

<b>NAME OF THE ORGANIZATION</b>	<b>AFRICAN POPULATION HEALTH AND RESEARCH CENTER</b>
<b>PROJECT NAME</b>	<b>EPIInA</b>
<b>CONTACT TYPE</b>	<b>IDI</b>
<b>FILE NUMBER</b>	<b>211126_001</b>
<b>DATE OF THE INTERVIEW</b>	<b>26/11/2021</b>
<b>DURATION</b>	<b>01:19:27</b>

**I: How are you?**

R: I am good

**I: As we start our conversation, what type of illness or problems do you provide services for in this community?**

R: I serve people by praying for them in our church, people have different problems and when they come, I pray for them and give advice on how they can get help because some issues need prayers first before other interventions.

**I: What are some of the problems you handle or pray for?**

R: Many people come to our church with various problems as mentally disturbed--

**I: As?**

R: Mentally disturbed, people living with epilepsy, those are the most common people who come seeking help.

**I: You have mentioned epilepsy and mentally challenged, is there any other you have dealt with?**

R: We have dealt with many but the most rampant ones that have been a nuisance to people are epilepsy and mentally disturbed.

**I: So, the ones you have mentioned is epilepsy--**

R: And mentally challenged.

**I: What names are used in your community to refer to epilepsy, or what names do people who come to you use to mean epilepsy?**

R: Some say they are disturbed by demons but when we consult the Holy Spirit, we find out it is epilepsy. There are different types of epilepsy, some people come claiming to be epileptic when in real sense it is demons upon her and not epilepsy.

**I: Now on this epilepsy we are talking about, are there other names used to refer to it?**

R: They use the name epilepsy; they say their son or daughter is disturbed by demons

Where at times or at night they fall, foam at the mouth and urinate before waking up and do suffer some memory loss after waking up.

**I: You mean, there are those who use the name demon to refer to epilepsy?**

R: Yes.

**I: Why use the name demon?**

R: People believe something that makes you fall and gets you confused is demonic. But there are other things different from demons. There are sicknesses that come in a similar way but people believe it is epilepsy yet it is not it. There is epilepsy, but there are demons that come in a different way; from family disputes.

**I: So, you mean it can come from family disputes?**

R: Yes.

**I: While on the same, we shall focus more on epilepsy in our conversation, so, what do you think causes epilepsy?**

R: Epilepsy is caused by a lot of things in the society; people from the past did bad things to others which backfired and turned against their grandchildren, their own children or one of their kin because they did things in a worldly way.

**I: Can you mention the evil things they might have done which turned against their children?**

R: Happens that way. Other epilepsy comes normally, they find themselves or their child getting into confusion and fall all of a sudden. They are told of the happenings when they wake up because they had lost consciousness.

**I: You said this is another one which comes on its own?**

R: Yes, there is one which comes on its own and one which was thrown to you from worldly things.

**I: So, there is one thrown by a person--**

R: And one that came upon you where you are unable to know where it came from or how it happened.

**I: There is one you said is caused by someone doing some act, about society?**

R: Yes, some actions can be caused.

**I: I want to hear the actions.**

R: According to the world, it is said you cannot report someone on claims of witchcraft. There is witchcraft and people do practice it and it turns on them and the evil happens on them instead of those they were plotting against, or it might happen to someone you are wishing them to but will one day happen to your own grandchild and you might have died or we live apart, upcountry and in urban.

**I: You have mentioned one as witchcraft, any other thing someone can do that could cause a child or family member to get epilepsy?**

R: To get or be followed with the disease?

**I: You mentioned witchcraft as one of the things that people do and you get epilepsy. How does it happen for one to get epilepsy?**

R: There are demons, and epilepsy is demons so it comes through the power of the demons and since the power of demons is invisible, you cannot report someone on claims of them bringing you the sickness through that as you cannot prove, they are societal.

**I: Are there different types of epilepsy?**

R: There is a little difference.

**I: Which is?**

R: There are those who are attacked at night and others at day time like now, before 12, the person has to get an attack when alone or with someone, they get confused and fall down.

**I: You said there is a night and--**

R: A day one. The day one is usually hidden, not many understand it unless someone, your husband or wife, narrates what happens to you at a certain time at night. You will also feel it in your body, too tired and a headache and you keep forgetting--

**I: The night one?**

R: Yes, the night one after waking up. You wonder where you were and if it was a dream when in real sense something happened.

**I: Are you aware when the night one happens?**

R: You will when it has happened after many times, You will know through the body feeling tired or having scratches.

**I: So, you know through scratches and body tiredness—**

R: Scratches on the body.

**I: Someone isn't aware when it happens at night?**

R: You can't know.

**I: The one with the epilepsy is not aware?**

R: You cannot be aware. But when it happens repeatedly, you will because there is certain way you feel. It has a date and when the date reaches, you will have a certain feeling.

**I: What do you mean by a date?**

R: Demons happen to people at the end of the month.

**I: Epilepsy attacks people at the end month?**

R: Yes, it happens at the end month around date 29th, 30th or 1<sup>st</sup>.

**I: Is there a reason behind the attack happening at end month?**

R: Most happen so. But there is one which people claim is epilepsy but it's not, that one can happen at any time and you hear someone has had an attack and fallen though it is not epilepsy. It's the normal demons.

**I: At what time does it happen?**

R: Happens at any time; day or night time, in the morning or at work something suddenly happens and you will be informed but you aren't aware yourself.

**I: According to you, how do you identify epilepsy?**

R: I look at it spiritually, kneel and pray to be able to know what it is, and I also get information from the holy spirit when it is not the normal epilepsy but other things and I later ask about the things and if we are in agreement and he gives information without lying then we can help each other with thoughts and I keep praying. You can get information that his grandfather or himself did a certain thing or might be neighbor disputes attacked by evil spirits because evil spirits cause this.

**I: What does evil spirit cause?**

R: This illness.

**I: Okay, the sickness.**

R: Yes, we call it sickness due to its reaction in a person, that's why I am telling you it's different. Epilepsy is demons but it depends on how it got you or the day.

**I: So, the difference is how or the day it came?**

R: Maybe you are born with it, some get malaria or is it typhoid--

**I: Which one?**

R: You can get the strong malaria. And you later see the person fall yet it was malaria that badly affected you and destroyed your health causing failure of some things in your body. Such a person needs to be taken to hospital for treatment and more checkups on why he falls and the confusion. If there are no results on the happenings, then those are demons and will be

dealt with prayer but if you love witchcraft then you can go to them but for us we will pray to God and through faith you get well.

**I: Do you deal with the one caused by demons?**

R: I deal with all of it, but we respect the government and can't go against it. The government acknowledges something which if tested can show what it is but doesn't acknowledge miraculous things. The example of a book if you can't see, it cannot be acknowledged even if you are told it is there. So, if you come with epilepsy, I will pray for you and measure it through the holy spirit to understand the level it is on to decide if you need to see a doctor or if we can pray on it first.

**I: Please tell us some of the epilepsy cases you have dealt with through prayers.**

R: Which kind of cases?

**I: Any that you have ever dealt with?**

R: There is one who recently came to church early in the morning, it wasn't in the morning, it was actually late in the night at 2am, I was in church, the person came crying loudly at the gate while she called the pastor for help because she felt she was burning. I was in the company of another pastor and he wondered what was happening and did not take any action because he is new. I took action, came to the person and inquired what was happening, eyes were wide open and immediately fell down and stuck with the gate. There was foam at the mouth, scratching the floor while she threw legs and hands, and had breathing difficulties in the chest while producing a wheezing sound, what is it called in Swahili?

**I: In Swahili? It's known as such.**

R: She was really wheezing, she later calmed down after we open the gate, took her inside, prayed for her and I realized it was epilepsy which came on her in a certain way she didn't know because she thought she was dreaming. She ran from her house to the church where we served her and she calmed down. It's by good luck she did not meet bad people on the

way. I was informed of her issue spiritually, in the morning, I asked if she knew certain people to which she agreed, asked her if she knew where she was and she confirmed she was in church, asked who brought her and she did not know, she remembered she was in the house. I asked her about the epilepsy condition, she said it happens to her. I had to pray again to understand more of her condition. After prayer I asked her to go call the girl she said she stays with and she did not come back, but there is someone who knows her and he said the girl is well and she was asked where she was but she didn't confess.

**I: The day she slept there?**

R: Yes. Those are the things we have dealt with.

**I: Any other you can recall to have dealt with and how it went?**

R: There is a certain boy who was brought last month by his mother. He falls suddenly and after that he refuses to eat or do anything, and he is harsh to his parents. When it happens the second time at the moment, he urinates on the third one and gets confused. He will sleep for 3 hours and when he wakes up he talks to himself asking his mother ``we did not go to school today?"

**I: After waking up?**

R: After waking up after 3 to 4 hours. He got an attack when he was at church, we had to act by praying, we prayed for him and he got an attack again and fell down, and that's why I told you, these things come in the form of demons and there are those you are born with.

**I: Do you refer to epilepsy when you say this thing?**

R: Epilepsy, when we dealt with him through prayer, he began screaming his grandmothers name whom we were not aware of, he was shouting while mentioning our names, he mentioned my full name while uttering things why I was disturbing him and questioning if he had my debt and saying if we can't give him what is his, he won't leave us and would laugh loudly. When he laughs, the boy stretches himself, there is saliva and I keep praying and the

screams happen again. He said he won't leave if some person does not give him a certain thing, the person mentioned was the grandfather.

**I: To the child?**

R: To the child. We later asked the mother who had brought him about the things the boy had mentioned and she said it was the grandmother who killed someone because of land cases and the person--

**I: Who killed the other?**

R: The grandmother, she used tricks to kill the wife of his brother in law. Do you understand me?

**I: Yes, I do.**

R: They used to have family disputes. So, the grandmother killed the other grandmother and now the killed grandmother was twisted through black magic and is now after the child and now wants her debts paid.

**I: So, the witchcraft went to the child--**

R: Yes, it backfired.

**I: And now it is the demons coming in the form of epilepsy?**

R: Yes.

**I: In a year, like this year we are in November, how many epilepsy cases have you encountered?**

R: This year?

**I: Yes**

R: More than 10.

**I: More than 10?**

R: Yes, more. It's more than 10 for the ones I have handled because when they come, some come back and others do not.

**I: When they do not come back, how do you follow up to know of their wellbeing?**

R: I don't follow up on them because hospital work and prayer is similar. As a church, we do not preach outside asking people to come for prayers, they bring themselves. When they get good deeds they will come back though others get it but do not come back, but the ones who come back have good news of success of healing or the epilepsy is still there but the attacks have reduced and they can be at work for over 3 months without an epilepsy attack.

**I: When it attacks, they come back?**

R: They come back and when they do, we tell them to go to hospital because you will be joking with us.

**I: Why?**

R: Fighting demons is not easy work because you are fighting invisible things you are not aware of.

**I: At what instance do you ask the person to go to hospital?**

R: If he came for the first time, we served him and advised him on what to do, he goes and comes after a long time and we serve him again. We also advise him and tell him if he lets the sickness take over, then he shouldn't come back, to try somewhere else because it will be tempting God.

**I: What are the things you tell him to do and he doesn't, for example I have come for prayers, what are the things you ask him to do that might help?**

R: I tell him if they wronged the person or he likes witchcraft, I ask him to let go of the witchcraft and follow Godly deeds and to go to hospital as it will help him because the illness harms someone.

**I: So, you pray for him, ask him to let go of witchcraft and ask him to go to the hospital as well?**

R: To go to the hospital because the sickness leaves one with a headache, painful joints and this needs doctor's treatment, we only chase away demons, the rest is left to him to act on.

**I: Is there any other thing you ask them to do?**

R: It's about changes, for him to ensure he is well through prayer.

**I: What has been your experience treating epilepsy, how long has it been since you began?**

R: I have been handling epilepsy cases for long because there are people at our home who had it. I prayed for them when I was in the country. I began prayers a long time ago.

**I: How many years can it be until now?**

R: I began prayers in 1982, when I was a little child. I used to go with my grandmother to church and focused on church, many people refer to me as a teacher over there.

**I: So, if it was 1980, did you say 1980?**

R: I began 1982.

**I: If 1982 then you have done it for around 39 years.**

R: Those are the years I have fought against demons at our home and God's grace has been sufficient. The people are alive, they haven't died.

**I: The ones you prayed for?**

R: Yes, they are alive and do worship in other churches.

**I: Do they still have it or it ended?**

R: It ended. They call me a teacher.

**I: Why do they call you teacher?**

R: I began praying when I was young, a pupil, and I used to teach children in church and that's how the name stuck to date.

**I: Because of teaching children in church?**

R: Yes.

**I: Why do you think it's important for people to come to you to seek care and treatment for epilepsy?**

R: Importance?

**I: Yes, why should they come to you?**

R: In our church, everyone expects good for themselves, no one expects bad and every church has its culture and way of doing things. Our church culture does not allow us to preach outside telling people to come to church and witness God's goodness.

**I: It doesn't do such?**

R: We don't do such. We pray 3 times a week; Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday.

**I: Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday?**

R: Yes, and every day we come to church we do pray for people with different problems, and these people are the ones who come with other people with problems, their neighbors and after praying for them we tell if they have seen God's hand do work then they should follow up to be able to help someone else another day and we preach to them.

This is why we are happy when people come and we serve them and show them church ways, but we don't force them because our church doesn't allow us to force them to pray. If we show you God's ways it's upon you to decide because churches are many, they are like *Chama*, you can follow any that fits you. What I insist on is to get one church where you can dedicate to God.

**I: Okay, you said you pray for people. Can you tell us the specific things you use when an epileptic person comes, to help when praying for someone with epilepsy?**

R: We use normal things; candles--

**I: You use candles.**

R: Incense.

**I: Also incense.**

R: Sometimes if the Holy Spirit comes down and requests, we look for a fabric of certain color to cover with--

**I: Fabric of a certain color?**

R: We use fabric and I ask you to buy it because a lot goes on in this world, you can't share what someone else has used.

**I: So, you will ask the person to buy the fabric for themselves?**

R: They buy the fabric used to cover them.

**I: Which color?**

R: We mostly use colors purple, red or black.

**I: Why purple, red or black?**

R: Our church believes for the red color, there is a main Angel called Michael whose things align with color red, which is what I can say in brief.

**I: What about purple?**

R: There is a blessed one called Joseph, it is claimed in his works though most people know of Joseph the father of Jesus Christ but there were many Joseph. There is Joseph who used to do translation of dreams, the one who went to Israel, what was his name? The father to--

**I: Who went to Israel?**

R: The translator of dreams.

**I2: He is called Joseph. You are right.**

**The one who was a prime minister?**

R: Yes

**I2: It is Joseph.**

**I: And the one—**

R: We use his color as purple. There is a reason but it is a secret.

**I: Black? We want the basic not deep ones.**

R: Black shows there is some darkness, and darkness is covered with darkness so that when it is removed, light enters. We believe when something as epilepsy catches you, it is darkness covering you. We cover you with the black fabric believing it has carried all the demons, when we uncover, we burn or throw away, so we will have thrown the darkness and now light can enter.

**I: All the fabrics used to cover them are thrown or burnt after prayers?**

R: We burn.

**I: All of them?**

R: We burn all of them.

**I: Why do you use the incense, what does it show?**

R: When the incense enters the air waves, after an epilepsy attack, you are left with a certain smell; I don't know how to call it in Swahili, a certain smell in the brain--

**I: So, the incense--**

R: The incense enters the head and instead of feeling the smell, you feel the smell of the incense. And when it ends, the smell similar as of death will be gone and you will never feel it. I normally regard incense as an offering; we burn it as an offer to God for prayer requests.

**I: The candles?**

R: The candles are for normal lighting because it has no smoke and keeps the house clean.

**I: Is there anything else you do use, you have told us candles, incense--**

R: Holy water.

**I: Holy water?**

R: We pray for the water; lots of prayers are done. Catholics and Anglicans understand the holy water well but the other religions are against it. They say it is beliefs, but we the Legion Maria believe it is water with its purpose and there is no greater medicine than water, we believe water is everything and water is life. Sometimes demons refuse to come out of someone with epilepsy; it gets stuck and goes with his heart more as if he has died, he doesn't wake up and if left he might really die. We shock him with the water, if you sprinkle the water on him, he wakes up.

**I: Do you sprinkle a little?**

R: You sprinkle on the body and he will suddenly be shocked and if he doesn't, you put a little in his nose on this side.

**I: When you say on this side, someone listening--**

R: Right side.

**I: The right side?**

R: Yes. It will go directly to this artery.

**I: On the nose on the right side?**

R: Yes, until the eye gets shocked. The artery will move due to the cold, it will awaken him and he will be shocked and scream or sit down and wonder where he is looking all over due to confusion. He might fight people because he is not self-aware after arising due to loss of awareness.

**I: Is the water the normal one or is it your special one?**

R: The water is ours because we pray for it, there is a prayer we conduct.

**I: So, it's yours which has been blessed?**

R: It is ours. We can use rain water but not the tap water which has added chemicals. So, we use the rain water, there is a way it is cleansed. During Easter, Catholics scramble for the Holy water, there is a reason why they scramble for it.

We use such water on someone with epilepsy, if you sprinkle a little of it on him, he is shaken, wakes up and might fight you, leaving you wondering if there are fights in epilepsy or it is mental instability but it is epilepsy.

**I: Is there any other thing you might have forgotten that you do use?**

R: There is none, it is the water, the candle; we usually light the candle and the fabric. But what is used on it is the water and the incense.

**I: Those are the main ones?**

R: They are the main. We can lack the fabric but the incense is a must have. It is the one which releases him, the witches use medicine to enter you but we use the incense. The same way the medicine enters people's head, is how the incense does. Similar to the water and the same as the witches use liquid medicine, they put in the nose but we don't use such.

**I: A while back, you mentioned you have handled more than 10 people with epilepsy?**

R: Yes.

**I: How would you describe the demand for your services to treat epilepsy in this community?**

R: How?

**I: How many and how often do they come?**

R: First of all, an African is someone who has no gratitude, we should know such.

**I: Why?**

R: Africans lack gratitude to God, doctor or a witch. Some know if it's a doctor you paid a certain amount, but he understands you are his doctor you treated him. But most Africans only call you when they are in need of something. Most come when they are referred by someone who had previously come and got help. They do not come because something good was done for them, they come because of a certain problem.

**I: But do they come?**

R: They come, today I talked to one, I was supposed to visit him but it's far. I told him to come but he doesn't want to come to our church. He wants me to go to him to Dagoretti; he told me his son is at school but he has suffered and was sick recently. When I knew him it wasn't through this, it was other things. I asked what was happening to his child and I found out it was epilepsy. He asked how I could help him and I told him to come, he came and I prayed for him. Yesterday he told me the boy is well, he is back to school and studying and hasn't seen any problem.

He invited me to go to him and I told him to bring the boy the same way he had brought him the first time, he found it hard to come but he called and said the boy is well.

**I: I am at the point of if they appreciate your services, because you said they come when they have problems for help, but you also said Africans lack gratitude because when they find the help they do not come back. So do you think they appreciate what you do?**

R: They do recognize and do bring others, but I don't get any benefits from it, though I am happy my God receives the praises and I am happy they are human beings as I am. What I am not happy about is them forgetting about church but when they have a problem they remember about it. The one I just told you about came to church and screamed, but when she went she didn't come back, it's the neighbors saying the girl is well.

**I: So when you want to know if they are well or if it worked, you said you are told by the neighbors--**

R: The neighbors or they can come when I have forgotten and they remind me of when they came, who brought them and the sickness I prayed for them, then I recall them. But they take long before coming back. Also most of them hide it; they don't want it to be known.

**I: What do they hide?**

R: Epilepsy, they fear someone knowing they have it, after coming they don't want to be back once they are well, unless their mother, father or sister comes.

**I: A while back, you mentioned, there are people in the upcountry you prayed for. They got healed of epilepsy and are well up to now. Are there any other epilepsy cases you prayed for and they are well?**

R: What cases?

**I: Epilepsy cases you prayed for and you are aware they are well?**

R: There is a certain preacher of ours who had epilepsy, when he got sick, he was prayed for and he got well.

**I: Who prayed for him?**

R: Some pastor from our upcountry. When I came to Nairobi, I found him here as well. After some years, the illness came back and started attacking him, other pastors did not act other than looking at him. I invited a certain pastor and asked him we look for a way to help the victim. We looked for the cause and why it came back. I found out it was family issues, his father used to bewitch other children and this thing turned to him but he got saved and he found help, but later it had come back.

I took action together with the other pastor, we went to their upcountry place, we dealt with prayer but it wasn't easy. There were people and things, the home place had issues of demons and it looked like a cemetery as Lan'gata. All are dead, only his grandfather was alive, and when we entered we did not enter directly, and when we did we met miracles you can't believe. You would think it was all fun, we prayed while rotating the homestead, all of

sudden we found we are 5 yet we were 4 and we wondered while looking at each other where the 5<sup>th</sup> one came from.

**I: Were you with the sick person you were to pray for?**

R: Yes, we went with him.

**I: How did it go?**

R: Last moment, we got confused. The 5<sup>th</sup> person was a dead person who died in the past and was killed; he was the one after the sick pastor.

**I: How is he right now?**

R: We had to pray for him, when we entered the house, the man fell down, and we were still 5. The demon got lost in our midst and the man is now well up to now.

**I: Is there a time you are able to know when the prayers or treatment has not been successful?**

R: At times when it is unsuccessful, I tell them to be taken to the hospital.

**I: How do you know it's impossible?**

R: There is a certain type of prayer if done and there are no changes or if we get information from Holy Spirit claiming the patient has other sickness such as malaria and it is not epilepsy.

**I: What if it is epilepsy but it is impossible, how do you know?**

R: It is not easy for us to be defeated, unless you don't put effort. We will advise you to keep in mind and put effort, this is why we use different equipment. We can use fabric, another day we use incense, candles or prayer only. We are guided spiritually.

**I: So, how will you know if it is not successful?**

R: I will see you have worsened, and if it worsens I can call a certain doctor who deals with it to treat the patient, and after doing tests, if the patient is well in a certain way I will pray for

them more. If it worsens, people know herbalists in the community. I can call the herbalist and ask for real medicine, not miracles, and they do it. It might be mental issues or depression.

**I: As we come to the end, when someone with epilepsy dies, is there anything done such as rituals or cultural?**

R: Sickness has no culture. When someone dies they are buried and it ends there. But these things come back to the family. You might give birth and the child starts suffering from epilepsy and you wonder why this attacked my aunt or sister and now it is in my child.

**I: When you say it is in the family, is there anything done so as it doesn't come back to them?**

R: This was in the past when the old people would say that we need to prevent the demons from coming back to our children when someone had died from epilepsy. This is normal cultural things.

**I: What did they do?**

R: It is in the past; nowadays I do not see the witchcraft of the old days. People do pray to God that someone died in a wrong way or due to a certain sickness. So they come back to pray to chase away the demons.

**I: So you come back to pray in the homestead?**

R: Yes, though nowadays people have different faiths, churches are many with different faiths.

**I: What do you mean when you say faith is different?**

R: There are those who believe epilepsy is not a normal disease, but I believe it is a normal sickness; the difference is how it gets into a person. It does not get in a normal way, it sneaks in.

**I: How does it sneak in?**

R: As demons, someone gets shocked at night and starts mentioning things from the past and they talk to themselves at night.

**I: What happens?**

R: When the person wakes up, he claims to have been dreaming and denies talking to himself. If someone is around him, he has to be told what was happening like the strangling or else he can stay up to a year without knowing what happens to him.

**I: How does it relate to epilepsy?**

R: If it exceeds and he is seated the way you are seated, he will start staring at nothing and his entire mind goes there, within some time, his head falls, the hands on the side leaving you wondering what is happening to him. He forces the legs to remove them because he has no sense to do it the right way.

**I: What will it be?**

R: It will be epilepsy.

**I: He will have gotten it?**

R: Yes, he will suffer down there and when he wakes up, he will find saliva on the floor and he has urinated on himself.

**I: So, it is caused by him talking to himself?**

R: It is caused by talking at night, because he is talking but in the real sense it is not him talking.

**I: Who is talking?**

R: It is the demons talking as we say, epilepsy is demons.

**I: Thank you for the conversation. I have my colleague here who might need clarification on something you mentioned. Then you can ask or add anything and we close the conversation.**

**I2: Thank you for the nice conversation. When you were asked how you know when it is impossible, you mentioned there is a certain prayer when done you know it is not epilepsy. Does every type of epilepsy have its own prayers or what happens in your prayers to know when it is epilepsy?**

R: Pastors are many but their strength is not the same and they have been given a way to know how to work with the strength. For me to be able to know this is epilepsy, I pray first. I will name the different names of the deadly diseases I know. For you to come, you must have been in pain in some way, severe headache, got confusion or you fell down and you were brought. I will have to pray and mention deadly diseases related to epilepsy, mental instability or severe malaria.

I will get information that this is a deadly disease, the type of epilepsy which caused such demons. And the action to be done like the level of prayers to be offered.

**I2: If I have understood you well, if someone comes claiming to have a headache, falls down or is confused, you start by praying for him using the deadly names as epilepsy. Why would you relate to headache, confusion and falling down?**

R: Because, having a headache is not a normal illness, it is caused by a lot of things like depression, suffering or having a lot of things on you. Many sicknesses come in the form of headaches and colds. It is not normal and that's why we ask God why the headache or it is demons.

**I2: When talking about demand for your services, I heard there are those you pray for at church because they found you there and there are those who ask you to go to their place. You used an example of one who called you at Dagoretti. How is the demand for your services? How come others come to you and you go to others?**

R: Such a person is happy with my services but he doesn't want to come to us, he wants me to go to his place, but I encourage him to come as they came the first time. Because if I go to them, the only thing I will help them with is prayers. He insists on me going to him because he loves my services but I don't understand why he doesn't want to come.

**I2: Him being pleased with your services is what makes him ask you to go?**

R: Yes, he thinks if I go there, he will get much more goodness.

**I2: What goodness?**

R: He thinks I will go on praying for him, and I will be able to solve more problems other than the previous one.

**I2: Epilepsy?**

R: Epilepsy or mental instability.

**I: When mentioning the equipment used to treat epilepsy, one of them was holy water, which you said you put on the right side.**

R: It is sprinkled on him and put in the nose on one part; it will enter into his head.

**I: Why on the right side and not on the left?**

R: When the sickness enters, it affects the person on this side because it comes as thoughts; you think of something, the more you think and stare, the brain goes to this side--

**I2: Onto the right side?**

R: Yes, and there is a certain artery, those who are learned know it. It comes to this side, and this is what makes the hand freeze on one side. It is called--

**I: Where the hand has frozen?**

R: Yes, and when it does, it freezes the brain as well. When someone wakes up, the side he had fallen on has most tears and saliva comes from the side.

**I: Right side?**

R: Yes.

**I2: Still on the holy water you use to treat epilepsy, I am not sure if I heard you well, you use rain water?**

R: The rain water is the best than the other water because the other water has chemicals used to purify it because it is not clean.

**I2: So the rain water is the best--**

R: The rain water is the best because it comes direct; we cleanse it more to be medicine.

**I2: The last one, before I give my colleague a chance, she might have not understood something. You said there is this epilepsy which comes towards the end month, why does it come at the time?**

R: I can't explain more about it because, as I was raised, when I began seeing this illness happen, it attacks people mostly at the end month. When I began serving people, praying for their different epilepsy problems, they come mostly at the end of the month.

**I2: Reason?**

R: I don't understand the reason, but spiritually, everybody expects great things for them, and the demons emerge and they want great things. But you cannot report demons since they are invisible.

**I2: Let me give my colleague a chance, she might want to add something.**

**I3: Thank you very much. I have heard the conversation. There is something you talked about but I did not understand, about how family disputes bring about epilepsy. What are the fights?**

R: Disagreement, lack of understanding in the community, you are related but you don't get along. So that is family disputes.

**I3: So how does the family dispute bring epilepsy?**

R: Due to hatred, some take action by going to the witch doctor to bewitch others. Others worship idols to be able to destroy others. So when they go there, they are told, in order to make him suffer more, let's throw to him a certain disease. Or they can use someone who died a long time ago in the same way, so when they died in a certain way and they are disturbing people, they take the dead person's shadow and push it to a person so as when it reaches a certain time a certain thing is done as an offering. When it reaches the particular date, the thing twists and goes to the person. This is spiritual so I cannot explain more why someone who died can be twisted.

**I3: So do you have this spiritual strength or do other people in the community have it?**

R: In the past, I had this spiritual strength; in Luo it is called *'juogi'* and in Luhya *'msambwa'*.

Every tribe has the spirit. I had *juogi*, it was my grandmothers, she was a friend of mine.

When she died, she called me and told me I am her friend. She told me to bring her a certain chicken, I slaughtered it and she said we will eat. My mother came and quarreled why I had done so, I told her it was grandmothers' request, she died on the particular day and she said I was left in charge of the homestead yet I was so young, yet it was the *'juogi'*. I realized after some years, I was told by others, when the *juogi* attacked me, it disturbed me. If it told me not to talk to someone I wouldn't talk to them. If it instructs I should not eat a certain thing I won't eat it. If I forced myself to eat it, I would vomit, fall sick and faint. I had to tag along my other legion Maria grandmother, they prayed for me and the demons got out of me and I was free. Then the power of the Holy Spirit got into me and I lived in a way of prayer. If I stay without prayer, I don't feel well, wherever I am. At school I was given the name 'pastor'. I kept praying, in 1987, I began serving people. I used to serve mad people brought to our place and they would be brought to church because my mother refused at our place and the mad person got well. On the same day, an epileptic person was brought, we prayed for him and the epilepsy ended up to date. He is among the ones I told you about, he is now a pastor and we pray with him.

**I3: So you got your strength from what you deal with, that's why I wanted to know how you have the power and you have informed me, I appreciate it. I also had a question on the different demons which cause epilepsy and you have explained to me. That's all. Thank you.**

**I2: Thank you for your time and for having such a meaningful conversation. Thank you. Do you have any question or any addition you would like to ask about what we talked about today or anything you would want to add? It does not have to be a question.**

R: An addition or a question, what did you think that you remembered of preachers because people always think you cannot pray for epilepsy sickness and someone gets healed or they

can get well if treated at the hospital, people believe it is witchcraft and they have to be taken to a witch doctor for them to be treated. How did you remember pastors or hospitals?

**I3: This is a good question. First thing, epilepsy affects those it affects and they are different people, and they go to different places to look for treatment and solution for epilepsy, so one of them was preachers. There are those who go to preachers for prayers, others go to hospitals for medicines and others to witchcraft and herbs, this is why we saw prayer people being important and key in this, where these people look for the services, and this is why we looked for you to have a talk and get the experience of the cases you have dealt with.**

R: Have you dealt with such people, have you called other churches or it is only me?

**I3: What we are doing as APHRC, we do research, our research is about, knowing the guidelines to guide us to know what people are thinking, we are collecting information, and the information is to help us to know who we are supposed to put into these conversations to go on for these people to be helped.**

R: Does your organization recognize prayers can treat epilepsy?

**I3: The organization is big, and it has its objectives, and people are different in the organization, it's similar to when you work in government. You said there are those things the government believes in, and people are different in the government. If I tell you our organization believes in it, I will be speaking for myself, and I am different from what my colleague here thinks, right? And as you said, there are those who come to you for prayers, there are those who go to hospital and those who go those traditional ones; this is how we are in the world.**

**I2: Also to add a little on what my colleague has told you, as APHRC we are doing a research and Korogocho is one community we are having our research there, and apart from you being a prayer person, you are part of Korogocho community. So when we talk to the community about epilepsy, you come in as a resident of the community. Right?**

R: You are right, but where have you reached? do you know how much this thing has spreaded, people do think it is in children only but it attacks adults. For children it is easy to get well, for an old person such as me, might be through God's miracles or keeping in mind on doctor's instructions or advice from a prayer person or traditional herbalist. Have you realized the sickness is in many people?

**I2: The research is ongoing. The conversation is still going on so we haven't reached there.**

R: What are your plans? What do you need for you to know this thing is rampant?

**I2: As we told you, as APHRC, we do research, and with research, we collect data then share with policy makers and stakeholders like the Ministry of Health. So for us, we collect data and give the information to policy makers and leave it at that.**

R: For the years I have served people, epilepsy is high. It has overwhelmed people and they don't know how to help themselves. This is why I am asking you these ignorant questions--

**I2: They are not ignorant questions; they are very valid and important.**

R: There are people who are young and there are those who have it but it is not known, only them do know. There are those who follow doctor's instructions so it is at a controlled rate.

**I2: As we go on with the conversation, you keep saying epilepsy is rampant, what is your reason for saying so?**

R: When you walk in the community, you find someone has fallen, crying or someone is walking and all of sudden he falls in your presence. In offices you find someone is well and all of sudden he has a mark due to epilepsy. If you walk you encounter the cases in the community and you can't miss them.

**I2: Thank you for the conversation, we appreciate you for your time.**

[End of audio]