



PARENTAL REFUSAL TO PROVIDE BASIC NECESSITIES TO CHILDREN

# **A DIAGNOSTIC SOCIAL NORMS EXPLORATION REPORT**

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# Social norms exploration



Bantwana western Uganda team conducting a focus group discussion with grandparents at Kyakahyoro community church in Nyabuharwa sub county Kyenjojo district. (Photo credit by Allan)

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## Acronyms

SNE	Social norms exploration
KAP	Knowledge Attitudes and Practices
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Associations
FGD	Focus Group discussions
LC	Local Council
IIDC	Impact and innovations development centre

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## Executive summary

### Background and rationale for the social norms exploration

Persistent failure to meet a child's basic physical or psychological needs that is likely to result into serious impairment of a child's health or development is referred to as child neglect (Bovarnick, 2007). Child neglect refers to failure to provide children's fundamental needs (Sudiyanto, 2018). The United Nations defines a child as any human being below the age of 18 years. Children equally contribute to the moral wellbeing of the society and thus require adequate care which includes among others, education, training and socialization in the environment. (National child right's committee 1999). However, in spite of the importance and contribution of children to society, millions of children are neglected by their parents, caregivers and the community.

In Uganda, the current strategies that are being employed to reduce cases of child abuse and neglect seem not to be working efficiently as expected. The strategies are based on guidelines that are more academic and make little sense to parents they are trying to educate because they lack the social context within which child neglect and abuse occurs. African communities believe by seeing from the person teaching them. If the person coming as a teacher to a particular community represents another cultural ideology, parents will see him/her as a bad influence who cannot be listened to (Ejuu, 2015). The abuse is in part blamed on parents who are entering family life ill prepared to raise children while maintaining an exclusive life oblivious of a supportive community around them. Use of law enforcement to bring some of the abuse perpetrators to justice also seem not be working to meet the expectations of the public.

The exploration team used data from the Bantwana KAP survey 2019 and Routine Monitoring for case management dataset, which showed that child neglect was a predominant issue affecting children in Kyenjojo, Kabarole and Bunyangabu. A Further detailed analysis of the data showed that the biggest factor around child neglect was parental and caregiver refusal (intentionally) to provide basic necessities to their children even when they can afford.

*Basic needs are generally defined in terms of a minimal list of elements that human beings necessitate in order to fulfil basic requirements and achieve a decent life. Typically, the list includes basic commodities such as food, shelter, clothing, drinking water, sanitation, education health care and public transportation, participation, self-reliance, autonomy and self-expression.*

While the factors that contribute to refusal by parents and caregivers to provide basic necessities to their children were fairly known, there was an evident gap on the knowledge of community

norms, beliefs and attitudes that encourage parents to refuse to provide these needs, hence the social norms exploration (SNE).

### **About the Social norms exploration Process, the terms and methodologies**

The study adapted the social norms exploration toolkit methods (my social network, influence mapping, vignettes, pocket chart, problem tree and 5-whys) in the data collection process. Data was collected qualitatively through Focus Group discussions with all the participants in their respective categories/groups. The exploration targeted vulnerable children (boys and girls) in and out of school experiencing neglect between the age of 12-17years, female and male caregivers exposed to Bantwana interventions, parents and caregivers not exposed to Bantwana interventions and model parents/caregivers who provide basic necessities to their children.

### **Selection criteria for the target area**

The exploration team used the Bantwana western region KAP survey report 2019 to identify and select the most affected districts experiencing child neglect in the form of parent's refusal to provide for their children basic necessities. The survey report indicated Kyamukube sub-county (Bunyangabu district), Kasenda sub-county (Kabarole district) and Nyabuharwa sub-county (Kyenjojo district) had high persistent rates of child neglect despite the interventions by Western Uganda Bantwana program (WUBP) and government intervention.

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### **Findings from the exploration**

The most pronounced reason for parents' refusal to provide basic needs to children as reported was the bad behaviour character of the affected children. It was reported that the behaviour of a child is a big determinant on whether or not the parent will or will not provide for the child. Bad behaved children are not given basic necessities and the reverse is true and is linked/rooted to a social norm where in the community, "parents are not expected to provide basic necessities to bad behaved children". Thus, children perceived as having bad manners and behaviour (refusal to go to farm, rear animals, not listening to parents, refusal to go to fish, etc.) are not provided with basic needs. This speaks to the levels of ignorance on child rights and what amounts to child labour.

All participants were asked about prevailing issues that affect children with in their homes, schools and the community at large with the aim of establishing the patterns, connections they hold with the exploration practice of interest i.e. refusal to provide basic necessities. The most pronounced issues affecting children included: child labour where most children are forced by their parents to work on commercial farms, vend food stuffs before they can be provided for; poor accommodation at home which leads to children's exposure to sexual activities; teenage pregnancies which was mainly as a result of parent's refusal to provide for the girls their most needed basic needs, which girls seek from men; limited access to social services such as schools

and health facilities; defilement cases common among girls who dropped out of school; teachers failure to mark children’s work at school which affects morale and children stealing each other’s packed food which jeopardises their continued stay in schools.

Below are the norms that influence parental care and provision in the societies of Bunyangabu, Kyenjojo and Kabarole district

**Table A: Summary of social norms per district**

Kabarole	Bunyangabu	Kyenjojo
<p>Norm: Wives are expected to care and provide for children’s needs. So, fathers refuse to cater for needs</p> <p>Norm: Many mothers expect their husbands to provide for children basic needs, it’s a man’s responsibility (So they refuse to provide).</p>	<p>Norm: Women expect fathers/men to be sole providers of basic needs to children. So, they refuse to provide even when they can (Descriptive norm)</p>	<p>Norm: Men are expected to provide basic needs to children because Children belong to the man.</p>
<p>Norm: It is acceptable for parents not to provide basic necessities to children who do not want to work.</p>	<p>Norm: Children with bad and unacceptable behaviours are not provided with basic necessities by their parents (Descriptive norm).</p>	<p>Norm: Parents are not expected to provide basic necessities to children with bad behaviours.</p>
<p>Norm: Girls who get pregnant are expected to leave their parents’ home for marriage.</p>	<p>Norm: Young girls who become pregnant are not expected to go back to school. So, parents refuse to continue providing for them. (Descriptive norm)</p>	
<p>Norm: A child who is not in school is not considered a child.</p>		
<p>In Bakiga culture, a real man is one with more than one wife</p>		

## Conclusion

Results indicate that social norms directly and indirectly influence parent/care giver practices or behaviour on whether or not to provide basic necessities to children. The key emerging issues are around gender roles, ignorance of child rights, limited knowledge on care giving among parents and vulnerability of the girl child. Nonetheless. The SNE results offer a key opportunity for Bantwana to re-think about its program design, targeting and change pathways.

## Introduction

### Parents refusal to provide basic necessities to children

Persistent failure to meet a child's basic physical or psychological needs likely to result into serious impairment of a child's health or development is referred to as child neglect (Bovarnick, 2007). Broadly, child neglect refers to failure to provide children's fundamental needs. (Sudiyanto, 2018). By definition, a child is any human being below the age of 18 years (United Nations, 1998). Children equally contribute to the moral wellbeing of the society thus require adequate care which includes among others, education, training and socialization in the environment (National child right's committee 1999). However, in spite of the importance and contribution of children to society, some are neglected by the parents, caregivers and community at large.

Basic needs are generally defined in terms of a minimal list of elements that human beings necessitate in order to fulfil basic requirements and achieve a decent life. Typically, the list includes basic commodities such as food, shelter, clothing, drinking water, sanitation, education health care and public transportation, participation, self-reliance, autonomy and self-expression. For the case of a child, he/she requires appropriate and adequate support and stimulation from his/her social environment in order to develop him/herself from a more or less dependent being to an autonomous boy/man or girl/woman. This support has to respond to the following "natural basic needs" (Maslow, Achnitz), which are: Physiological, psychological, need for protection, social attachment, self-realization, stimulation, play and achievement.

The exploration team used data from the Bantwana KAP survey 2019 and Routine Monitoring for case management dataset, which showed that child neglect was a predominant issue affecting children in Kyenjojo, Kabarole and Bunyangabu. A Further detailed analysis of the data showed that the biggest factor around child neglect was parental and caregiver refusal (intentionally) to provide basic necessities to their children even when they can afford.

By way of community involvement and co-design, the exploration harvested some suggestive strategies to address and transform the negative social norms that influence parental refusal to provide basic necessities to their children as illustrated in the influence mapping frameworks.

## Background

Through the socio-ecological model of comprehensive care, Bantwana ensures that children and their caregivers have access to the full range of support they need to grow and improve their overall wellbeing. Bantwana engages at all levels i.e. working in close partnership with children and youth, families, communities, civil-society organizations, private sector, and governments to promote transformative and lasting changes. Bantwana also supports parenting skills and savings groups to help support establishment of positive family dynamics and improve household economic resilience with the mission to improve the wellbeing of vulnerable children, their caregivers and families. However, the Knowledge Attitudes and Practices (KAP) survey 2019 report indicated that the biggest problem facing children is parental refusal to provide basic needs even when they have the capacity to provide for them.

In addition, the survey report 2019 indicated that 60% of the Village Savings and Loan Associations (VSLA) money basket had been lent out to parents/caregivers for investment purposes in small scale businesses. This is aimed at generating incomes and improving people's livelihoods and wellbeing and hence improved care for children through adequate provision of basic needs by parents and caregivers. This was however found not true in Bunyangabu, Kyenjojo and Kabarole districts. It was therefore upon this background that a social norms exploration was conducted to ascertain the knowledge, beliefs/attitudes, norms and practices around the provision of basic needs for children. The exploration was conducted through a joint effort by Bantwana western region team together with technical support team from Impact and Innovations Development centre (IIDC).

We define refusal to provide basic services is a situation where either one or both parents refuses (will fully, i.e. have capacity and capability) to provide basic needs to their children. This may extend to family members and caregivers who may have the means to support children but **REFUSE** for varied reasons.

## Social norms exploration objectives

### Social Norms Exploration Objectives

- To assess the knowledge of parents/caregivers on child welfare responsibilities
- To identify the social norms around the provision of basic necessities to children
- To identify the attitudes/beliefs around the provision of basic necessities to children among caregivers
- To identify care giver practices around provision of basic needs

## Social Norms exploration (SNE) process, terms methodology and tools.

The exercise was designed to collect normative evidence on why caregivers/parents refuse to provide basic needs to their children even when they can afford. Focus was to explore the social norms, beliefs/attitudes and practices that influence (directly or indirectly) parent's refusal to provide basic necessities to children. The exploration provided a deeper understanding beyond what the KAP surveys and case stories provide, and this learning oriented process presents another step in Bantwana's resolute commitment to fulfilling its objective of improved child wellbeing in western Uganda.

### Definition of exploration terms

**Social norms:** These are Informal rules that most people accept and abide by. They are influenced by belief systems, perceptions of what others expect and do, and sometimes by perceived rewards and sanctions.

**Attitude:** Positive, negative, or neutral opinion(s) that an individual/individuals have on a particular behavior

**Belief:** An internal feeling that something is true, even though unproven or irrational.

**Practice:** The actual application of an idea, belief or method as opposed to theories relating to it. It is the way of doing things

**Target group:** Target group/population is a group of people that are affected, influence or are influenced by the study behaviour.

**Reference group:** A reference group connotes the group whose judgment a person cares about in relation to a particular behavior, and which may be able to enact social sanctions against them.

**Organized diffusion:** An alternative and complementary strategy to social norms marketing, this tool builds on using social networks to spread the norm

**Modeling behavior:** Role models demonstrate a recommended behaviour. These may be people with influence (parents, care givers, political leaders, informal or community leaders, religious leaders, etc.) or people who are widely known within the relevant group.

**Trendsetters and positive deviants:** These are willing and able to be "first movers" in initiating change. Their nonconforming behavior helps erode perceptions of the norm.

**Deliberation and reflection:** Group deliberation can facilitate collective reflection on social norms as a means of promoting change in attitudes, shared analysis of barriers to change

## The exploration process/methodology

The exploration categorically employed the social norms exploration tool kit during the entire data collection process. Ground exploration commenced with mobilisation of the target groups which was done by the help of para - social workers a day before the actual commencement of interviews/ focused group discussions. Prior mobilisation of the target group was done in order to set a ground for quality responses during the interviews.

Participants in groups of 8 to 10 participated in the group discussions. Data from the focus group discussions was audio recorded in addition to prompt taking of notes by the not taker.

At the start of the interviews, participants were informed about the purpose of the exploration and consent sought before participation. Participants were also informed about their safety and confidentiality of their opinions/contributions in the group discussion. Upon completion of the field data collection, the research teams compiled all the materials and tools used for use in the rapid data analysis and cleaning. All data audio recorded was transcribed and transcripts used during report writing.

## Selection of the target population and target area

We used purposive sampling to select three (3) target sub-counties based on high incidence of child neglect cases. In each of these, our main population purposively identified vulnerable children in and out of school, care givers and parents.

The exploration targeted females and males in different categories as shown below:

- Vulnerable children in and out of school between the age of 12-17years.
- Caregivers who are not exposed to Bantwana interventions.
- Caregivers that have children affected by any of the issues identified as per the case management report
- Model parents/caregivers who provide basic necessities to their children.

## Selection of reference groups

These were identified and mapped out using my social network tool/exercise. They are a group of people or community for which the behavior is relevant. These reference groups can exert a considerable amount of influence on behavior and might not be particularly influenced by the behavior of the individuals. They were people who matter and advise others (the target groups) and are very critical in social norms because they react to the norm, appreciate it or not appreciate it and are identified through use of my social network tool. Reference groups identified during the exploration exercise included paternal uncles, grandparents, step mothers,

husbands, wives, mothers, fathers of children in and out of school, school teachers and local council one chairpersons (LC1s).

#### Selection criteria for the target area

The exploration team used the Bantwana western region KAP survey report 2019 to identify and select the most affected districts experiencing child neglect in the form of parent's refusal to provide for their children basic necessities. The survey report indicated Kyamukube sub-county (Bunyangabu district), Kasenda sub-county (Kabarole district) and Nyabuharwa sub-county (Kyenjojo district) had high persistent rates of child neglect despite the interventions by Western Uganda Bantwana program (WUBP) and government intervention.

#### Data collection tools and their application

Data collection tools were developed by the exploration teams and pretested on non-participants in the same communities before subjecting them to the target population. This was aimed at ensuring that the focused group discussion guide/questionnaire provided responses in line with the intended objectives of the exploration. Below is the elaboration on tools adapted and used from the SNE tool kit.

#### **My social network tool**

This tool was used to collect information from each of the target groups, allowing the research team to profile the social reference groups whose opinions/decisions matter and influence parental provision of basic needs to children

#### **Influence mapping tool**

This tool was used to rank the key influencers per subpopulation amongst all those identified during the "my social network analysis" exercise. The most prominent influencers (reference groups) of the target behaviour (deliberate parental refusal to provide basic necessities to children) were mapped out/selected using the mapping tool and mobilized for participation in the SNE exercise. These were selected based on their level/strength of influence positively or negatively around parental provision of basic necessities to children.

#### **Vignettes**

Vignettes are short stories developed by the research teams to provide a similar picture in context with the study behavior. A short story about parents who could afford but refused to provide basic needs for their children was developed in the context with the communities of Kabarole, Kyenjojo and Bundibugyo. The team ensured that the story was culturally appropriate and acceptable for the community and subpopulations. The story was shared with participants

to gain a deeper understanding of what the exploration intended to explore. Thus this method allowed participants to think deeply about how the situation is like, and why it is like that regarding parents or caregivers' refusal to provide basic needs to children and more importantly think in community-centered ways that bring out underlying societal norms related to refusal to provide basic needs to children. This was achieved through first pre-testing it on non-participants in the same region before subjecting it to the participating population.

### **Problem Tree and 5 Whys**

The problem tree and 5 whys were used to find a deeper understanding/ underlying deep rooted causes of parental deliberate refusal to provide basic needs to children. Just like the problem tree, the 5 Whys rotated around answering the “why question” for each identified cause during the FGDs. The problem tree was used concurrently with the 5 whys during the exploration.

### **Pocket chart**

In order to find out the extent to which the emergent normative statements, beliefs and attitudes were accepted in the either sections or whole community, pocket charts were used across all the groups discussions. Participants were asked to vote on known beliefs, perceptions and practices related to parent's refusal to provide basic needs for children in order to ascertain the strength of the norms, beliefs, attitudes and perceptions on the behaviour Frequency of mention and accompanying sanctions helped to determine the strength based on the votes and nature of sanctions.

## **Social Norms Exploration Findings**

This section gives detailed but stratified findings from the exploration exercise.

### **Knowledge and role of care giving**

Parents and caregivers were asked about the roles of a parent or caregiver with the aim to establish whether or not they understood their roles and responsibilities as parents or caregivers of children before diving into the normative elements of the exploration. The results showed that most parents know their responsibilities towards their children but this knowledge did not align with the actual parenting practices by most parents across the three districts. It emerged that there is a divergence between parenting knowledge and parenting practice.

In trying to explore some of the roles and responsibilities that parents believe are typical;

- Parents reported that it is the responsibility of both parents to care and provide for children because they bore them together. However, we discovered that some gender norms create contradictions where it is normative for men to provide for their families, and thus women even when they can support their husbands refuse to provide basic needs. Such gendered

norms among parents leads to their refusal to provide for children because *many mothers expect their husbands to provide for children's basic needs, because it's a man's responsibility, so they refuse to contribute to the provision. It is also believed strongly that a child belongs to the man, thus he has the responsibility to provide.*

- Further, some parents know that it is the responsibility of both parents to provide all the basic necessities because a child is still young and cannot provide for him/herself. However, even with this knowledge, most parents reported that, children must work and support with the family needs before they can be cared for and/or provided with basic needs. *“For a child to be given basic needs, he/she must first work” (FGDs Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Bunyangabu).* This is a belief where child neglect and child labour intersect.
- Children understand that basic needs of a child include; School fees, scholastic materials, education, food, clothes, soap, sanitary pads, money for haircut as well as counsel and encouragement for dull children to improve on their grades in school. In addition to the basic needs mentioned by children, parents understand that basic needs of a children include protection, guidance and counselling; teaching children their religion; spending time with children; Medical care; time to play; skilling them in craft making; ensuring children have a good shelter and proper beddings; showing care and protection; teaching children good behaviour and conduct in society and eating a balanced diet. This indicates that both parents and children understand the basic necessities, in line with the National child right's committee 1999 and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) definitions.

### Leading causes of parent's refusal to provide basic necessities to their children.

A number of factors were reported to be behind parent's refusal to provide basic care necessities, even when they have the means as elaborated below:

**Gendered social expectations:** It was found that most mothers/women expect their husbands/men to provide for the home and needs of children. A negative attitude reported was that men do not provide because they expect that children are more attached to their mothers than them and so mothers should provide. At the community level, there are no exceptions, the man is expected to provide for his family as the family's bread winner and this socially constructed gendered expectation is deeply entrenched. The strongest gender norm that emerged was that women expect men to be the sole providers of all family needs and thus even when they can fill the gap, most women refuse to provide for their children when their husbands fail. For example, most women can't pay school fees for a child because this is known to be and expected of a man as head of the family.

**Inequitable gender roles:** Gender roles are behaviours, attitudes and actions that society feels are appropriate or inappropriate for a man or woman, boy or girl, according to cultural norms and traditions. Gender norms describe how people of a particular gender and age are expected to behave in a given social context. Across the three districts, it was discovered that some men and women believe that a man should provide high cost items while a woman provides small cost item for the family and children. *“A woman’s income is for buying low cost items like scholastic materials, clothes, sanitary towels for girls, food, counselling and guidance, medical care and beddings.”* (Female caregivers) thus, male caregivers refuse to provide for their children in case of need for low-cost items because they believe that their responsibility is limited to only high cost items such as building a house, paying school fees, securing land for the family etc. Encouragingly however, it was found that women are more involved in VSLAs than their husbands/men which makes them relatively capable to provide for the family.

**Unhealthy couple relations:** Across the three districts, conflict/misunderstandings between parents was a found have a significant negative influence on a child’s welfare provision by parents. *“Whenever parents/a couple has misunderstandings, each of them refers the child to the other for necessities.”* It was reported that in most cases, fathers deliberately refuse to provide needs to the family whenever conflict arises between them and their wives. It was reported that conflicts are rooted in wives denying their husbands conjugal rights/sex, husbands returning back home late in the night and often drunk, and some men sell garden/farm produce (largely planted by women) without discussing or agreeing with their wives. Denial of conjugal rights/sex consequently forces husbands to punish their wives by denying them and their children basic needs. This coupled with the belief among wives that it is the man’s responsibility to provide leaves children deprived of the care and basic needs. It was noted in one FGD that *“It is the responsibility of the man to care for the wife and children”* (FGDs mothers Kabarole, Bunyangabu, Kyenjojo)

**Children’s behavioural influence:** This emerged as a cross cutting issue/reason from parents in all districts. They emphasised that a child’s discipline is an important factor they considered before caring and providing for a child basic necessities. According to them, a well-behaved child is one who does “all” the work/tasks assigned to him or her thus failure to do so, a child is labeled as bad behaved and thus doesn’t qualify for basic care needs. One of the parents reported that *“when I send him to graze goats and he refuses, I can no longer provide for such a son”* (Fathers Kabarole). A deeper inquiry into the tasks given to children showed hard labour, domestic labour, commercial farm labour etc., which amounts to child labour. This is a major factor especially so because the communities depend on agriculture, and free labour is often preferred by farm owners. For example, in Kabarole, children below 12 years are asked to go to gardens early in the

morning to protect crops from being destroyed and eaten up by flying birds while those above 12 years are sent in the evenings to protect crops from elephants (from Kibaale national park) that destroy them in the night. These are also sometimes forced to vend food items in the area and also fishing at the lake. In Kyenjojo, children are forced by their parents to work in tea plantations so that they also contribute to the needs of the family and those that refuse to go to the garden/farms are denied basic necessities by their parents. In addition, young girls who get pregnant while still in school are forced to work as maids as a punishment. In Uganda, more than one out of four adolescents (15–19 years) become pregnant with the rates being higher (27%) in rural than urban Uganda (Josephine Nabugoomu, 2020). Parents refuse to provide for young pregnant girls because they are perceived to have gotten spoilt and matured. They neither care or nor take back young pregnant girls to school after delivery but rather, they force them into marriage.

**Less value on education:** Results show that parents do not prioritize children's education as a basic need in their life and future. It was found that many children miss school and/or drop out of school due to parent's negative attitudes and beliefs towards education. In addition, it was reported that many parents prioritize expenditures on other things and items over payment of school dues. Parents noted thus; *"even us we never went to school but aren't we there"* (Mothers Kyenjojo), *"Do you think all those that went to school have jobs"* (Mothers Kyenjojo) *"... instead of paying school fees, I would rather pay back the money I borrowed to the financial lending institution because you cannot be arrested for not paying school fees but you can be arrested for not paying back money to the financial lending group"* (Grandfathers Kabarole).

**Poor performance in class contributing to school dropout:** Parents send children to school expecting excellency and good grades however it was found that some children perform poorly which affects their continuity in school. Parents lose morale of continuing to pay school dues for children that don't perform well in class. However, children also complained of too much work at home assigned to them after school time, walk long distances which affects their revision time and also alcoholic fathers who beat children at night and hence affecting them psychologically – and thus children can't read when they are at home. Children get tired and exhausted, cannot read and this consequently results into dozing in class, less learning and eventually poor performance.

**Age of the child and care:** The study discovered that provision of care for children was associated to the age of the child. Most young children (below 12 years) are taken care of while older ones (ages 12-17years) are often neglected: In Bunyangabu, *"A child at 15 years is old enough to take care of him/herself."* Parents have a wrong belief that a child who is above 12 years is old enough,

is grown up and can afford to work and get all the needs they want by themselves. In addition, parents do not provide counsel and guidance to school dropout children as they are regarded as mature enough to care for themselves. *You cannot neglect a younger child (less than 12years) and take care of a grown-up (above 12years) who should be independent,*”. Therefore, without changing the belief system among parents on who a child is and correct age bracket for children, it may be difficult to influence them to provide basic needs for a neglected or mis-categorised segment of children.

### Issues affecting children in school, at home and in their communities

This exploration intended to establish the patterns in the cross cutting issues that affected children across districts and to also establish their connections with the study behaviour of interest. This was well achieved through the discussions with the parents, caregivers and children as seen below.

**Child labour:** Empirical findings provide evidence that the occupation and education of the household head has a significant impact on the probability that a child will work. The probability of child labour in rural areas is higher, while the welfare of the household has a significant impact on child labour. A child whose parent is a farmer is more likely to work (Mwebaza, 2007). Across the three districts, children are forced to work (child labour) in home gardens and in commercial farms such as working on tea plantations, food vending, fishing at the lake and sometimes making of tomato crates before going to school otherwise they will be denied basic necessities. Child labour significantly contributed to the high numbers of school dropout as many children miss school while engaged in the farms. *“In this village most children do not complete Primary seven due to child labour”*. *Stepmothers Kyenjojo*

**Exposure to sex at early age:** During the exploration, it was observed that many families occupied small units of houses where both children and the parents sleep under the same roof and in the same room separated by only a curtain. *“Children listen to their parents having sex in the night. Some children pretend to be sleeping yet when they are secretly watching their parents having sex.”* *Girls Kabarole*. In Bunyangabu, many young girls and boys are involved in watching pornographic films from video halls, attending night discos and engaging in prostitution for money. Involvement in such activities consequently leads to increased school drop rates.

**Forced child marriage – due to sex exposure:** Child marriage means that young girls who have not attained the minimum age for marriage of 18 years are married off; Girls are forced into marriage by their parents at a young age especially when they are impregnated while still in school. *“Mothers send their children into marriage without the father’s consent.”* *Paternal uncles*

*Kabarole*. While some are forced due to parent's greed for dowry, some young girls at 15 years are perceived to be old enough for marriage. This denies the young girls the opportunity to complete their education, Worse still, a child married under age does not only have her rights abused irretrievably but she becomes part of an abused generation that has no hope in a bright future. An abused generation cannot contribute to future progress. (Nassolo, 2011)

**Defilement – thus exposure to sex at early age:** Young girls are lured into sex activities by men and fellow young boys who promise to provide to them all that they need such as money and sanitary pads. Unfortunately, from the community, *“if an out of school girl child is impregnated, the police authorities do not apprehend the culprit because the parent does not have evidence which evidence (school uniform.) It is only with a school uniform as evidence that a parent can claim a case of rape or defilement of his/her daughter “grandfathers Kabarole.* Thus the out of school children do not get justice and parents resort to forcing them into marriage especially when they become pregnant.

**Failure and or refusal by teachers to mark children's work:** Several concerns were raised by children about their issues that affect them at schools; Children revealed that teachers refuse to mark children's class work as a punishment for reporting to class late which spills away their morale for education. In addition, some teachers refuse deliberately to repeat for children what has been taught when they reach class late. Many children especially step children informed that parents force children to work in gardens or commercial farms before going to school which makes them reach school late. This was an expression from children thus Bantwana needs to create mechanisms or motivation factors for teachers to ensure they mark children's work.

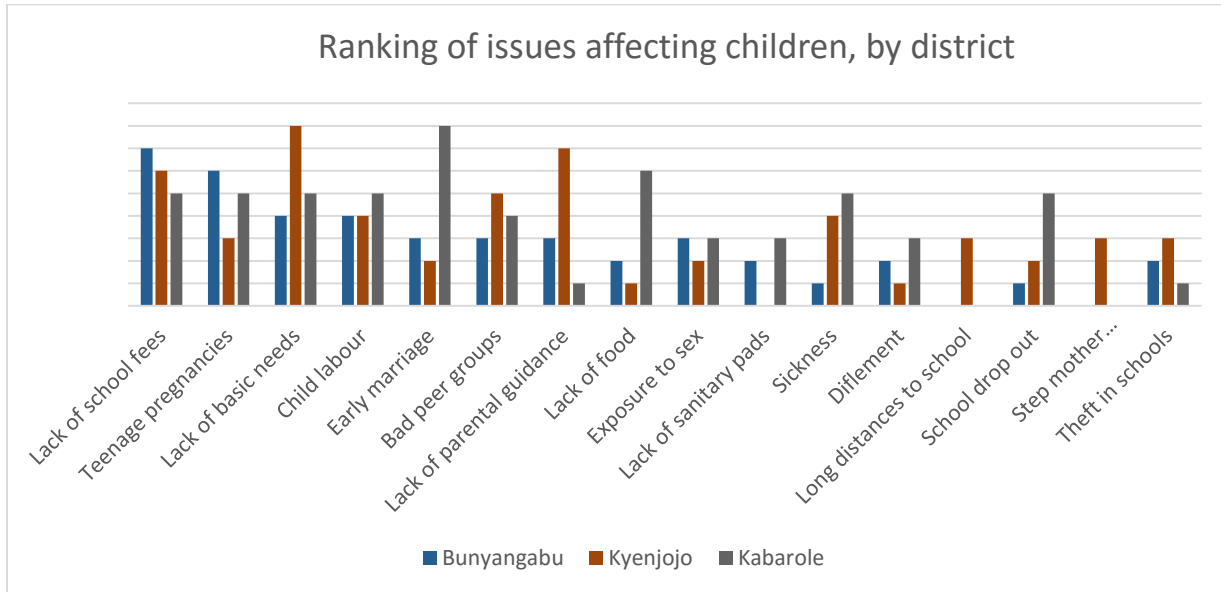
**Theft in schools:** Children steal from each other exercise books and packed food stuffs rendering the victims to missing their lunch, losing their morale to attend school and eventually dropping out. It was however noted that the school administration does not intervene to support children whose books and/or food stuffs have been stolen. This may require need for a mechanism on how to handle such a problem to avoid children dropping out of school.

**Limited access to social services (Health centres and schools):** Sicknesses among children was a dominant issue that each subpopulation raised as a concern in their communities. Parents and children find it hard to access health facilities and services due to the long distances to access them. Whereas many children are always sick with malaria, typhoid, headache and nose bleeding, health centres also lack medical supplies in them. Nyabuharwa sub county in Kyenjojo district was said to have few schools especially secondary schools which renders children to moving long distances to access education services and Kasenda sub county in Kabarole district was said to have few health facilities which are not well equipped.

## Summary of cross cutting issues

Issues were ranked by frequency of mention by unique participants in target groups. Precisely to note is that, this approach helped in identification of more other issues as seen in figure one that affect the communities which Bantwana needs to explore more in their next program designs.

Figure one: Cross cutting issues



Evidently, lack of basic necessities was found to be the biggest issue affecting children and more specifically, the lack of school fees as a basic need across all districts. Therefore, it's important that school - focused interventions are given more priority including continuing with the lunch and lunch project.

However, a critical look indicates that child labour is seen to cut across districts and at relatively same frequencies which implies that child labour greatly affects children. It is also worth noting the variations in the ranking per district, the same issues seem to cross cut hence designing impactful interventions requires not a one size fits all, but an approach that systemically that caters for all issues.

These issues affecting children require a complexity aware theory of change – and therefore complexity aware activities. For significant change and improvement in child wellbeing, it is inevitable to use a complexity aware systems approach to designing interventions. All issues impede the development of the child and have to be addressed in equity measure for example that is to say Defilement and school drop outs were found responsible for the increasing numbers of teenage pregnancies and child marriages among girls.

The problem trees below answer the why question i.e. why parents refuse to provide for their children basic with needs, focusing on the root causes of the problem; while the subsequent tables and behavioural influence frameworks below indicate the attitudes, beliefs and practices associated with each norm.



Figure two: Bunyangabu problem tree



Why parents and caregivers refuse to provide basic necessities to children

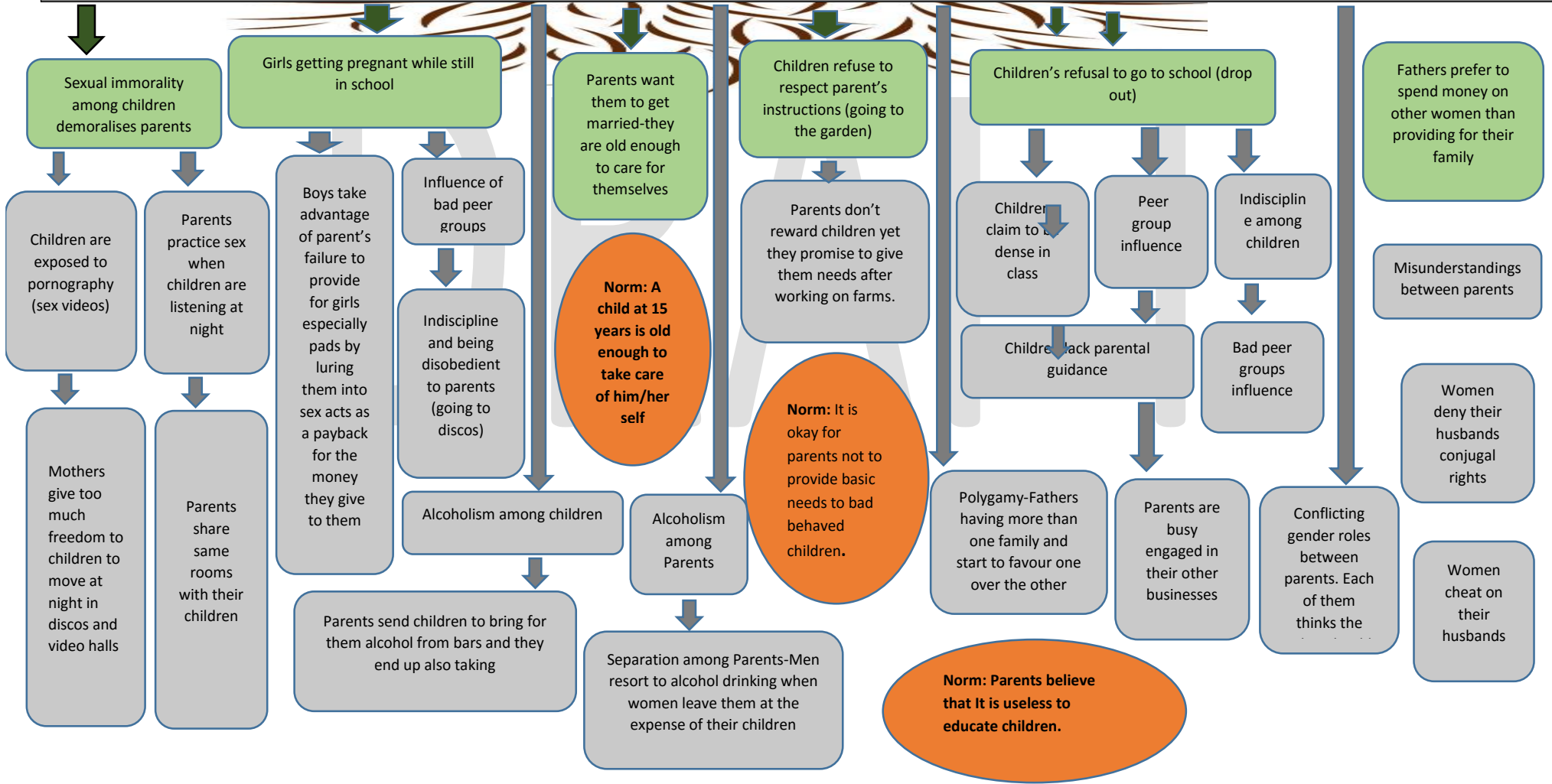


Table one: Bunyangabu Norms and beliefs

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
<p>Failure to know who to ask what</p> <p><i>When children ask their needs from fathers they are sent to mothers and the mothers also send them back to their fathers. (Boys Bunyangabu)</i></p>	<p>A man is the overall in the home.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A woman is not supposed to provide for the family unless when the man is not around.</li> </ul> <p><i>“My Father is the one who brought my mother, so he has to take care and responsibility of the family” and “also, a home is owned by a man not a woman”. (Boys group and male caregivers Bunyangabu)</i></p> <p><i>“It is the man who married me so he is the one to provide all needs of the family” (Mothers Bunyangabu)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Men are more capable to provide than women. <i>(Male caregivers Bunyangabu)</i></li> <li>A man is supposed to pay school fees and provide shelter. <i>(Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</i></li> <li>“According to culture, children belong to a man because when time for marriage comes, people say we are going to marry that man’s daughter not that woman’s daughter and when it is a boy, it is still the father to negotiate dowry issues.” <i>“As a woman I cannot manage to do all that.” (Mothers Bunyangabu)</i></li> </ul> <p>It is the responsibility of a mother to provide food and do parenting because</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>She is always at home and understands the children’s problems. <i>(Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</i></li> </ul> <p><i>“If our child has been sent home to get school fees balance of 10000/=, I cannot go to the garden and carry a bunch of bananas on my back, it is the woman who should carry it and take to the trading centre and sell to get the money.” (male care givers Bunyangabu)</i></p>	<p>Fathers do not take care and responsibility on children who stay with divorced mothers.</p> <p>Male parents don’t pay medical bills for children saying it’s the role of the woman.</p> <p><i>“Mothers take us to health centres and cover all the costs alone” (Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</i></p> <p>Men mind more about drinking alcohol than parenting. <i>(Mothers Bunyangabu)</i></p> <p><i>“My father spends all his money on alcohol.” (Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</i></p>	<p><b>Women expect fathers/men to be sole providers of basic needs to children. So they refuse to provide</b></p> <p><i>Injunctive and directly influences behaviour</i></p>	<p><b>Create a new norm</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fathers, mothers and care givers provide basic needs to children</li> </ul> <p>Tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deliberation and reflection meetings with reference groups (women who accept that it is an equal responsibility of both father and mother to care for children and their needs)</li> </ul> <p>Reference groups Mothers, Fathers and caretakers.</p>

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
	<p><i>"I can't manage counselling my adolescent daughter, it is her mother's job"</i> (male caregivers Bunyangabu)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mothers take good care of children because fathers cannot do feminine activities like cooking or bathing children. (Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</li> </ul>			
<p>Indiscipline among children</p> <p>Child labour</p> <p>Alcoholism and drug use</p>	<p>Children think their parents are old fashioned so they cannot advise them. (Girls Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Children regard their fathers as useless because mothers undermine their fathers in front of them. <i>"The behaviour of a child determines whether the parents will take good care of him or not"</i> (Male care givers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"When you send him to graze goats and he refuses I can no longer provide for such a son."</i> (Fathers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"I can't waste money on such a disobedient child".</i> (Mothers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"I cannot continue providing for a bad behaved child because it's a wastage of money and resources."</i> (Mothers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"If a parent is not taking good care of you, you stop respecting such a parent, as a result the parent completely stops providing for you."</i> (children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Children who return home late should not be given food by their mothers. (Husbands Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"It is only when you go together with your parents to the garden that they provide you with necessities."</i> (Girls Bunyangabu)</p> <p>A child who has become unruly and alcoholic is not supposed to receive support from the father. (Fathers Bunyangabu)</p>	<p>Fathers refuse to provide for children who side along their mothers against them.</p> <p>Parents deny provide basic necessities to children who are unruly/ un disciplined.</p>	<p>In Kyamukuube, children with bad/unacceptable behaviours are not provided with basic necessities by their parents</p> <p><i>Descriptive and directly influences behaviour</i></p>	<p><b>Change the social norm (Correctively)</b></p> <p>Tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deliberations and reflection on mind-set change about what bad behaviour and child labour</li> </ul> <p>Reference group</p> <p>Parents and caregivers</p> <p>Children</p> <p>Community leaders</p>

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
Exposure to sex and teenage pregnancy	<p>A child who has already given birth can take care of herself and her baby. <i>"I refused to send my daughter back to school after delivery because she has increased my burdens since I now have a grandchild to take care of as well."</i> (Male care givers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>"If I pay school fees for the mother, I might not have any money left to handle the grandchild's medical bills"</i> (Mothers Bunyangabu)</p> <p>. <i>"I cannot waste money on a girl who has started having sexual relationships."</i></p>		<p>Young girls who become pregnant are not expected to go back to school. So parents refuse to continue providing for them</p> <p><i>Injunctive and directly influences behaviour</i></p>	<p><b>Create a new norm with positive expectations</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>During parenting groups (develop consensus about new a rule of behaviour)</li> </ul> <p>Tool</p> <p>Change the law</p> <p>Reference group</p> <p>School drop out</p> <p>Mothers and fathers</p> <p>Community leaders</p> <p>School teachers</p>
Irregular school attendance and School drop out	<p>Many people go to school and they don't succeed so it's useless to go to school. (Male Caregivers Bunyangabu)</p> <p><i>In some families there are family members who were not able to progress in school. So people from such families' fear wasting money on school fees thinking children might drop out of school as well.</i> (Male care givers Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Parents did not study and they are there. (Male Caregivers Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Some men are interested in marriage of their children than education. (Male caregivers). <i>"They think educating a girl is a total wastage of money."</i> (Mothers Bunyangabo) <i>"We stop/refuse to buy clothes, body jelly and other things for school drop outs because they disappointed us. "Since they chose to live school, they should become independent."</i> (Mothers Bunyangabu)</p>	<p>Men who are not educated don't provide school fees for their children to study. (Mothers Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Fathers refer children to their mothers for school fees who also instead send them back to their fathers so children choose to abandon schooling in order to relieve them of the fees burden. (Boys Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Parents stop paying school fees for children when their academic performance declines. (Children in and out of school Bunyangabu)</p> <p>Parents neglect children that they are for the government. (Fathers Bunyangabu)</p>		

### Behavioral influence frameworks

The behavioural influence frameworks provide an illustration of how beliefs, attitudes and practices interact with the norm to influence behaviour. Behavioural influence frameworks below informed by the exploration findings were constructed to provide a clear visual understanding of how parent's attitudes, beliefs and practices interact with the norm to cause refusal to provide for their children (especially when the norm is strong).

Transformative/positive influence frameworks have been constructed to aid the implementation teams to get practical on ground with new positive messages theorised. The Bantwana implementation and communications teams can turn around the negative attitudes and practices around the norm into positive attitudes, practices and norms. This can also be done together with positive agents in the community to help to promote and spread such messages.

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Figure 1a: Positive behaviour influence framework

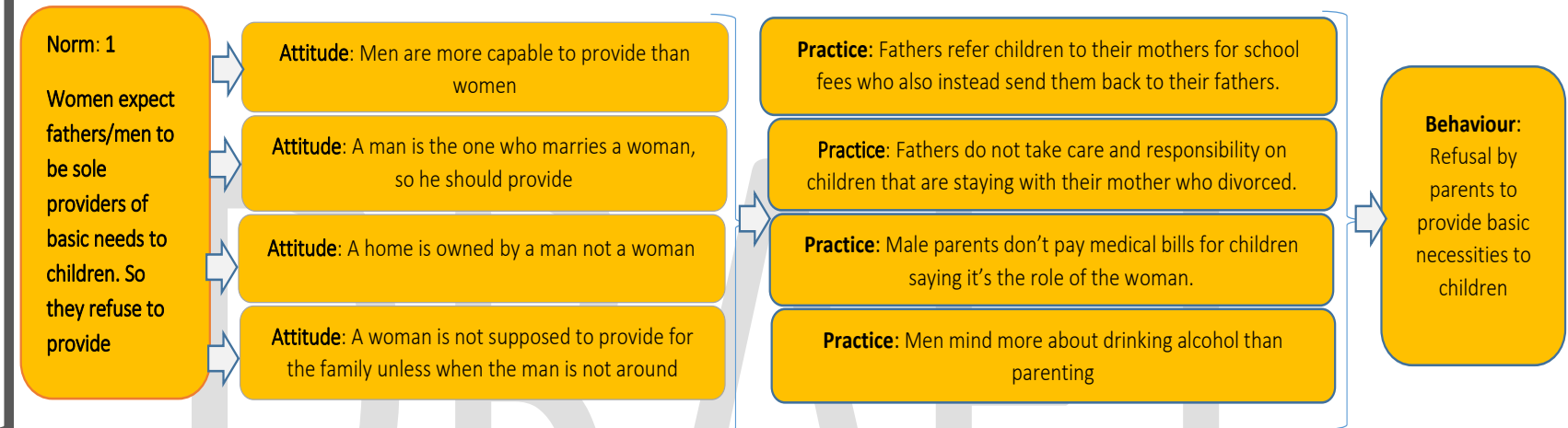
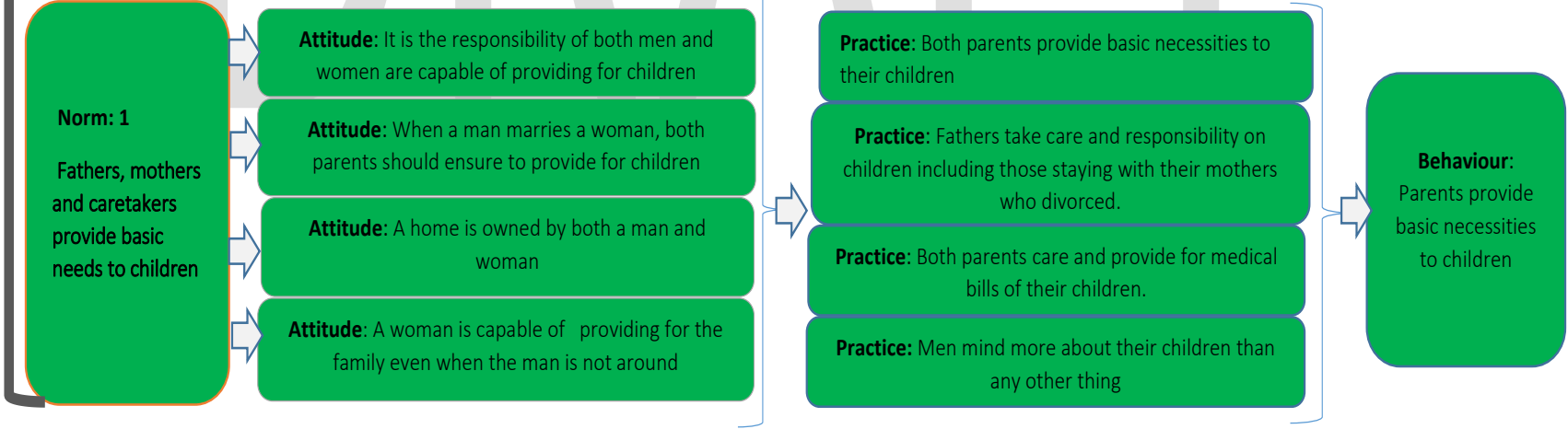
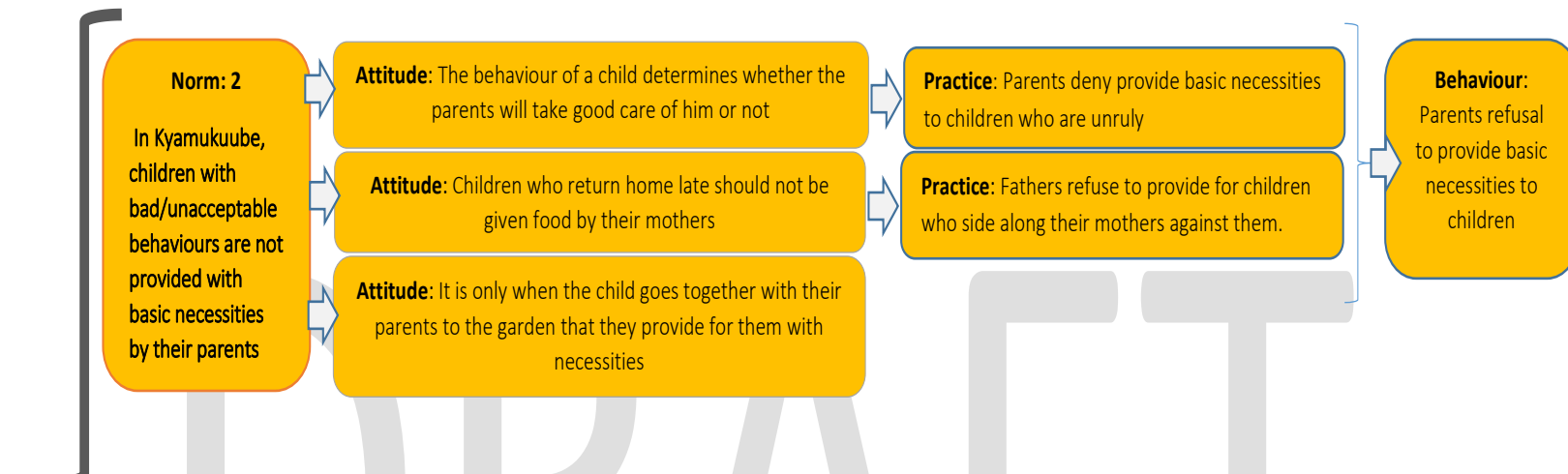


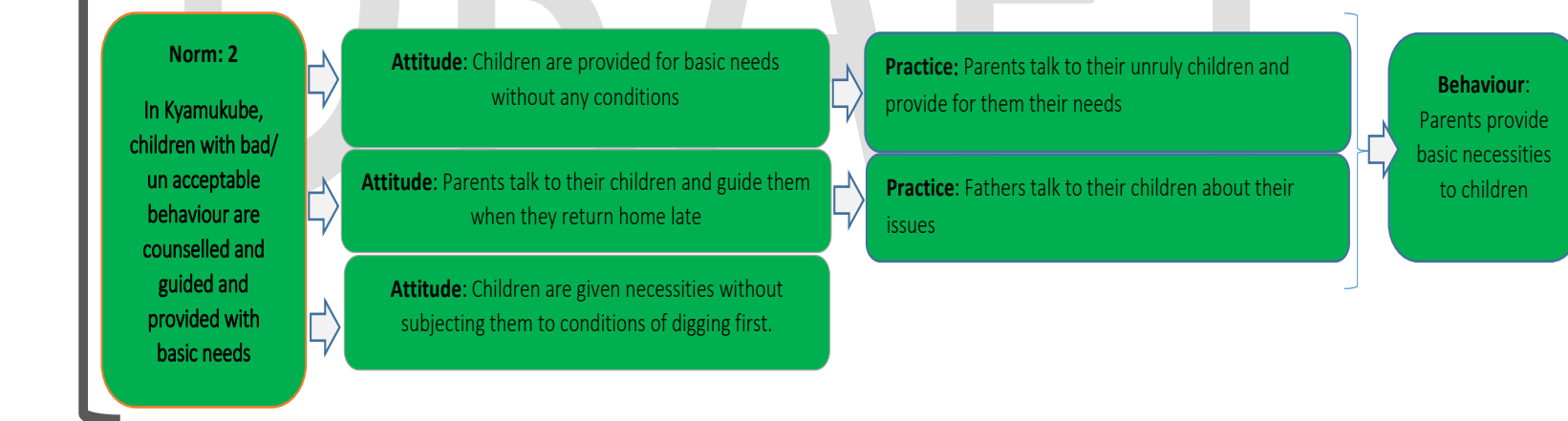
Figure 1b: Positive behaviour influence framework



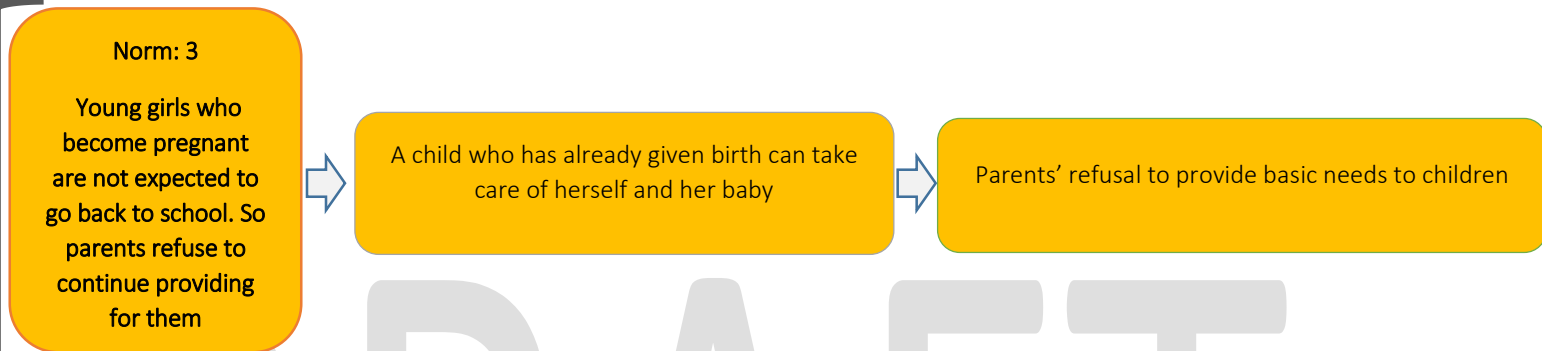
**Figure 2a: Negative behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 2b: Positive behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 3a: Negative behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 3b: Positive behaviour influence framework**

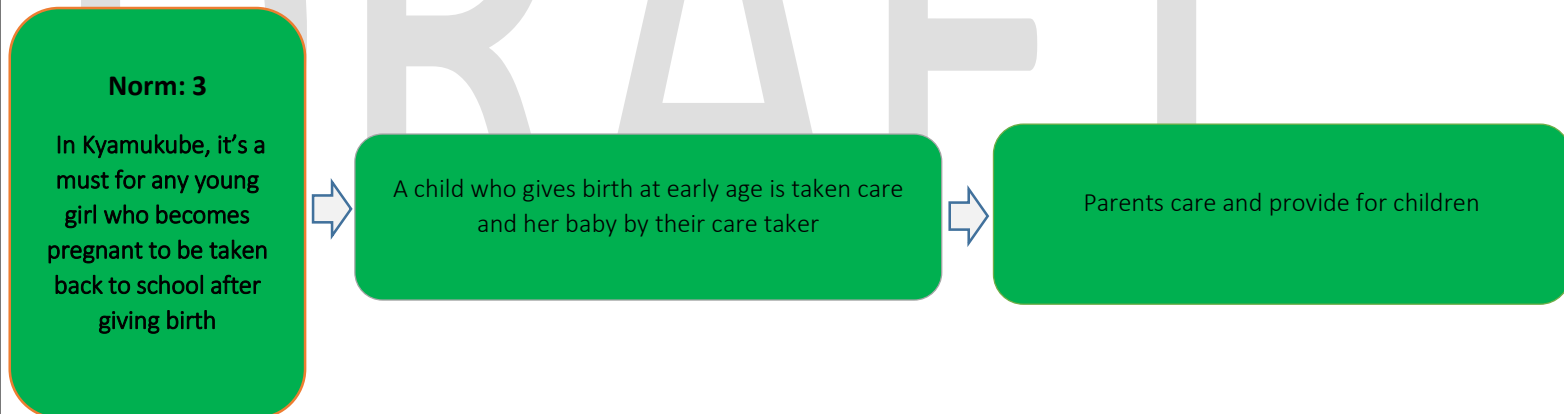


Figure nine: Kyenjojo problem tree

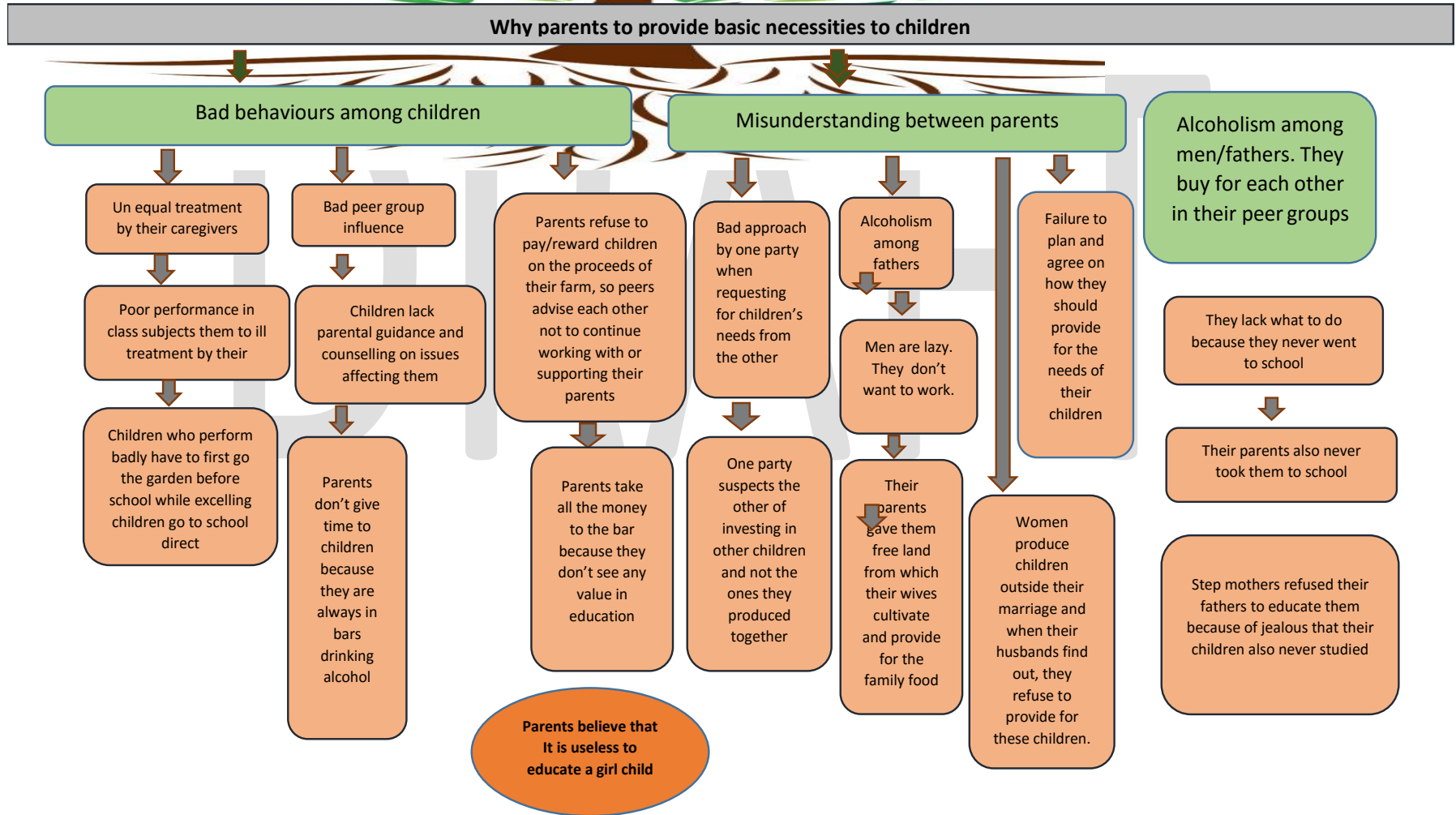


Table two: Kyenjojo Norms and attitudes

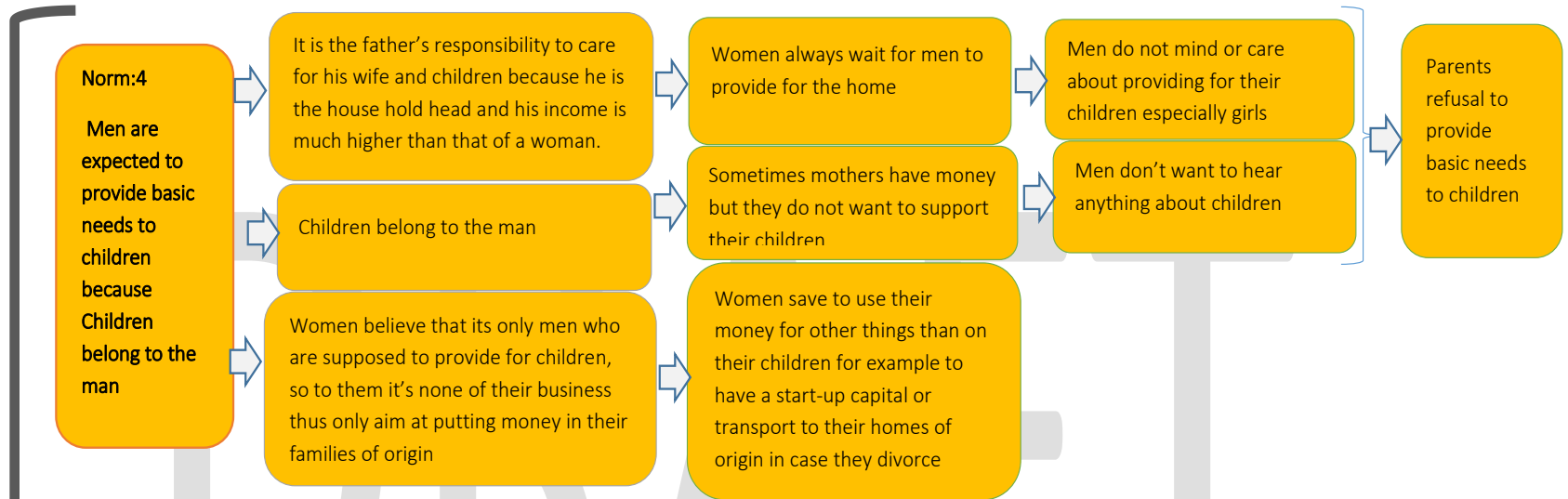
ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
	<p>It is the father's responsibility to care for his wife and children because;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His income is much higher than that of a woman.</li> <li>• He is the household head. <i>"Since it is the man who brought the woman to his home, he should therefore take responsibility of the home."</i> (Girls, Kyenjojo)</li> </ul> <p><i>"Am the one who brought you to my family, so everything you have to consult me first, like if you want to sell off your goat either I accept or refuse"</i> (Male care givers Kyenjojo)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women believe that its only men who are supposed to provide for children, so to them it's none of their business thus only aim at putting money in their families of origin. (Male caregivers Kyenjojo)</li> <li>• Women say "children belong to a man" and so they do not provide for their children. (Fathers Kyenjojo)</li> </ul>	<p>Women always wait for men to provide for the home. (Mothers Kyenjojo)</p> <p>Women save to use their money for other things than on their children for example to have a start-up capital or transport to their homes of origin in case they divorce. (Wives, Mothers Kyenjojo)</p> <p>Mothers are not supportive to their children but rather keep saying children belong to men. (Fathers Kyenjojo)</p> <p>Sometimes mothers have money but they do not want to support their children. <i>"mothers are not supportive and this forces children to become prostitutes"</i> (fathers Kyenjojo)</p>	<p><b>Men are expected to provide basic needs to children because Children belong to the man</b></p> <p><i>Descriptive and directly influences behaviour</i></p> <p><i>(Mothers expect their husbands to provide because children belong to the man)</i></p>	<p><b>Change the norm</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Both parents are expected to provide because children belong to both of them</li> </ul> <p>Reference group</p> <p>Mostly mothers</p> <p>Young girls and boys</p> <p>Fathers</p>
	<p>It is a mother's responsibility to take care of children because;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mothers have more time with children than with fathers. (Paternal uncles, Mothers, Boys Kyenjojo)</li> </ul> <p><i>"If a child is left in the care of a man, that child will not be well nurtured"</i>. (Mothers Kyenjojo)</p> <p>Men say <i>"if the mother left her for me, what makes her think me I can"</i> (Step mothers Kyenjojo)</p>	<p>Women mind a lot and work hard which causes laziness in men. (Wives Kyenjojo)</p> <p><i>"I buy soap, salt and other things and a man says after all she will provide."</i> (Mothers Kyenjojo)</p> <p>Men do not mind or care about providing for their children especially girls. (Wives, Step Mothers Kyenjojo)</p>		

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mothers understand children's needs better than fathers. <i>(Mothers Kyenjojo)</i></li> <li>Traditionally in Nyabuharwa, men don't care for the provision of basic needs of girls</li> </ul>	Men don't want to hear anything about children. <i>(Mothers, female care givers Kyenjojo)</i>		
Indiscipline In children	<p>When you advise children they hate you instead you (their parent) <i>"It is okay for a child to refuse advise from a parent."</i> <i>(Paternal uncles Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Peer groups cause children to become unruly. <i>(Paternal uncles Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>The government gave too much rights to children which has caused too much indiscipline. <i>(Paternal uncles Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>undisciplined children are punished by their parents by denying them food. <i>(Grandmothers, Girls Kyenjojo)</i></p>	<p>Children staying with step fathers are humble because they know they are at the mercy of their step father while those staying with step mothers are undisciplined because they think their step mother is the reason as to why their biological mothers left the home/divorced their father. <i>(Stepmothers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Children connive and advise each other to report their parents to police when they are punished. <i>(Paternal uncles Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Children engage in stealing animals such as hens</p> <p>Sometimes children connive with their mothers to fight you</p>	<p>Parents are not expected to provide basic necessities to children with bad behaviours.</p> <p><i>Descriptive and directly influences the norm</i></p> <p>Sanction Without working , no school fees</p>	<p><b>Change the social norm</b></p> <p>Tool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deliberation and reflection to change attitude and share analysis of barriers to change</li> </ul> <p>Reference group Community leaders Mothers, fathers Children</p>
Irregular school attendance and drop out	<p>Educated parents support children in education unlike the un educated. <i>(Mothers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p><i>"We have educated children but, no jobs"</i> <i>(Paternal uncles Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p><i>"Even us who are not educated, aren't we there".</i> <i>(Mothers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p><i>"Do u think all those that went to school have jobs? - after all you can burn charcoal as a job that doesn't need education?"</i> <i>(Step mothers, Mothers, Male care givers Kyenjojo)</i></p>	<p>Men leave all the responsibility to the woman to educate children. <i>(Stepmothers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Male caregivers stop girls from attending school when they see a neighbour's daughter drop out of school due to pregnancy.</p> <p>Parents say <i>"they did not go to school, why should their children go there"</i> <i>(Boys, Husbands, Girls, Mothers Kyenjojo)</i></p>		

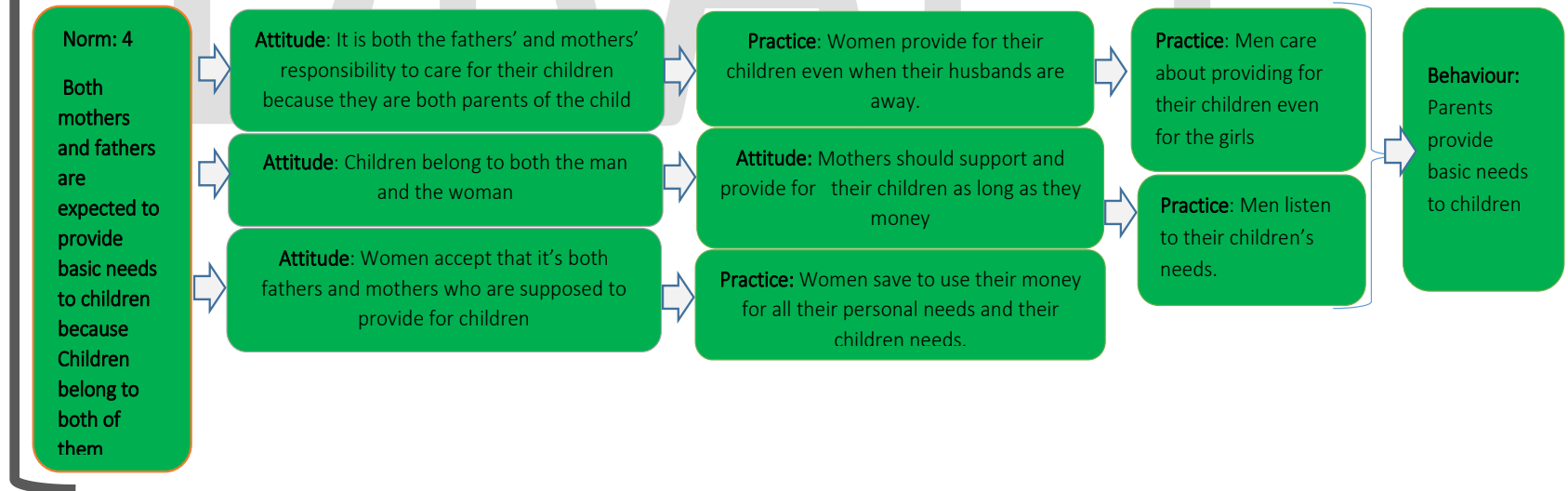
	<p><i>“By the time my child finishes school, will I be alive?” Even if you educate a girl child, she will still not complete her studies. so it is useless. (Girls, Stepmothers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>It is said that a child should get married at 15 years of age. <i>(Fathers Kyenjojo)</i> Community believes that It is useless to educate a girl child</p>	<p>Step mothers mistreat their step children and make them absent at school intentionally. <i>(Girls Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Fathers don't care when children are sent back home from school for school fees. <i>(Female caregivers Kyenjojo)</i></p>		
<p>Child Labour</p>	<p>Boys are perceived as men who are able to provide on their own. <i>“Boys should work and get their own money, they are men” (Boys Kyenjojo)</i></p>	<p>Some girls go to look for money from men after parents have failed to provide. <i>(Female care givers Kyenjojo)</i></p> <p>Children who don't want to work in the gardens are given little things/basic needs. <i>“I will first give my child who respects me” (Female caregivers)</i></p>		

Kyenjojo social norms behavioural influence frameworks

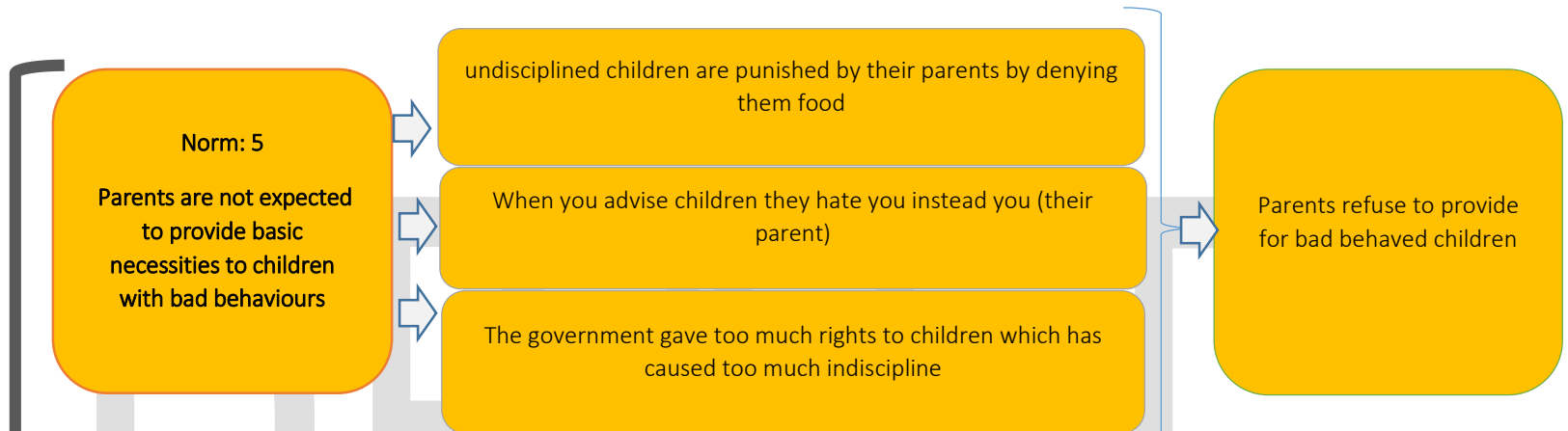
**Figure 4a: Negative behaviour influence framework**



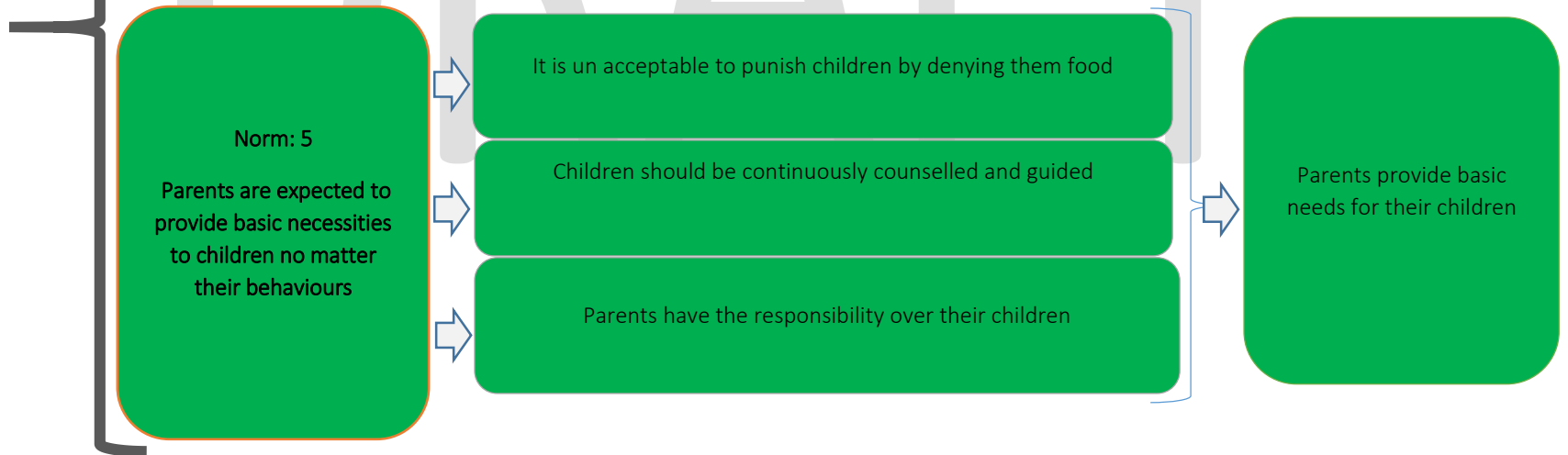
**Figure 4b: Positive behaviour influence framework**



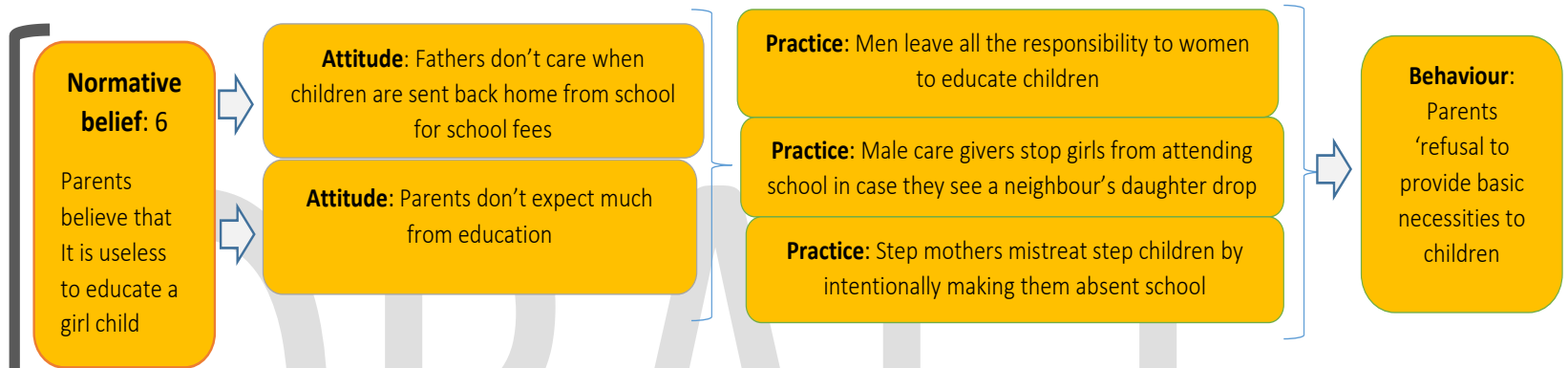
**Figure 5a: Negative behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 5b: Positive behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 6a: Negative Normative behaviour influence framework**



**Figure 6b: Positive Normative behaviour influence framework**

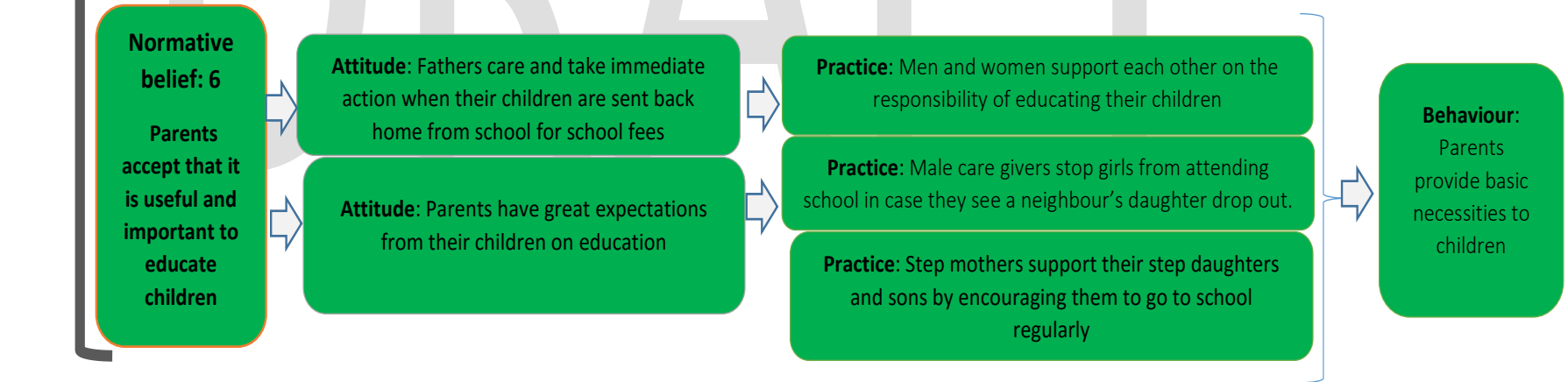
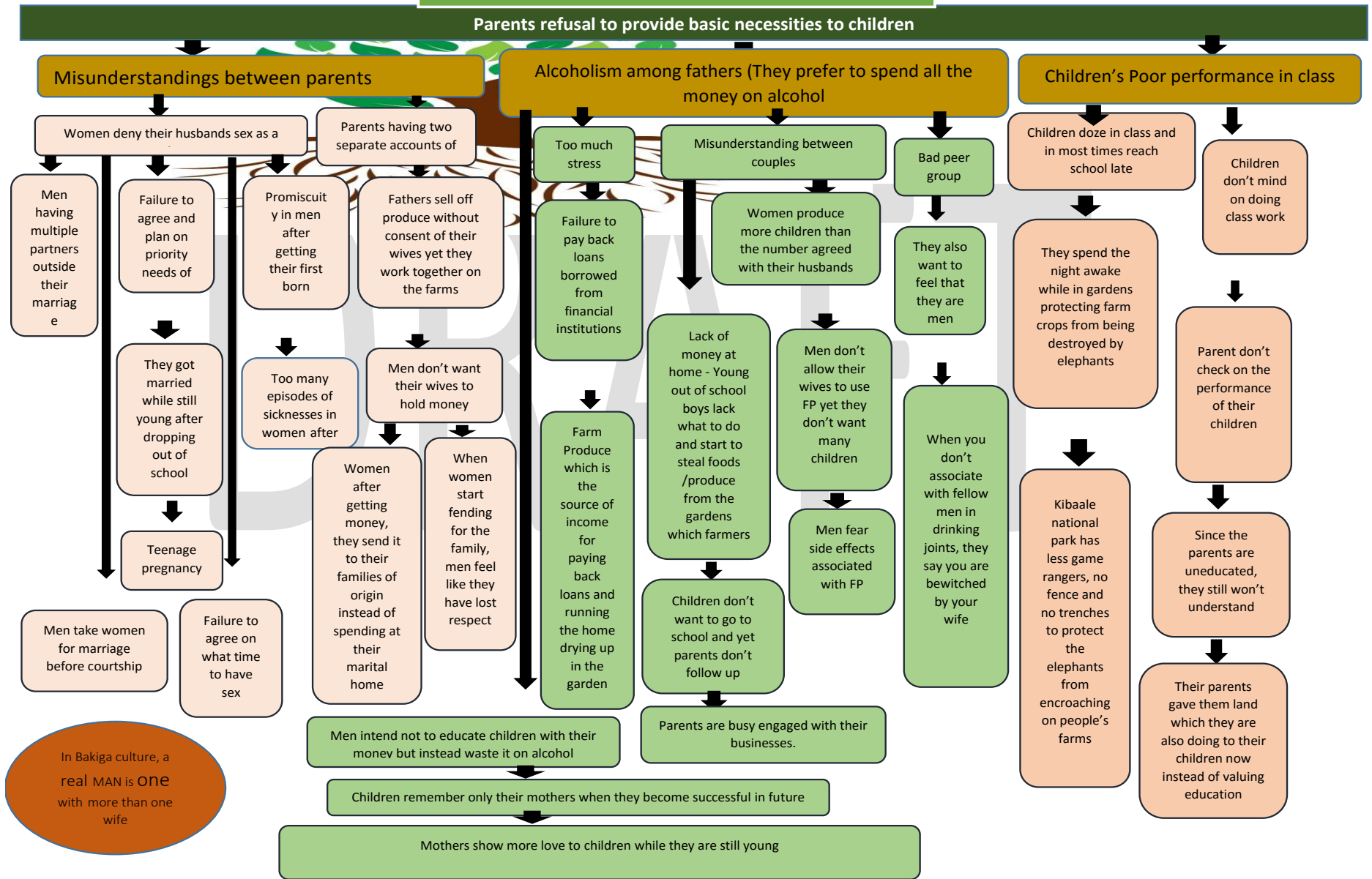


Figure sixteen: Kabarole Problem tree



In Bakiga culture, a real MAN is ONE with more than one wife

Table three: Kabarole norms and attitudes

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
	<p>It is the responsibility of the woman to provide because;</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fathers believe that mothers are supposed to do everything since they left their parents homes for marriage- for example once a man buys land, his part is done. It's now the responsibility of the woman to dig for the family. <i>"Okija kushwerwa, nkagura tractor"</i> literally meaning <i>"I bought you to work"</i> (Teachers and LC1s Kabarole)</li> <li>A woman is responsible on a girl child because girls have specific needs like sanitary towels that men cannot understand. (Male caregivers Kabarole)</li> <li>Men have less time with children. They can't even make the bed for their own children. (Wives Kabarole)</li> <li>Fathers believe that when they educate children, they will only support their mothers in future. (Female caregivers Kabarole)</li> </ul>	<p>Men spend their money on alcohol and other women and when children are sent for school fees, they tell them, <i>"go and ask your mother"</i>. (Teachers, Male caregivers and Girls Kabarole)</p> <p>Men stop at only impregnating women and the women are left to do everything for the child. <i>"I just stop at admiring you, other things concerning child care and support, I don't want to know"</i> (Teachers and LC1s Kabarole)</p> <p>Husbands instruct their wives to dig for the family. Women are given land portions to dig for the family <i>"I picked you from your home so you should dig for the family."</i> (Grandparents Kabarole)  <i>"In this village, mothers are the ones to care for children. They provide food, clothes, books, knickers, sanitary towels and school fees unlike men."</i> (Teachers and LC1s Kabarole)</p>	<p><b>Wives are expected to care and provide for children's needs. So fathers refuse to cater for needs</b></p> <p><i>Strong Injunctive norm</i></p>	<p><b>Create a new norm</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is the responsibility of both parents and caretakers to provide basic needs to children</li> </ul> <p>Tool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identify positive deviants that don't conform to the norm</li> </ul> <p>Reference group</p> <p>Mothers, fathers and all care givers</p>

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
	<p><b>It is the responsibility of a man because;</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>When a man marries a woman and brings her to his home, he should take care of her and provide all the needs of the home.</li> </ul> <p><i>“Dad built a house and brought mum, so dad is number one and mum number two and that’s how we found it” (Boys Kabarole)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A child is for a man</li> </ul>	<p>Women wait for men to provide for the family because a woman’s money is for her own problems. <i>(Male Caregivers Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Women refuse spending their money on children for fear of losing everything they have worked for in case the marriage fails. <i>(Boys Kabarole)</i></p>	<p><b>Many Mothers expect their fathers to provide for children basic needs, it’s a man’s responsibility (So they refuse to provide)</b> <i>(Strong injunctive norm)</i></p>	<p><b>Create a new norm</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is the responsibility of both parents to provide basic needs to children</li> </ul> <p>Tools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deliberation and reflection meetings with target group</li> </ul> <p>Reference group Mothers, Fathers and caretakers.</p>
Child Labour	<p>Parents expect children to do domestic work before they can provide for them and the children also expect to be rewarded after work. <i>(Boys Kabarole)</i></p> <p><i>“Even me while I was a child, I had to first work with my parents before I could get the basic necessities.”</i></p> <p>Children are supposed to have their own gardens and harvest on their own so that they can provide for themselves. <i>(Fathers of children in and out of school Kabarole)</i></p>	<p>Out of school children have to first work with their parents before they can be provided for unlike those that go to school <i>(Fathers of children in and out of school Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Mothers send children to work in people’s gardens/farms for money to get needs. <i>(Girls Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Children who refuse to do domestic work are not given needs. <i>(Wives Kabarole)</i></p>	<p><b>In Kasenda, it is acceptable for parents not to provide basic necessities to children who do not want to work</b> (Parents only provide basic necessities to children who accept to work with their parents)</p> <p><i>Descriptive norm</i></p>	<p><b>Change the social norm</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deliberation and reflection to change attitude and share analysis of barriers to change</li> </ul> <p>Remodel the behaviour through Organised diffusion/groups</p> <p>Reference group Community leaders Mothers, fathers Children</p>
Irregular school attendance and school dropout.	<p>Once a girl is impregnated, parents refuse to take her back to school. (Same for boys when they impregnate girls) <i>(Grand Parents Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Parents don’t expect much in education.</p> <p><i>“Me who didn’t study am I not there”</i></p>	<p>When a school child is impregnated, the parent uses the school uniform as the evidence (ekizibiti) to claim/report the case at police but when the girl is out of school, and thus has no uniform to use as evidence then the culprit cannot be</p>	<p><b>Girls who get pregnant are expected to leave their parents’ home for marriage.</b> <i>Injunctive norm</i></p>	<p><b>Change the norm through organized diffusions</b></p> <p>Tool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conduct mindset/ attitude change sessions</li> </ul>

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
<p>Lack of parental guidance</p>	<p><i>(Grand Parents Kabarole)</i>  <i>"We have never heard that neglecting a child or not paying school fees is a crime". (Uncles Kabarole)</i>  <i>"Even if you educate a child, he/she will still not get a job" (Female caregivers Kabarole)</i></p> <p>There are those who didn't go to school but they have money and there are those who went to school but don't have money</p> <p>It is not a crime to neglect child</p> <p><b>To live you don't need to study</b> A child has to take care of himself once he/she drops out of school.</p> <p>Community believes a child can take care of him/herself if outside school. Boys are more important than girls because; girls will soon get married to other families. <i>(Teachers and LC1s Kabarole)</i></p>	<p>apprehended by police. <i>(Grand Parents Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Parents do not counsel and guide children that drop out of school. <i>"Nebituungwa" literally meaning "they are just an animal" (Fathers of in and out of school children Kabarole)</i></p> <p><i>"I don't sit with them; such a boy is like an army man. I only mind about those who are in school"</i></p> <p><i>"If a child is not in school, and may be is impregnated, she is not considered as a child."</i></p> <p>Parents would rather pay back money to money lenders than pay for their children school fees. <i>"you cannot be arrested for not paying fees yet the financial institution can arrest you if you don't pay back the loan" (Grand Parents Kabarole)</i></p>	<p>In Kasenda, a child who is not in school is not considered as a child  <i>Descriptive norm</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Community deliberations and reflections</li> </ul> <p>Reference groups  Grandparents  Mothers and fathers  Community leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Create a new norm to create mindset change.</b> It is a crime for a mother, father or caregiver to neglect children</li> </ul> <p>Reference groups  Mothers and fathers or caregivers  Young school drop outs  LC1s and community leaders  Target group  LC1s  Parents and caregiver</p>

ISSUES AFFECTING CHILDREN	ATTITUDES and BELIEFS AROUND PROVISION OF BASIC NEEDS	PRACTICES AROUND PROVISION	NORMS	STRATEGIES FOR NORMS CHANGE
Polygamous families	<p>Women think that their husbands are taking care of other families at the expense of theirs which makes them to intentionally refuse to provide anything at home. <i>(Fathers of in and out of school children Kabarole)</i></p> <p>A man with one woman is looked at as one who was bewitched.</p>	<p>Men like getting new wives and after producing children, they abandon them for fear of responsibility. “..... <i>obuharazi just</i>” literally meaning “<i>stubbornness.</i>” <i>(Teachers and leaders, Female Caregivers Kabarole)</i></p>	<p><b>In Bakiga culture, a real MAN is one with more than one wife.</b></p> <p><i>“Omukazi omwe ni nyoko” (One wife is your mother)</i> literally meaning “<i>A man should have more than one wife</i>”</p> <p><i>Descriptive norm</i></p>	<p><b>Change/create the norm</b></p> <p>Tool</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Modelling behavior- Identify role models/model parents and compare and provide feedback on performance</li> </ul> <p>Reference group</p> <p>Grand parents</p> <p>Young and old men</p> <p>Clan leaders</p>
Mistrust between parents.	<p>Male parents think every coin they have is for buying alcohol. <i>(Teachers and leaders Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Most men do <i>not</i> want to work and the little they get is for the bar buying women. <i>(Male caregivers Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Some men use the money the way they want as if they don’t have wives and families to care after. <i>(Male caregivers Kabarole)</i></p>	<p>Men spend money on other women after harvesting together as family instead of spending it at home. <i>Teachers and leaders Kabarole and male caregivers.</i></p> <p>Women steal the produce from the gardens at home and sell without husband’s knowledge and send money to their families of origin. <i>(Male caregivers Kabarole)</i></p>		
Indiscipline	<p>Children and their mothers back bite their fathers and when the fathers get to know that they have been planning ill of them, they punish the children by refusing to provide for them. <i>(Fathers of in and out of school children Kabarole)</i></p>	<p>Children listen more to their mothers than their fathers. <i>(Uncles Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Children do not listen to parents when they clock 10 years. <i>(Wives Kabarole)</i></p> <p>Children steal small notes of money from their parents. <i>(Boys Kabarole)</i></p>		

Kabarole social norms behavioural influence frameworks

Figure 7a: Negative behaviour influence framework

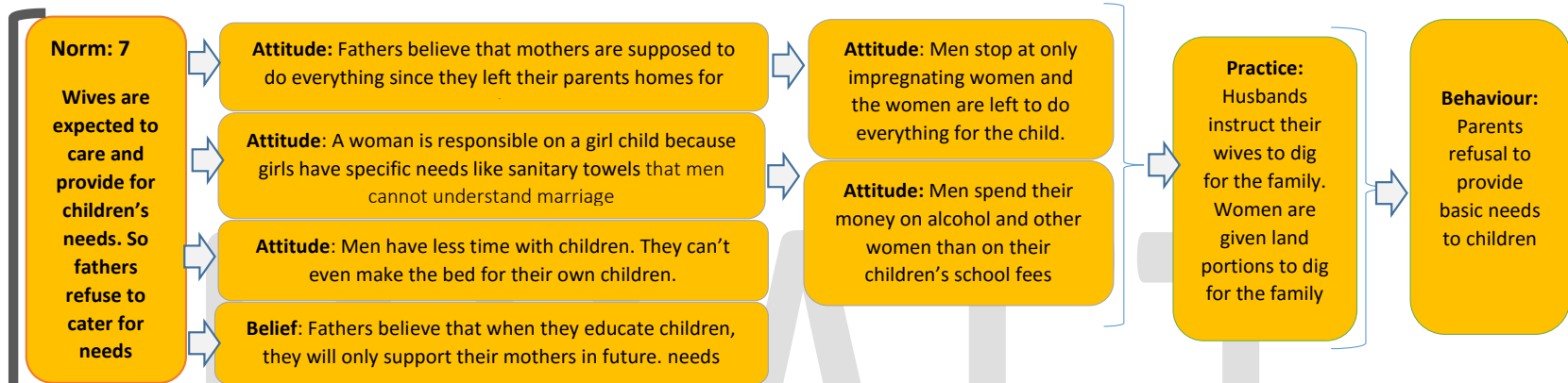


Figure 7b: Positive behaviour influence framework

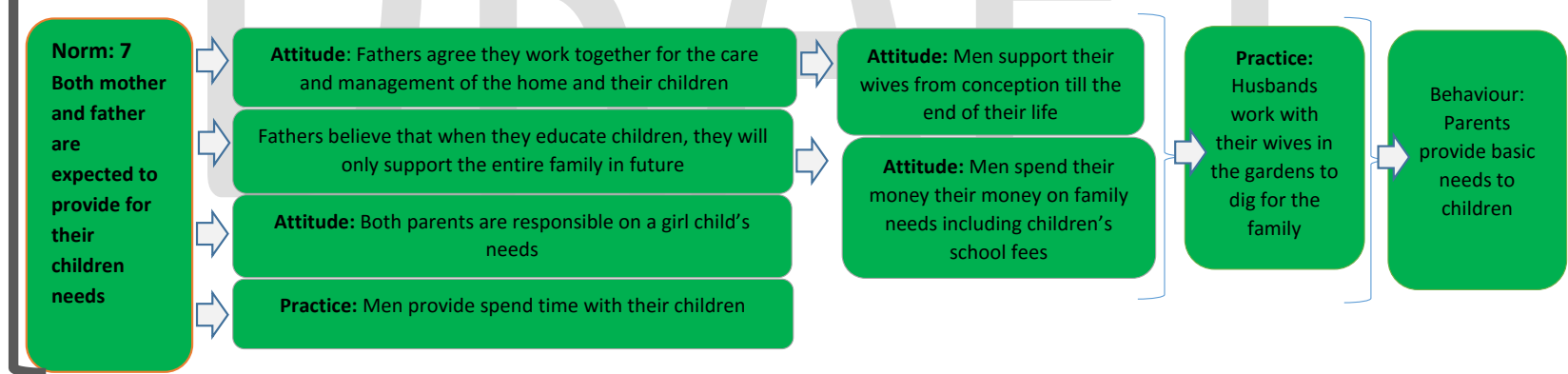


Figure 8a: Negative behaviour influence framework

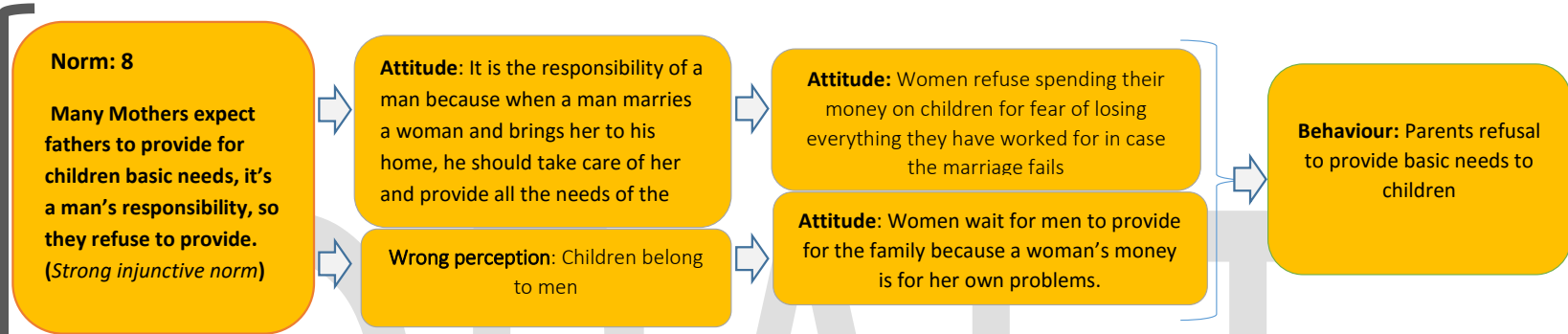


Figure 8b: Positive behaviour influence framework

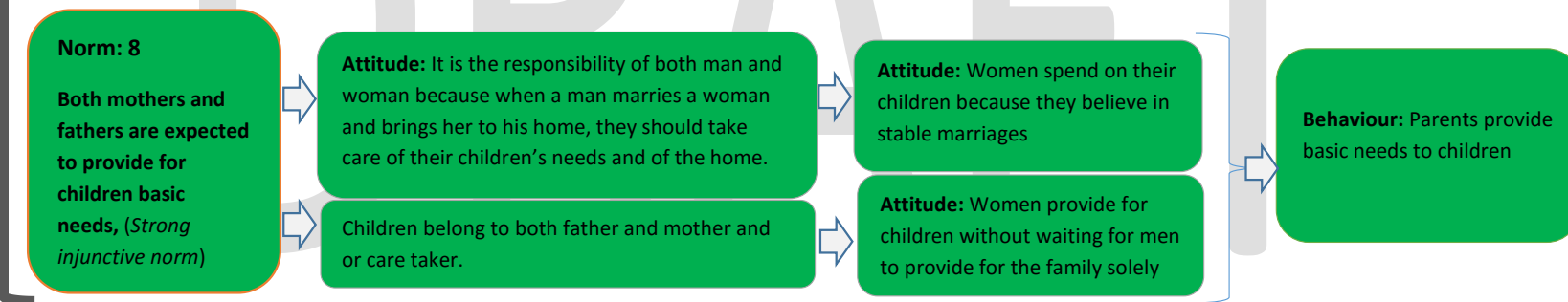


Figure 9a: Negative behaviour influence framework

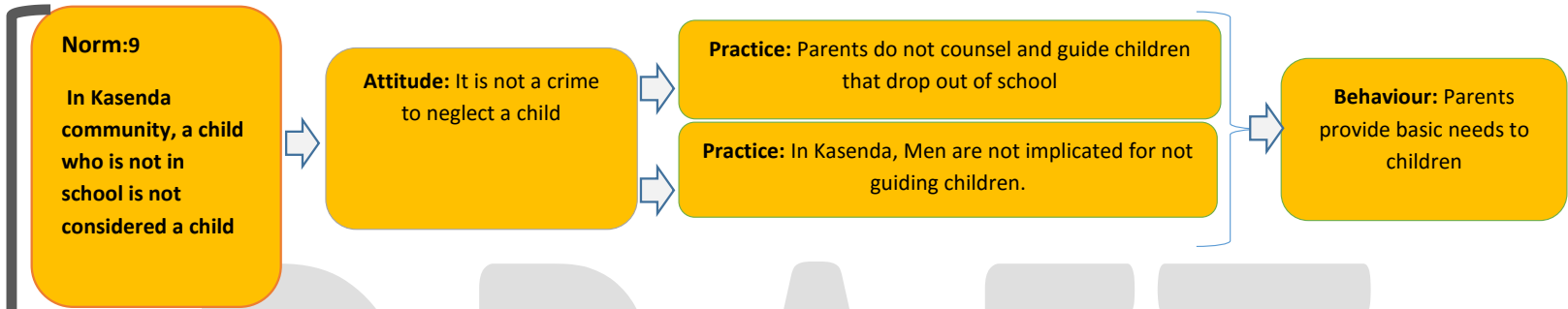


Figure 9b: Positive behavioural influence framework

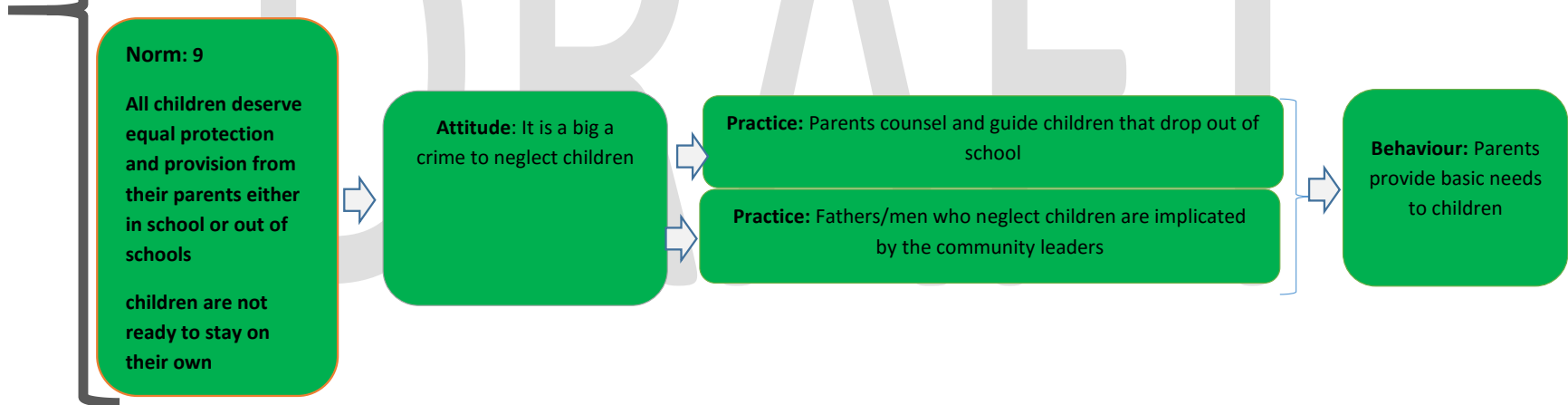
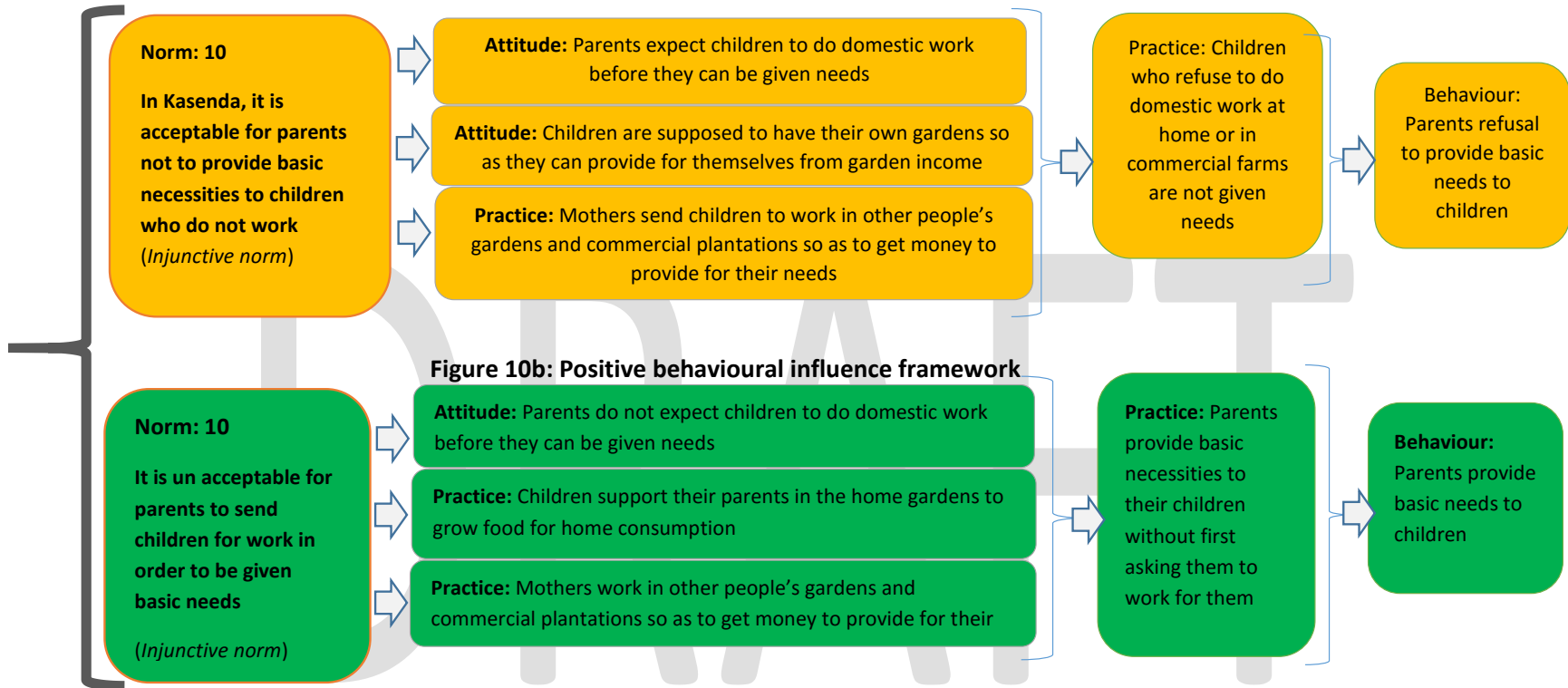


Figure 10a: Negative behavioural influence framework



## Discussion

The key emerging issues from the exploration are discussed below:

**Cross generational cycle of uneducated under aged parents:** Parent/care giver refusal to provide school fees and other materials for children leads to school dropout especially among girls, and sustains the issue of early marriages and teenage pregnancies. Girls are more likely to drop out of school due to lack of fees, lack of pads, lack of packed food among others, thus becoming vulnerable to early sexual debut. Grandparents in Kabarole district reported that, most young parents are not able to plan for their family because they are still children, thus issues of parental refusal to provide are likely to continue to happen within families and communities at large. The report therefore suggests that specific focus should be put on the issue of early or child marriage in all interventions. Behavioural influencers (School teachers/senior women and men, mothers and fathers and caregivers, adolescent girls and boys) need to be mapped and targeted during the interventions to create mind-set change on education versus marriage.

**Health implications to young neglected girls and boys:** Findings showed that refusal by parents to provide basic needs heavily and indirectly impacts on the health of young girls. Most adolescent girls resort to seeking for sanitary ware and money from fellow adolescent boys and old men. Young girls are lured into sex activities in exchange to provision of money meant to meet all their needs especially sanitary pads, knickers, clothes and money for cutting off hair. Often young girls are impregnated which in most cases results into early marriages. Child marriage means the individual becomes sexually active early and begins to raise children while still a child. Early marriages can sometimes lead to abortions and other health implications to both the young mother and baby she will bear. Child marriage compromises the girls' development and often results in early pregnancy and social isolation. With little education and poor vocational training, it reinforces the gendered nature of poverty beginning early in the girls' growth. Required to perform heavy domestic work and under pressure to prove fertility, married underage girls and child mothers face constrained decision-making and reduced life choices. Both boys and girls are affected by child marriage but the issue impacts girls in far larger numbers, with more intensity and wide ranging ramifications (UNICEF, 2005).

**Social wellbeing:** Child labour was found to be a pressing issue among children across the districts. Children who are forced to work on farms before going to school or before they can be provided with are emotionally, psychologically and physically disturbed –this is child labour. Child labour physically abuses the rights of a child. In addition, parents indicated that too often, key service providers especially the police do not apprehend culprits that defile their children which causes psychological torture to the children. The local police do not provide support to parents reporting cases of defilement for out of school children who do not have evidence (which to them it's the school uniform), parents are discouraged from reporting such cases hence resort to sending girls into marriage. These children are less likely able to actualise their future aspirations

as a result of intellectual disabilities. Child labour and forced early marriages impedes children the full realization of their rights and full enjoyment of their childhood (Nassolo, 2011).

## Conclusion

Parents and care givers do not have full understanding of, and the manifestations of violence against children. The exploration findings confirm the direct and indirect influence of social norms on alternative perceptions/understanding of violence against children, and the effect on parent/care giver decisions on whether or not provide basic necessities to children. The key emerging issues are around gender roles, ignorance of child rights, limited knowledge on care giving among parents and vulnerability of the girl child. Parental refusal to provide basic child needs causes serious consequences among children including health implications, emotional stress and psychological torture to the victim. The results in this report offer an key opportunity for implementing partner organizations to re-think about program design, implementation approaches, population targeting and change pathways.

## Recommendations for implementation

It is important to note that norm change and transformation is a fairly long process that requires a systematic, specific and intentional change approach. Below are the proposed recommendations per norm.

**Norm one – Women/wives expect fathers to be the sole providers of basic necessities for children:** Women believe that a woman cannot and/or should not take care of children, thus the belief and practice is that husbands/men are supposed to provide for children and so it is none of their business. Changing this gender norm requires a focus on changing attitude and beliefs among women on the gendered normative expectations of unequal responsibility of the father and mother in taking care of children. The norms change strategy to be adapted is correct misperceptions of a gender norm because this belief doesn't have too much support that is portrayed. Alternatively, creating a new positive social norm (e.g. women and that can be transmitted to communities through women only deliberations and reflection meetings, identifying positive deviant women (who are providing necessities either solely or together with their husbands) and working with them to influence other community women.

**Norm two – Children with bad/unacceptable behaviours are not provided with basic necessities by their parents:** Children are given their own gardens to cultivate and sell produce, and use money to cater for their needs – thus children are subjected to child labour in the form of rearing animals, domestic hard labour, watching farm land so that wild animals don't destroy gardens, working on farm land (many times commercially) etc. Correcting misperceptions is the change strategy to changing this descriptive norm because it is widely acceptable for parents not to provide basic necessities to children who do not want to work, especially working for or with their parents. Working through parenting groups, Bantwana can create new reference groups of

deviants, use reflection and dialogue meetings on child labour and use public/community declarations and commitments against violence on children in the form of child forced labour.

**Norm three – Young girls who become pregnant are not expected to go back to school. So parents refuse to continue providing for them:** Community does not expect a girl child who gets pregnant to continue staying with their parents and are instead expected to leave home to either get married or become house maids or leave independently. To change this norm, organised diffusion targeting parenting groups, community groups, churches and local council meetings can facilitate attitude change towards girls who get pregnant as a step towards shifting this norm. In addition, role modelling and voices by parents who deviate from the norm, and successfully provide for their daughters can be amplified and marketed as a tool for norms change. The ultimate change will be that girls who unfortunately get pregnant are given the protection and care they deserve by parents, while addressing the root causes and drivers that led to early pregnancy.

**A child who is not in school is not considered as a child, so parents don't provide for out of school children:** The belief that a child who is not in school is old enough to take care of him/herself largely, coupled with the high rates of school dropout shows the plight of the vulnerable and disadvantaged children in western Uganda. There is a clear knowledge and attitude gap among the parents and community members on who a mature person is, thus the norms change strategy that can be adopted is correction of creating a new norm that target parent/care giver mind-set e.g. *"It is not acceptable for any child not going to school."* *"all children in and out of school are expected to get equal protection and provision from their parents."* This can be achieved through identifying trend setters, creating groups of positive deviants among mothers, fathers and LC1s, or working with first movers willing to campaign the spread of the new norm through organized diffusion into communities.

**A real man is one with more than one wife:** Men who have more than one wife are influenced by the newer women not to provide for the children of older/first wives, but are also stretched by the big number of children. This norm indirectly influences parental behaviour to provide in the sense that parents start focusing on younger children and graduate children into adulthood early at 12 – 15 years. The social norms change tools that can be adapted include engaging positive deviants from the key reference group members (husbands, grandparents, clan leaders and religious leaders) to change the norm and/or correcting the misperception of the cultural norm since not every respected man is polygamous. This approach will involve working with reference group members and key community influencers who don't approve of polygamy to influence their peers and eventually have promoters of monogamy through community level systems like churches. The new norms can include *"a real man is one with one wife, able to plan together with his wife in providing all the necessary needs of children"*. The new expectation or perception on masculinity to be transmitted through the reference group members will be that men are

expected to have one wife. The community attitudes that a man with one wife is bewitched will no longer have a place in community conversations and monogamy will become a respected norm.

## Strategic level recommendations

**Learning and measurement of change:** In order to improve learning, the prospective KAP surveys (now KNAP surveys) to be conducted should incorporate in knowledge on the provision of basic needs to their children, integrate norms shifting questions and tracking of norm strength that transitions over time. This can be done on a semi-annual basis to inform the annual surveys.

**Targeting:** Bantwana should use these findings to inform their targeting, to be sure that they are engaging the reference group members and also be sure that the change that is being tracked in on the correct “units of change” for community level issues.

**Workplan review and refinement:** Based on the findings, in line with Bantwana, it is important to establish if there is need to revisit the program work plan to find out what strategies/ interventions are causing change. If they are not, it is important to consider looking at the relationship between the issues while comparing districts to determine if same/different activities need to be implemented in each of the districts. Therefore, it is important to leverage on the unique findings that came out from each of the districts to be sure that specific activities planned fit with in the normative change type of activities.

**Community resources, partnerships and collaboration:** Social norms change cannot be achieved by one partner or intervention alone. It is vital that Bantwana revisits their theory of change to ensure that other supportive actors at community level are engaged in social norms change efforts, and leverage on community resources like VHT structure, LC structures and faith-based structures that have power and influence over community sub-populations.

## Appendix: Field Pictorial view

Bantwana western Uganda staff together with IIDC support team conducting FG



*Pretest with in school boys Kabarole district*



Mother's focus group discussion at Kyakahyoro primary school Kyenjojo district



Focus group discussion with stepmothers at Kyakahyoro church of Uganda compound Kyenjojo district



After field- rapid analysis session at WUBP offices in Fort portal city. In picture; IIDC and WUBP staff