NOTES

INTRODUCTION: *An Anthropologist among the Demographers*

1. All project and personal names in this book are anonymized. Because Malawi is a small country, the reader may be able to ascertain which projects are discussed here. Researchers were, for the most part, amenable to being mentioned by name and having their projects mentioned by name, but I maintain anonymity as much as possible in line with my IRB protocol. Data from my field notes or events that may put any of my informants at risk in any way are not included in the book.
2. In other contexts, fabricating data has also been called curbstoning, referring to sitting on a curb and completing a survey rather than visiting respondents (Koczela et al. 2015, 414).
3. In his analysis of the term "data," Daniel Rosenberg (2013, 18, 33) suggests that by the end of the eighteenth century, data lost its meaning as the basis of argument or scriptural facts that could not be contested and gained connotations as the result rather than the premise of investigation; data today are the product of experiment, experience, or collection and carry no assumptions about veracity in their rhetorical form.
4. In other words, I seek to excavate the ways in which knowledge statements are made legible in a discursive community disciplined by its loose unification beneath the term "demography" (Foucault 1972). In shifting focus from individual sovereign knowers and thinking the subject as a function of discourse, we gain insight into the disciplining of knowers, whether demographers or anthropologists, by the weight of their learned notions of good and bad ways of knowing, writing, and thinking (Foucault [1969] 1998). Among demographers, not only was my training as an anthropologist more acutely felt, but so too did I recognize firsthand the diversity of knowers identified under the generalizing term "demographer." Some demographers view themselves as outliers in their field (just as some anthropologists do); in a presentation at the 2013 meeting of the Population Association of America, for example, demographer Susan Watkins suggested to the audience that she occupied a position betwixt and between the "tribes" of demography and anthropology. She

recounted a conversation with another demographer in which she defended the narrative data collected by twenty Malawian research assistants she employed to collect on-the-ground perspectives to complement survey data. He suggested one could not generalize from a sample size of twenty, and she retorted, "You have a sample size of four thousand, but they *lie*" (Susan Watkins, personal communication, 2013).

5. Malawi's NAC was embroiled in a scandal referred to locally as NAC-gate, which threw into question their role as the major grants subcontractor in Malawi. In late 2014, NAC was accused of funneling pooled monies from the Global Fund meant for HIV/AIDS initiatives to political intimates, not disbursing funds to NGOs shortlisted to receive them, using funds to buy unapproved vehicles, and directing funds to "ghost NGOs." In mid-2015, the Global Fund redirected $574 million in HIV/AIDS funding away from NAC and through the Ministry of Health, World Vision, and ActionAid instead. The series of events was widely reported in Malawi's national newspapers.
6. Author's field notes, July 14, 2008.
7. Field notes, July 30, 2008.
8. Here I wish to acknowledge LSAM's novel and ambitious effort to employ survey interviewers as journalists or hearsay ethnographers who record overheard conversations and observations on local AIDS discourse in notebooks analyzed by LSAM researchers. The journals project emerged out of demographers' own concerns about the quality of survey data collected by LSAM, and their analysis of the journals is generally cognizant of the limitations of the data and acknowledges the possibility that journalists might fabricate data. The author, as a graduate student, worked closely with the journals project as a thematic coder and deems the journals an interesting and valuable source of situated knowledge that provides a long-view perspective on shifts in discourse, priorities, and anxieties around HIV in rural Malawi (Watkins, Swidler, and Biruk 2011; Kaler, Watkins, and Angotti 2015). Esacove (2016), in her book-length treatment of U.S. HIV policy in Malawi, has drawn heavily on the journals as a source of information about bottom-up AIDS discourse.
9. John Caldwell (1996, 328), a leading demographer of Africa and, notably, considered an internal critic of his disciplinary fellows, suggests that methods employed by demographers "make it possible to rearrange raw data so that truths become visible," for example.
10. The DHS program collects and disseminates nationally representative data on health and population in developing nations. The DHS household surveys take interest in, for example, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, malaria, and fertility. Malawi's 2015–2016 DHS survey, implemented by its National Statistical Office, sampled over 26,000 Malawians.
11. The African Census Analysis Project (ACAP), a collaboration between the University of Pennsylvania's Population Studies Center and African research and governmental institutions, has created a data bank that preserves previously decaying data from census rounds on the continent and has implemented capacity-building activities centered on training African researchers in data analysis techniques. In line with the interest of this book in the materiality of data, it is interesting to note

the challenges ACAP faced in recovering data from the 1977 Malawi census, held on fourteen 9-track magnetic tapes. After many rounds of failed data recovery, ACAP managed to convert the contents of the tapes into clean, usable data twenty-seven years after its collection (Zuberi and Bangha 2006).

CHAPTER ONE: *The Office in the Field*

1. Dr. Jones, interview with author, September 20, 2007, Lilongwe, Malawi.
2. Dr. Payson, interview with author, August 23, 2007, Philadelphia.
3. Dr. Payson, interview with author, January 19, 2008, Zomba, Malawi.
4. Dr. Canton, interview with author, December 14, 2007, Arusha, Tanzania.
5. Dr. Matenje, interview with author, December 14, 2007, Arusha, Tanzania.
6. Dr. Johnson, an economist based at a research university in the U.S. Midwest, however, highlighted unexpected benefits that sometimes flow from South to North. He criticized his colleagues at a major midwestern (U.S.) university working on a project with South African collaborators for "panhandling" at the South African university for sabbatical years in a desirable city (interview with author, December 15, 2007, Arusha, Tanzania).
7. Acting head of National Research Council, interview with author, November 17, 2007, Zomba, Malawi; Dr. Jones, interview, September 20, 2007, Lilongwe, Malawi. In 2006, the NHSRC began viewing the memorandum of understanding as a central text in ensuring meaningful collaboration, and looked for it when reviewing proposals. Members of the council noted that despite foreign research projects existing in Malawi since the 1970s and the increasing volume of research, Malawi has seen little material or other benefit from all of this research ("Minutes," November 18, 2005).
8. Dr. Kamwendo, interview with author, December 14, 2007, Arusha, Tanzania.
9. This list is compiled from across approved proposals shared with me by case study projects and other survey projects working in Malawi.
10. In 2006, 106 faculty on staff at all six of the constitutive colleges of the University of Malawi held a PhD degree. For 2001, the most recent date that such statistics are available prior to 2006, the number was higher, at 155 (EMIS 2006). Malawian historian P. T. Zeleza's (2002) self-description as an "academic nomad in distant lands" captures a trend by which Malawian academics either seek greener pastures than the cash-strapped and underresourced University of Malawi or spend much of their time traveling for consultancies or conferences.
11. Field notes, November 29, 2007, dinner at Ku Chawe Inn, Zomba, Malawi.
12. Dr. Chirwa, interview with author, June 17, 2008, Balaka, Malawi.
13. Field notes, Dr. Mponda, interview with author, December 1, 2008, Hotel Masongola, Zomba, Malawi.
14. Field notes, Dr. Mponda, interview with author, December 1, 2008.
15. A 1986 report on the status of research infrastructure and objectives in Malawi suggested that "given the stage of Malawi's development, the emphasis should be on technical and applied subjects—hence, the liberal arts are not a significant component of education in Malawi" (Mkandawire 1986, 26).

16. This metaphor finds geographic analogue in island-based biological or epidemiological studies across the globe. Researchers use islands to study mechanisms through which infection diffuses through a closed or bounded population. In 1935, colonial researchers conducted a medical survey in an "isolated community" on Chilwa Island in Zomba District, Malawi, with such a rationale (M2/14/1 1935). Since 2005, the Likoma Network Study has collected data pertaining to sexual networks and HIV transmission on Likoma Island, an eighteen-square-kilometer island in Malawi with limited transport to the mainland and a population of seven thousand. The study views Likoma as an "epidemiological laboratory" (Helleringer et al. 2009, 432). Ann Kelly (2015, 305) likewise suggests that the small size of the Gambia gave it experimental appeal as a contained site for research during the colonial era.
17. After finishing his doctoral degree, the first joined the UN International Labour Organization, while the second joined the Development Research Group at the World Bank.
18. The survey instrument is a compilation of questions submitted by researchers affiliated with a project. For example, six months prior to LSAM's sixth round of data collection in 2010, the lead demographer invited members of the research group to submit questions on "a topic [they] wish[ed] to analyze." However, he noted that "competition for space on the questionnaires will be fierce" and that those interested in submitting new questions should be aware that the 2010 surveys would contain most of the same questions from the 2008 instruments to facilitate longitudinal analysis (e-mail correspondence, December 10, 2009).
19. It is now conventional to refer to these teams as HIV Testing and Counseling, but I retain the acronym used in 2007–2008 in this book.
20. Field notes, May 22, 2008.
21. For examples of vignettes used to measure constructs ranging from women's travel autonomy to work limitations to HIV risk, see the Anchoring Vignettes Website compiled by political scientist Gary King (http://gking.harvard.edu/vign).
22. Andrews, interview with author, training sessions, July 28, 2008, Balaka, Malawi.
23. By now, male circumcision in Malawi is widely known by the medicalized acronym VMMC (voluntary male medical circumcision). In 2007, the WHO and UNAIDS recommended making VMMC part of the HIV prevention package in countries with a generalized epidemic, and scale-up of VMMC occupies a central position in Malawi's most recent National HIV and AIDS Strategy (NAC 2014; Sgaier et al. 2014). Radio and other campaigns have made the acronym familiar to most Malawians, though in 2008, the acronym would have been largely unknown in rural areas.

CHAPTER TWO: *Living Project to Project*

1. Field notes, RAM training session, July 9, 2008, Blantyre, Malawi.
2. Nonetheless, the tour guide role is likewise assigned to fieldworkers by foreign researchers. Lead RAM supervisor John complained to fellow supervisor Victor that he felt like the American researchers treated him like a "chauffeur." They asked him to drive them to the grocery store or to check e-mails at Internet cafes, for example.

Victor agreed and joked that John should be paid as a driver in addition to a supervisor (field notes, July 7, 2008).

3. The director of one such firm explained that his small office was drowning in CVs dropped off by college graduates looking for project-to-project work amid high levels of unemployment even for the most educated Malawians (field notes, February 28, 2008).
4. Unless otherwise noted, direct quotations and observations in this chapter come from fieldwork trainings, meetings and other forums in which I interacted with fieldworkers and researchers.
5. "Doing business" implied also its foil: farming. As historian John McCracken illustrates, upon settling in what is now Malawi in the late eighteenth century, Yao men focused their energies on trade, leaving farming largely to women. Masculinity was often associated with leaving or "going outside" for trading purposes. This speaks to the early connections of Yao states with the Swahili coast and trading networks (McCracken 2012, 27–29).
6. Dionne (2014) performs a quantitative analysis of LSAM job applications in 2010 and notes that contrary to fieldworkers' perspectives, research assistants' regional background was not a significant predictor of employment.
7. Only 2.2 percent of fifteen- to twenty-four-year-old Malawians successfully passed their Malawi Schools Certificate of Education (MSCE) exams at the end of secondary school (IFPRI 2002, 56).
8. Unpublished training manual authored by fieldworkers and distributed to the HIV VCT team for LSAM, May 2008.
9. Field notes, training session, May 21, 2008.
10. Though this is generally accurate, it depended on the specific project's hiring practices. While MAYP, RAM, and GSIP projects hired interviewers who were urban, more cosmopolitan, and college educated, LSAM—as mentioned above—made a point of hiring fieldworkers from local sample areas to bring some financial benefit to the surrounding communities. There was much discussion as to whether this model was better or worse than one that brings in strangers to conduct intimate interviews (see chapter 4 for further discussion on interviewer effects in survey projects). Nonetheless, the fieldworkers hired locally tended to be very similar to the people they were interviewing; in some cases, their relatives (or even, in one case, the actual individual) were in the research sample. Across the projects, however, the production of difference during the training sessions was consistent.
11. The appearance and dress of data collectors and enumerators was at the center of one critic's lambasting of the "worthless data" collected by enumerators hired from the U.S. Works Progress Administration relief rolls to administer a consumer purchasing survey in 1935: "Many housewives refused to talk to the enumerators; for, as one woman stated, the man who was called to obtain the data was 'unshaven and so dirty and ragged' that she would not allow him to enter the house—certainly she would not allow him to take an inventory of the refrigerator" (Hartkemeier 1944, 164). In her words, we might infer the disdain held for the largely poor and unskilled listed on the relief rolls by both the persons they were meant to interview and critics of the quality of the data themselves.

12. Though LSAM fieldworkers were working in contexts familiar to them, they provided similar responses to the survey questions (and in discussions) about fieldwork.
13. The fieldworkers' implicit association of Chewa with "real Malawi" is unsurprising, in light of postindependence president Hastings Kamuzu Banda's advancement of the Chichewa language and promotion of Chewa culture as the cornerstone of nationhood during his thirty years of rule (Kaspin 1995; Vail and White 1989).
14. In 1952, Goldthorpe (1952, 163–165) assigned his undergraduate students at Makerere University in Uganda an essay assignment in which they reflected on the "difficulties of doing a census among [their] people." The language used foregrounded the "wildness" and "primitiveness" of the spaces where a census would be administered.
15. Incidentally, this local knowledge is generally inaccurate, according to the statistics collected by LSAM; the data indicate that there is a single man in the project sample in these districts with seven wives (e-mail correspondence with LSAM principal investigator, March 19, 2011).
16. Training manual distributed to the HIV VCT team for LSAM; May 2008.
17. Although Malawian small-scale farmers tend to produce enough maize to feed their household for the year, the need for cash to buy items such as soap, sugar, relish, salt, or washing powder often motivates villagers to sell their maize to government or private middleman buyers in the boma, or local town center. In most cases, this means that the same household will have to buy back maize later in the season when it runs out, and at a higher price than they sold for.
18. "Silly villager stories" are commonplace, as well, at conferences and workshops. At a 2005 research dissemination meeting, for example, a presenter whose paper discussed women's understanding of menopause suggested some women were afraid that if they got pregnant they would give birth to a lizard, generating laughter among the audience members, and acting to draw a line in the sand between the scientific, rational elites present at the meeting and the villagers in the field (LSAM demographer's field notes, November 12, 2005).
19. Whereas we might assume that sensitive questions (such as "How many sexual partners did you have this year?") administered in face-to-face settings might lead respondents to underreport the number of partners, fieldworkers often assumed the opposite, particularly about male respondents. They would return to the fieldwork van after an interview and joke about how a respondent claimed to sleep with what was deemed by field teams to be a "ridiculous number."
20. Andrews, interview with author, July 30, 2008. It should be noted, however, that even as supervisors complained about the azungu checkers, they also felt overburdened by the imperative to submit checked surveys at the end of each workday. Many had to check over dinner or before bed; their fatigue likely compromised their ability to check accurately and comprehensively. In discussions with the supervisors about azungu checkers, their perceptions of my own competence as a checker were higher; they explained that because I spent every day with the teams and checked hundreds of surveys, I had picked up some basic facts from them.

21. Interview with Dr. Smith, June 1, 2008, Blantyre, Malawi.
22. In media and policy circles in mid-2000s Malawi, "traditional cultural practices" (including, e.g., male initiation rituals, norms around sexual debut at an early age, etc.) were discursively linked to HIV risk (Esacove 2016). The Malawi Human Rights Commission (MHRC, 2006) produced a report on this link. For a critical analysis of this discourse, see Peters, Kambewa, and Walker (2010) and chapter 5 of this book.
23. While some foreign researchers relied heavily and uncritically on fieldworkers' local knowledge, others did not. One researcher's impression of local knowledge could differ drastically from another's. I noted that researchers who were more skeptical supervised their field staff more intensively and had longer experience working in Malawi.
24. The 2008 Malawi Population and Housing Census was conducted June 8–28, 2008. It employed 13,000 enumerators and 3,400 supervisors (National Statistical Office, 2008).
25. Fluency in English was a bottom-line requirement for employment by research projects (as mentioned in interviews by researchers for biomedical and social scientific projects in Malawi).
26. Field notes, August 12, 2008.
27. Interview with author, December 2, 2008.
28. Interview with author, May 7, 2008.
29. Field notes, July 28, 2008, and August 2008.
30. Field notes, June 5, 2008.
31. Field notes, LSAM staff meeting, July 23, 2008.
32. Field notes, July 30, 2008.

CHAPTER THREE: *Clean Data, Messy Gifts*

1. Anthropologists and others critique informed consent as ethical benchmark, suggesting that a consenter's low education or poor financial position can enfold coercion into consent (Kelly 2003; Moniruzzaman 2012). Mfutso-Bengo and Masiye (2011) trouble the antirelational autonomy that grounds consent.
2. Discussion with parents of respondent in MAYP sample, field notes, February 26, 2008.
3. Not all projects gave soap, and some gave no gifts at all. Interviews with researchers leading projects outside this study's purview but in Malawi suggested they used chitenje, Coca-Cola, and other tokens as gifts. Emphasis on gifts being small was consistent. Standards for gift giving have shifted since 2008: some projects give mobile phone airtime, others small amounts of money, and so on. Notably, while gifts have been used in the survey projects discussed here, the Demographic and Health Surveys, World Bank Living Standards Measurement Study, census, and other enumerative efforts do not give gifts.
4. There are hierarchies of desirability around soap, with some being considered luxury soap and others poor or cheap soap; LSAM and MAYP disbursed the latter.

5. Dr. Payson, MAYP principal investigator, interview with author, July 9, 2008.
6. Former Malawian ethics board member, interview with author, November 20, 2009, New Orleans, LA.
7. In his influential essay *The Gift*, Mauss ([1922] 1967) draws on examples of gift-giving behavior from across societies to describe three obligations inherent to exchanges: to give, receive, and return gifts. This triple obligation reflects shared moral codes between transactors such that a primary function of the gift is to solidify social bonds and maintain social ties. Gifts also carry the power to undermine or cut social bonds, as when persons involved in their transaction fail to adhere to tacit rules around gifting. Mauss argues that although gifts appear to be given freely, they are actually given in an interested way, primarily to open a relationship between two people or groups who become mutually indebted to one another through ongoing transactions. The soap gift is peculiar, since there is no pretense of its being freely given (its transaction is governed or compelled by research ethics), and since the intention of its givers is to foreclose future obligation between themselves and its recipients.
8. Commentary on sugar, money, soap, and gifting in general in this section of the chapter is drawn from field notes where I recorded conversations with foreign and Malawian researchers and Malawian fieldworkers during fieldwork with MAYP (January–March 2008) and LSAM (June–September 2008). Quotations from research participants are drawn from a set of semistructured interviews I conducted during the same period with informants in LSAM and MAYP's samples.
9. Field notes, June 28, 2008.
10. Interview with author, Matukuta village, August 24, 2008, Balaka District.
11. Field notes, August 5, 2008.
12. Grace, interview with author, July 26, 2008, Chipapa, Balaka District.
13. Andrews, interview with author, September 22, 2008, Zomba, Malawi.
14. This logic of compensation also manifests in elite worlds, where individuals refuse to attend workshops or conferences that do not offer per diems. On "perdiemitis," see Ridde (2010), Conteh and Kingori (2010), and Soreide, Tostensen, and Skage (2012).
15. LSAM supervisor, interview with author, July 5, 2008.
16. Research participant, interview with author, July 26, 2008.
17. Traditional authority, interview with author, December 4, 2007, Zomba District.
18. Dr. Pierson Ntata, interview with author, February 8, 2008; Chinsinga (2011).
19. Tiwonge, interview with author, August 25, 2008, Nkumba, Balaka District.
20. Field notes, February 19, 2008, Salima District.
21. Interview with author, August 18, 2008, Chopi village, Balaka District.
22. E-mail correspondence with MAYP principal investigators, February 14–15, 2008.

CHAPTER FOUR: *Materializing Clean Data in the Field*

1. Enumeration areas are units of geographic space canvassed by national census enumerators. They can contain part of a village, a whole village, or several villages, estates, trading centers, or part of an urban area. Enumeration areas are efficient and useful units of data collection for survey projects, because data collected can

be compared with data collected by government surveys and other projects that likewise use these units. At the time of my fieldwork, there were 12,631 demarcated EAs in Malawi.

2. Data entry clerks for LSAM were often rewarded with incentives after a month of entering data eight hours per day if they entered data accurately and with few input errors. These incentives complemented their standard salary of 1,500 kwacha (about $11 USD at the time) per day.
3. Respondents' critiques of the project's beans exercise as childish or a form of child's play should be situated in a longer history whereby colonial ethnopsychiatrists analogized the adult African mind with the European child's (McCulloch 1995, 83; Keller 2007, 27; Anderson, Jenson, and Keller 2011). Imperial presumptions that Africans were simpleminded and possessed a "primitive mentality" laid the groundwork for the claim that they had little regard for the future (and by extension, perhaps, probabilistic forecasting): they "experience mostly the present, like children" (Fassin 2011, 229, quoting Antoine Porot, leader of the Algiers School of Psychiatry, 1952). Colonial psychiatry assumed that the "African mind" displayed inept logic and lacked the capacity for abstract thought (Vaughan 1991, 35). In this sense, we note the way in which traces of the "African mind" surface in the design and administration of a survey exercise meant to translate probability from an abstract concept to a simple one via a childish tactile activity or game.
4. The beans were also a source of practical frustration on a daily basis. Interviewers sometimes forgot their bean dish and often lost some of their ten beans while out in the field.
5. One respondent refused to complete Section 15 of the survey because he thought it was a competition. He recalled that the last time someone came asking about expectations and numbers, some people won and others lost. He was referring to the lottery cash transfers project described in chapter 3.
6. Supervisors relished the opportunity to share stories of research teams being tricked by respondents. Stories were drawn from past experience in the field and were often told and retold; in this way, they acted as refresher lessons that reminded fieldworkers to be ever vigilant for lying or cunning respondents.
7. In a classic early volume on population in Africa, *The Demography of Tropical Africa*, van de Walle (1968, 13) generalizes about the problem of age recall: "All African demographic surveys share the problem of trying to record the ages of people who do not know their exact ages and are not fundamentally interested in knowing them."
8. The fieldworkers' bottom-up observations about the codes they were provided to represent marital status on the household roster resonate with demographers' own anxieties about how best to capture and define marriage trends across cultural and geographic contexts where terms and definitions are nonuniform or are interpreted differently (van de Walle 1993, 120–125).
9. Supervisors were asked to track and periodically evaluate the performance of their interviewers in the field. The more callbacks an interviewer accumulated, the more likely he or she was to be ranked poorly (and, possibly, to lose his or her job).

10. Madiega et al. (2013, 25), in a study of fieldworkers associated with an HIV trial in western Kenya, document how fieldworkers lie about their identities, as well—posing as missionaries or visiting relatives, for example—to protect their informants from being outed as HIV-positive through association with an HIV-related project.
11. For example, though received wisdom would indicate that data are better when interviewer and interviewee are the same sex, studies have shown ambiguous evidence for this claim in the Nigerian, Ghanaian, and South Asian contexts (Choldin, Kahn, and Ara 1967; Blanc and Croft 1992; Becker, Feyistan, and Makinwa-Adebusoye 1995). In an analysis of coethnic interviewer effects on response patterns across Afrobarometer surveys administered in fourteen African countries, Adida et al. (2014) found modest but systematic effects: for example, respondents interviewed by coethnics gave different and less socially desirable answers to explicitly ethnic questions. In narrowing their analysis to South Africa, they found that racial interviewer effects swamped ethnic interviewer effects. Dionne (2014), in an analysis of LSAM data from 2010, found that interviewer coethnicity affected the ways in which respondents answered questions related to sexual behavior in Malawi.
12. In the Nyasaland Survey in the late 1930s, native recorders were asked to be similarly vigilant so as to uncover potential lies: "[He, the recorder] should make, week by week, a list of the various foodstuffs which are in season or obtainable and are likely to be used as snacks. He should also *keep his eyes open* as to what extras are being eaten, so as to be able to *check up the information being given to him*" (Berry and Petty 1992, 27–28, emphasis added).
13. Though these instructions seem nitpicky, concerns over inconsistent writing practices have long preoccupied demographers and survey administrators. El-Badry (1961), for example, shows how enumerators' failure to record a "0"—instead leaving the space blank or using a dash—for childless women in population censuses affects quality and accuracy of data.
14. Importantly, Namoyo's incredulity at being asked whether she had, for example, solar panels or a metal roof is stricken from the pages of the survey, which record only her "no" responses. In this sense, her deprivation and poverty do not come to figure as data, and take form as nonknowledge that becomes a kind of public secret among research teams, who often felt sympathetic toward their respondents, even as the ethics and temporalities of field research did not allow them to intervene or explicitly address the suffering they encountered (as we saw in chapter 3) (Geissler 2013b).
15. What a project sees is highly dependent on whom it includes in its sample. From the mid-1980s, for example, monitoring the HIV epidemic relied on sentinel-surveillance data, often collected from pregnant women at antenatal clinics. These data have been noted to contain several biases: the exclusion of men from the sample, the inclusion of only pregnant women who are also sexually active in the sample, and the selective location of clinics in the sample (Brookmeyer 2010). The large-scale survey projects discussed in this chapter provide an alternative vision that is not restricted to a selected subpopulation.

16. Field notes, February 2008.
17. Like many of the instructions and forms implemented from above, this tool became the subject of jokes among field teams. One day the driver of a field vehicle was driving poorly, and an interviewer joked that he should drive more safely, or "someone will have to do a verbal autopsy on *us!*"
18. Ganyu is a form of casual or piecework labor usually exchanged somewhat reciprocally between peasant households. Rural Malawians engage in ganyu to cushion themselves, often (but not exclusively) during the hunger months or lean months (*njala*) when the majority of rural households run out of food before the next harvest begins. Scholars have variously interpreted rates of ganyu in a given year as a measure of vulnerability or a form of social capital (Kerr 2005; Dimowa, Michaelowa, and Weber 2010). In the wake of the 2001–2003 famine, for example, ganyu became a key source of income, especially for rural women and youth (Bryceson 2006, 2012).
19. Field notes, February 28, 2008.
20. This practice meant scouts were sometimes not qualified for the job; supervisors frequently complained that their scout knew nothing about the local area or was lazy (one was often found sleeping under trees). However, well aware of the need to keep chiefs happy for the sake of smooth data collection, teams would not fire scouts hand-picked by a chief, but would instead hire an assistant scout to work with the primary scout.

CHAPTER FIVE: *When Numbers Travel*

1. Insights in this chapter are drawn primarily from field notes, interviews, and conversations I participated in at the following conferences: the Union of African Population Scientists conference in Arusha, Tanzania (December 10–14, 2007), the Review of the National HIV and AIDS response in Lilongwe, Malawi (October 1–3, 2007), the first annual NAC Zonal Quarterly Review and Dissemination Workshops in Mzuzu, Malawi (November 24, 2008), the 2008 Malawi National Research Council meeting in Lilongwe, Malawi (March 11–14, 2008), and the National Symposium on HIV/AIDS in Lilongwe, Malawi (June 30–July 1, 2014).
2. Prime examples of this effort to increase use and dissemination of data are the African Census Analysis Project and the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, based at the University of Pennsylvania's and the University of Minnesota's population studies centers, respectively. DevInfo, a database endorsed by the United Nations Development Group, is a storehouse of socioeconomic data from all over the world.
3. The initial survey, administered by LSAM in 1998, contained fewer sections and much less detail than the 2008 version. The 1998 survey's questions were heavily weighted toward family planning topics, reflecting a new emphasis at the time—in the wake of the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development—in national policies on reproductive health and family planning (Oucho, Akwara, and Ayiemba 1995; Kekovole and Odimegwu 2014).
4. Widow inheritance, often crudely glossed as "sexual cleansing," entails the widow of a recently deceased man being "inherited" (including sexual relations), usually

by a relative. An MHRC (2006) study found that the practice was described by respondents to the survey mostly as a thing of the past. *Afisi*, the Chewa word for hyena, refers to a figure, male or female, who is glossed as a cleanser and associated with both procreation and initiation. In the former case, when a man and woman are unable to conceive a child, a man's colleague or relative may have sexual relations with her, with any resulting child being considered her husband's. In the second case, young girls are said to be encouraged to engage in sexual relations with a man following exit from initiation camps. This practice is known as *kuchotsa fumbi* or cleaning the dust. Kulowa kufa (welcoming/entering death, or death has entered) entails an afisi sleeping with a woman whose husband has died, or vice versa. While dominant interpretations of kulowa kufa claim its function is putting to rest the spirit of the deceased, Kaufulu (2008), in an unpublished undergraduate dissertation, suggests—drawing on interviews in Nsanje District—that the practice functions to reestablish lost balance, via dispelling a kind of "heaviness" that resides in objects and individuals in the immediate vicinity of a death. Further, he helpfully demonstrates how this and other cultural practices are often lumped together in the era of AIDS, although there are important differences and meanings between them and their various component parts. Analyzing linguistic meanings behind Chewa terms for the practices described in this note, he shows how "cleanser" is often a crude and inaccurate translation for the person termed afisi.

5. Jando is a Yao male initiation ceremony involving circumcision.
6. Mtungo and magolowazi are wedding dances at which people invited by both bride and groom drink beer and dance together. Magolowazi also refers to dancing, but carries connotations of young people sneaking off into the bushes to have sexual intercourse in secret.
7. Text drawn from the research proposal for "Mapping Cultural Practices Related to Sexual and Reproductive Health Outcomes and HIV Transmission," 2005, made available to the author.
8. Memo, "Field Report," internal correspondence between field teams and principal investigator, Dr. Chirwa, dated September 30, 2005.
9. Interviewer and male initiate, interview transcript excerpt, Cultural Practices Study, NAC, June 30, 2005, Balaka District.
10. The draft of the prevention strategy that Castells sent to Blessings, for example, actually stated—in a section on modes of transmission and epidemiological evidence—that "the proportion of HIV transmission attributed to [cultural] practices is relatively small."
11. Author's research notes and e-mail correspondence, October 2008 and January 2009.
12. Since 2007, I have attended many policy meetings, human rights conferences, and HIV meetings where the topic of female circumcision has come up, often resulting in debate among those present as to whether it happens in Malawi, which seems to be a kind of open question answered primarily by speculation.
13. Notes on Regional Workshop on HIV Prevention Strategy (central, south, north Malawi), consultations with children living with HIV, and consultations with

human rights and gender group in mid- to late August 2008, made available to the author.

14. They also receive continued attention elsewhere. Page (2014, 180–181) notes that foreign-funded life skills curriculum materials in Malawian secondary schools from 2004 to 2008 featured activities that constructed cultural practices as risky. In 2010, Malawi passed legislation that would make subjecting a child to a social or customary practice harmful to the health or general development of the child a crime punishable by ten years' imprisonment (GoM 2010). The draft HIV bill, currently under review, likewise criminalizes a list of 18 "harmful [cultural] practices." Harmful cultural practices continue to receive ample media coverage: a recent article representative of others that appear in national newspapers and authored by a Malawian journalist was headlined "Harmful Cultural Practices Resurface and Threaten Malawi's HIV Response" (Ganthu 2016).
15. The American demographer who collaborated on the study of cultural practices and youth sexual reproductive health initially proposed (in response to the international organization's call for proposals) the collection of biomarkers as well, but this portion of the research program was deemed unnecessary or irrelevant by the proposal review committee and, so, dropped from the plan. The published findings thus use self-reported HIV status and the other indicators as proxy or indirect measures of sexual and reproductive health (author's e-mail correspondence with demographer-consultant, January 21, 2016).
16. Research officer, NAC, interview with author, April 28, 2008, Malawi.
17. Research officer, interview, April 28, 2008.
18. Invitations were sent by NAC to district assemblies and CBOs they funded in the region, asking them to send a representative to the Zonal Conference. Attendees were also provided with a 2,500 kwacha ($18) per diem, for a total of 7,500 kwacha ($54) over the three days.
19. Detail, quotations, and descriptions in this section are drawn from my field notes, October 22, 2008.
20. Malawi's NAC was embroiled in a scandal referred to locally as "NAC-gate," which threw into question their role as the major grants subcontractor in Malawi. In late 2014, NAC was accused of funneling pooled monies from the Global Fund meant for HIV/AIDS initiatives to political intimates, not disbursing funds to NGOs short-listed to receive them, using funds to buy unapproved vehicles, and directing funds to ghost NGOs. In mid-2015, the Global Fund redirected $574 million in HIV/AIDS funding away from NAC and through the Ministry of Health, World Vision, and ActionAid, instead. The series of events was widely reported in Malawi's national newspapers.
21. Felix, field notes, December 2010, Baltimore, MD.
22. Conversation with researchers, field notes, June 30, 2014.
23. Lubricant was in great demand among MSM in Malawi and very difficult to source. One day a large truck rumbled into the driveway of the NGO offices in Lilongwe and off-loaded 124,000 units of lube "from the American people" funded by USAID. Staff were excited, but lamented that the costs of transporting it to the many places it was needed should also be offset by funding (field notes, June 18, 2014).

24. According to the most recent HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan, "key population" refers to populations where the most HIV-positive individuals can be identified and linked to treatment. The strategy mentions MSM alongside female sex workers, prisoners, adolescents and youth, estate workers, and mobile groups such as truckers and fish buyers/sellers (NAC 2014, 5). The 2014 strategy is, notably, also the first to explicitly mention "transgendered persons," which emerged from debates about which groups should be considered key populations in Malawi during a small workshop attended by members of civil society organizations, foreign researchers, members of government ministries, and the author (field notes, July 2, 2014, Lilongwe).
25. Officer, NAC, interview with author, April 28, 2008, Lilongwe.
26. Dr. Hanson, senior clinical researcher, interview with author, April 1, 2008, Blantyre, Malawi.
27. Hanson, interview, April 1, 2008.
28. Mr. Manda, interview with author, April 28, 2008, Lilongwe.
29. Manda, interview, April 28, 2008.
30. At the time of my research, Internet access in Malawi, even in institutions such as the University of Malawi, was very limited, unreliable, and spotty. Smartphones, which have since proliferated as the major portal of mass Internet access in Malawi, were then unavailable. When I was working as an instructor at Chancellor College September–December 2008, it was close to impossible to access the Internet. Power outages were frequent, and the copy machines were often broken or lacked paper.
31. It should be noted that all projects discussed in this book have made attempts to distribute their findings to policy makers and local researchers. For example, LSAM put together packets that aimed to present the collated findings of studies emanating from their data sets in a quick and easy format: the first page was a two-line summary of each study, and the next pages were abstracts. Also, LSAM furnished local actors with USB keys with the full papers on them.
32. Call for papers, "Frontiers of Longitudinal Research in Malawi," January 28, 2016.
33. Faculty member at the University of Malawi, interview with author, January 12, 2013.

CONCLUSION: *Anthropology in and of (Critical) Global Health*

1. Field notes, July 7, 2008.
2. Taken from fact sheet draft, MAYP, May 22, 2008; field notes and e-mail correspondence, February 27–28, 2008.
3. Field notes, May 15, 2008.