never brought it up in all the discussions they had before leaving about payment, so she couldn't pay him. H. said “then what will we do?”, and E. said she had just given him more than enough money to pay the cooks the 200ks they had been promised. H.'s assistant, the man I mostly dealt with, had told me KS150-200, and I passed that news on to the cooks. H. said they had initially agreed to pay the cooks KS100, then upped it to KS120. E. remained firm. I suggested that in addition to the receipt that we got from H., we give him an accounting that he can show others, and put on it that they are meant to pay the watchman and the cooks.

INT-SELECTION: A dismissed interviewer, P. A. O., comes to ask me to intervene; said he did well in training but F. told them they had to be dismissed as outsiders. He desperately needs money and was really counting on it. I say that they were dismissed because not doing so well at training (even tho he did get a 19/20 on the aptitude test), that I have a lot of trust in F. and the team. I acknowledged the problems the chief was giving us, but said we had kept outsiders so it couldn't be that.

FIELDWORK: The ladies come home first, saying good day but so few people were there: P. did 7, R. 5, don't know about T.. The men went to get the gifts. When they came back, G. said his village, Kolango, was just fine. He attributed it to a CBD R. O. (I think). There's a new trading center there, and O. is the big man there, “so the miji-kumi's plans were spoiled” (the mijikumi wanted R. to discourage people)

I told F. that I had been over his budget estimates. The team all wanted to have separate rooms at the Hippo Buck, and I had said that was fine if we had enough money, so I had been trying to get F. to figure it out. His estimate is that we will come in at \$73,000, which is o.k. I told that to F., but said that if he's underestimated, or forgotten expenses, the team may have to pay back from their per diem, and he should warn them.

Meeting: F. said one husband didn't want to do the interview, but his wife said “You have to do the interview because I don't have sugar.” R. said when she first arrived at her village “the guys didn't want to talk because they had been told we hired outsiders, but they changed their minds because of the gifts.” They (guys) explained it was ok because outsiders weren't on the team in their village. G. said that one man wanted his wife to go and get water, she responded emphatically “I am not going, I am being interviewed”: R. said the phrase she used was almost crude, and R. thinks this woman had the characteristics to be a secret user. R. also said that either the mijikumi or the chief had said that “if

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

those people come, if they don't have anything tangible, don't talk to them.'". R. said "I think they are bored with us." They all agree that it would have been impossible to come again without gifts. A bit of discussion about Gwasssi, following from report of H.'s visit to get money—F. said he did say that we would give the watchman "something small", nothing like the 100ks a night that H. had said he promised. F. said he certainly doesn't want to stay there again if we do another round. R. says she thinks there is a Catholic 2ndary boarding school in G.'s site where we might say—G. said yes, it's Our Lady of Orote. And R. also said once we were going to stay at the mission in Tonga but they had visitors. Too bad F. didn't think of these earlier. They all complain about the heat, the dust—in Gwasssi it was hot but not so dusty. And a lot of people not there. P. said interviewers doing all right, though one of hers, a male, on F1 the R had 0 networks, so he put in a 0 for all the nw questions. R. said a female interviewer of hers skipped four pages, said she "got confused"; R. gave her a stern warning. Everybody seems very tired. I go to bed about 9:30, but when I'm ready to go to sleep I realize that I've been hearing water gurgling—at first thot it was a neighbor's shower, but it had gone on too long. I get up to find D., who comes and fixes it, but I find him around the bar with the supervisors, all laughing and talking. P. says my interviewer G. NyA.h, is in her village and that he's married, with small twins (I had assumed he was single and he didn't correct me). She asked him how he could get married and have children without a job, he said that "we manage somehow", his father helps him.

SAMPLE: We have not followed women who were considered barren by the mijikumis, unless they had been found in K1 to not be barren and we interviewed them. But we are following women who have now passed cb age, if they were interviewed before. Also, re names: on B21, when they list names of family members, they rarely have the same last name.

Thursday Feb 24:

Very hot last night, almost too hot to sleep. And both M. and C. said they had been bitten by mosquitos last night.

They decided to give flour, sugar and soap here. Explained that in Gwasssi people had enough flour, but here they don't.

Checking the first batch of questionnaires: 1st days should be checked more stringently, in order to make sure the inconsistencies are "real" and not interviewer error. Once they are on the ball, can acctpt inconsistencies.

T.—good checking —caught a woman who overused pill and injection also currently using both, a mistake

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

that was erased

Meeting:

Questionnaires:

Quarrying is “works for someone else”.

If R says risk low because “limited partners”, we assume that she used to have many and now has few, and if she says risk high because “does not use condoms”, we also assume that she is talking about herself, not her husband.

F19

G. NyA.

Came with a great deal of enthusiasm and a packed notebook. He started off by listing the people he had talked with, and then his general opinion: they have thrown up their hands,

He talked, I nodded and exclaimed and typed. Most of the following is verbatim, although in a few places I left out the musak words, places where he started a thought and then went back to another one.

CBD: M. S.na O., elderly lady, “custodian of the Luo traditions.” “I went up to her and just visited, she’s a relative. I ate a bit, [something] and sweet potatoes, we engaged in chit chat. She was going somewhere, she’s a TBA, she had a client there and both left, so I gave her a push [walked with her], she walks slowly, and she reminded me that I was recently married, I came back to build a house but my elder bro hasn’t built.” Turns out that his brother whose wife died had to build another house for the new wife; the house he left is supposed to be torn down. But G. moved in. However, G. explained, he is strictly forbidden from having sexual contact in that house, if he does it might affect the children. His mother told him that the first day he came back, and Mama S.na told him also. “She [S.na] repeated the dangers of that and gave a practical example of a cousin and an uncle who suffered because of that”. There’s a cousin who he is still living in the father’s compound. The father, an elderly respected man, died, and the mother refused to be inherited, she’s in her 70s. “So in Luo terms she has left that home, so it’s a neglected house, it’s not considered a home as such because no ritual sex. This cousin had a wife who came around, he went to sleep with the wife there, and maybe had sex in that house which was forbidden. The uncle [I suppose the uncle should have inherited the wife] died very suddenly of

malaria although he was a very strong man, and then the cousin went to Kisumu, he's a builder. She [S.na] is a TBA and has gone thru training in modern things, so she knows very well that AIDS exists and also *chira* exists. [The point was that S.na, who could easily recognize AIDS, is clear that this is *chira*.] "Another side story : two of S.na's sons have died, and a daughter in law, they died with almost classical cases of AIDS. She said people say the sons died of AIDS but she says she knows, and she traced the origins of his death. One of the sons used to live in Oyugis, had a little store, used to come back home every week, S.na didn't know but found out that he had inherited a wife and used to come back and sleep with her secretly. Now the bad part of it was that his wife was pregnant, and tradition doesn't allow you to sleep with someone else when the wife is pregnant, the wife will get sick and the baby will get sick. And the woman he was inheriting was also pregnant, so the taboo converged and the son and wife died a very painful death of AIDS." I asked "AIDS?" "Yes, I would say it's AIDS. But S.na said it was *chira*. The wife, before she died gave birth to a small boy, was 4 months when the mother died, he was emaciated, but S.na has managed to nurse him, now he's almost 3 and he's healthy, she uses that as proof that the son didn't die of AIDS. The inherited woman died, and then the man who inherited her earlier also died." Then S.na talked about G.'s family, telling him things that G.'s dad doesn't even know. G.'s grandmother died in '92, diarrhealing, she was very old, and diarrhealing has come to be associated with AID. "S.na pointed to the absurdity of the grandmother dying of AIDS." She then tells G. the secret. It turns out the grandfather had migrated here, the wife remained in the home place, "at that place they were cultivating almost the whole homestead", but S.na said "this is extremely dangerous, this manner of cultivation, S.na's father had taught her that. You can cultivate some of the homestead but not close up to the house. S.na thinks that it is this that killed the grandmother." "S.na says yes, the condoms are in demand, especially by the younger generation. A few married men collect it but use it for FP, women mostly get pills. A few young schoolgirls also collect condoms. Wives sometimes collect but sometimes in collaboration w/ husband for FP." G. asked her does she see any change, "she said she doesn't see changes in the way people behave sexually and all that. Then she says 'Sex will never stop, it used to be practiced in the age old days, people will never stop themselves from having sex. She said o.k. you can't gratify yourself by masturbation' -they had probably been taught that in training but she disagrees. She said in the old days digressing was there, but not at the rate of now, especially among the youth. Sex these days, she said, has become so widespread, during that time it was a bit more controlled, chastity was appreciated." "I also asked her why she thinks women can sometimes stray, she told me about the possible decline of performance of the spouse and monetary assistance also plays a role. And maybe because the husband has other mistresses, she's motivated to do the same. Also absentee husbands, which is quite common" She said this [women straying] isn't a very strong factor, only among women who are not having children, maybe the children have grown up, but among women who are breastfeeding and taking care of children they have enough to keep them busy. G thinks she was trying to reassure him because he has a wife who's nursing. She said "people know very well that AIDS exists, but they lose control. She advocates the condom, says it works very well, but she said people lose control, they are in a hurry, they are really excited, they just lose their mind, and they cannot control themselves, so that's why they don't use. I asked her whether people go for premarital test, she doesn't know a case of someone testing the wife." He checks his notes, "I forgot: I was reading the list of why wife's digress. She told me another interesting thing. She says a woman can go with another man when not having children she can go to get a child from the other man. Or if they are only having girls she may go out to get a boy. She

also told a case of a woman who came to her, a married woman having an affair w/a married man, S. told me about the level of their appetites. The woman used to go to this man in the a.m., then in the afternoon for a couple of hrs, 3x a day. S.na told the woman 'you are spending so much time with this man, how do you think he satisfies his own wife?' The woman answered 'it's up to her, it's her own problem.' She also gave me a case of some people who have tried to control themselves, it's an interesting case. It's a man who was almost dying, symptoms of AIDS, he's young, came to ask her for advice, she's knowledgeable. His elder wife had left the home, a wife can just leave and go and prostitute herself, [he used a Luo word which I think means leave], she can work but it's assumed she's prostituting. This wife is later brought home with obvious symptoms of AIDS. She's very sick, she's the first wife, who is normally very powerful in the house, if she refuses to give in to ritual sex so many things stop. So this woman is brought [home] by the in-laws. He [her husband] had taken a second wife. So she comes back, basically on her death bed, almost dying. This man [the husband] has to move out from the compound, it was time for him to move out from the compound but she is too sick, also emotionally upset, she might refuse ritual sex. S.na advised him to go and take care of her in the hope that maybe the 1st wife would give in. After she [the 1st wife] had left, the house went down [collapsed], now he has to build a house there before he can move out of the compound. So they built a small house for her, *kayomba*, or *akumba*, you build it and sleep with your wife, you must have sex to make it a house. He was caring and eventually she gave in, S.na gave him 4 condoms, the woman agreed, they moved to another homestead, and again built a small house for the 1st wife. Four days later she died happy." I asked whether he actually used the condom, he said S.na knows he used the condom. "The man [husband] was caught between fulfilling the traditions and his worry, so he went to S.na because she's a bit knowledgeable." G. said "S.na was worried about my own predicament, she knows I can't do it [have sex with his wife], it's a bit difficult. I'm a modern man, I'm fairly Christian, fairly scientific, but my mother warned me against it, S.na also, my wife knows it too, so I have managed to keep off. S.na asked him how would he do [i.e. manage without sex], I said o.k., I would just take his wife briefly back to Nairobi." [i.e. it's o.k. to have sex with her but not in that borrowed house]. "S.na worried that I could stray very easily. I told her fine, I think it's common women haven't accepted condoms, they cannot suggest it. S.na said men could use condoms without the woman knowing, he can trick her, pretend you are going to the bathroom and put the condom on secretly if they refuse." [I think here S.na was giving G. advice should he stray, tho I'm not sure if she meant the secret use of condom with the girlfriend or the wife—I assume the girlfriend." G. recalls that when she talked about masturbation she gave a biblical justification, "corinthians or where?" "I also asked her about these cases where things are tough, tradition has to be done, she said you have to collect someone from the late. I asked her about notorious womanizers, do they come for condoms, she said very few come. She also told me about someone who died before being inherited, but ritual has to be performed, they go the lakeside and pick someone, they give him a cow or something, S.na said the man came, he put on two condoms, he did it and left." Consults his notes. "Something interesting again. S.na told me, that even if you catch your wife red-handed with another man it is taboo to disturb them, you just left them be, because if you start a war someone can get killed, you stay away, just leave them like that. And you can't beat up the wife because the guilt is enough to keep the wife away. [She probably sees the husband discovering her]. Just stay, don't even let her think you're angry."

2) “I was in market, overheard a professional inheritor, *mbomb*, even with a corpse, he’ll do it, he’ll finish those things. He’s very political, noisy, I think his head is a bit loose. I managed to corner him and talk to him, but it not easy to have a sane conversation with him. I asked him how are things in the village, he started on politics, new mp, election promises can’t be fulfilled, wondering if he can be reelected. And somebody grooming himself to take over. So I asked him what about AIDS. He says that’s ‘it’s women who give us AIDS,’ he said ‘the woman is glittering’” G. tried to describe igt as oiled, shiny. “‘you see women like that and you are so tempted, when you have seen that you just lose control, there’s nothing you can do’. So I asked him what about *mpira*, [condoms] he said ‘ah, this thing, it helps, you can use it. But I asked him if he used it he said ‘we can’t find it’.

3) G was at a bicycle parking place, men were just sitting there talking, they know everything, so- and so- is sleeping with who, who is seducing someone, where. They know who are notorious for beating up people. For example our neighbors are K., he said ‘those people are bad, if they think you are seducing their wife they will beat you up.’” I asked if they gave an example, G. said yes, “They talked about someone beating up someone who was seducing a wife. It’s one of these people I am cultivating. The first day I went I just bought for those around. So the same people when I go back I’m a hero. Drinking brings people together, there’s no difference any more, classes don’t matter. This man also happens to be a political activist.” I asked if they wondered how he got money to buy beer, but he said they didn’t ask, just took the beer. This man who he was talking to “is a boastful man, *JokanA.*, boastful, I am aware of that” He then tells a story about that man having been asked to bring him a message from the KANU councillor, a woman, about a possible job, but the man didn’t bring the message. G is told by others that on the outside this man is friendly but also talks about his family behind his back. “He thinks he knows it all, but maybe he is jealous of higher education. Word went around that somehow I am working for you. So in the *baraza* he asked ‘is it only people from NyA. that are intelligent enough?’. So yesterday I wanted to make him feel great, he doesn’t drink, maybe to buy him sodas. So I started talking with him about the councillor, and he had a story about what happened. So I tell him ‘but can I go and see the councillor again, I said maybe if you go, it’s only if you go with me, you know these things. Like I was lost without knowing anything. He was supposed to come yesterday but didn’t, I’ll go back and get some gossip about the village.”

4) Changaa Brewer J. K.. “I just went there started drinking and left some of my change there. I started the conversation but there were so many people”, G said he’d come back and he did, but didn’t have so much time. “He’s married himself, I asked him how are things in the village. I drank in two places. The 1st there’s a man there with some very beautiful daughters. One of the daughters is having beer, she’s smiling, I wanted to try to tune her, was singing praises to her, there’s a lot of interest in her. Then I go back to J.’, I ask about the ladies around, what about that lady [the one in the other place] , he says ‘you don’t have to use a condom, she’s o.k., the younger sister is even more o.k.,’ she’s standard 8, maybe 13. He said of the older one ‘she’s clean, she’s not been staying around so much, her movements are o.k., you go ahead, you don’t have to use a condom.’” [later it turns out he means she’s not been leaving the area much]. “I asked but how do you make sure your wife doesn’t stray?”



He says 'you take good care of her, but you have to balance very carefully, if she becomes too beautiful she becomes too attractive to other men, so you have to balance, you never know other men.' He says 'you can take of your wife, but her sexual appetites may go up so if you aren't up to the job you'll be in trouble.' He said 'you must be every day to work [i.e. sex] every day, every day every day, minimum two rounds a night, if you feed her very well, to make sure she doesn't stray.' I asked him 'but what if your wife strays?'. He says it's not grounds for divorce. Says first it's impossible to use a condom. Said there's nothing you can do about your wife, you can chase her away but she'll come back." G. said "Nobody tells you about pangas, chasing her." "He said 'fine I'll talk to her and give her two options. You're now a woman you should stop moving, or you're a girl and you want to continue.' It's suspected that when you are single you'll philander. He said 'it depends on the answer she gives you.' I said what if she doesn't stop? Again, he's helpful. [G. explains that "In Luoland it's so difficult to end a marriage, once she's come there and given birth to children she remains your wife even if she goes somewhere else and gives birth to children with another man, the first man who married her is her husband, and she can eventually come back with all those children and as a man you're expected to treat her with respect.] "There's an uncle of mine, the wife disappeared for many years, went to Tanzania, they tried to bring her back and couldn't, even my dad went to look for her, eventually they went to a witch doctor and called her back, and she came back." I asked if he meant the witchcraft worked? "I don't know if it worked but she came back. She had a teenage son and several others, you discover there's another line. But she was welcomed back into the family, she had to be welcomed back, the sons insisted. To them there is very little you can do if your mother is not there, it's o.k. if she's dead, but when she's out there, you don't know where she is, there is little that you can do. They brought her back, they built a house. The man [her husband] doesn't like it so much, but the elders will force you. And you must fulfill tradition." Back to J.: "He said 'faithfulness depends on people's blood, some people have blood that they cannot be faithful.'"

4) Overheard at shoemakers: the shoemaker was talking about a man who refused to come home, the wives died, 1st, 2<sup>nd</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>, the man lives in Nairobi, he refused to come back. They called him in Nairobi, they got the man on the phone but he said 'I'll look for him', so sister shouted into the phone [calling his name], she had traditional medicine in her mouth.. G. sold everything and dashed home with a bag. The first wife died after 2 years, second after 3<sup>rd</sup>, third after 2, all had classical symptoms of AIDS but no one mentioned it."

5) Went to talk to a private practitioner, but he wasn't there. But found a nurse, C., the mother of a teenage boy. She didn't know him, but recognized his family. She's the mother of 3, a second wife of a husband working away from home. "I started asking her about AIDS. They have condoms there, Trust condoms which are 10bob, that is expensive compared to free ones in the village. She said they sell them but she's been there for 3 months and 'a whole packet is not gone.' I eventually asked her, I talked generally, eventually I ask her why would a woman stray, she absolutely refused to tell me, from my own interpretation she has strayed before. She asked me back, why would a man stray. I had asked her a lot of things, but there she stopped. She's a married woman, 2<sup>nd</sup> wife, he works in Nairobi,

she said the husband come home frequently, maybe after 2 months, to her that was frequently [G. clearly didn't agree] and there are two wives. I asked 'But how can you protect yourself?' She says 'fine, you sit down and talk with your husband, you talk to him when he is happy'. I was talking to her about polygamous marriage before I knew she was polygamous, she told me 'it's risky because the risk comes from several places.' I asked 'but what if you have evidence that your cowife is straying and maybe straying where you know it is risky?' But she was helpless, nothing she could do. She said 'but what can you do, there is nothing you can do', this is a woman with a teenage son. I said 'you can't do anything or you know what you could do but you're afraid?' 'It's difficult', she said, 'to talk about a condom, he will jump up, he may beat me.' And she said the same thing about telling him about the cowife, he could jump up and beat up her, you know in such a marriage the peace is so delicate. I asked her if she used FP, she said she has naturally managed to give birth to only 3, one in Form 1, she managed to plan them by breast-feeding for a long time. But had injection for stopping. Said condom in marriage out of the question. "Helpless in the face of an amorous husband". "She's something like a nurse, said people don't have any idea how to use a condom, they have heard about it, so they have to practically demonstrate how to use a condom. She also said people are suspicious about the condom, so many have not accepted it There are young men especially, school leavers, who come to be taught about condoms. I also wanted to gauge about how strongly she felt about tradition, she said 'there's no way out.' It's something they are happy about, they must do it to protect their children, even with someone who is slightly crazy when they can't get someone who is decent to do it.

G. said people don't really want to talk about AIDS unless you press them. He described it as if you were saying "ah ten flies died in this soup", it will make them feel bad and spoil the appetite. The same way they don't want to talk about it, it's too real, I think it's a denial, it's psychological, to protect yourself, they want to deny it, they want to call it so many things. For example a friend of mine, the one I went to pick to go to the beer-drinking place, it was so difficult to interview him about AIDS. At first he said he didn't want to believe it, but then he said it's there. I think it's too true, even in my conversations, I raised the subject with someone who said 'Ah forget about that, let's not talk about that.'

5) "I also managed in the *changaa* place to talk with a former policeman, 'Odhiambo soldier' [apparently a common nickname for former policemen] a bit of a drunk but from what I gather an intelligent man. The smiling lady was there, we talked about her, he said "Ah, when I drink in a bar I don't allow a woman to serve me, that's how I protect myself", he takes his own beer from the counter. He says if you have to do it, if you can't control yourself, Durex is the perfect solution, it works very well. Or Trust condom. But he says the government kind doesn't work, it's too risky. He does use a condom when he strays." G. turns the conversation to wives. "He says 'fine, you get married, talk to your wife, but there's a limit to how much you can restrain the movements of your wife.' He said if she does that he would insist on a test. He also says 'if you can stick to religion it might be a solution to this, because once you are saved there's maybe divine intervention that can influence your behavior.' He said 'AIDS came from abroad, it's killing even whites, killing even highly educated people, so there's

little you can do in Africa.’ He also talked about M. J.. He said ‘there’s some medicine, but the white man has decided not to give it to us,’ he points out how long M. has lived, says ‘the rich can do it but AIDS is not a disease for the poor.’ He says ‘these are the signs of the end of time, this thing was foretold by the Bible and everything told by God will come to pass.’ Something about a stone that is coming to hit the earth, he connects it with that, something that has come to destroy people.

Later, when we had finished, I asked G. to find out more what men said when they talked about judging the movements of women they want to sleep with: just what do they look for? He then remembered that when he was talking with J. about that beautiful daughter, “J. told me ‘this lady she’s not been around, she just came back, and no one of the villagers has anything yet, because she’s gone away and come back only there a few days that was a good sign.’” I asked G. to explain this: what it means is that when the girl, who lives here, left, she was only away for a few days, which means apparently that she wasn’t fooling around. .

6) Then got the clinical officer, wanted the STD figures, he’s Ogoy. “He was a bit sharp.” He had a client, G said he wanted to chat with him, he asked ‘why, who do you represent?’ G explained he was doing it for someone else, he said who, G explained Prof. from U of P. “Him, he had a lot to tell because he’s been trained as an HIV counselor, he has a project with the MOH, STIs, they supply governmentt drugs, very very good drugs, so he’s fairly knowledgeable about that. I asked him about prevalence of STDs. I asked generally first, he said ‘things are bad, people are doing nothing, they are denying’. Then I asked about levels. He said he sees about 10 cases in a month, but he said the majority go to quacks, he sees that as a very serous problem because are using procaine oil to treat stds, and according to him they don’t work. They go [to quacks] because they are shy, they are ashamed. Only a small number that is not ashamed. So couldn’t give him estimates. He even knows cases out there but they don’t come. But he said it’s mostly single young men, 13-40, and a few small children maybe got it from mother in pregnancy. He sees it normally when the wife comes for clinic. He says it takes longer for women to learn, sometimes they bring a child there. He says ‘most condoms collected by school leavers, they are normally the ones who use condoms, or learned people, teachers, but the others don’t.’ But he distributes Trust. He said ‘very few married men pick them, and it’s for FP, and the women who pick say it’s for FP.’ He says most of the people who get condoms from him use it because of the cost, but if just out in a dispenser people might just take it because it’s free, you keep it but you don’t use. He’s quite experienced, in govt for about 15 years, a privateer for 6 years. I asked him about straying: he says ‘50% of married men stray’. Said for women it’s even worse, women cheat more than their husbands. Said ‘Sadly, women haven’t taken the issue of AIDs seriously, they are aware but don’t take it seriously.’ He said women gladly get inherited, none talk about the need to protect themselves. He says few people come to ask him about AIDS, they don’t come. I asked him why women move out, he said for commercial purposes, husband’s away. Then after that I asked him about solutions, what can we do now? I suggested the only effective way is not people from outside but

use the local system, don't go to chief, go to Okombo, a respectable elder, some of them so bound to tradition, but if you bring an expert, a doctor, someone they know, to tell them point blank and ask them what should be done. He said 'people don't want to talk about it, even him himself can get a forum but even if he did people will shun him, it's gossip, if you talk about AIDS and symptoms it is like you're pointing a finger at them, because they have relatives who died, they will say 'death has always been there, do you think you won't die yourself?'. He showed me a poster, where it says 'talk to your family about AIDS,' they are under a tree or shed, he says 'until it comes to a point where people can sit down and talk like that about AIDS it's going to be difficult, it's going to continue killing people.' He says 'sadly, maybe a man dies there, or even a woman dies and it's a classical example of AIDS and there is an old man who says 'you want the wife of your brother to go that way?' [i.e. to suffer from not being inherited], an elderly man will come and persuade you."

7) G. talks about a proverb he heard when he left here last time: he got a haircut, the woman sterilized the razor with alcohol, said AIDS couldn't survive. G. said what else? [i.e. how else can you protect yourself if it's sex]. She said 'You have to take care of yourself, *when a cow dies with grass in its mouth/eating*'. I asked G. what this meant, he had a hard time explaining, then said he thinks it means that the cow dies happy, doing what it likes best. That proverb recurrent in most of the talks, he said.

8) He took another bicycle taxi today, asked the driver how were things in the village, "he jumps into politics. So later I asked him about AIDS, he said he's a married man. He said 'ah it's killing us', G. said 'what about those who are married?' He said 'You can't use a condom in marriage what will your wife think?' This was a brief ride, so I asked him 'what about the wife cheating?' He said 'what can you do, she has married and come to the village'. He [driver] says "Men are helpless too, the women have established themselves in the home, they have rights, their children are there. So men too are helpless.' I tell him but it's men who stray more. He says 'o.k.,' laughs, 'we do it', he says 'it's men. Even if you go and talk to someone's wife, it's men who start, the women can never come, so you take the blame, except may be for prostitutes but there also, it's the man that comes.' He said 'if this thing kills us it's going to kill us anyway.'

At the end, I ask G. to see whether he can learn what people are doing, no matter how small. He said "Everybody is saying you have to be careful, they say watch your movements."

Entering in ACCESS, I noticed that M517 wouldn't answer the personal risk question. Said it is difficult to know, he probably has it so it's a very difficult question." An e.g. of difficulties doing a

survey at a time like this.

Team drifts to dinner, but F. and G. have gone to town. M. had gone out with T., said it is very hot and very dusty, and the hill that was talked about in T.'s site was itty bitty. But she got good pictures, including two women who were talking very intently, there were some men nearby who while she was taking pictures were shouting at the women saying they ought to charge for the pictures, she (M.) would make money from them they ought to get some of it. And said T. had a man who stole back his questionnaire. At dinner I asked T. about it, she said "let me eat first, I'm so hungry. " As we were chatting I asked whether they had heard of men refusing to inherit: T. said yes, the interviewer J.'s sister-in-law, "no one would inherit her." I asked if he died of AIDS, T. said yes, then P. interjected "suspected."

FIELDWORK/QUESTIONNAIRE: So after dinner the story: "I went to the village with M., we walked for a long long time to my hill, M. was very surprised at it. We interviewed a husband and wife, the cover sheets said they hadn't been interviewed before, ask B1-B7, but they had been interviewed. B. did the interview last time and he remembered. I couldn't remember where they had been interviewed in K1, but in K2 the man was interviewed in his shamba and the woman in the house, I remember. Then they left, and found A., who was upset because her respondent had taken the questionnaire. He said 'two hours is too long just to be given sugar and salt, I have enough of them' (he has a small hotel). He said 'this research is useless, you can't be asking what we own, you should offer a solution like Bamako and CARE. If you want family planning you should be straightforward about that, if you want AIDS you should be straightforward about that.' He was not happy. Also, it was a woman's questionnaire with a man's cover-sheet, he said 'why not a man's questionnaire.'" I asked what T. did. She said "I listened to him talk, I introduced myself, my dad's name' He said 'Ah, you're A.'s daughter?' [T.'s dad was a teacher]. He said he would give back the questionnaire for two litres of soda." T said she didn't have any money so she just looked at him. Then he said 'well one litre of soda.' I still just looked. Then he said o.k. because now he knows my dad and also the family of the interviewer, he said 'at least it's not an outsider.' Just as this was being settled his uncle came in and started saying 'you should cooperate, these are government people.' The R shouted back that 'this is my house, I can do what I want in it.'" T. said "I left and they were still shouting. The respondent said to his uncle 'you just know how to slaughter cows not anything else.' The uncle said 'no, I can slaughter cows but I have a bit more wisdom than that.'" T. said that it was really the fault of the interviewer, she was about to fire her; she should have just reached in her bag to get another cover sheet—"you have questionnaires for people living in Nairobi who you're sure not to find." The interviewer had changed the questions to wording for men, but then on A24, what are you most worried about getting AIDS, she read off husband r/t wife, he was too quick for her, and he got mad.

T. also said she had her first refusal today, first in any of her villages. But an interviewer knows the man and will go back. "The man was seated with two of his friends and probably just didn't want to be

bothered.” I asked T. whether women are easier than men, she said “women are easier to put down and start.” She thinks there are more zero nwps. I said I can’t tell yet, but we analyzed the Gwasssi data today, and there are fewer than last time. I also said we tried to see if any interviewers consistently got Onws, but they didn’t. T. said she was suspicious of B. Y., he had a lot of “same as”, she thinks he might have just filled it in.

They come out to the banda for meeting, all but R. and E.. We go over a few things, I say that we don’t have to have a meeting every night. F. says the reason they want a meeting is that he explained to them that if we go over budget they may have to pay back out of their per diem for the single rooms they have, and they weren’t happy about it. I said it was just an issue of budget, I thought they should know and make a decision, that wanted everyone to have a single room, I have one because I smoke and snore. P. said ‘that’s just it, who knows how other people sleep’. They thought Gwasssi was enough, and they’ll have to double up in Mfangano too. But they are very unwilling to risk turning back per diem. T. said she was “very tightly budgeted” and couldn’t give back even KS1000, she would rather know now if we will be over budget so they could find other accommodations. I said I wanted them to be able to make a decision, but it was very hard to know ahead of time. F.’ estimates look right to me, but we had a cushion and now we don’t, and we can’t tell what will happen. There was a bit of back and forth, with them wanting to know now if there would be a problem later, and my saying we can’t know, maybe it won’t happen. I also said that M. was not coming out of the project, her father was paying for her (they didn’t raise this, but I think they thought about it). I didn’t think to tell them that G. is also off-project, or at least that he’s not earning v. much. I then asked where else might we save if it comes to that—what about going and coming re Mfangano in canoes rather than the priest’s boat. A discussion about that, T. not happy, but then everyone remembered that we came back in canoes once, but F. said that this time we would bring back the mattresses in case there’s another project. I said that if we could finish a day ahead we would have a cushion, and that I think we could, they were doing very well (2 interviews for each interviewer today). They started talking about that. I asked if they could have the interviewers do more interviews early and late. They are already getting some to do early interviews, but then ploughing interrupts. And after 7 it’s hard because the house gets full, children are there, dinner, it’s hard to interview someone privately. And there’s no light. I think they ended up feeling that they can stay in their rooms and we can manage.

Friday Feb 25:

Inconsistencies are important, since it’s in figuring them out that one gets a) a sense of the quality of the data—checking if there are interviewer errors and 2) A sense of the way people perceive the survey or perceive the world, e.g. where their threat really is from.

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

Eg F822 asked husband to use, he said no, she says not using because “fear of se’s”—her own fears or her husband’s?

Note that Altho in K1 we thought we had matched couples properly, we found some problems in K2, and there are even a few left in K3.

It’s been very hot, starting in late morning, although it gets cool late at night (after midnight, I think), and the early mornings are quite nice. This afternoon there’s a strong wind and gray clouds, so perhaps the rainy season will start soon.

P. comes back, says a lot of separations in her village, sometimes because the man has died. She wondered about that, she and F. talked about it at lunch. She thinks that if the man was a farmer and dies, the woman can keep on farming. Here, however, a lot of men work in quarries that are male dominated, so when the man dies there is no income and the woman has to leave. I asked whether when there is a separation and the man is still living, it is because the woman leaves or the man chases her (the wife has a right to remain). P. thinks that he doesn’t chase her, but just neglects her—“he doesn’t give her money for soap and she gets the message.”

We’re talking at the bar before dinner. D., the manager, asks P. what they do in the field. She describes it a bit, he asks how long it takes, she says sometimes 2 hours, He’s amazed, he wouldn’t sit still for that. She says she thinks a lot of them like it, not much happens there, the team being there is the most exciting thing that’s happened in a year. And she explains it’s not that the questionnaire is that long, it’s that “in between the woman talks, or she is cooking, or the baby cries”. R. said she had a respondent today, a teacher, who said he would only talk in English. P. went on to say to me that she really likes fieldwork, “you sort of look at the world from their perspective, I find it very interesting.” She describes the people in the field as having no ambitions, “just waiting for the next meal, not enjoying the trials and the tribulations of challenges”, but they are happy, they know only ugali and don’t want bread. I said I think that isn’t quite right—a lot of them are very ambitious for the children to go to secondary school. She said she thought that part of that was fashion, that other people’s kids in secondary school have school t-shirts, they want their kids to have one too. She tells the story of an “other female relative” of her who wanted to drop out of school after primary, the relatives really pressured her they said “just go through secondary so you can be counted.” She sat in today on an interview with a man who’s an invalid, he just goes out and basks and then back in the house, she found him fascinating, he talked throughout the questionnaire as if he were telling things to his grandchildren. He’s crippled (broken rib/hip or something), hasn’t been to the hospital, doesn’t complain about pain, just enjoys things. Though he did say, when answering the question on is it justified to divorce your wife if she fights you, that “When I was a man a woman wouldn’t touch me, but now they can kick me....”.

But P. said he was still exerting a lot of control.

AIDS/STRATEGIES: G. comes up after dinner with a story. One of his respondents has been widowed for six months and has refused to be inherited. She is under a lot of pressure from her husband's brothers and co-wives, "who are arguing that she is spoiling the home." She's going to church to show them that she's a good woman, "but even there people are gossiping. Only the pastor understands, but he can't do anything." She told G. that wants us to put in our report that the government should protect women from being inherited." I asked G. if she was resisting inheritance specifically because of AIDS, he said "Oh yes, definitely." One of the would-be inheritors wanted to give blood to show he was o.k., she said he could be tested. But then she thought that even if he was negative, he could have been infected a few days later, he could still get it. She asked M. to marry one of her sons so "she could ship cows to America." I asked G. to go back tomorrow and learn more. He did, but not so much: said the widow was objecting to inheritance both because of AIDS and because she's religious, and also that after about 6 months the pressure reduced, it's not so bad now.

AIDS/STRATEGIES/: G. had another story, two women who were widowed. On the verbal autopsy they (maybe one of them) said he first had TB, then a little mental, then they found he had HIV. The two women left, only came back to bury him. One of them, the first wife (interviewed) said that "if it was the period when he was actually sick, then she's o.k. because she was somewhere else then." The second wife was in the first wife's house at the time, but she was busy, they will get her tomorrow. "She's a teacher so she's a bit enlightened." Even tho the women left, G. said they took care of him in the hospital, and came back. Even the second wife came back. A house hadn't been built for her yet, so she was free to go, but she wants to stay. The husband's brother hates the two women because they left. When G. went to him for the verbal autopsy, he said "go get it from those loose women."

AIDS/ INT-SELECTION: Another respondent had died, but the family didn't want to say why. One of G.'s interviewers, J., is from that village, and the father/brother is a distant uncle, so "I pitched J. to interview him. I told him I would send someone else to interview the wife, because of respect, but he should interview the uncle. And with J. the uncle felt free", he told us what happened.

AIDS/STRATEGIES: One woman who separated did so because she felt the husband wanted a second wife. But the second wife was selling *matumba* in town, she said this woman might infect the husband, so she left.

FIELDWORK: G. said one of his interviewers, H., is very good but very persistent. Today she interviewed a woman who was hard of hearing and a bit mental. She, the respondent, kept saying she



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

had never talked about AIDS, she had only heard a lecture in the hospital, but “H. kept on insisting’ you can’t tell me you don’t know about AIDS, so many people in this village have died of AIDS”. When H. pushed her she answered, but it was erratic.

Rain this afternoon: dark clouds, wind, hard. It didn’t last long, but cooled things off. Yesterday F. said they don’t want rain, because if it rains people will start to plant and won’t be home.

Meeting:

Checking closely because interviewers are new

One way to save time is to make sure ask where been living for those not interviewed before. You all do it sometimes but not all the time.

Ask how it works to kick a wife out?

Even those who say their greatest risk is from transfusions/injections, always say that their risk is small because they have sex only with spouse, not because they get no transfusions/injections. Might be they rae emphasizing what they have control over, their own behavior–

When they say “I trust her”, do they mean they know something about movements, or is it a more personal trust?

How are co-wives coded?

Ask really good interviewers to make notes

Saturday:

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

Can't check every inconsistency, but enough to try to understand what a common or possible reason is other than interviewer error. Seems better to do that than impose a consistency that may be false. Also, .Limit to what can be queried, supervisors get pissed.

INT-TRAINING: Initially, K1, tried to say "stick to questionnaire", but realized impossible in this setting.

Double entry: C. and D. double-entered about 20 questionnaires for Gwasssi (she did his, he did hers) and now 10 each. They use the Verify program, and say no errors. But E. is finding them, e.g. Ids, sublocation, other cover sheet info. I spoke to them, asked them to double enter 10 more.

INCOME: For quarry work, says G. NyA.h, 50 bob from 9 a.m. to 1.

February 27, Sunday: A lovely morning. Sunny, but coolish because of the rain. At breakfast with T.. When I first arrived and asked her whether she and M. were already married, she said he hadn't asked her again because the first time she had turned him down, said R. was going to talk with him. I asked again this morning, she said "you want to know the truth?" Yes. "It's me." She went on to explain that she didn't want to get married until she had a regular job, so that she can buy things—a dress here, something there—without asking for money. But it's not so much, it turns out, that she doesn't want to ask for money, as that M. is still getting established (as an accountant). She said she's the last-born in her family and it was always very "stable", by which she meant well-off—indeed, she said, her mother still gives her money from time to time. She thinks if she marries now without a job, there will be troubles: "I don't want to get married and then two years later split up." She's optimistic about a job for which she's interviewed that would take her to Dar—when I said would she marry before going she said "Why not?".

There are quite a few people here this a.m., and some last night. Seems that a number of them are here for a funeral—T. pointed out that several of the cars had a red ribbon which indicates they are en route to a funeral. One of the people here last night was an M.P. from this area. Seems that funerals that collect people from Nairobi etc are either 1) people who died in Nairobi and are brought back or 2) important local people. Depends partly on how many friends the people have in the cities, and also on the timing.

T. said when her father died a few years ago it was right before the elections, and so many politicians came, they all wanted to address the group. One opposition one started to speak but someone turned off the mike so he couldn't.

Last night there was a blackout around 7, so dinner served by candlelight, and instead of putting us at one long table we were at two smaller ones. I sat with T., F., G., M.. At one point I commented that for both Obisa and Owich the data show an increase in household goods, people don't seem so badly off. F. said for the last two years the harvest has been extremely good in Owich and here. I asked whether this was so in Obisa too, he said "I didn't hear it in Oyugis." F., T. and G. started talking about when we were first here, there were only 1 roundtrip matatu a day that passed on the road through our site: they remember it's name, they used to see it coming to HB as they went out to the site, and they would see it again going to its other destination at the end of the day. Now, they say, there are "so many". The matatus go between a small place, Pala, and HB, not Kisii or Kisumu. And they said in Owich there used to be two roundtrip matatus a day: one left at 5, the other at 6, and then returned from HB, one leaving at 5, the other at six. Again, there are now many more. They started talking about cash crops. Here they grow cotton, tho all commented tht they haven't seen much, mostly it's maize and millet, as in Owich. They start talking about changes in Owich, saying that up to the late 70s there were forests with tall tall trees, and wild animals. We told the story again of T. and R. and interviewers being left by the vehicle, and walking the 3 hours home while the interviewers scared them with stories of leopards. F. said one of his respondents—the "saved" man with the bad teeth that I talked with at F.' site—was tossed by a wild buffalo in the late 1960s. F. said the forests ended in 1973, tho surely it wasn't that abrupt. They start talking about differences in Kawadghone. For one thing, "here the *ugali* is hard." F. said "it's very nice when you expect problems and don't find them." After the troubles with the chief and the Kanu and NDP councillors, they expected trouble, but "no problems at all". T. said her one refusal keeps passing back and forth where they are sitting, almost as if to demonstrate that he can't be forced [and maybe some ambivalence?] F. said his *miji-kumi*'s wives were away, and "he worried that our report will show they [the village] are less than the last time, he said you know development comes where there rae many people, 'you speak our language, you can do something.'" (I suppose make up the numbers). This was followed by more stories about the tough-headed women here. F. said one of his respondents, male, told his wife not to be interviewed, the woman said, "I will be interviewed." T. said she was at a compound with a group of 5 men, 4 of them had wives who left (separated), one, her respondent, was newly married. He didn't want his wife to be interviewed, but even this young wife got T. aside and told her to come back. F. talked with amazement about another man, again a new marriage, who said he didn't have time to be interviewed he had to take the cows out, the wife said "No No. Let the cows go, I need this soap and sugar." F. also thinks there may be fewer deaths now—the *mijikumi* (of Sibège, I think, as that's where he's working) says '97 and '98 were the worst, now they have lost only four old men, the *miji-kumi* counted. And F., G. and T. all comment that funerals have not disrupted fieldwork yet. We talk a bit about the rain: G. says "I'm so worried, if it rains they will just be dashing for the *shamba*." They then complained about some cover sheets that have only women's names—very difficult to locate the women, as they are not know by these names but by "mother of so and so".

There's a lot of to and fro. Supervisors hadn't organized things for interviewers, so J. had to take questionnaires, soap/sugar to the field. Then S. comes to take F. and M. to Kisumu, G. goes along. M. has a bad stomachache, not a good day for her to be travelling for the next 24 hrs to Rome. Then when J. returns he takes E. to do email, but person who knows the password isn't there, they scare up another one, then can't get thru on the phone. Finally, E., I, R., D., and a bunch of children (R.'s K. plus her brothers two kids plus some neighbor kids) set off to visit R.'s parents. I wasn't very excited about it, but except for the driving (1.5 hrs each way to Achuth, near Migori) it was fine. The compound is large, with a number of cement houses. R.'s parents had been ill, so we brought food (and hadn't told them we were coming). Her father, T. O. A. (brother of ABC) is a retired SDA pastor, her mother had worked as a midwife. 9 children, all thru university degrees—they are clearly very proud of that, he said on a salary of 100ks a month, but they had lots of food. He's just building quite a large church building behind his house, says his friends advised him to make it large so it could be used for weddings, burials, health talks, etc. I asked about the health talks—things like vaccinations? He said no, the govt does that, they talk to mothers about things like boiling water, always giving authority from the scriptures (and he gave me some quotes). I asked what they said about AIDS, he began by explaining that they don't advise what the government advises (and I suppose what he expects I would advise): the "here we disagree with the government", we don't talk about condoms. His church, he says, believes that promoting condoms is giving permission to be unfaithful. I asked if there was a contradiction between the church beliefs and inheritance, he said yes: if you want to marry a widow it should be a real marriage. I asked what his brother, O.-A., thought (I know he favors inheritance), he says "he thinks differently. To him, if a woman is not inherited she will be free to infect all around", it is better that the deaths be confined to one household. [Again, the notion that a woman who is not controlled by a husband will be loose]. He said there was not much AIDS in his community, not even the teachers [apparently he considers them a high risk group] only the sugar factory—and then mentioned the lakeside, as others have done, as a bad place. Later on he is talking about his history—he went to a mission school and for a while was a teacher. No girls in the class when he was there, and no women teachers. And it's true, he said, that even teachers could not wear trousers or shoes, they had to wear short pants and rubber shoes. I took advantage of the opportunity to ask when FP came: he said only recently, 1990. I expressed surprise, that Kenya had a program since 1967, he said "that was only in the cities, there was nothing here". "Then people started talking about it, then AIDS came and they stopped." He said he was a pastor for 40 years, and maybe talked about FP 5 times (in the church). We had lunch of pasta, bread, peanut butter, avocados and pineapple, left shortly thereafter.

Very few kangas visible, and few women carrying babies—unlike Malawi.

February 28, Monday:

### ***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

AIDS: M657 says best protection sex only with wife, but had other partner last week: may be an e.g. of “sex only with wife is the goal as much as possible”

QUESTIONNAIRE: Checking—at the beginning we check very carefully, looking for signs that the supervisors haven’t understood something, and thus haven’t passed it on to the interviewers (esp imp as the training is in Luo, so we can’t tell what they are saying, the only evidence is in the sense that something is inconsistent in the questionnaire responses). After we’re confident about the supervisors’ training, in each new site we checked questionnaires very carefully for 3-4 days, reading each questionnaire as a story, looking for inconsistencies that suggest the interviewer hasn’t fully understood. The supervisors also do this, of course, but they are under more pressure, often checking questionnaires in the field, and they want to have them done so that they have some time free after dinner (we work long days—7:30 a.m., they usually aren’t back until 7 p.m.). Other projects, e.g. Pop Council, you work from 8 to 5 and then you’re through, and don’t work on Sat or Sun). After we are confident about the interviewers, we still check, but not reading the questionnaires quite as intensely.

AIDS: I think from the point of view of the villagers, the high risk groups are: young men, men and women who live outside, teachers, inheritors, young wives of polygynous men. spouses, “married women” who don’t have enough money.

WHITES: P. asked that nice old man, M680, what had changed since he was young:. “He told me that people were not so many then. It was said that people would increase like the eggs of fish, but that didn’t happen until the days of M.A. [P. doesn’t know who he was], he was the first man they saw who gave birth to 12 children. Having many children came with the introduction of many clothes (after walking with skins around them). At that time law and order were introduced, you can’t just take one’s property, if you do that you go to jail. He said the introduction of trousers as opposed to shorts also brought changes. He thinks people are dying because of what they eat, tomatoes and potatoes. These foods were introduced by the white man, he thinks they should be exclusively the food of the white man. He thinks AIDS is in the cooking oil we use now, their mothers used to cook with something (P. said maybe like homemade ghee), people were growing tall, they were well-built like rhinos. The introduction of new foods has contributed a great deal to the many deaths now. He thinks the only positive thing the white man brought was injecting cattle whenever they are sick. It reduced death among animals, stopping animal diseases such as *nyankoka* (foot and mouth?). Also he thinks that there has been changes in *abuba*/stds; they used to treat it with local herbs, given to drink and person would have diarrhea and get well. Also he thinks development have changed things--, introduction of planes, people trying to fly in air like God, has only created problems. He also talked about water problems: long ago they used to dig deep wells and never lacked water, but now they are buying water which is a totally new concept. He thinks FP not working because some women give birth to 12 children, and to twins. Said long ago didn’t have many children, man in his own hut, after birth husband would wait until child old enough to bring food, then could invite her to his hut. But with coming of white

man people started having many children.

Dinner by candlelight again—lights regularly go off Monday 7-10 to conserve energy (from the power plant in Kisii), and the last two Sundays they have been off in the evening as well. Pretty quiet dinner, T., P. and D.. Afterwards P. talks about the wife who refused to be interviewed, the neighbors said her husband is a robber in Nairobi. P. said he's a big robber, maybe international, the "woman was wild, running away". The first visit the woman said she was busy, they made an appointment, when they got there there was only a boy, the son, who said she was gone, he didn't know where she was, him he didn't even know that house. The neighbors say the robber assures them that he won't rob them, he says I'm a very clever robber and I will develop the village." The home is nice, several strong buildings, and he has built several buildings in the shopping center. Apparently in Nairobi he poses as a watch repairer, but just maps out rich people for his men to rob. P. and T. both expressed amazement that he wouldn't feel guilt, but P. also said the villagers' view is that as long as he doesn't steal from them, they won't turn him in. And they laugh about the prospect of asking the wife "does your husband stay in the compound". P. also talks about S.A., who is a nwp to many, an older woman; she's a CBD and a TBA. P. was in an interview, there was a baby wailing and crying, the mother called the baby (4 months old) "dokari", said she was named after S.. The R said S. charges by what you can pay—200 if you are poor, 400-600 if rich. There's also a man named Modi who appears all over in nws, P. is going to try to find out why. P. recalls that in K2 in Gwassii she herself was a nwp—"she knew I was richer than her."

SAMPLE: Even as late as K3, there is confusion about three women in Lak Liech. 1) On the m-k list one is 659, wife of G.B., which no one now claims to ever heard of (him). She was interviewed in K1 as P.O., cpd S., husband a laborer. 2) The second is F662, interviewed in K1 and K2; husband dead. On the m-k list, however, P.'s husband was dead, and the wife was named M.A., with the F662 number. 3) The third is a M.A., interviewed in K1 as 9502, husband does "nothing".

Meeting about when finishing to go to Mfangano. It looks like we have to be here Saturday: G. has 16 respondents who live in Homa Bay, and better to get them on Sat than a weekday. So we'll go to Mfangano on Sunday. Monday will be rest day—we won't go ahead and put up posters because it's too difficult, and Monday will allow the word to get around that we are there. It's going to be close finishing on time. The cover sheets have really been a problem.

At dinner, I asked F., T. and P. a quiz, taking the perspective of the villagers:

Which of these categories of people in your rural area do you think are most likely to be infected with

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

AIDS? Give them a number from 1-12, with 1 being “most likely to be infected” and 12 being “least likely to be infected”.

Prostitutes

Teachers

Younger wives of polygynous men

Pastors

Nurses

Inheritors

Widows under age 40

Men from your area who live in a city

Women from your area who live in a city

school girls

Local married women who need money

they all began by saying pastors never feature, nor do teachers or nurses, they haven't heard. F. said Inheritors 1st, then inherited women (widows <40), then city men; P. put city men at the top, then inheritors, didn't think inherited women on the whole, altho acknowledged that some of them, after the ritual sex, they are free to take other partners. E. said what about prostitutes, F. said in the city sense of the word or the local Luo sense? In the city sense of the word, people who do sex for money, they aren't here. They also agreed that school girls are a town issue, not here. I asked would the list be different in the city, they said yes, with Prostitutes and Rich men at the top, and then debate about rich women, with F. not thinking they were so imp. but T. and P. saying they were, paying for young men.

I told the story of T.O. that G. N. had told me. T. is in F.' village, Sibege, but he hadn't heard it. T. then told a story from Gwasssi, of the teacher, B. His 1st wife died, AIDS suspected; after that the second wife refused to have sex with him. He took a third wife, but then she also refused sex because according to the ritual the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife had to come first. B. went to the chief, there was a big meeting with mijjikumis, leaders, etc. They resolved it by saying that the 2<sup>nd</sup> wife didn't have to have sex with B. but it was all right if the third wife did. But B. still had an obligation to maintain the second wife.

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

March 1, Wed:

At breakfast I tell them that we can try to do most of the cover sheets in Mfangano with local interviewers, just asking them. On the island there is (or was in K2) a high proportion of interviewers who “know the family well”. And we won’t check people who were said earlier to be dead—they say so far they have found only one person that was “resurrected”, and that was a woman who had actually left so the husband just said she was dead.

I ask why women separate after the death—I can see getting out of there before, but why after? They say it is largely economic. I say but she still has the land. They say that often the husband was providing money, the land isn’t enough. I say but what about those kindly brothers-in-law? They say “not any more”, even before the man dies the brothers are planning to take his things, even the land. G. says it’s only if the sons are grown that the woman can protect the land (see Mead Cain’s work). F. recalls his respondent from Obisa, E.A., he and all three died. He had a nice house, but the brothers tore it down and now it’s planted—the supervisors all made a sound of disapproval, a tsk tsk sound. I thought perhaps there are so many in Kawadghone because HB is near, they can go there, P. thinks the separated women usually go to their place first, and then “they scatter to somewhere else.”

March 1, Wednesday:

R. talked with interviewer S. Her husband has been sick for a long time, and I wondered how someone coped with that. S. said the husband was in the hospital, on “drips”, and was not doing well. She said sometimes she is hopeful, and sometimes she’s not. R. tactfully asked her if she suspected AIDS, saying that with so much AIDS around she might worry, and it’s good to talk about these things, to think about what plans she should make if it’s AIDS. S. said she didn’t know what it was, that he had amoeba, had been vomiting for a long time. R. asked whether the relatives were helping now that she’s working for us, she said yes, the mother in law was watching her 3 children. R. asked if it should turn out that the husband passes, did she think the brothers would help her? She doesn’t think so, she thinks they are helping now because it’s for their son, but if he dies she thinks they will not help her, and she will “definitely” go back to her home. Her family had strongly opposed the marriage: the husband had a first wife who had died two years before her marriage, and the family was worried, they even refused the dowry. So she thinks that they may accept her back, and she’d be more comfortable there.



Meeting: mostly a discussion about how much left to do. Then I asked for stories. T. said they were interviewing in one home, the 14 year old wife was in labor, Wah Wah, the question question, then Wah Wah, she thought she would deliver there. R. said that one R from Nairobi named her a nwp, R. doesn't remember her but is curious if she said she's better off. She said "oh, now you're the people who are giving sugar. But there are so many questions, you should give a Kg for every hour, it takes so long." T. went back to a guy who refused last time, he wondered why they came back to him since they knew he would refuse. A Sure, thought we were devil worshippers.

T: Asked a little boy why he wasn't in school, he said "our teacher got a baby."

G. has a woman who left husband for one in a neighboring village, the interviewers said the husband was a stone cutter but the other owned a quarry. Quarry land isn't bought, it's ancestral land that happened to have stone; some however hire it out.

R.: in the vehicle we started a discussion about women separating, one of the ladies said the that women separate because the men just like flouncing around, having a good time, and also for ec hardship, but the men disagreed. It went on into the evening, B. said it's because of the quarry money, they look for these men. One of the women said "if your husband dies people lose respect for you, he's the only one concerned about you, once they are dead no one else will think of you, so they leave." G. pointed out that the men disputed that also, they said in the villages it's the women who look for daily food, it's no excuse if the husband's die that they leave for food. But R. thinks they have been struggling for the sake of love, but once he's gone why not try elsewhere. G. said there's no love in the village. T asked if it's ec hardship, if he's dead your life would be better because it's only the kids you're struggling for. G. said no love in the village, just life. At dinner T. added another story, one of their respondents is a widow who refused to be inherited. Her daughter is now on the death bed, and she can't go to her because it's taboo to go if you aren't inherited, "it wouldn't be tactful and anyway they probably wouldn't let her into their home.'

AIDS/STRATEGIES: Story from G., supervisor: Family, village of K.B, consists of G.O., M722, his wife 1st wife E. F762 and 2<sup>nd</sup> wife C., F763; there's also a third wife toward the end. Interesting points have to do with the response of separation, sexual and residential, of cowives to a man known to be HIV positive. Also, money matters: some of the twists and turns are due to competition between the brothers and one of the co-wives for the husband's assets, in which the brothers make strategic use of Luo customs. The story is based on C.'s account, but in his interview with E. she said the same thing. Some of the timing isn't clear-G. appears to have been ill with AIDS for quite a long time. C. says he was 1st ill in '87; in K2 he was too ill to be interviewed, Supervisor G. remembers that Mallet tried to interview him and he chased her away. G. had notes from his interviews, so perhaps the wives got the

dates wrong. I edited G.'s report somewhat to try to make the sequence make sense.

C. married 1984, in 1987 the husband, a teacher, fell sick, she stayed with him at the General Hospital in Kisumu, he improved and went back to teaching in Siaya. In 1990 he was transferred from Siaya because he was constantly sick, they brought him closer to his home. He went into the hospital again (date not clear), the wives started taking care of him in shifts. The bills were paid by C. (also a teacher, E. is a housewife), he didn't have any money. "C. decided to take him for tests, she said she wasn't paying any more bills until she knew what he is suffering from. He tested positive. After she knew it was AIDS, she didn't want to spend any more money, she was spending 3/4 of the family expenses on hospital bills, he was going to die anyway." She had him brought home,, started talking w/E. to arrange to how they would care for him. "So the man and his relatives started hating C. for the decision she made, the only person she could talk with was this cowife. So they talked and agreed, 'these people are always bugging us, saying why aren't we sending him to the hospital again,' that's when the two of them agreed to leave (separation). C. left and rented a house in Kandiege center—she teaches nearby—and E. went back to her parents. Then his brothers brought him to Homa Bay hospital. The two cowives agreed they would check on him there: one would go for two days, the other for two days. So the villagers [his kinsmen] organized a *coup d'état* against C.. G. had been living in the father's compound, they persuaded him to move out and establish his own compound, and to build a house for the third wife in it. By Luo custom, he should build a house for his wives in the new compound, and sleep with each one in order, then the houses in the father's compound are torn down (all this takes a day). They tore down the 1st two wives' house, but did not build ones for C. and E. in his new compound. Because this was not done, the 1st two wives no longer have a home, and they can't enter the home of the third wife. (The third wife was there only briefly for the moving, and then left; her role was to push out the other two wives. ). Eventually the villagers transferred him from HB hospital back home, because there was no improvement, no money. E. still refused to return, so C. came back to be with him until he died. "After the death E. returned, and forcefully took the house built for the third wife, and that's where she is now. C. wants to build her own with her own money. But now a problem has come. The brothers managed somehow to bring E. closer to them, they enticed her, they gave her a lot of land, tried to support her the initial days, so they could separate her from C.. The man who died is a teacher who has benefits, so that's why they wanted to pitch C. against E.. Now they are not in good terms. Benefits are pending a court case, then he won the case, so has a full salary for two years to be paid to either of the two wives. C. wants to claim this, which she can legally, because she's also a teacher, she got to know these things whereas E. is a housewife. Then there is pension money. So the brothers want C. not to be a legal wife, so they are trying to build evidence with E.. They are trying to say C. is a girlfriend not a married wife, she was not built a house here, she has never stayed in this village. But C. says they can't succeed, because at the employment place the man has two wives legally who will both be beneficiaries." E. is in the third wife's house, C. still has a house in Kandiege. "He had bought C. building materials so she's been claiming land, has gotten it already in fact." I asked why she's staying—she's a teacher, can support herself.? "She has kids, she doesn't want to go away with them, and she feels these kids too are beneficiaries to the pension." I asked G. whether the wives had sex with him after he was sick. "C. said she didn't have sex with him after the AIDS diagnosis. I asked her that,

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

‘why do people have sex [after they know a spouse is infected], why don’t they leave?’ She said ‘in my case when I knew that’s when we started stopped seeing each sexually.’” I asked whether she’s worried, he doesn’t know, he didn’t ask her if she had gone for tests. I asked if E. also gave up sex with him. The answer is yes. “ C. said ‘E. is now fighting me but I saved her life. And E. said that earlier when this guy was sick, he was almost mental, she thinks it was because they refused to have sex with him, they think it’s the madness that brought him down.” C. is not inherited, forgot to ask E., check questionnaire.

March 3:

Meeting: Meeting was outside under the trees. It was E.’s birthday, R. had gotten the kitchen to make two cakes, we were waiting for E. to finish trying to phone her parents, and drinking beer to prepare for the celebration. So meeting flowed into stories, dinner, vigorous debates.

What villages in our sites are “lakeside”—said to be more promiscuous because of fishermen. In Owich, it’s Orore, then Radianya and Nyatembe.

I asked whether there were any e.g.’s of men resisting inheritance: we have examples of women, but I haven’t heard any of men. Yet there must be, since people are scrambling to find inheritors, paying them, etc. F. recalls his respondent from Obisa,, M31556, mk#M180. who died of AIDS as did his wives. Saita [M179], E.’s brother, refused to inherit the wives, so he went to Kisii to find two men who would be inheritors. This led to a lot of discussion about inheritance, which the supervisors find of great interest—they often talk about it. G. says there is also pressure on men, women who believe in inheritance approach the men, put a lot of pressure on them. T. says maybe there is less pressure on men since there is only one (or two/three) widows, but lots of brothers to share the duties.

They clarify that the 1st sex with the widow, the “cleansing” sex, has to be done by someone outside the family; you (inheritor) “Take your coat and hang it there, symbolically you have inherited”. Traditionally that’s what inheritance meant, not sex, hang your coat, that was the cleansing.

subsequent, ideally it is someone like the husband’s brother (G. says not the real blood brothers, but the uncle’s sons) who inherits the widows, cares for them, has sex on ritual occasions etc.] G. says that nowadays, however, it’s the sex. P. recalls the smug inheritor sitting in front of his wife’s bedroom: he was sought out by the widow, who even asked the wife. Rightfully that is what is supposed to happen. And the widow eats with the wife before he inherits.

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

F. told a story of rich family from Nakuru. The father had died, the mother hadn't been inherited, then she died. The family brought her body home and all the villagers met them, said she has to be inherited 1st. "The family turned the hearse around and went back to Nakuru. They Came back the next day w/armed policemen". They had to hire gravediggers because villagers wouldn't do it because she hadn't been inherited. I asked F. why they didn't just bury her in Nakuru, he just laughed and said "you know Luos, you have to be buried at home." (Seems that they would break some customs, but not that one). P. said "People want to rest with ancestors", and then she said "Personally, I believe it is better to be buried at home, there's lots of land, if you're buried in Langata [cemetery in Nairobi] the hyenas will just come and eat you." G.: "Even me I have to be buried at home." R. says they don't have to bury her at home, they can be at peace. G. and other say "It's not your peace, you have peace, it's the ones left behind." G. tells about his father who "had to manhandle an inheritor, along with other villagers, because the inheritor has to put in the first poles for a new house for the widow, it was time for her to move to her new house, they had to get the assistant chief to go and bring the inheritor forcefully.". It seems that while some inheritors really like the job, others try to evade some of the duties. F. talks about Gwassii, the home where our pit latrine was, a woman there was inherited, she had moved to live with the inheritor, then two other inheritors, but didn't have a baby, she had just returned to the home 20 yrs later. When she returned and built a house, it was the last of three inheritors who put the first pole. P. contributes a story about her husband M.'s mother who hadn't been inherited, her husband died in 74, then she died ten years later. When she was taken home for burial, the villagers wouldn't dig the graves so the sons did it. The villagers told them "'You wait you're going to see people die like flies.' But they haven't, only one person has died and that was in a road accident."

We talk about the biting wild dogs (two cover sheets were of men who were away seeking treatment after having been bitten by wild dogs.) Apparently this is not at all uncommon. G. recalls guy who had AIDS who was bitten by a wild dog, they all laugh.

T.: One of her respondents, (F807) the wife of T.O., L.B., was beaten in the night by the husband because she had agreed to be interviewed. He had told her not to because we are devil worshippers. . T.O., L.B. T. said she thought about going to sympathize with the woman, but thought that might make matters worse. They recalled another devil-worshipping incident: They were driving back today when they came across a group shouting something, G. made the thumbs up sign, then they realized the group was saying "In Jesus name", "Jesus," in case we were devil worshippers. So G. did the thumbs down. Several supervisors repeat "We greet you in the name of Jesus", imitating tone, movements, and laugh.

Happy birthday to E. is sung.

T. tells story about a woman (not in sample) whose husband worked in Mombasa, “he came home in October which is odd, they usually come home in Dec. He had married another wife in Mombasa. So they are both home, they both get sickly.” T asks the woman ““what’s wrong with him?”, she says ‘It’s because he took the door of his mother’s house to use for the house of the new wife,’ she said ‘I told him not to do it, it’s probably a taboo, but he didn’t listen to me, so that’s why they are sick.’ T. said ““are you sure? she said ‘Yes, it’s *chira*.”” So that’s why, T. and the other say, they can have a husband die of AIDS but still say they are only worried about the inheritor. T: “She was convinced.”

Back to inheritance: P. tells a story about J.O., F. says oh he’s been looking for him, turns out he was with the inherited wife, G., in Luwala, F693.. F. says if you guys catch him interview him. F. had been to his home twice. P.’s interviewer P. knew F. was looking for him, a bit of talk how he knew, decided he would have gotten it from other interviewers.

G.: “Poor inheritors, the women kick them out sooner or later”. T: “The poor woman, the man is never there, they just come to eat.” F. thinks it’s a good idea to be an inheritor in town, “you flounce in big cars and big houses.” Somehow this segues into love and marriage. T argues that what villagers think of love is different from what we think is love. F. argues for the villagers’ standards for love. T: but what are their standards? They talk about kissing, F. says in the village they don’t kiss, that’s western.

F. says that the “many sex partners” of widows is right, they just say it.

G. keeps saying all the villager wants is a wife. F. says no, there are so many women, there must be some reason for picking this one and not another. G. says all that has to happen is a lady comes to village to visit one of her sisters there and she’s marriage material. G. said one of his uncles was caned for not marrying the person he was supposed to, he said ““she looked too townly to be able to dig.” Big talk about “pulling”, when they grab the woman, abduction. Argument about whether this is arranged or not. Abduction in market or when she was getting firewood or water.

Then a talk about Legio Maria in Nairobi, F. on an FP project. Then on to Mandela, amazingly long discussion about his marital life. They all acknowledged that he was a great man around the world. But T. said “how could he have forgiven the white men but not Winnie, how could he have dumped Winnie after she waited so long for him?” P.: “yes and what about the first wife? He just left her for Winnie.” The men blamed Winnie: “it’s not that, it’s that Winnie didn’t wait for him she was sleeping with other men and when he got out of jail she was never home.” This then turned into a discussion about sex, with speculation that maybe Winnie went elsewhere first because Mandela was in jail and then perhaps “afterward he couldn’t get an erection,” and F. and G. saying if that was the case it was the woman’s

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

fault, it's always the woman's fault they said, and then to a more general discussion about what women should do for men and vice versa, with F. saying "I bring the cows so she has to do what I say if she brings the cows it's another issue, and that women won't listen that's why so many are dying in Nyanza, it's chira", and P. countering "People don't bring cows anyway these days, don't be silly." R. gets v. uncomfortable: her relationship with G. is unstable.

Friday, March 3: Nothing much. Another mountain of questionnaires. I'm trying to keep the a.m.'s to write, but it means zipping through the questionnaires in the afternoon. The patterns are so familiar, however—even the visual impression of the pages—that it's not so difficult. On the other hand, I have the feeling that interviewers are taking short cuts. For example, the things that should be the same for husband and wife if they are monogamous, such as no. of children born, died, date of birth of last child, no. of animals, are often identical when the same interviewer interviews both husband and wife, and sometimes even when they don't (which may be interviewers comparing). And far too many cover sheets for people who have not been interviewed before don't have where they were living if they were dead or away. I think the supervisors really resent that extra task: after 6 weeks in the field they are "forgetting." E. goes over each supervisor's list of respondents, to make sure everyone has been interviewed and logged, and the ones that haven't are the ones that are to be interviewed tomorrow. A few glitches, but they are resolved.

Meeting is desultory. F. has made no plans for leaving Sunday, other than the most important one, which is to finish the interviewing, and inviting the interviewers for a goat roast tomorrow night—which I'm not v. happy about. The supervisors usually collect by themselves: I don't know why they want to do this, except to be patrons. A bit of canny questioning at meeting turns up that F. has made no arrangements for the diocesan boat, other than when he was here months ago on the preliminary visit. He proposes just turning up early Sunday a.m., which I say isn't a good idea since priests have mass on Sunday, the boat might be broken, no fuel, etc. I also lead him through the timing: if it takes 3 hours to pack like it did in Gwasssi, when do we have to get up? Turns out to be about 4:30 a.m., so I suggest we pack Saturday night, while the party is going on.

I think the Kawadghone interviewers were the least satisfactory. The impression I had from the questionnaires, as well as from G. NyA.h's comments, was that they had little interest other than earning money, which they wanted to do with as little effort as possible. Very few marginal comments, lots of inconsistencies.

Saturday, March 4: Lots of paper work. Finishing checking, logging. C. files. E. and I have a break: turns out both of us have fantasized just going from here to Nairobi and home, since we won't be able to finish out Mfangano. It's too bad, because it would be nice to finish what is likely to be the last stint

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

of fieldwork for Kenya together—I doubt there will be a Kenya 4. They enjoyed being together again, but I think it was just less interesting than the previous ones. And some will scatter. F. has in mind a political career, P. certainly should take advantage of her brains and pizzaz, T. will probably marry and have children, so even if there were a Kenya 4 it wouldn't be the same team. E. and I also decide that we should get the stuff that needs to be loaded on the vehicles, such as the mattresses, out of the rooms and publicly visible, so that when the team comes back it will be clear that we are on the move, ready to load, they can't fritter. We are sending the boxes of questionnaires from Obisa and Gwasssi back to Nairobi w/the vehicles, and some suitcases, to reduce the amount that has to be carted by boat.

Meeting:

G.: widow who refused to be inherited.

March 6, Mfangano:

Last night probably the worst in my life, or at least that I can remember. The morning was fine (we left Homa Bay only about ½ late, for the 1.5 hr drive to the boat (just near Mbita) and 2.5 hrs on the boat (beautiful as usual). Cheerful welcome from G., O., several of the old interviewers—one of them, J, was in the canoe that helped ferry us and our stuff from the boat to shore. We arrive to find nothing done for our arrival, despite their promises: the chief said “they hadn't yet completed”, though it was clear they hadn't yet started. A bit surprising not because of us, but because the DC is coming tomorrow for a ceremony and they will give him lunch in our workroom, which was full of bat shit, dead insects, dirty walls, etc, as were all the rooms and the halls (including a closet in which the bat shit was several inches deep). Moreover, the chief explained their failure to do anything as due to the in-charge, who has been sick and away for a week, only arrived 2 days ago, he has the key. “I sent someone for him”. But he hadn't until 2 hrs later we checked up, and then he did send someone. Most of us sat around waiting, but R. took charge, organized some boys with water and OMO to clean the workroom and the halls. The cooks, who are supposed to be cleaners also, were useless. Finally the in-charge arrived (it's more than an hour walk from his place, said the boy who went to get him), and indeed looked very weak and sickly—I suspect he has AIDS. No lunch, we got dinner about 8, but by that time the little bugs (sea flies, SAMs) had arrived; there was no cover for the food, so it was covered with them. We had put mosquito nets over the windows, but they didn't do the job. I said I was going to try sleeping in the

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

workroom—I'm not sure why, maybe because I couldn't stand the thought of the little rooms that still smelled of bat shit, even after cleaning, and because if I didn't, someone would have to sleep in the little house where Steve and I had slept in K1. It was a bad idea. Not only was it hot and full of the sea flies so that I couldn't read (I tried lighting a candle just to find my tape recorder, and it was immediately snuffed out by a swarm of them), but even when I went to sleep the sea flies were hovering over me. An hour or more before dawn the bats came home, and made a tremendous racket above the ceiling, including some flying around my room.

It's not clear who is in charge of us, I think the chief.

Yesterday C. (interviewer K1 and K2, also worked for K.) came around. She's 8 months pregnant, but wants to be an interviewer—she said “If I can dig I can do that”. I asked whether she thought we'd have trouble with the chief, she said “I think so.” Two things: 1) The chief has been telling everyone that if they want a job as an interviewer they have to help clean up the compound (not our space, but outside, cutting down bushes). Apparently some people did, altho C. said none of the old interviewers did. 2) the issue of “balance.” He's also said only people from the sublocation could be hired. I could give on that if there are enough.

Only about 12 interviewers waiting at 8. Fortunately we had already decided that we weren't going to begin today, having arrived to find disorder, and we had not sent anyone ahead to announce (since R. was here in Dec). Moral of story is that someone has to come and put up posters. Quite a few of the old interviewers were there—presumably they didn't tell others. About 15 came at later times in the a.m., we spoke to them, told them to come back tomorrow, and that they had to be on time. Each time R. emphasized that being hired depended only on the aptitude test: those with the top marks would be hired, the others would not, all “transparent”. So maybe they got the message. At one point I found the chief haranguing the waiting would-be interviewers telling them they couldn't sit for the test unless they worked at cleaning up the compound. But they all walked away and I haven't seen anyone there today doing it: I think the word got out from the old interviewers I talked with that it wouldn't matter. I talked with him a little bit, and made it clear also to him that it went by marks, that we had a lot of trouble last time (when he wasn't here yet) and I hoped he would help so that we wouldn't this time. I said the problem last time was lack of balance: he responded that tho he wasn't there, he understood that we had hired people who already had jobs. I said no, it was that we hired too many from one village, and that it was simply that some of the villages didn't have enough Form 4's. He then agreed, but went back to balance and the compound. I explained that as far as we were concerned it didn't matter whether people cleaned the compound. He nodded, but also said that the DC was coming, there was all that bush, it looked bad and (I think for my benefit) it brought mosquitos, that the government didn't give them money to hire people to do it. I agreed but reiterated our position. T., who was listening, said later she didn't think he understood what I was saying.



*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

Supervisors are bored—again, a good reason for not starting today. They would have been tired and cranky, whereas tomorrow I hope they will be full of vim and vigor again.

They are now requiring Form 4 certificates—and did so in Kawadghone. In Gwasssi one woman sneaked in with St 8, they dismissed her during training and she caused some trouble in her village, so they don't want that to happen again.

Very hot and sticky, as it was in Homa Bay. We're here later than we've ever been, and closer to the rains—perhaps it gets v. hot before it rains.

I asked G.M. whether people here were worried about AIDS. He said yes, very worried. I asked what they had been doing to protect themselves, he said some use condoms. When I asked “with wife” he looked surprised, said no, with girlfriends. I asked whether some left, he said some do; I asked if he actually knew anyone whose wife left, he said O. O., (M898) m. after K1, wife (F901) left because he moved, “she thought the other woman might give him AIDS”. I asked if she had come back, she has; then I asked why?? He said “maybe she couldn't find anybody to marry again.” What's more, he married the girlfriend, now has 2 wives

Tuesday, Mar 7:

HTR/AIDS: Last night at dinner P. raised the topic, apropos of nothing we were talking about, of how young couples planning marriage could be sure they were not marrying someone infected with HIV. T. says her church won't marry couples unless they both have testing certificates that they are uninfected, and someone mentioned that the government could do this, with Uganda as an example. Immediately there was a discussion about how this wouldn't work in Kenya—but noone commented that Uganda is not so different from Kenya, and indeed has Luos. They said the government couldn't enforce it, people would just bribe. D. gave the familiar argument that you could be tested today and tomorrow you'd be infected, so what good would it do. F. said that anyway people have been sleeping together before marriage and not using condoms. It would be better to encourage faithfulness, because if you change partners (before marriage) every six months and each new partner you have to use a condom with, you'd be using condoms all the time. I made the argument that I thought our data from Oyugis and Gwasssi showed change, and that family planning took a long time, and that I thought change would occur. The difference, of course, is in the meantime many will die. . F. said AIDS was different, because there was such a long time that you couldn't see any symptoms. He thought that instead of

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

saying “AIDS is death”, they should say “you will suffer for a long long time”. Everyone knows they have to die, but the suffering might scare them. (This is a good e.g. of the educated thinking that the villagers are “not aware:-- they don’t need to be told, they can see their relatives suffering). I pointed out that even though there is a lot of infection, 2/3 of the people in Kisumu are NOT infected, they must be doing something. No one took this argument seriously: they said “they are just lucky.” All of the participants in this conversation except T. (perhaps) have worked on AIDS projects for NGO’s: like FP before it, there is a continued sense of crisis, of people doing nothing, perhaps so that the NGOs can keep the funds flowing. I suggested that they talk to some of the respondents in their villages who say they are at low risk and try to figure out why, but no one said what a good idea. I suspect they much prefer to talk about why these people aren’t doing enough, than find out what they are doing.

My night was fine, but F., G. and D. didn’t sleep a wink, bats constantly through their rooms. They were very funny about it at breakfast, tho—F. saying he would push the bat over to D., and D. would push it over to G..

Quite a few interviewer applicants, altho only 6 old interviewers showed up. Almost everyone there at 8 sharp. We had given posters to interviewers who came yesterday, maybe they posted them: they said 8 sharp. G. was late, I had to send a cook after him. Last time the complaint was that Ugina we hired too many people from one family (the M.s), so we can’t be seen to be giving him any special consideration. T. said “they are not good friends with the chief, they don’t talk.” F. says as it is people refer to our team as “G.’s people”—last time he did all sorts of things to prepare for us (tables, chairs), he filled the lanterns every night, etc. R. came up and said that the chief was still insisting we hire only people who had cleaned the compound, R. told him off, that was his business getting the compound cleaned, not ours, that he hadn’t prepared the rooms for us. Later I go over to greet him, he again says what he did for us, I say nonsense, the place was filthy. I did so joking, however, as we need him on our side. He also talked to F. about giving jobs to the people who slashed the compound. F. said “I keep telling him the same same thing.” Our old chief, now back to being an assistant chief rather than an acting chief as in K2, comes over to greet us, and then goes over to talk with the chief. Perhaps he is telling him it’s no good to pressure us, it doesn’t work. I hope so.

Grading the tests: T. reads out a question that was supposed to be translated from English to Luo: jB21, about how many relatives you have, their ages, living, etc. Instead, the person answered the question—how many brothers living, dead, which ones had gone to secondary school, and the prescription “members of a family should learn to love each other.” F. laughed and said that must be a woman. I thought it was because of the sentiment expressed, but it turns out it was because it was such a poor answer—he said of course it is a woman, what do you expect. Then E. popped up and said when we had the question on animals, it was a man who answered “I have two cows, etc”.

The test scores were quite high, the highest we've had. We got 12 women without going below 17. 5 men and 1 woman had 17, we needed some of those but not all, so they did a personal interview with those people and selected. They wanted to take quite a few more than we needed and dismiss some, but E. pointed out how much it would cost if they took 6 extra people, say, for two days, today and tomorrow and they immediately backed off. Some debate about whether to take the 5 men and 1 woman who don't come from Wakula S. F. thought we shouldn't: we had been very strict about not paying any attention to who had cleaned the compound. The others disagreed, very strong statements about meritocracy, values—and about wanting the best interviewers because it made their work easier. The whole process—test, grading, announcing, took 2 hours.

FIELDWORK: Supervisors are convinced that even if there is some problem about the selection, it won't matter as soon as they know we are giving gifts. F. tells about a R who refused the interview, no no no. Then his female interviewer lifted up the sugar and soap to go, and he said "All right I'll do the interview." F. also talked about going to homes to interview in the a.m. and they offer you a big calabash of porridge, but without sugar. He had to force it down. Now he gives the sugar before they serve the porridge. T. said in one home where they thought the sugar was laced with something, they asked them to serve it separately so she could eat the porridge.

Much commotion about the visit of the DC. Community members are there early, around 9, DC supposed to arrive at 10. He hadn't—D.O., in charge of the committee for his visit, said "he will come." Then a pause, "I hope he doesn't fail us". In the event, the DC didn't come but sent his DO. Accompanied by the assistant DO stationed at Sena. The officials (Dos, the chief from here, our friend the assistant chief) all wearing army camouflage jackets, berets. Other people dressed up. Lots of chairs brought in from all over the village, a sofa set for the DO to sit on. They asked us to type up a memorandum for him, and a schedule of activities, which was mostly speeches. The DO arrived sometime after noon, and left about 5-5:30. The whole time was the important people sitting on chairs in front, some others on chairs in the audience, many on the grass (all this was under the big tree in front of the health centre.) Almost all the preparations were made by men, with the women only responsible for cooking; the guests were all men with the exception of one woman chief (I was told, I didn't see here). But it was clearly an e.g. of interactions with the official world being done by men. At one point they came to pay their respects to us, I told them a bit about the research—U of P, funded by Usgovt, w/reports going to Kenya govt and US govt, as well as many other places in the world that now know about Mfangano. That latter seemed to please them. DO asked whether we would teach people, I said no, he also asked if we give them results, I said we have but they weren't interested, they wanted things like water.

At dinner I bring up the comparison with Uganda. They all insist that Uganda had much higher levels of AIDS earlier. I checked in procite—around 1995, Rakai, about the same as Nyanza, but they aren't convinced. They also say in Uganda some prominent people announced they had AIDS, no one here

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

has, talked about the former chief justice, Chesoni, everyone knew he died of AIDS but it was never said.

March 8, Wednesday:

Big storm last night: thunder, lightening, lots of rain.

At breakfast: there are still a few interviews/cover sheets from Kawadghone to be sorted out. One is G.'s: E. had queried an inconsistency, he had gone back to the interviewer, she explained and he told her to fix it. Two NWP's had said small risk, but because uses condoms with partners AND has sex only with spouse. So when the interviewer fixed it, she moved the nwps to moderate/great risk. E. asked, but without saying name of R. G. immediately said "Was the interviewer HE.?" When E. said yes, he remembered the issue. A good e.g. of how well the supervisors know their questionnaires and interviewers.

INT-SELECTION: I've been meeting w/interviewers from each village to ask them whether so and so has died, moved, etc. They know, and it will save a lot of time. It's been v. time consuming to go to search out the houses of respondents who have died, moved, haven't lived here since before K1. Should have been done before, as it's wasted a lot of time, and esp. for those who had never been interviewed, since we sometimes didn't have names or compounds correctly. Rather a surprise to me that the supervisors didn't think of this before, as it was very much in their interest. A great advantage to have local interviewers. AIDS: one family moved back from Uganda, I asked why, they shrugged. Then I asked if he was healthy, they said no, he wasn't. When I told the story later to F., he had a respondent in Kawadghone (actually in Nyak Tenda) whom he had met when he was counselling AIDS victims in a project for KEMRI who had come home, is now dead, as is the wife. It took to me as if people who are sick may come back, perhaps to establish their wives on a shamba, to build a house, maybe because they get too weak to work wherever they have been. Then the man dies and the wife leaves.

STRATEGIES: went over the questionnaires for Wamai with J. (who was an interviewer in K1 and K2 also) and another man: J. is married the other is not. J. said even until the late 1980s there was little talk of AIDS, now "you can talk about it every day, even twice in a day. You see someone thin, and then he dies, and then the woman dies, "it affects you". I asked if he talked with others about what you can do to protect yourself, he answered "all I can do is take care of myself." I said no, that's not enough, he has to worry about his wife. I believe he does trust his wife, but in response he said when you see someone die, the wife dies, you say "I must talk to my wife." He married a second wife. I asked if that

*Notes by Susan Watkins*

caused a problem with the first, he said no because they had no children. But the second wife has not left. I asked if he was worried about the second wife's movements, he indicated a bit. I said wasn't it difficult to marry her, he said "well, at first you develop love, you marry." But it seems as if later he began to wonder. I asked if they knew of a man who had chased his wife because he thought she was moving. At first the two of them answered in generalities, but then it turns out that somebody told this man his wife's movements were suspicious, and "he found letters in the box" (I think her box, which is private for her). He then tried to talk with her but she denied it, they had a fight and she ran away. She tried to come back three times. I asked about children, did she leave them? He said there was no child in that marriage, and no cows. I asked what happened to her, J. said "I've been told she's in Homa Bay." Doing what? "Working in bars and hotels." I asked if that meant she was a prostitute, he looked a bit embarrassed, or maybe embarrassed for me that I would even have to ask that, and said Yes. I pressed them on real conversations about what you can do, with real people, to try to get away from generalities (including "people who are aware, who are a little bit educated", what they think. Finally J. talked about one friend and his wife, he thinks they are "weak", i.e. both unhealthy, probably HIV+. This friend talks very openly that AIDS is here. He told J. he moved around before, and his 2<sup>nd</sup> wife died, maybe he got infected from moving and then infected the wife. "He's saved now". When I ask them about men in the village who don't move, they say there are some, I asked who they are: they are "the saved ones." Then I asked the other interviewer, who isn't married, how he picks his girlfriends. It was mostly if they look healthy, when probed, also about their movements are not so direct. I asked him how he knew that, his example was "she comes to his area when he's not here", and also other men tell him.

T., from the Bible Translation Society, came by: he's supervising the remodeling of one of the little houses for a Canadian Missionary and his wife and 3 kids, who are to be here 4 or more years. First the missionary will learn the language and the orthography of Basuba, then after two years start to translate. T. had been very optimistic about the changes that having a Suba District would make, but they seem minimal—the government pays for the incharge (which it did before) and for "someone to advise them about development", which turns out to be the chief (I gather there is an extra chief now). But the government has withdrawn both from the clinic and the school, and left them entirely to the community. So people are contributing to the school to pay a teacher. And the Bible Translation Society last year brought a visiting doctor and dentist, and donated some drugs. But Tom is still pleased about the District—"it gave us an identity." It turns out that—Tom says following my suggestion—they have organized a fishing coop society and bought a boat, the one that was launched yesterday. This gives employment to about 20 youths as clerks, managers, etc and "reduces the burden of dependency."

After dinner I show them a couple of the lists for the villages, pointing out the "died", "left". They know these people, and seemed genuinely sad—oh, so and so died. P. and T. going over the lists to interview—pointing out the names that "I haven't heard before", like M., O.M., W.. The lists give a good picture of the movement in the village. In every one, there is a handful who have died, and a bunch of wives who have left—often just before or after the death of the husband. I suspect these are

wives who haven't been here long, especially ones where the family was not involved in the marriage arrangements—O. described one wife who left as “just someone you meet”. There are also people (sometimes just men, but sometimes a man and several wives, who have moved somewhere else. New wives have come in, and some men or women or families have come back from living somewhere else. The people K. found after K1 that had been missed tend to be marginal, and some doubtfully belong on the list—a few turn out to be fishermen who aren't member of the lineage, some where basically in Nairobi but just happened to be back, some were on the border of a village not in our sample, and not clear where they live. Thus, the miji-kumi's list was pretty good for a de facto sample of de jure lineage members. In retrospect, however, it would have been good to go to some women to check over the list, which was something we didn't think about. The women interviewers who helped me, and some of the male interviewers as well, only knew the women respondents by these nicknames. C. and F. kept saying the miji-kumi's know, but, like the miji-kumi's themselves, they think in terms of the male lineage. The women's nicknames—N.G., N.K.—that mark the places where they come from make it clear that they are never full residents, always known by their father's place. We also should have been more specific that for nicknames this is what we wanted, since this is how they are known in the village, or as “Min T.”, i.e. Mother of T.. Going over the list with the interviewers turned up several who had come back sick, and I suspect that there are more than they have said—a man working in Nairobi or Uganda who realizes he is ill will either have to come back because he can't work any longer, or perhaps he wants the wives to establish themselves so that someone will look after his children (I think O.'s brother did that).

Thursday:

At breakfast we talk about security, then P. comments that all the time we've been here except for the one attack by nightrunners after I had left in K2, no trouble. That leads to discussion of Gwassi. P. said her village, Ongongo, was despised by others in Gwassi. “I don't know why, maybe partly because they are Catholic and most others are SDAs, Catholics are liberal, they can drink) and because others think they have low understanding. In all my village there was only one home with a pit latrine, the next one was in the school that was in a pitiful position, threatening to collapse.” T. compares with her village, Radienya, 3 tile houses—Osero, his brother, someone else. “Would even fit in in Nairobi as upper middle class houses. And God Kwach is related to Radienya, if funeral in Radienya the whole of God Kwach comes.” Interviewer HE. in a fancy house, her husband works in Nairobi. P: “Our people (Ongongo) would say ‘Oh us, we are hated because..... But that of pit latrines has little to do with poverty, that is laziness. They would say ‘Are you people being pushed here because we don't know anything about the world? To bring us sugar with HIV?. But I was forced to talk nicely to her in order to use her pit latrine.’

QUESTIONNAIRE/INT-TRAINING: The interviewers have finished reading over the questionnaire and talking about each question. I go down to the clinic waiting room, where they've had training, and

try to explain why we have the sections other than FP and AIDS. Not sure it worked, maybe. They should know, since they will be asked “why does the mazungu want to know whether we have a pit latrine?” The interviewers, like the respondents, think that we are going to “teach” the people, or bring development: they can probably relate economic things to the latter, but gender and the modernity questions can’t make much sense to them.

FIELDWORK: F. didn’t buy the gifts in HB, probably because it’s a lot to transport, or maybe because he forgot. He sent G., who has a boat, to get them (which means G. missed a day of training). We also don’t have enough cash, so he wrote G. a check, G. can advance the cash. When I wondered about this, F. said these fisherman can make a lot of money. When we arrived here, it turned out that F. had substantially underestimated what we would need here. He and E. had been over the expected expenses for Kawadghone and Mfangano, and then asked E. to wire enough money to cover, about 600,000KS. But when F. wanted to pay J. and S. before they went back to Nairobi, E. said she couldn’t, she had only enough money to pay for the interviewers, the return boat, and a little extra. It turned out F. hadn’t included costs like for food here, and some other things—he’s 100,000KS short. C. had the same problem in K1.

O. goes over the Kiumbwe questionnaires with me, and P. to translate (he speaks some English, but is far more loquacious in Luo). One of death’s is O.’s elder brother. M. K. M989, M.A.K. F1021. Died August 1998, AIDS suspected. He’s O.’s older brother. O. said some people suspected AIDS, but O. doesn’t think so because he left behind small healthy children. The brother did, however, ove around (O. laughed and said “that’s normal”). He thinks he used condoms but isn’t sure because M. worked in Uganda—but he once saw condoms in his house. When M. knew he was dying, he worried about the children, and asked O. to care for his only son. O. has done that, and the daughters as well: he sees that they go to school, that they eat well. He also helps the wife with soap, and maize if there is famine. There is also an inheritor, a family member, who helps with money as well. After the husband’s death, the wife was worried that she may have been infected, but now she is not—the years are passing, and the children are fine. I asked O. if M. had given him any advice about avoiding illness, he said no.

O.M. M1001, C. O./N.K. F1034. She left. Both the two interviewers and O. had much the same explanation. She had been ill for some time (the husband, said the interviewers, did not “move”), and a preacher for one of those “new churches” came to pray for the family, the wife left with them. Upon probing, it appears she didn’t leave for religion but for the preacher: he was “one of those false preachers who come to take people’s wives”, said O.; the “preacher said he could pray, but they were up to something.” She stayed in Mbita with him, came back for one week, left again. The husband then followed her to Mbita, but couldn’t find her. She left one boy behind.

O.K., M909, and N., F914: he Died 1998, AIDS suspected. The two interviewers said “diarrhea and witchcraft”, i.e. chira; O. said malaria. The wife left before he died, while he was sick: the two interviewers said she was “afraid of repercussions” from his death, including problems with the brothers. After probing about these problems, they said “Nobody could assist her”, but that turns out to be nobody would assist her: they had been living in Uganda and were not welcome when they came back in 1997. At that point he still looked healthy. O. said that the wife “was just this woman you met”, they (he and others) didn’t know her well; he says the story about the brothers not helping is not true. O. said she had also been living in Uganda. She is also said to have died in 1998.”Some said AIDS suspected, some malaria”. She was sick for one year, and very thin. The two interviewers said she didn’t live elsewhere, but I think O. is right, he knows the family better.

P.O.O. M994 and R.A. F1027. She died in 1998, sick three years, some said chira, some said AIDS. It was also said she was killed/cursed: people thought she could have been a nightrunner, or one of those people who looked at people wickedly. O. added, when asked, that she also used to move around along the beaches: he knows about this because, as the proverb says, “whatever you do in darkness will come out”—and it turns out that a cousin of O.’s was one of the men who moved with R. Her husband had heard about her moving, and was worried; O.’s cousin hasn’t talked about any fears, he thinks the husband may be worried about infection.

PAPERFLOW: Day spent helping E. organize the questionnaires. It’s really a massive task, and she’s done a terrific job. She first printed out labels for the questionnaires of all the people who are in STATA, noticing discrepancies (such as husband and wife in a different village). Then N., L. and M. (before they left) went through the miji-kumi list where I had marked all the people who hadn’t been



interviewed before, and made questionnaires for them (surely introducing some error, e.g. writing the id# done incorrectly). Then I've been thru the questionnaires with interviewers from that village, to find out those who have died, living in Mombasa, etc, so the interviewers/supervisors don't have to deal with them. Then, the final step which E. and I worked on today, is to be sure that all the questionnaires on the supervisor's log are in the proper box for that village, plus the one's from the m-k list that aren't on the log, and all the cover sheets that have been done are noted on the log. Very tedious. It's easy when it's a monogamous couple who have been interviewed before. But some have gained a wife with a different level number, so the two wives of the same husband are on different places on the log. And for those on the m-k list who were never interviewed or had a number because they were living away in K1, the name is often still Wife 1 or Wife 2. One of our goals is to be able to tell the supervisors tomorrow how many there are to be interviewed here, and thus how many days it will take if they do x a day vs y a day. They are eager to leave, although they are being good natured about it. Two months in the field is a long time, and we are all worn out. And doing all this paperwork makes it very understandable that few people want to do longitudinal studies—you are sure to uncover mistakes in identities, shoddy sampling, etc. And unless it is associated with a project that gives something back, such as Navrongo, the respondents are less willing to cooperate.

The rainy season has definitely begun. It rained again last night, although this time I didn't hear it. But when I got up, pretty much at daybreak (we turn off the generator at 9 and everyone goes to bed), there was a bank of black clouds moving away over the lake. It then got sunny and humid again, the lake flies seem to be back.

Friday March 10:

Questionnaires with Mauta interviewers:

4. O.O. M Mombasa

**K3history: Had been living in Mombasa**

**Died Nov 1998, cancer/chira, "some suspected AIDS because he liked women on the coast".  
Died in Mombasa.**

5. Wife I F Mombasa

**Nyar Bakusu: K3history: had been living with him in Mom basa**

She returned after he died with children and household goods. She refused to be inherited, although there was pressure: “she doesn’t trust anyone.” His brothers are providing for her.

7. M.O. M Muhoroni

**K3history:** had been living in Muhoroni. Died 1994, in Muhoroni. Died of lung cancer, AIDS not suspected.

8. N.W. F Muhoroni

**K3history:** she returned after he died. Relatives helping her. She was inherited, but separated from the inheritor, who then died either of AIDS or chira. She is now looking for another inheritor because “she’s in need of a house.” Interviewer says she didn’t seem so worried about infection, “or maybe she can’t show it.”

3. O.W. M Nairobi

**K3history:** Had been living in Nairobi, returned to Mauta around 1994/95. He died in 1995, related to witchcraft–quarrels with a neighbor.

4. Wife I F Nairobi

**Died 1989.**

**Wife 2: N.K.** She deserted home after he died. She was sickly, husband’s brothers “not taking care of her properly”, e.g. wouldn’t take her to hospital; also, neighbor wanted a piece of her shamba, since he was said to be a witch she was worried about dying. She went home to her parent’s place so they could take care of her and her children (she took the children). This was a proper marriage–his 1st wife had died in 1989, and the mother of the deceased wife introduced them. Interviewers say the brothers are quite poor, couldn’t afford the hospital expenses.

3. O.O. M Nairobi

**K3history:** Has been living in Nairobi, retired to Sindo with an inherited wife. Children live in Mauta with grandmother. He returns rarely to give grain for the grandmother/children.

4. Wife I F Nairobi

**K3history:** Divorced, has been living in Nairobi. Never comes to village, name not known.

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

Meeting:

Re cover sheets, remind them that if person has not been interviewed, not enough to say “dead”, or “died last year”, or “moved to Kisumu in 1998”—has to cover the K1 and K2. One of the reason there were so many callbacks before is that the interviewers didn’t get this straight, and some of you didn’t catch it.

Nervous about interviewers, esp toward end when they learn what the common answers are.

E.g. G.’s interviewer J.O.O., knew a R. quite well, and a NWP of the respondent, a confidante, was surely known to him as well. Yet almost everything was wrong about him, as if J. just put down any number.

E.G. Cover sheet of a woman who died says “lived in Kisukmu but now living here”.

Try not to have same int. do husband and wife. Usually if there are different interviewers the numbers of chickens, goats etc are somewhat different: when the same interviewer, they are identical. Story of G.N.’s interview: had interviewed wife before and filled in, just confirmed w/G..

Pay attention to frequent rubbings. To be expected 1st days, but certainly after 5 days should be only occasional, e.g. when R changes mind.

Would it help to dismiss at least one interviewer fairly early on?

A37/38 re risk: do not read list

A38: Be sure they ae cler about diff between “spouse has other partners” and aquestions about Respondent (does not use condoms, more than one sex partner, many sex partners)

Todo-Mfangano

Go over m-k lists and E.s log to make sure all the ones who hadn’t been interviewed are on my list.

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

make list of “problem” respondents—e.g. no person by this name, no wife by this name.

Ask local interviewers to rank categories by most likely to be infected

Make list of men under 40 who say no sex partners, and match with interviewers who know family, ask whether believed.

Ask supervisors to find out why diff nwps for FP and aids

March 11, Saturday

At meeting last night E. reported her count of number of questionnaires—458—and estimate of how many days it would take if they did 2/day vs 3 per day. For 3/day it's six (actually 6.1) days, they'd be finished Thursday, could leave Friday; for 2 a day, it's 3 more days, they could leave Tuesday. They are determined to leave Thursday, but it's unlikely—and I do hope that they won't sacrifice data quality, altho I think that is also unlikely: they feel that they have worked hard over the years to get superb data. This morning at breakfast (bread, marg, peanut butter, jam) I gave chocolate hearts to all to mark the first day of the last site. T. said every morning when she wakes up, before she opens her eyes, she counts how many more days (she shuts her eyes and scrunches up her face to illustrate).

March 11, 2000, Mfangano: T. from Bible Translation and Literacy Society:

We talk about what the community development committee is doing, incl. the new boat that was launched (symbolically: it still doesn't have a motor). He said there is a lot of money in fishing (Remba Is., near here, can get as much as 3/4 of a million Ksh/day—it's the chief fishing island around here). But he says not much stays in the community, because most of the fishermen here, in Ugina, are from outside. I asked why, since it's so lucrative. His explanation is that for a long time fishing was seen as something done by people who didn't go to school. And they don't use the money well—they get it, and they just go to bars and compete to buy crates of beer for their friends.

After that he talked about AIDS, but about orphans, not the disease. The committee is talking about a home for orphans. I said wouldn't it be better for them to be cared for at home by the husband's

***Notes by Susan Watkins***

brothers, but he said sometimes the “uncles are not very concerned.” I asked for an example, he told about a kid named “Boy” whose father and mother had died, he was being cared for by the grandmother, and then she died recently, he has no one. I said not no one, uncles. He said “You know, we take ourselves as poor, the little we get we want for our immediate family.” He then talked about help from outside, probably a logical connection: “Sometimes when you walk with a white man, they think you are also rich. When they see the white missionary they see money in him, they see good things.” He traces this back to the missionaries in colonial times, who just brought things.

I asked about behavior change re AIDS. He said “it’s difficult to gauge, but from the talk there is a sense that turning. But with this beach down here, it’s not easy to control. But they are aware, they are cautious in their movements.” He said the women who come here “are trying everything to lure men, especially the youth.” I asked about widow inheritance, whether men were refusing. He said yes, “if you know someone has died of AIDS, you don’t want to inherit the widow.” Indeed, he said, this is one of the reasons the family doesn’t want to say that the man has died of AIDS. I asked if he knew someone who refused, he had one example, of a man who wanted to inherit a widow “but his father refused, he said “you’ll get AIDS because your brother died of AIDS.” I asked whether people talked about this story. “Some people talked about this positively, some negatively. “What did they say? “Some said that ‘the old man did a good thing, because he concerned that his home will be wiped out.’ Others said, ‘that lady, no one will take care of her and her children.’”

I asked about women leaving. “Once you come here [marry here] you become the property of the home, and people should take care of you. But sometimes that help is not forthcoming.” I asked whether people returned home to die, he doesn’t think so. He thinks what happens is that these people who have stayed away a long time have “become used to town life, they retire, they come back and they have to work on the shamba, the change in work intensity” leads to their death. Or if they are sick, they think they can get treated at home: “Let me go and be treated at home.” I said but the treatment facilities are better in Mombasa or Nairobi, he said yes, but “the sickness may not be treatable in the hospital, only in the rural where there are traditional herbs.” I asked if there was a problem when a man who has been living outside a long time returns with his wife and family. He said yes, “when the family goes, land is available. When he returns, the land is squeezed.” He heard of a case when the man died, “the brothers started snatching, they took his canoe, his things, the wife had to leave.”

I asked about women who think their husband has been moving, may have become infected, do they leave? He told of a case where “the woman realized husband has contracted, she moved to new place where nobody knows her.” I asked how she would learn husband has contracted, “She learned from the symptoms, might have seen reports in the hospital. The lady has also died now.” He didn’t ever talk with this lady, he just heard about it.

“Here they don’t leave when think husband moves, they start moving themselves. Or if a friend to the husband’s friend has died, they take that as a sign that the husband was infected too, and start to move.” I asked about a specific case: “Someone on Remba, after she realizes the husband was walking around, she started moving, but unfortunately it is the wife that has passed away.” Also another case: “Here there’s a case, somebody has passed away, he had been moving with a married woman, the husband of that woman says ‘now I’m dead’, so he has to walk to make sure he doesn’t die alone.” I asked if he actually knew of someone, he knows of one person who has said that. “The person who died, so many things had been said. The husband has made it public, that he is going to move around, and he is really moving around.” And added, “Two people I know, one working in Mombasa, after contracting the disease in Mombasa came here, declared he would give out money to women. He man died 3 years ago, the women are in the line of going away. And some of their husbands have died. The train of death.”

I asked about “probably not”. He said you can’t know what people did, but he didn’t seem to think it was very likely that women thought their husbands faithful. I asked about older men: “Older men it is not easy to say.” Staunch Christians? “Yes. But Christians, if the husband is maybe faithful but the wife not...” I talked a bit about the church’s emphasis on personal responsibility, saying that is not enough. I don’t think he had considered the issue like this, although he certainly recognizes spousal transmission. Then he launched into an “awareness speech”, “What is needed is awareness, people trying to sensitize people, trying to educate families on how they can take care of themselves.” I said they know what they need to know, he said yes, but still you can need a “refresher course.”

We talked about change. He thinks there has been some community development. Talked about women’s groups, thinks there are four new women groups since we were here last, one a poultry group, getting lots of money.

Doesn’t think helps to tell people they are infected because that person will want others to be infected. I ask if he thinks Uganda’s approach re testing before marriage would work here, but he doesn’t answer the “would work” part with the sort of objections the supervisors raised. He says “Testing for marriages is being discussed in the church.” It’s been done in two SDA churches near here, one in Oyugis, one in HB. “A young boy who wanted to get married, they went for checkup, the families said ‘it’s better we know who you are going to marry’, by the time the results were out the boy was infected. They didn’t get married, it was canceled.” Tom supports this, that ‘you need to know the person you are marrying, take a blood test. We are not living in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the medicines are there, you go and get your results. Tho people still fear. Because you will be isolated, at the beginning [of the epidemic] they put people in a camp if they were infected.” I’ve never heard this, but he insists: “The camps were in several places, I know in Kisii.” Talks about the pictures of AIDS victims in Uganda—they appear to have made an impression. “The pictures that were taken in Uganda were really fearsome, a guy, the whole of his face was chopped up, [illustrated, something where face v. distorted]

*Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3*

he was lying on the ground, helpless. So any person associated w/aids is not taken lightly, if I discover that I have AIDS, my health would change.”

I asked whether people talk now about condoms. Yes. “People say openly “use condoms”, they feel it is much safer.” He talks about the prestige associated with having many women, men who brag they have had every woman in the village. “Now they say ‘there is no way I can have just one wife to show my manliness’ but they say ‘let me use condoms’.” I asked if they would use with the wife, no, “but not with the wife, they won’t even want the wife to realize they have a condom in the pocket because a condom is a sign of prostitution.” I asked about availability. “They are provided in the clinic, sold in the kiosks, they just buy them.”

We then walked down to see the missionary’s place, and to the village to see the new fishing boat, which can hold 80 people or two tons of fish. The fishermen register their catch each morning, but are only given enough for the day, the rest is saved. The society is new: the fisherman here used to belong to one “over there”, G.M. was the representative, “but there was mismanagement.” So this group broke away. He’s not sure they can avoid mismanagement here, but hopes God will help.

Throughout he emphasized, as he had last year, the importance of the community doing things for themselves. Said that they had been just waiting for the govt to do something for the school and the clinic, but now the government has turned things over to them, e.g. the clinic building. He also said the in-charge has been here only since January, altho he has been sick since he came it hasn’t been that long. Re home for orphans, he conceives it as for the very needy; I said but won’t everyone w/an orphan want to send them? He then talked in the ideas of a means test, tho not the language. At some point Tom asked whether I had put into a report anything about the “little trouble” we had last time. I said no. He said that a lot of people heard about it, e.g. the DO, DC were talking about it. It didn’t look good for the people here.

I type for E., her interviews from Rumphu, replete with repetitions, murmurs. I comment to E.. She said the interviewer whose stuff I’m typing, Praise, had transcribed before he did an interview, and said when he interviewed next he tried not to do so many repetitions etc because it was more work for him. But he said it clearly made the respondent uncomfortable, he was waiting for a murmur before going on.

Asst chief J.S.O. came for a visit. To greet me, make sure we are o.k., no problems w/security, etc. Also to arrange for me to visit—he can’t Monday or Tuesday so we set Wed at 8. We talk some about AIDS, nothing much new. He said people now are really convinced there is AIDS—though some still say ““it is chira, there is no AIDS”” . I asked whether even these advise their sons not to move around,

and they do. He talked a lot about telling people they have to be careful. He did know of two men in his village who refused to inherit a widow because the husband was suspected to have died of AIDS. He says in his village he has forbidden inheritors from the outside. Said people reacted well to that, but I'm not sure. I asked him about wives who worry that husband is moving, what they can do. He said "Some women are very courageous, they say 'My husband, moving around is dangerous, there is this dreadful disease.'" But some of the husbands just dismiss it. "The man, you know, is in charge here. They just say 'I will do what I want.'" I asked if women complain if they can't be inherited. He said they do, they say "If I can't be inherited who's going to help me?"

For the ones who refuse, sometimes there is pressure. "But nowadays if you try to pressure someone to be inherited she can even take you to court"—although when I asked, it turned out there has been no case here yet. "But what they usually do, on the day of burial she can say 'I want to make it clear before you that I will not be inherited.'" At funerals he tells people "don't try to force inheritance." I asked why he was opposed to outside inheritors. He said because of the disease: either the outside inheritor will bring it, or he will get it from the widow and spread it elsewhere. We went over the list together for Wamai, and then he asked to see Mauta. Even with all his talk about AIDS, he was reluctant to say the word—he would say "that dreadful disease", or sometimes "aah no, that was malaria". Brought up the sad state of orphans. And somewhere in the conversation said most people trying to avoid AIDS but not the fishermen, they come from other places, Uganda, Tanzania.

R. chatted with J. S. and his wife. J. told about a friend of his who used to move a lot, and then suddenly stopped, he got scared, told J. about it. But J. also said that only the person knows his own heart, indicating that he wasn't sure it was true. I said to R. that he had forbidden inheritors from the outside. R. said he said something a bit different, so maybe I misunderstood—that men in the village were now considering very carefully whether to inherit or not, but that there were these men at the beach, fishermen, they would just do it. His wife said young men, most of the time it's that women like mandazis so the young men buy them, but now the women are buying mandazi for the men, they are women whose probably their spouse worked outside and had a lot of money. They talked about how odd it was for people who announce their spouse died of aids, still they can get partners.

R.: Came back bubbling. They did 2 each. Very long walk there, over an hour, worse on the way back because of the seaflyies, they had to walk with their heads down. She had been very tough with the interviewers yesterday, including Julius, an old interviewer who really messed up yesterday, but did fine today. "They are so eager, they were even running to the interview (she illustrated). After the interview they would come back, I would check the questionnaire quickly to see if anything missing, anything obviously wrong, if there was I would send them right back, and they would go off running." they would say "I want to do this perfectly."

F. and G.: In Ugina, hard to find anyone before 10. Then they all come back, they are there until 1, and



then they go walking. But P. said it's hard to chase the men, they are planting seeds, from 6 to 6 they are missing. So have to get them at the shambas. Her village is right next to Ugina, so not clear why the schedule is so different. She said maybe it's because it's high up and very bushy. But she also got 10. They are optimistic about finishing: interviewers did two each today, they can do more by tomorrow or the next day. And they aren't making many mistakes, they said.

I told them they could sacrifice new wives of polygamists or new couples if they were hard to find; if they are there, interview them. But chase down the people we've interviewed before.

F. says the supervisor's presence makes the interviewers nervous, and the respondent too. So they decided to sit just outside. But then the interviewer comes out to consult them. Even G. came out saying the person refused to give networks, he didn't know what to do.

FIELDWORK: T: "I had a lot of trouble in Mauta. Two of the ladies we fired are from there, and the people are really complaining. We have only one from Mauta." She explained that "they couldn't keep up,, we had to let them go, but they weren't convinced, they thought we did it on who you know. They said we have 19 interviewers from Ugina (we have 7) that's why the chief who wasn't happy when we came is now quiet. One guy was walking through saying 'these guys are devil worshippers' but when he passed the women said 'come'." One man came and asked her how the research would help at the end of the day. "Then I have this respondent who goes from beach to beach for fishing, when he goes to Remba for fishing he puts up with two ladies, he refers to them as wives. When he goes to Ringiti he gets two others, refers to them as wives. But they never come home. So he listed one of them, a third wife, as a cowife." Later, F. said the Councillor's son passed, daughter of chief's brother, maybe that's why people in Mauta complaining. But O.O.'s brother didn't pass—he had spoken to F., F. said aptitude test etc, he said "but you know me", F. said etc etc. Afterward O. said to F. "now I believe you."

SAMPLE: F. says some of the guys who are supposed to be dead are alive and vice versa. He thinks it's just a confusion of names, they are brothers. I checked the names J. S. had given me with the names the interviewers had given me, no mistakes, so I think people are pretty knowledgeable about who has died, who has left, who has come back.

I think chira probably underestimated—when I went over the sample list w/the interviewers, they were reluctant to say chira, and when I said it they were surprised. Maybe chira is considered a very Luo thing, that outsiders wouldn't know about or would disapprove of.

Supervisors didn't assign interviewers to their own village, because "they'll say they can't interview their uncle". C., who is 8 months pregnant and lives in Ugina, thus has to walk over an hour to Wamai w/R..

F.' respondent O.O. (the flunky to the chief) is the one who last time wanted to inherit but his father chased the wife away saying O. would inherit and there'd be all that diarrhea, who would clean it up. O. didn't inherit, but on questionnaire says most worried about inherited wife. Wife returned after two months.

Mar 12, Sunday

Last night as I was falling asleep I heard men talking, thought it was O. and friends. But it was the chief and some rather thuggish looking "security police": I said we didn't need security we had O., and that I didn't want anyone bothering "my ladies". The chief tried to reassure me--they had "come from far" to arrest "youth" today. But they made me nervous. Then falling asleep again, I heard a lu-lu-lu-lu sound, a bit like someone imitating a bird call (but clearly not a bird). Then it was joined by others, and a fair amount of noise. I became worried that they had gone to arrest youth who were fighting back and would storm our compound, went out to check with O., who said "the father of Jerry has died". I suppose he knew from the direction of the sounds, and undoubtedly knew that the man was sick (it turned out he had had an operation, and is fairly elderly). At breakfast, F. announced a funeral in his village, and that he and G. were going to try to get people at the funeral. P. and T. shocked, F. backpedalled and said not at the funeral but to get them on the way. E. suggested they go to another village today, but F. rejected that--E. said later that he won't take suggestions from her.

D. was gossiping with a woman from a nearby village. She said that the chief of the area had been having an affair with one of our interviewers, A., who recently gave birth to his child.

Supervisors back: most of the interviewers did 2 interviews, some 3--even in Ugina where the man died and lots of people away. Also lots of people away at the shambas--they have now planted, and while the seeds are germinating someone has to be there to chase the monkeys away (after the seeds are out of the ground, F. says, the monkeys aren't a problem.) D., with some reluctance, tells part of the story of the chief and his girlfriend our interviewer, I tell the rest. G. launches into "there's no love in the village", with an example--one of his respondents (wife to H932) was a Standard 3 dropout, got married at 13 or 14. The first wife had some sort of swelling in the wrists and ankles and couldn't work, so the husband said he needed to get another wife. The first wife suggested her sister. Moreover, the new 2<sup>nd</sup>

wife suspects her husband of infidelity. And no nwps, says F., because she is so young the other women look at her. Supervisors are shocked that she is so young, the age of the girl speaks for itself, it can't be love. Also he needed someone to work. Then P. comes up with a counter-story: the inheritor of O.'s brother's widow. The widow is her respondent: "he's always there, so concerned, when are you coming with the paper? Get one of your good officers who can do it fast." But G. counters: He doesn't love the wife but the inherited wife [i.e. more like a girlfriend]. F. tells about one of his respondents waiting for two days for the wife to have a baby; G. said "he wants the baby." A bit of talk about childbirth in the field—two interviewers passed an open door and there was a woman lying on her back giving birth. Someone said "screaming", someone else said "they don't scream in the village." Then to top it all came R.'s story. Her village is Wamai, where the asst chief J. S. lives. "He was dogging someone's wife and his wife H. found out about it, decided to do the same, "she really went wild." He heard about it, pretended to go to Homa Bay but snuck back at night and found her. He beat her, there was a big family meeting, they decided they loved each other, reconciled, and became "saved." R. heard the story from H.'s best friend (and "other female relative"). T. was short of gifts, I said couldn't she interview and bring them the gifts tomorrow, she said "In Mauta they won't talk without gifts."

Monday: Interviewers are the best we've had yet. The questionnaires read well, suggesting that they understand the questions, and few rubbings. Many of them rendezvous at clinic in the a.m., (7:30) and spend the next half hour organizing the sugar and soap (½ kilo of sugar and a long bar of soap per respondent), and sorting questionnaires. Then they take off with bundles on their heads, looking a bit like the line of porters following explorers in the old pictures. They are still very eager, and some have organizational abilities.

Yesterday someone commented that one of Julius' (interviewer) wives left. He's young to be a polygamist, so we made a big deal about it. Now it appears he didn't manage the two. It seems that polygamist is a title somewhat like "General"—even after you retire it remains an honorific.

T. comes back and says that there have been two beach meetings in her village, Mauta, over our hiring. They say that the chief's flunky, O., passed through during the selection process and said that they had to promise him a goat, beer, etc if they wanted to be hired. I was there most of the time, however, and I didn't see this. I suggested T. offer to show them the tests of people who didn't pass, but they don't want to see they test, they said they knew how they were done, by favoritism. I said maybe we should dismiss one of the supposed favorites just to show we weren't playing favorites, T. was shocked. She also said the interviewers themselves would know if we were acting unfairly, since they know who is performing poorly: the poor ones ask them for help, they say "go back!", the poor interviewer returns and they say "you haven't corrected this!" We also discussed the poor interviewer of T.'s, whom today she shifted to G. and F.—she thought perhaps she had been too tough on her and scared her. I said maybe we should dismiss

Meeting: They are still very eager to finish Thursday, altho I don't think they will make it. E. said they should go over their logs, count how many are left to be interviewed, and she can calculate, but they didn't seem to want to do that but rather just assume they will finish. Then F. brought up finances, which turned into an emotional discussion. He began by saying that E. had suggested to him that since we are running short it might be possible to have just one vehicle come from Nairobi to get the team instead of two—E. and I will be gone, and perhaps C.. They objected fiercely that it wouldn't be comfortable to be in one vehicle, and "they need their comfort." The supervisors then joined in saying that they keep hearing that the project is poor, and they are worried about their salaries. This goes on for a while, and then E. says their salaries are not in doubt. And I say that their salaries are not in doubt. I explain that the financing for this project was very generous, particularly on the major part which was their salaries. They and F. figured out what these should be and I didn't quibble at all, because I wanted them for this project. E. pointed out that the project had overspent in several ways—hiring more interviewers, staying longer in Gwasssi, an underestimate for the cost of the boat, the parties in Gwasssi and HB which we all enjoyed but were not in the budget. R. got incensed at this, made a passionate speech that hiring more interviewers etc was not the team's decision. I thought at first she was saying that it was my decision (which I suppose it was) but she was saying that it was the management, the team shouldn't be made to bear the burden of this but rather the management, i.e. her and F.. She made this argument several times. I said that the issue was that we had a limit, we couldn't spend any more, there wasn't any more, that the only times I had raised the issue of concern about the budget was the discussion about sharing rooms in Homa Bay and after we got here, when they wanted the project to provide beer and sodas in the evening, and that I had pointed out re the HB rooms that I had brought this up and said it was their choice and that some might eventually have to come out of their per diems. It turns out, which I didn't know, that they had already been paid the entire per diem. E. pointed out that it would seem like it came out of their salary but it was really the per diem, but that seemed very unfair to them. Ultimately it was tabled: E., F. and R. will calculate how much we have left and how much we need until we all get back to Nairobi, and tell them, they can decide what to do. It turns out that E. herself doesn't know exactly how much there is in Nairobi—she asked E. several times but he never told her.

On top of this it turns out that G. had invited the whole team (minus me) to dinner tonight, and the supervisors didn't tell the cooks—nor did G., whose wife is the head cook.

I turn off the generator (and thus the lights) to signal I'm not happy with them. When they get back E. comes in to say R. feels very badly about things, she spoke too strongly. I tell E. to tell R. not to worry, I'm disappointed with the team but not upset with her.

Wednesday: I don't get up for breakfast, altho awake. P. and T. come to check. I tell them also I'm disappointed with them, that the project has been v. generous with their salaries, and I don't feel good about it. Midmorning I send D. for F., and tell him I'm disappointed in him, that as study director it's

part of his job to deal with these things with the supervisors. He says he tried, but they wouldn't listen to him, and that it's hard working with people he knows so well for so long. He said it's only the issue about the rooms and the vehicle that they have been upset about, I point out that these are the only two issues re budgetary restrictions that came up. He says they feel bad about it now, they like me, etc. I say he has to get them to count how many more they have left to do and calculate numbers needed per day, that there will be trouble if they can't finish when they expect to, which he now says is the 19<sup>th</sup>. He himself noted that in the early days in a site you get the ones that are easy to find, the later days will be harder. And once they have counted, he and R. have to go over the budget with E., including allowing extra days for D. and C. to finish entering from Mfangano.

The chief and one of his pilot fish come in to greet me, hope everything is going well. I say yes except Mauta, where people are complaining that he influenced the hiring because his girlfriend was hired. I say she's good, he didn't influence, but people are complaining about A. being hired. He certainly didn't deny that she is the girlfriend. I also reiterate that it was wrong for him to tell people they had to clean the compound, he first insists that he didn't, but I tell him we've been coming here for a long time and know a lot of people, so we know what goes on. He then said that he did lie to them about having to clean it but only to get the interview, not to get hired. He said cleaning the bush was for us, I said again that's not so, we don't care about the bush but about the rooms, he says again he didn't have the key, I say nonsense, this room was open as was the hall. I also tell him about O. asking for bribes: his main issue was whether anyone actually paid anything. I hint at the possibility that I'll be talking with the PC when in Nairobi. He was perspiring heavily. I said he should meet with the people in Mauta and explain he didn't influence the hiring of A., and that he had misled the people he got to clean the compound. He said he would talk to some at the burial today, tho I doubt he will be straightforward with them.

NETWORKS: One questionnaire I checked today had 4 FP nwps with English names, and 4 AIDS nwps all with Nyar something. Perhaps there is a different relationship between people when you know their English name, or perhaps it's a sign that FP is something modern, AIDS is something more local, more Luo.

evening: Chief came by and said he talked to people from Mauta, that they were complaining about the two who were dismissed and that we had hired from outside. He said he would walk there tomorrow so our supervisor could tell him which homes were problems, but I asked him not to do that. Later, G., who was at the burial while he was talking, said no one was listening, they were walking around. T. said her mijikumi, who had been refusing, said he talked to chief but wasn't listening to him, that it was G. M. who had the list of those to be hired, and that these white people, they don't understand. T. said she told him that "every organization has it's own rules. Like you are a miji kumi and you do things a certain way, and if I were living here I would follow those rules. Other organizations have different rules and we [the team] have to follow those".

Burial of A.O., Ugina. Pastor saying no inheritance, all you guys waiting around to inherit her you're out of luck, one guy stood up and said what if it was only death from a snakebite?

The widow at today's burial stood up and said she would not be inherited, she's a church elder. People shifted from Luo/Basuba. In Luo funerals they talk about the person, but here they didn't. Some guy started to talk and a guy in the audience shouted "talk about AIDS". And the pastor did. Pastor said the only way to control AIDS is by being saved. "Young girls, men, stop looking at each other, then desires come". Dwelt on AIDS not being chira, "I know you are looking at me with bad eyes but I have to say it: No inheritance."

F. said people here refer to the team as the people who walk with the mzungu.

Calculation is that they have 8 interviews/interviewer left to do, so 4 days (given that the last ones are the hardest to find).

G. has found "love in the village". Interviewed a widow, a Christian, today whose husband used to drink, smoke bhang. She talked with him little by little, and eventually one day he said I will join you in the church, and he stopped drinking and smoking.

Thursday:

Team off for the big trip up the mountain to Nyahera. As is their custom, all the supervisors and their interviewers go up. An exception was made for C., who is more than 8 months pregnant. Another pregnant interviewer (7 months), F., was given the option of remaining but chose to go. She and T. (who is the least fit of the supervisors) are walking buddies—they started off earlier. Lots of excitement as they organized to leave and marched off. In this site as in others, the supervisors quickly designate especially capable interviewers, and delegate some of the organization to them—getting and packing the gifts, distributing questionnaires, etc.

The clinic seems hardly to operate. The incharge has not been here at all, except to bring us the keys and for the visit of the DC. The "medical technician" was on leave when we arrived, came back Sunday, but no evidence of his presence except yesterday, when we heard babies crying—perhaps it was the day for immunizations. But it seems that the villagers get little medical care. (One man came last

***Kenya Diffusion and Ideation Change Project Field Notes (Journal), Jan-Mar, Kenya 3***

week to say his father was having difficulty “passing urine”, could I help.

Team back. T. v. proud of herself, “where’s there’s a will there’s a way.” R. says people up there remember them, call out “R.!”.