

Parenting in Arivu

An ethnographic study of the parenting practices in an Ugandan sub
county

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Abstract

The way parents raise their children influences the development of the child. However, what good parenting is may differ across cultures. The Dutch non-governmental organization Help a Child plans to implement a parenting training in Arivu, a sub county in Uganda, in order to improve the parenting skills. The main goal of this research is to describe the current parenting situation in this area by using an ethnographic approach. This description of the current parenting situation will help to adapt the training to the needs of the parents and to set up a baseline for the evaluation of Help a Child's training. Four main challenges for parents in Arivu were found by free listing and deepened in focus group discussions and in-depth interviews: Lack of resources like food and money, disobedience of children, parents' avoidance of responsibilities and failing marriages. The results from these three qualitative instruments were used to design a quantitative questionnaire, which also can be used for evaluation after the training. Disciplining was said to occur often in the community by beating or caning, but self-report in the questionnaire showed less corporal punishments. The community said to show love to children by giving clothes and meat on special days, but when the questionnaire gave the option of showing love by spending time together, this was reported often as well. The use of alcohol makes parents to misbehave and avoid their responsibilities, which makes children disobedient and causes parents to separate.

Samenvatting

De manier waarop kinderen worden opgevoed, beïnvloedt de ontwikkeling van het kind. Echter, wat goed opvoeden is kan verschillen per cultuur. De Nederlandse niet-gouvernementele organisatie Red een Kind heeft het plan een opvoedtraining te implementeren in Arivu, een gebied in Uganda, om de opvoedvaardigheden te verbeteren. Het hoofddoel van dit onderzoek is om de huidige opvoedingssituatie in dit gebied te beschrijven door middel van een etnografische aanpak. De beschrijving van de huidige opvoedingssituatie zal helpen om de training aan te passen aan de behoeften van de ouders en om een basis op te zetten voor de evaluatie van Red een Kinds training. Vier belangrijke uitdagingen voor ouders in Arivu werden gevonden door free listing en uitgediept in focus groep discussies en diepte interviews: Tekort aan middelen als eten en geld, ongehoorzaamheid van kinderen, ouders' vermijding van verantwoordelijkheden en huwelijksproblemen. De resultaten van deze drie kwalitatieve instrumenten werden gebruikt om een kwantitatieve vragenlijst te ontwikkelen, die ook gebruikt kan worden voor evaluatie na de training. Disciplineren werd genoemd vaak te gebeuren in de gemeenschap met stokslagen of slaan, maar zelfrapportage in de vragenlijst liet minder fysieke straffen zien. De gemeenschap zei dat het laten zien van liefde aan kinderen wordt gedaan door het geven van kleren en vlees op speciale dagen, maar toen de vragenlijst de optie gaf om liefde te laten zien door samen tijd te spenderen, werd dit ook vaak gerapporteerd. Alcoholgebruik laat ouders zich misdragen en hun verantwoordelijkheden vermijden, wat kinderen ongehoorzaam maakt en dat ouders uit elkaar laat gaan.

Parenting in Arivu

The family is a child's most intimate social environment and the first place to learn how to survive and thrive in the world (DeFrain, & Asay, 2007). The way parents raise their children influences the mental health of the children (Bornstein, 2013). However, parenting is not done in isolation, but is also being affected by environmental factors, like economy, politics and culture (Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005). In order to help parents with the difficult task of raising their children and prevent emotional and behavioural difficulties in children, parenting programs are implemented in many developed and developing countries. Though these trainings are implemented broadly, evidence for effectiveness of these programs lacks, especially in developing countries where poverty plays a big role in raising children (Meija, Calam, & Sanders, 2012). Parents describe raising children in poverty as a daily struggle that consumes parental time, strength, and patience (Russell, Harris, & Gockel, 2008). In 2013 almost 385 million children were living in extremely poor households worldwide, half of which in sub-Saharan countries in Africa (UNICEF, & World Bank Group, 2016).

Help A Child (HAC, in Dutch: Red een Kind) is a Dutch non-governmental organization that aims to help parents in Africa and Asia grow out of poverty and improve their lives. Last year Help A Child conducted a pilot parenting training in Ethiopia with promising results: Parents improved their monitoring, which concerns children's whereabouts, activities, peer-relationships, opposite-sex relationships and school life (Roelandts, 2016) as well as their warmth and responsiveness to their children (Weerden, 2016). Therefore, the training, now called *The Parenting Challenge*, will be implemented in other African countries, including Uganda.

HAC's partner in Uganda, the African Evangelistic Enterprise Uganda (AEE Uganda), observed hardships in parenting and a need for more knowledge on raising children in the area Arivu. Their request for help with improving the parenting skills in this area (AEE Uganda, 2016) was reason for HAC to implement *The Parenting Challenge* in Arivu. HAC requested me, as intern of the University Utrecht, to do research of the current parenting situation in Arivu in order to adapt the training to the needs of the parents as well as to set up a baseline for the evaluation of HAC's parenting training. The goal of this thesis is to examine the current attitudes and behaviours of parents in Arivu (Uganda) regarding parenting, before Help A Child implements their training.

Good parenting

Parenting consists of many specific behaviours that work individually and together to influence child outcomes (Darling, 1999). The assumed primary role of all parents is to care for their children and to prepare them to manage the tasks of life (Bornstein, 2013). When children develop well, the parenting can be called good parenting.

Baumrind (in Darling, 1999) distinguished four parenting styles, based on two key dimensions: responsiveness and demandingness. Responsiveness is about the extent to which parents intentionally foster individuality, self-regulation and self-assertion by being attuned, supportive, and indulgent to children's special needs and demands (Baumrind, 1991). Demandingness or behavioural control refers to the claims that parents make on children by their maturity demands, supervision, disciplinary efforts and willingness to confront the child who disobeys (Baumrind, 1991). The combination of how parents score on those two scales determines their parenting style: Indulgent parents are highly responsive and low in demandingness, authoritarian parents are highly demanding, but low in responsiveness, authoritative parents both demanding and responsive and uninvolved parents are low in both (Darling, 1999). The authoritative style is associated with the best psychosocial outcomes for children and adolescents (Darling, 1999; Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005). Children of uninvolved parents score the lowest on social competence, academic performance, psychosocial development, and high on problem behaviour (Darling, 1999).

However some parenting practices may differ across cultures. Culture influences how parents interpret the needs of children and respond to them, what parents expect of children, when and how they care for children and the type of behaviours they reward or discourage (DeFrain, & Asay, 2007; Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005). Cultural differences are mostly found in how certain dimensions, such as warmth or control, are expressed. (Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005). Responsiveness in Europe and the United States consists more of tactile forms like hugging and kissing the child than in Africa. However, the level of tactile responsiveness such as holding the child persists longer in some African societies than in the US or Europe, where parents start with verbal forms of responsiveness earlier (Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005). Children in Africa are also provided more with experiences that are needed for self-care and developing practical skills to assist family functioning than children in Europe or the United States.

These differences across cultures might also cause different outcomes for children when the same parenting practices are applied. Authoritative parenting for example was only found to be related with good academic performance among European American children (Darling, 1999) The authoritarian parenting style seems to have more negative outcomes for children in individualistic than in collectivistic communities (Rudy, & Grusec, 2006; Piquart, & Kauser, 2017). Moreover, harsh disciplining did not yield the same outcomes for children in all societies and might have less negative outcomes in societies where deference to adult authority is central. (Bradley, & Corwyn, 2005).

Some attitudes and behaviours of good parents can also be found in the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1989), or for Africa: the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare*

of the Child (Organization of African Unity (OAU), 1990). Parents have a big responsibility to ensure that children enjoy their rights. For example the rights of children to go to school (OAU, 1990) means parents need to bring them.

Parenting programs

Parenting programs are interventions that aim to improve the well-being of children by enhancing or changing their parents' parenting (Smith, Perou, & Lesesne, 2002, in Mejia, et al., 2012). Parenting programs consist of training, support or education. A meta-analysis shows effectivity in improving parenting skills with many of these programs (Mejia, et al., 2012).

However, when it comes to developing countries, only a few studies were done there, and most were not useful because of poor methods. Studies that were conducted in developing countries often focus on physical difficulties, such as providing food and clothes. Emotional or behavioural difficulties are most of the time not measured (Mejia, et al., 2012). Moreover the evidence for effectiveness of the program is often missing (Mejia, et al., 2012). A review about parenting programs that aimed to reduce harsh parenting in low- and middle income countries, found only two studies which had large sample sizes and were deemed to be at low risk of bias (Knerr, Gardner, & Cluver, 2013). Cultural adaptation for such programs in developing countries often misses as well. Programs that are evidence based in high-income countries are simply transferred to developing countries without adaption. To make a program work though, cultural adaptation is important (Van Mourik, Crone, de Wolff, & Reis, 2016). The more the culture is taken into account in the structure of the program, the more impact the program has on the behaviour of the parents. This structure sensitivity goes deeper than translating the material or matching the facilitator with the culture of the group. Effective culturally adapted parenting programs included sessions with specific content, such as large sibling groups or racial socialization and more time was allowed to discuss cultural and contextual (i.e., social, political) influences on parenting (Van Mourik, et al., 2016).

Parenting in Arivu

Arivu is a Sub County in the Arua District, located in the West-Nile region of the East-African country Uganda. With 4858 households, each consisting of an average of 4.8 persons, Arivu contains just 0,06% of the households of Uganda (UBOS, 2014a). An household consists of people who eat and sleep daily in the same house. Most people in Arivu live in poverty: 59% live below the poverty line of \$1.90 per day per person (UBOS, & ILRI, 2007). Four out of five people in the Arua district depend on agriculture for their livelihood (UNFA, & UBOS, 2013). In the broader area of Arivu, Northern Uganda, 2.7% of the female guardians finished their primary school, while none finished secondary school. For male guardians, the completion rate was 15.8% and 3% respectively (Saile, Ertl, Neuner, & Catani,

2014). For children, the net enrolment rate in primary education (age six to twelve) in the West-Nile region in 2014 was 86% for boys and 85% for girls, where for secondary education (age thirteen to eighteen) it was 12.3% for boys and 11.9% for girls (UBOS, 2014b). The UNICEF Uganda Annual Report (2014) shows that about 23% of girls drop out of secondary school after they start menstruating. In addition, 42.4% of boys and 35.6% of girls from ages 5 through 15, are part of the working population (UBOS, 2014b). In 1997 the Ugandan government lowered the threshold for going to school by introducing Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) in which no school fees have to be paid (Juuko, & Kabonesa, 2007). School materials however, still need to be paid.

People in Arivu are from the Lugbara tribe and traditionally the social organization of this tribe has consisted of clans (Suresh, 2013). The father, as the head of the Lugbara family, traditionally has the control and domestic authority over his wives and children. Family time is not common in Arivu (AEE Uganda, 2016). In the African culture in general, it is important to preserve their own culture. Therefore parenting practices, beliefs and norms are passed on from generation to generation (Yovsi, in Selin, 2014).

Parenting in Arivu consists mostly of providing children with the basic needs. The deprived context forces parents to focus on providing their children with the primary needs (MECPU, 2015). When it comes to norms and values, parents in Uganda focus where possible also on obedience and respect (Baume, Neema, Kibombo, & Cabanero-Verosa, 2003). Parents know it is important for their children to give them attention, answer their questions and to talk and play with them, but they do not have time enough. The domestic duties are a heavy burden which leaves little time for other activities (Baume et al., 2003; MECPU, 2015). Moreover the lack of physical space and affordable toys make parents feel unable to play and communicate with their children (MECPU, 2015). Mothers play the biggest role in raising children in Arivu (MECPU, 2015).

Disciplining children in Northern Uganda is done in a more physical way than in Western countries (Saile, et al., 2014). From the female and male guardians, 93% and 86% does sometimes make use of psychological aggression while disciplining their child. Examples are threatening to hit or verbal abuse. Corporal punishment like hitting the child on the bottom with a hard object is used by 71% of male and 88% of female guardians. Less than 20% of guardians use maltreatment such as hitting the child somewhere else than the bottom. Male guardians saw their own alcohol use as predictor of a more violent parenting method (Saile, et al., 2014). Hazardous drinking was found in 46.1% of male guardians, against 1.1% of female guardians in Northern Uganda. Biological parents reported higher levels of harsh parenting than the guardians of orphans (Saile et al., 2014). In Arivu

11% of the children are orphans (ADLG, 2013), caused by HIV/AIDS, war casualties or other reasons. Orphaned children experience more deprivation and neglect than children who grow up with at least one of their biological parents (Saile, et al., 2014).

The current study

The aim of this research is to assess current parenting attitudes and behaviours in Arivu, so as to provide a baseline for the evaluation of the effectiveness of the parenting program *The Parenting Challenge* of Help a Child. The results also provide information about the needs of the Arivu community, which will help HAC to address in their training the topics that need attention in this specific community. To achieve this aim, a culturally adapted questionnaire will be designed that measures parenting behaviours and attitudes. An ethnographic method will be used, containing three qualitative instruments to gain gather information that will be used for the development of the questionnaire. The ethnographic method focuses on understanding the local parenting concepts and their importance to local people (Bolton, & Tang, 2004) and makes questions to be formulated in a manner that they are well understood by the people of Arivu.

Method

Four data collection methods are used in this research. First, three types of qualitative data are collected: free listing, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Second, quantitative data is collected by a questionnaire, which is designed with the information from the qualitative methods. The different steps had different samples and instruments and are therefore described separately.

Sample

All samples were taken from the community of Arivu, Uganda. In the free listing 20 adults (fathers, mothers and grandparents) participated (mean age: 42, ranging from 18 to 62; 10 females). The first of five focus groups was held with eight children between the ages of 8 and 12. The second group included eight teenage girls between the ages of 12 and 16. The third group included seven teenage boys between the ages of 12 to 16. The fourth group included nine mothers and the fifth included six fathers. The in-depth interviews were conducted with four local experts, including two women and one man living and working in the community, and one woman who grew up from Arivu, but currently lives elsewhere.

From the questionnaires one was left out because no children were mentioned and the statements about children were not answered. Among the 78 (56.4% females) respondents left, 20 people live in the village Ombatika, 22 people in Arivu, and 36 people live in Cinya, of which all are located in the sub county Arivu. The age of the participants was asked by approximate ranges, because people in Arivu often do not know their exact age (M. Angoro from AEE

Uganda, personal communication, May 2017) Table 1 shows the amount of men and woman per age category. Most participants (57.7%) are in a monogamous marriage, while 25.6% are in a polygamous marriage. The others raised children alone, were divorced or widowed. Among women, 65.9% reported being the head of the household (25% among woman living in a monogamous marriage). Men were almost always the head of the household (97.1%). The

(Approximate) age in years	Male	Female	Total
16-20	0	2	2
21-25	7	5	12
26-30	4	10	14
31-35	5	5	10
36-40	2	5	7
41-45	6	4	10
46-50	1	5	6
>50	9	8	17

Table 1 Amount of males and females per age category.

educational level of most respondents was no higher than primary school. Men reached on average class 5 when they did attend primary school, 23.5% finished primary school. Women reached on average class 3 when they did attend primary school, only 2.3% finished primary school. Nine woman had no education at all, one men went to secondary school and one male and one female have been to institution, which is tertiary education. Almost all participants (93%) do farming for a living. Among them, two combine their farming with a business. One person only has a business, one is fisherman and one does masonry.

Respondents have on average 4 (ranging from 1 to 10) children below age 18, of which most have children in more than one of the age categories (0 to 6, 7 to 12 and 13 to 18 years old). Fifty-five percent raises non-biological, of which 16.7% is raising only non-biological children without biological children. Non-biological children are stepchildren, grandchildren, nieces, nephews, cousins or brothers or sisters from the respondents or their spouse.

Instruments

Free listing. About 20 people in the research area are asked one open question (Bolton & Tang, 2004). In this research it was: 'What are the challenges of parents regarding parenting in your community?'. The participants were requested to bring up multiple answers and explain each answer with specific ideas or examples in order to gain some preliminary understanding of how concepts are locally viewed in the specific community (Bolton and Tang, 2004).

Focus group discussions. People in focus groups are asked to discuss some questions with each other. A moderator leads the discussions, ensures that everyone gets to share their ideas and closes each discussion with a conclusion (Baerveldt, & Kesselring, 2017). Because the focus group discussions in this research are combined with other research methods and because they had to be done by people other than myself, they were not recorded, transcribed and translated. It was not feasible to ask from the people of Help A Child's partner next to their regular job. Instead, an

observer was asked to write down the conclusions of each discussion. Four of the five focus groups discussed the following topics: The qualities of a good mother and father, the disobedience of children and adolescents, parents' avoidance of responsibilities and failed marriages. The full discussion questions can be found in Appendix 5. The focus group with children was asked to discuss only the qualities of a good mother and father. From an ethical perspective, it seemed not appropriate to ask children about problems they experience with their parents or the problems they perceive between their parents.

In-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews of 25 of the same questions (Appendix 6) are conducted in order to collect more information, clarifications and cultural background information about the challenges mentioned in the free listing and focus group discussions. The four local experts had an one-hour talk with me via Skype in which they each answered approximately 20 questions. Some questions are not asked to all participants, because of not understanding or saturation of answers. Recording and literal transcription was no option due to time constraints, so only notes were made during the interview and the participants got the option afterwards to make reformulations or changes in the document of their interview.

Questionnaire. With the information gathered in the qualitative part of the research, a questionnaire was designed, taking into account the habits of local people and the words they use, so that the questionnaire is understood well by the respondents. The questionnaire (Appendix 7) consists of two parts. Part one includes seven general questions, such as age, gender and children; part two includes 48 statements about parenting. Each statement is followed by 10 circles forming a scale from 'never' to 'always'. Respondents have to check one of the circles to indicate the extent to which the statement applied to them. This part is divided into four sections: Section A (14 statements) contains general statement about parenting for all respondents. Section B (11 statements) contains statements for respondents that take care of children between the ages of 0 and 6, section C (11 statements) contains statements for respondents that take care of children between the ages of 7 and 12, and section D (12 statements) contains statements for respondents that take care of children between the ages of 13 and 18.

Appendix 10 shows which statements were seen together as topics on forehand. However, the Cronbach's alpha showed that not all topics were internally consistent. Table 2 shows the internal consistent topics and how many people answered all statements within the topic (N). The 24 statements that could not fit into topics were about having many children (*statement 4*), parent's mutual problem solving (*statement 3, 11*), health (*statements 5, 8, 11*), use of alcohol (*statements 10, 14*), feeding (*statement 17*), the influence of

	Topics	Cronbach's alpha	N
parent's behaviour (<i>statements 15,29, 37</i>), advising children	Parents' cooperation in raising children (<i>statements 2, 6, 9</i>)	.657	75
(<i>statements 23, 36, 43</i>), safety	Level of difficulty in parenting (<i>statements 1, 7, 13</i>)	.510	78
(<i>statement 21</i>), hearing children's opinion (<i>28, 38</i>),	Level of understanding the child (<i>statements 24, 30, 42</i>)	.585	26
rights of children (<i>statement 44</i>), dressing (<i>statement 40</i>),	Involvement in children's school (<i>statements 22, 31</i>)	.627	28
advising in peer contacts	Importance of schooling children (<i>statements 16, 20, 26, 34, 41, 45</i>)	.697	24
(<i>statements 35, 46</i>) and	Disciplining children (<i>statements 18, 32, 47</i>)	.788	26
marriage of children	Showing love to children (<i>statements 19, 25, 27, 33</i>)	.644	50
(<i>statements 39, 48</i>).			

Table 2 Consistent topics in questionnaire

Procedure

The partner organization of Help a Child, the African Evangelical Enterprise (AEE) Uganda helped with the data collection. For the free listing, instructions and answering sheets were sent to AEE Uganda (see Appendices 1 and 2). Two colleagues from AEE Uganda asked 20 people in Lugbara to answer the question about challenges in parenting. The answers were written down in Lugbara too, so as to not lose focus in the conversation because of immediate translation. Afterwards, the 20 answering sheets were translated into English and emailed back to me. I combined them into one list of parenting challenges in Arivu from the most mentioned challenge to the least mentioned. A colleague independently made the same list, as to make the results of the free listing more reliable (Karsten, Muir, Ohana, & Wolszczak, 2014). Differences were discussed and resolved, which resulted in one final ranking list of parenting challenges in Arivu (see Appendix 3).

From this list, the most frequently mentioned challenges that parents faced (or combinations of some challenges that could fall under the same topic), were selected as topics for the discussions in focus groups and another topic - qualities of a good mother and father - was added, because these qualities, as they are seen by the local people in Arivu, should be taken into account as well when developing the questionnaire. Again instructions and answering sheets were sent to AEE Uganda (Appendices 4 and 5). The people who conducted the free listing, conducted the focus group discussions as well. One of them led the discussions in Lugbara, the other wrote down what was said. Afterwards, the answering sheets are translated in English and emailed back to me.

Together with my Dutch colleague, the answering sheets of the focus group discussions then were read. Anything unclear was written down and deeper questions about the cultural ideas were made. These questions (Appendix 6) formed the base for the in-depth interviews. The interviews

were be done through Skype, while this Dutch colleague took notes of the answers. After the interview, these notes were sent to the interviewee to check their accuracy; they were free to add information they had not thought to mention during the interview. Three of the four interviewees confirmed that the notes were accurate and added some new information as well.

Using the information collected from community people and experts, the questionnaire was developed. In addition, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (OAU, 1990) was examined for information on good parenting to African standards. Good attitudes and behaviours or attitudes and behaviours found in Arivu while not seen as being good, were formulated into statements for the questionnaire (Appendix 7). After integrating feedback from Dutch and Ugandan colleagues, the questionnaire was finalized and sent to AEE Uganda for translation. One person there translated the questionnaire to Lugbara, another translated the translation back to English, without seeing the original English version. No differences between the original English version and the last translated English version were found, suggesting that the Lugbara translation was valid. Instructions for administering the questionnaire were sent as well (Appendix 8). Since many people in Arivu are illiterate (Q. Adriko from AEE Uganda, personal communication, April 2017), the colleagues from AEE Uganda gave instructions to each respondent separately, did read the statements, and wrote down the answer given by the respondent. Afterwards, the questionnaires were emailed back to me and the data was entered in SPSS.

Results

Qualitative results: Free listing, focus groups and in-depth interviews

Disobedience of children. In the free-listing 13 of the 20 participants mentioned unruly, disrespectful, arrogant and aggressive behaviour of children towards their parents as a challenge of parenting in Arivu. Some said parents fail to manage their children. Table 3 presents the reasons provided for this disobedient behaviour by each focus group. Only two reasons (*peer influence and insufficient support from parents*) are mentioned by three of the focus groups (fathers, boys and girls) and the focus group of mothers mentioned reasons of which none were mentioned by the other focus groups. Fathers and teenage boys explained that *insufficient support* in soap, food and scholastic materials, forces children to look for their own money, which makes them unruly to their parents. Adolescent boys and girls add that having many children makes it hard to provide all children with sufficient support. Teenage boys say peers can coach into bad behaviour and teenage girls mention that peer influence makes children to refuse their mother's requests, because they want to spend time with friends. Mothers believe children are disobedient because they provide for themselves by *doing casual work*. Mothers mention no connection with insufficient support from

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
home as the other focus groups say.				
Mothers also blame				
<i>leaders</i> as the local council and police, because they do nothing when children are reported to them, which makes children become more disobedient. Children's				
right to freedom of				
expression makes them feel entitled to go to discos, casinos, play pool and watch films. Teenage boys connect disobedience to the <i>adolescence stage</i> when adolescents feel old enough to fight (mostly by mouth, sometimes physical) their parents and to do their own thing. They also mention that <i>gender segregation for paying school fees</i> , makes girls disobedient. Parents prefer education for boys. Teenage girls mention that <i>disagreement between parents</i> can cause children to disobey one parent, when the other parent agrees with themselves and disagrees with their spouse.				
How to improve the obedience was also asked in each focus group and the risen ideas are presented in Table 4. Most ideas are mentioned by two or more focus groups. All groups mention imprisonment, which people in Arivu think will teach disobedient children a lesson and lead to better behaviour once released. <i>Disciplining</i> is suggested as another solution, which can be beating, but teenage girls say the beating should not be so bad to the extent of admitting the child to the hospital. Teenage boys mentioned caning (i.e., beating with a stick), especially when children escape in the evening to go out. That is also the reason why <i>children's rooms should be checked</i> .				

Table 3 Reasons of children for disobedient behaviour, provided per focus group

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Imprisonment	×	×	×	×
Disciplining	×	×		×
Checking children's room every night	×		×	
Advising children	×			×
Provide children's need and support			×	×
Leaders should close the disco's, casinos and films		×		
Sending children to church for learning good morals			×	
Children should get good friends who do not go to disco's				×

Table 4 How to make children and adolescents obedient according to each focus group.

The in-depth interviews presented some more information on the topic of disobedient behaviour. Parents seem to not advise their children because of being drunk and because rights of children are misunderstood by the community. The rights imply that children do not have responsibilities anymore, so advising them is been given up. Parents blame the government as well for spoiling children by promoting not to cane them. About disciplining the interviewees were telling that imprisonment is not frequently used anymore. People however, do discipline their children by caning with a stick, beating, not giving food, burning children with fire or making the child overwork by bringing in new tasks before one is finished. Most parents lack knowledge about the negative effects of physical punishments, or ignore them because no other way comes to their mind. In case other disciplining methods are known, it still is about negative reinforcement, but on a psychological level, such as not talking to the child, or not sending the child to do something while another child is sent, which makes the first child feel unworthy. Interviewees also report that parents call a child useless, “a nobody” or tell the child they regret having had him or her, when they avoid caning.

Parents’ avoidance of responsibilities. Seven of the 20 participants of the free-listing mentioned that parents do drink alcohol and thereby avoid taking responsibility for taking care of their family. This was mostly about fathers, but also mothers were mentioned to drink alcohol. Also having several wives was mentioned as a reason for men to not fulfil their responsibilities by four participants of the free

listing. Other reasons were also mentioned in the focus group discussions (Table 5). All focus groups mention the *alcohol use and mistrust and disagreement between the parents*. When a parent

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Alcohol drinking	×	×	×	×
Mistrust and disagreement between parents	×	×	×	×
Having many wives		×		×
Poverty			×	×
Poor planning of family’s resources	×			
Laziness to dig			×	
Poor attitude towards education				×

Table 5 Reasons for parents’ avoidance of responsibilities, provided per focus group

drinks alcohol he or she sells the food to be able to buy alcohol, which makes the family left with nothing. *Mistrust and disagreement* and also *poor planning according to the family’s resources* makes parents to spend money as they please, ignoring their responsibilities to their children. *Many wives* are not only difficult to take care of because of the feeding of more people (i.e., the wives and their children), but quarrels between wives over what the man does for each, can cause the man to stop digging (i.e., ploughs) the land, which causes a lack of food as well. Teenage girls mentioned a *poor attitude towards education*, by which they mean that education is seen by parents as a waste of time or as a loss of support from their children in the future.

The focus groups were also asked what would make parents to fulfil their responsibilities again (see Table 6). All groups mention *unity in the family*, with which they mean that men and women agree on the well-being of their family and on the plans for their homes. They also mention

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Unity in the family	×	×	×	×
Stop drinking alcohol	×		×	×
Men should dig		×		
Woman should practice family planning		×		
Men should encourage second wife to work for own resources		×		
No relating with prostitutes			×	
Children should support parents in garden work				×
Not marrying many wives				×

Table 6 How to make parents take their responsibilities according to each focus group.

that united families solve problems peacefully, ask help from relatives, and ask each other for forgiveness. Mothers report that *men should encourage their second wife to work for their own resources*, because right now men sell the food meant for the first wife and her children, to feed these new woman and forgets his responsibilities towards his first family. Teenage boys say that *parents should stop seeing prostitutes*, because that takes money.

The experts in the in-depth interviews, shared more about parents' avoidance of responsibilities. They said most people drink alcohol to fit in, to forget about their problems, to socialize with friends, to dodge responsibilities (no one will ask a drunk person something), because of being bored or because it is part of the culture. Men drink most, women sometimes, mostly to test what they brew. Polygamous life is an African tradition. Many wives and children show that a man is strong and secure the family's land, because children will help working on the land and other people will not bother because the family is big. Having at least two wives ensures the man of food as well, because of the competition between the wives provisions of food. Men also marry more wives because their parents do not like his wife, because of conflicts with his wife, because he want a younger wife, because his first wife separates her bed to avoid another pregnancy after her just born child or because he wants children from another gender which are not being born from his first wife. Boys are wanted for doing work and girls for the dowries the family gets when girls marry. Family planning is not common in the community because of misconceptions that it causes women to stop having children permanently. Men in particular want many children for their status. Sometimes women use family planning secretly, but when the man finds out, domestic violence can appear. Women who have few children are blamed, because they were bought with a dowry to produce. The interviewees explained parents' negative attitude towards school because most did not go school, which makes them to not value school. Examples of children who went to school are negative as

well: They often do not find a job and become lazy to hard work. Therefore, parents do not visit the school, check the children’s books or monitor their performance and children are kept home to do tasks there.

Failed marriages. Five people in the free listing mention that early marriages fail. The woman and her children then go back to her parents which brings a heavy burden to this parents to provide for their daughter and grandchildren as well. Moreover, domestic violence, conflicts, disharmony or avoidance of spouses’ responsibility are mentioned together with failed marriages in the free listing. All focus groups mention alcoholism (or as the local people say ‘drunkardness’) is a reason for breaking up (Table 7), because it causes lack of money and fights. Table 7 presents a few more reasons that are mentioned with regard to failed marriages. Fathers mentioned different reasons

that might need some explanation. First, *lack of true love*, in which true love means caring about each other’s well-being according to the fathers. *Different backgrounds*, such as different religions, can make spouses fail

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Drunkardness	×	×	×	×
Woman refuse washing clothes/cooking food	×			×
Men sell the only available food		×		×
Woman sell food for personal gain	×			
Lack of true love	×			
Different backgrounds	×			
Not knowing each other before marriage	×			
Woman are disrespectful to their husbands	×			
Disagreements on the use of money		×		
Fathers take marijuana			×	
Negligence of responsibilities to first wife when marrying new wife				×
Some men do not want to dig				×
Men fail to provide food because the family is big				×

Table 7 Reasons for failed marriages, provided per focus group.

to understand each

other, which causes a failed marriage. When *people do not know each other before marriage*, they might also break up as they get to know each other. Lastly, fathers mentioned that *disrespectfulness from woman to their husbands* causes them to beat their wife, which makes the woman to leave.

The most mentioned solutions for making marriages last are gaining *unity between husband and wife* and to *stop the use of alcohol*. Table 8 shows other solutions as well. For teenage boys, it is important that *parents relate (i.e., connect) with educated people*, because that will make parents see the importance of education, they said. It is unclear why this is mentioned by solutions for saving marriages, but maybe some parents disagree on the importance of education and the teenage boys see them breaking up. The boys suggested as well that *parents should work in groups*, in which they refer to self-help groups in the community that were implemented by Help A Child. The members of these groups for example provide each other with advice in marriages. A last, interesting

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Unity between husband and wife	×	×		×
Parents should stop drinking		×	×	×
Digging together			×	×
Understanding between husband and wife	×			
No prolonging of anger between husband and wife	×			
Women should show respect to their husband	×			
Women should take care of her husband and children	×			
Men should stop drinking		×		
Men should dig for the family and provide food		×		
Man and woman should agree on buying basic needs		×		
Chewing marijuana should stop			×	
Parents should relate with educated people			×	
Parents should work in groups			×	
Men should marry one wife, but when they have more they should dig for each equally				×
Unity in paying school fees				×

Table 8 How to make marriages succeed according to each focus group.

point in these results is that mothers say men should stop drinking, where teen girls and boys mention both parents. The same is shown with digging the land: Both teen groups say parents or families should dig together, but mothers say that men should dig.

The topic of failed marriages had an extra question in the focus groups about the improvement of the outcomes for children (Table 9). This question seem not to be understood regarding failed marriages, but describes improvements for outcomes of children in general. All groups mentioned *providing the basic needs*, like medication, scholastic materials, food (on time and three meals a day) and a good shelter. *Not setting a bad example* is important for fathers, because

	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls
Providing basic needs	×	×	×	×
Parents should show love to their children (and children to their parents)	×			×
Parents should not be a bad example	×		×	
Children should be respectful to their parents			×	×
Parents should advise children on living a good, honourable life	×			
Disco's, casinos and film halls should be closed		×		
Traditional dances should be promoted		×		
Disciplining		×		
Some children need to be imprisoned		×		
Parents should show children the borders of land			×	
Parents should ensure that children read books before sleep			×	
All family members should fear God				×
Children should work with their family in the garden				×
Children should not refuse to be sent by elders				×
Children should not drink alcohol or moving out at night				×
Fathers should not marry many wives				×

Table 9 Improving the outcomes for children according to the focus groups.

their children will follow them. Mothers believe that the *traditional dances* will help children being aware of their traditions and they are a good alternative to the promotion of sexual immorality. *The borders of the land should be shown to the children*, so that the children can plan for their families.

The in-depth interviews revealed that often marriages begin with love, which fades away. However, sometimes people marry because they have children together (even when it was a rape) or want to get children or to fit in the community. An unmarried man is not a man and will not be heard and something might be wrong with him. The by local people named disunity of spouses comes in because they marry early, are not prepared for their roles as husbands and wives or cannot harmonize their different backgrounds. Disunity also exists in taking responsibilities. Women do most of the housework and when men fail to bring in money, women get annoyed about themselves doing everything. Empowerment of women sometimes makes them feel like they are the head of the household and disrespect their husbands, which might make the husbands marrying another woman. Violence between spouses because of drinking may cause separation as well. The interviewees say that issues in marriage should be solved quickly to not grow bigger and relatives or cultural leaders might be helpful in solving these issues. Responsibilities should be taken by both men and women and joint activities may help them work together.

Lack of resources. The parenting training of Help a Child, 'The Parenting Challenge', focuses on improving parenting behaviours and attitudes and not on improving people their resources like food or money. However, problems related to poverty cannot be ignored, since they were the most frequently mentioned challenges in the free listing. In the focus groups or interviews, this topic was not discussed, as no further information was needed.

Qualities of a good mother and father. In addition to the faced challenges of people in Arivu regarding the upbringing of their children, all the focus groups, including children, were asked to describe a good mother and father. The mentioned characteristics are presented in Tables 10 and 11 per focus group. A good mother does not only *cook food*, but also ensures that her children eat on time and have breakfast before they go to school, fathers said. A mother *having money* is important for fathers so that they know their wife can provide. Mothers said that good mothers should join a community group that saves money together. *Not drinking alcohol* is important for the teenage boys and children because a drunk mother beats her children. Teenage girls and children mention that a good mother does *not give corporal punishment*.

Many other qualities of a good mother were mentioned by only one focus group and therefore not presented in Table 10. Firstly, fathers find it important that a mother makes children take a bath and get dressed before school, assigns her children with work in the house and garden,

A good mother ...	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls	Children
...cooks food	×		×	×	×
...provides scholastic materials and school fees		×		×	×
...is loving, welcoming, peaceful and does not chase away people from her home			×	×	×
...breastfeeds her baby	×	×			
...has money	×	×			
...bathes and feeds the children	×	×			
...ensures the sleeping place of the children is okay and prepares their bed	×	×			
...takes children to the hospital when they fall sick	×			×	
...advises children	×			×	
...takes children to school		×	×		
...loves her children		×		×	
...does not drink alcohol			×		×
...takes good care of her children				×	×
...doesn't give corporal punishment				×	×
...takes care of children that are not hers (like orphans or children from a co-wife)				×	×

Table 20 Characteristics of a good mother mentioned by two or more focus groups.

reports issues with her children to the father when she cannot handle herself and takes care of the entire household. Mothers mention that a good mother provides for her children's needs equally, talks politely to her children and disciplines the children. She respects herself, her husband and honours God. For teenage boys, a good mother does not kill people with poison when they anger her, advises her children and tells them that going to disco, drinking and stealing are wrong. She is hardworking, educated (as she will make sure that her children also go to school), protects her children, participates in church activities and tells her children about the past. Teenage girls see importance in talking peacefully for a good mother, and children are of opinion that a good mother buys them clothes and washes their clothes.

A good father is mentioned by the focus groups to *provide money, food and medical care* for his family. *Not drinking alcohol* is also important for all groups (except for fathers themselves), as drunk fathers tend to insult and abuse their wives and children is provided as reason. An *exemplary* father shows his children what to do and participates in community for example by fulfilling a function or attending funerals. *Having time for his children/minding about what they do* means that a good father finds out whether his children have eaten and discusses with them the challenges affecting their lives. He also greets his children when they wake up and asks how they slept.

Many other qualities of a good father were mentioned by only one focus group and therefore not presented in Table 11. Fathers see good fathers taking responsibility for their family, planning the family's resources, supporting his wife, taking his children to the garden, saving money for the provision to his family and encouraging his children to read books at home to increase their knowledge. He supports his sons when marrying and tells his children about their history, property and origins. These last qualities are explained in the interviews: Knowing the property of the family

A good father...	Fathers	Mothers	Teenage boys	Teenage girls	Children
...provides school fees and scholastic materials for the children	×	×	×	×	×
...provides food for his family	×	×	×	×	×
...provides medical attention/brings child to the hospital when sick	×		×	×	×
...does not drink alcohol		×	×	×	×
...educates/advises his children	×	×		×	
...takes his children to school	×		×	×	
...digs	×		×	×	
...knows/respects himself, the budget of the home and the needs	×	×			
...is exemplary	×		×		
...has time for his children/minds about what they do		×	×		
...takes the whole family to church and ensures they fear God		×	×		
...digs with his family		×			×

Table 31 Characteristics of a good father mentioned by two or more focus groups.

informs children on where they can go and live with their wives without getting into fights with other people in the community. Knowing the history may help children to socialize because of a status of a grandfather that is known around the village. Children need to know their origins because they are supposed not to marry someone from another clan, nor a direct relative. Mothers mention that a good father buys his children clothes, balances the needs of his wives equally and does not leave the responsibility of caring for the family to the mother alone. Teenage boys said that a good father should not chew 'marijuwona' (local weed), because it makes him fall sick and the children follow his example. Good fathers give knowledge to their children about life (like how to dig the land), about the importance of education, are happy with their children and show the borders of the land to the children. That makes children able to protect the family land in case of conflicts. Teenage boys also mention that a good father should marry only one wife and make his children participate in church activities. According to teenage girls, a good father protects his family from snakes, does not fight with the mother, other relatives or neighbours, helps community members in need, and does not give corporal punishment. Finally, children see a good father buying his children soap and on special days clothes. He is not selfish and shares his food with neighbours and relatives.

From the in-depth interviews, it appears that loving children is seen as buying them special clothes for special days like Christmas and buying meat. The interviewees had children heard saying they feel loved when school fees are payed, they have time to talk with their parents, they can play with friends, are not beaten and are being sent by their parents to do something for them. A good example according to the interviewees, is everything that is seen by the community as acceptable, which implies no drinking or smoking, no abusive language or fighting, but providing food, working hard, welcoming visitors, discussing life, dressing decently (for girls) and preparing them for being a husband, wife or parent.

Quantitative results: Questionnaire

The results from the questionnaire are presented in this part with the help of some statistical analysis in the program of SPSS. For each statement the mean across participants, standard deviation, number of respondents and minimum and maximum score are presented in Appendix 9. Some statements were taken together in order to be compared. The Cronbach's alpha showed which statements were reliable to take together (see Table 2 and Appendix 10). A paired-samples t-test was used to test for significant differences between statements.

Parents only had to fill in the parts connecting to the ages of their children (0-6 years, 7-12 years and 13-18 years). Sometimes also other questions were left open because they were not relevant for them because they had only one gender in a certain age group or their child was not going to preschool for example.

Table 12 shows the relevant topics from the questionnaire with the statements that were in the questionnaire about that topic. Were these topics meet the topics of the free listing, focus groups and interviews, this is shown in the last column. The topic health in the questionnaire has no

Topic questionnaire	Statement	Age category	Corresponding topics qualitative results
Partnership parents	2.I find it important for my child that both parents are involved in the upbringing.	All	Failed marriages
	6.I feel like my spouse and I work together to provide for our child.		
	9.I feel my spouse supports me in the upbringing of our child.		
	3.My spouse and I solve our issues by talking.		
	11.Beating occurs often when my spouse and I quarrel.		
Alcohol	10.When I earn money, I spend most of it on alcohol.	All	Disobedience, avoiding responsibilities, failed marriages, good parents
	14.I drink alcohol...		
Understanding children	24+30+42.I feel like I do not understand my child.	0-6/ 7-12/ 13-18	Good parents
Schooling	22.I visit the preschool of my child. (0-6)	0-6	Good parents, avoiding responsibilities
	31.I am aware of my child's schoolwork. (7-12)	7-12	
	16+34+41.I think it is important to send my son to preschool.	0-6/ 7-12/ 13-18	
	20+26+45.I think it is important to send my daughter to preschool.	0-6/ 7-12/ 13-18	
Disciplining	18+32+47.To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane	0-6/ 7-12/ 13-18	Disobedience, good parents
Showing love	19+33.To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days.	0-6/ 7-12	Good parents
	25+27.I spend time with my child to show I love him/her.	0-6/ 7-12	
Health	5.It is okay to miss some stages of my child's immunization.	All	-
	8.When my child gets diseases such as malaria, I use local herbs for treatment instead of going to a health centre.		
	12.During pregnancy and delivery woman can do without professional support.		

Table 12 Statements of questionnaire per topic

corresponding topic in the qualitative part because this topic came up from the local experts' feedback on the questionnaire and was not mentioned earlier in the research.

Partnership of parents. The questionnaire contained five questions about partnership (three about partner cooperation in raising the children and two about solving partner issues; see also Appendix 10). Parents see the involvement of both parents in raising children as important ($M=9.4$, $SD=1.27$, range=5) and also say to work together ($M=7.8$, $SD=2.91$) and feel supported by their spouse ($M=7.4$, $SD=3.29$). Spouses mostly do not solve their issues by beating ($M=1.1$, $SD=.41$), but also talking is not what is always used for solving issues ($M=6.6$, $SD=3.07$).

Alcohol. Asked were the spending of money on alcohol and reasons for drinking when people drink. Alcohol was reported to be used by 41% of the participants (68.8% male). Still most money was not spend on alcohol by these drinkers ($M=4.4$, $SD=2.14$). Two female participants reported drinking in the past with by then as reason to forget problems and to be happy or to imitate friends. For the participants who drink nowadays, eight men and seven woman drunk to forget their problems. Socializing was mostly mentioned as a reason by men (11 out of 13). One option of the question was drinking because of another reason which could be specified by people themselves. Eight men and eight woman crossed this option and mentioned reasons like releasing fatigue, taking away hunger, to enjoy, to test or to control blood pressure.

Understanding children. For all three age categories participants were asked to cross up to how far they understand their child. A higher number means that there was a higher lack of understanding. Understanding children between 0 and 6 years old ($M=2.4$, $SD=2.53$), which was not significantly less than children between 7 and 12 years old ($M=3.3$, $SD=3.09$) conditions; $t(50)=-1.88$, $p = 0.066$. However, the understanding of the youngest group ($M=2.9$, $SD=2.62$) did differ significantly from the understanding from the children between 13 and 18 years old ($M=5.7$, $SD=3.24$) conditions; $t(29)=-4.25$, $p = <.001$ and also no difference was found between the middle ($M=3.0$, $SD=2.97$) and oldest group ($M=5.8$, $SD=3.20$) conditions; $t(29)=-3.92$, $p = <.001$. This suggests that children in the oldest age group are significantly harder to understand than younger children.

Schooling. Within schooling two statements in the questionnaire were about parents' involvement at school (for the youngest and middle age group) and the importance of school was measured for all three age categories for boys and girls (see Table 12). Parents' involvement in school was somehow present, but not very high in as well the youngest group ($M=5.0$, $SD=3.80$) as the middle age group ($M=7.0$, $SD=3.29$). The importance of school gave high means for both genders on all ages. Significant lower importance was found for boys in the youngest age group ($M=7.3$, $SD=2.96$) when compared with the middle age group ($M=9.4$, $SD=1.51$) conditions $t(49)= -4.66$, $p = <.001$ and

also when the youngest age group of boys ($M=6.5$, $SD=3.29$) is compared with the oldest age group ($M=9.4$, $SD=.94$) conditions $t(28)=-4.94$, $p < .001$. Also the importance of schooling of girls in the lowest age category ($M=7.0$, $SD=2.76$) was significant lower than that of the middle age group ($M=9.3$, $SD=1.62$) conditions $t(49)=-5.84$, $p < .001$ and also when the youngest age group of girls ($M=6.8$, $SD=2.77$) that of the oldest age group ($M=9.5$, $SD=1.24$) conditions $t(28)=-5.42$, $p < .001$. No significant differences were found between boys and girls. This suggests that going to school is seen most important for children from 7 years and above, but even below that age going to school is still pretty important.

Disciplining. In all age categories, disciplining children was not often done by insulting words or beating, since all means are around 3 or less. No significant age differences were found.

Showing love. Showing love was tested in two different ways, namely giving clothes and meat and spending time, both for two age categories (See also Appendix 10). The only significant difference was found between the ways of showing love to children between 7 and 12 years: Giving clothes and meat was significantly done less to these children ($M=7.7$, $SD=2.30$) than spending time ($M=8.4$, $SD=1.86$) conditions $t(58)=-2.16$ $p = .035$. This suggests that for younger children no difference in showing love is seen between giving time and giving clothes and meat, while for children between 7 and 12 time is seen as more important.

Health. Health consisted of three statements: two about the health of children and one about the health of a mother. The participants of the questionnaire did not agree with the statement that woman can do without professional help during pregnancy and delivery ($M=1.4$, $SD=1.08$), which means they see it as important that pregnancy and delivery are professionally guided.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to examine the attitudes and behaviours of the people in the Arivu community regarding parenting in order to create a baseline for evaluating Help A Child's parenting training. Four key problems emerged, which are connected by the same underlying causes. These topics were disobedient behaviour of children, parents' avoidance of responsibilities, failed marriages and lack of resources.

Disobedient behaviour in children is often mentioned to be caused by insufficient support from parents and by peer influence. Parents were seen as the persons in a position to do something about the disobedience by advising and disciplining their children. Disciplining is done by corporal punishment or psychological negativity like ignoring or insulting. Most people do not know other ways of disciplining. The parents who will take part in the training however, said they do not often use these disciplining methods. This difference with the qualitative part may assume that the

questionnaire is answered socially desirable, since it relies on self-report. Harsh disciplining should have less negative outcomes in a society where adult authority is central (Rudy, & Grusec, 2006). From the gained information in this research however, it is hard to decide whether adult authority is central in Arivu. Children seem to be disobedient and not listening to their parents, which shows that adult authority is not central, even though the Lugbara culture orders men do have the authority in their families (Suresh, 2013). The fading away from the men authority in the family is also shown from the questionnaire where 65.9% of woman said to be the head of the household. What harsh disciplining in Arivu means for the psychological outcomes of the children is not clear, since that was not the focus of this research.

Insufficient support from parents is caused by a lack of resources, but also because parents lack taking their responsibility. This parental avoidance of responsibilities has different reasons: Parents spend money on alcohol, become drunk, fathers have many wives, parents disagree and mistrust each other and have a bad attitude towards education. From the people who will participate 41% said to drink alcohol, which comes close to the 46.1% of North-Ugandan males in the study of Saile, Ertl, Neuner, and Catani (2014). However, in Arivu 22.7% of woman drinks alcohol, while in the West-Nile is was only 1.1%. Having many wives and children is culturally and socially important for men, because of status and the help on the land. Although teenagers mention that parents in Arivu do not value school, parents who will go for the training reported school to be important for children on every age, especially from 7 years and above. The statistics of the West-Nile region of which Arivu is a part, agree with the value parents give education for the children between 7 and 12 years old: 86% of boys and 85% of girls does go to primary school (UBOS, 2012b). For the age group of 13 to 18 years old, however, a big difference is found: The enrolment percentage for secondary school is 12.3% for boys and 11.9% for girls (UBOS, 2012b), while parents saw the same importance for these children to go to school as for their children of primary school. So reality here is different than the wishes of parents. It would be interesting to find out what causes this difference.

Mistrust and disagreement do not only make parents to leave their responsibilities, but are also a reason for failed marriages. So are the ignorance of responsibilities and alcohol use. Furthermore, youth seem not prepared for marriage and people marry before knowing each other, which sometimes causes misunderstandings. Another mentioned reason for marriage break-ups is unequal division of tasks: men have time to relax or drink, while woman work all day and have to do everything in the house. In contrast, the future participants of the training show good cooperation with their spouse in raising the children. Interesting as well is that mothers see most blame with the fathers by being drunk and not digging the land, while the teenagers blame both parents.

When the community came up by themselves of how they show love to their children, they came up with giving clothes and meat on special days like Christmas. However, when the questionnaire gave the option of showing love by giving time, this also gained a high score for all children below 12 years old. For children between 7 and 12 years old time was even more used to show love than gifts of clothes and meat. Earlier findings of the MECPU (2015) showed that parents do know the importance of giving attention for the children, but they do not have time enough. So maybe also the answers in the questionnaire of Arivu where more about what they know is good instead of what is being given in reality and socially desirable answering plays a role here as well.

Defining Baumrind's (in Darling, 1999) parenting style in Arivu on base of the gathered information in this research is hard, because the characteristics of demandingness and responsiveness were not the focus in the research. Probably parenting in Arivu comes close to the authoritarian style in which demandingness is strong and responsiveness is low, or to the uninvolved parenting style in which demandingness and responsiveness are both low. Important for these children is listening to their parents and disciplining is often mentioned as a way to make children listen. However, parents' avoidance of responsibilities makes parents also to not advise or discipline their children anymore. Talks between parents and children are not given much time and respondents in the research brought up material things when it comes to showing their children love.

These conclusions lead to some recommendations for the training The Parenting Challenge of Help A Child, which may help improving children's situation in Arivu. The use of alcohol among adults seems to be connected directly or indirectly with all mentioned topics in this research. Self-report showed 41% of respondents use alcohol; in real the number might be higher because of the social desirability of not drinking alcohol. The community may be helped as well with learning new methods of disciplining that are not physically or psychologically harmful for the children. Right now these methods seem to be not known. Lastly responsiveness may also get more attention in Arivu, since authoritative parenting with high demandingness and high responsiveness has the best outcomes everywhere (Darling, 1999).

The strength of this study is the ethnographic approach which focused on doing culturally adapted research. It helped to describe the results as how they are meant by the community itself. Another strength was the use of different methods, which together gave more reliable results. The most important limitation of this study is that I, as researcher, did not go to the place of research. The research was conducted by other people locally. Even though clear instructions were given, direct observation of the community is an important part which is currently missing. Direct observation would have given possibility to see objectively what is happening in the Arivu

community. Some behaviours or attitudes might have been missed because they are normal for people in Arivu and not thought of mentioning, while I might have noticed it because they were not normal me. A second limitation is the differences between the qualitative and quantitative results. The judgements in the focus groups and interviews reveal a more worse situation than the questionnaire does. It might be different because of socially desirable answers in the questionnaire. People could report on other people in the focus groups and interviews, while they had to report themselves in the questionnaire. It however also might be that the focus groups and the interviews only emphasized extreme, negative cases that people have heard about. Another reason might be that the questionnaire is indeed answered social desirable. Another reason for the different results of the qualitative and quantitative part can be that the statements are given in a wrong manner: Many statements measure the importance of a topic for the participant. However, valuing something as important does not mean that reality is the same: Even though parents see the importance, in reality the highest age group does not go much to school anymore.

For the Help A Child's evaluation it is recommended to make an in-between evaluation when the training is halfway. It might be that people feel more free to give honest answers without being socially desirable at this point of the training. With the final evaluation a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods like in this research is recommended as well and afterwards, possible changes the participants went through because of the training, should be asked. It is easier to report afterwards that the situation before the training was not as good as was reported on forehand. Recommended as well is to make observations of parenting situations in the area and be present in the area as researcher, because it might provide more information.

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Appendix 1 Instructions for administering free listing

You are going to conduct a free-listing to get an overview of the things that are happening in the community around parenting. We would like you to find 20 random people (with an equal balance between males and females) who are willing to participate in this free-listing. Make sure that the 20 people from the same community are different in terms of age, role and financial situation.



You will only ask one open question to them, individually and in the local language, so that there is a lot of room for thinking about all the challenges the parents face. They can come with a whole list.. You write down all the challenges, as well as descriptions/examples of the challenges in the local language and translate it afterwards. This is important so that we know what is meant with a certain challenge. Be aware that you don't add questions and/or give suggestions. You can only ask them: 'Are there more challenges you would like to mention?' or 'Anything else?' till they have exhausted all the challenges.

Below you can find some instructions for carrying out the free-listing. Take a pen, these instructions and an empty answering sheet with you to every interview.

1. Introduce yourself and the goal of the interview:

'We are trying to discover the challenges of parenting in your community. You will be anonymous, so no one will know what you have said.'

2. Fill in the role, age and gender of the participant in the form below. Also fill in your own name and the date.

3. Ask this question:

'What are the challenges of parents regarding parenting in your community?'

4. You can continue by asking 'Are there more challenges you would like to mention?' or 'Anything else?' until the participant has nothing more to add.


Note: don't add questions and never give suggestions.

5. Write down everything the participant says.

6. For every challenge, ask for a description and/or an example. Write this down on the form below.

7. Repeat everything that you wrote down. Ask the participant whether this is right and whether anything else should be added.

Appendix 2 Answering sheet free listing

Role:	Age:	Gender: F/M	
Interviewer:	Date:		
Challenges regarding parenting:		Description/example:	

Appendix 3 Results free listing - ranking list of challenges

Challenge	Description according to the people of Arivu	Ran-king	N
No money for school	No money for school fees, materials and decent meals. Drop-outs lead to early marriages or drinking and going to disco's. 55% or 80% drops out. 60% of children stop between p5 and p7.	1	14
Behaviour children / adolescents	Children and adolescents are unruly, disrespectful, arrogant and aggressive to their parents. They refuse school and domestic duties and go to disco's and drink. Parents fail to manage their children and are no good example.	2	13
No food enough	Not enough food available, often one meal a day, and not eating varied. This comes because of climate change, drought and leads to bad health and poor nutrition. Some parents steal food from neighbours.	3	10
Parents drinking	No provision of the basic needs of the family and children drop out of school. Also causes beating or abusing.	4	7
Sickness children	Caused by for example drinking contaminated water. No money for treatment can cause children to die.	5	6
Failed early marriages	Heavy burden for parents who receive their girls with children back home after a failed marriage. Over 50% of youth divorce and return home. 80%/90% of children are raised by their grandparents.	6	5
No income enough	Creditors make some businesses to fail. At times farming and casual labour are not sustainable enough.	7	4
Polygamy	A second wife makes a men to ignore the needs of the first wife and children. 80% of the homes are polygamous.	7	4
Domestic violence	Between husband and wife or between wives. Some woman abandon their children, who then do loiter around.	9	3
Being a widow	The husbands' family takes properties of the woman and her children.	10	2
Disunity of parents	Parents both want children to do something else than their spouse wants.	10	2
No savings	90% does not have savings, so cannot afford anything special with Christmas.	10	2
Interference	Community sees you disciplining your children as abusive, which makes 90% of the children are undisciplined.	13	1
Lack of ECD centre	Makes children to fail in later schooling.	13	1
No family planning	It is hard to provide for many children. Men believe family planning causes c-section.	13	1

Appendix 4 Instructions for administering focus group discussions

Now that the free-listing for The Parenting Challenge is done, the next step will be the focus group discussions! The idea of focus group discussions is to gain more information about good parenting and about the parenting challenges that have been mentioned in the free-listing. With this information, we want to investigate how we can support parents in the upbringing of their children. We would like you to arrange 5 focus groups with 7-8 people per group who are willing to participate in the discussion. We are looking for one group of mothers, one group of fathers, one group of teenage boys (12-16), one group of teenage girls (12-16) and one group of children between 8 and 12 years old. We expect that one focus group discussion will take one to two hours.



During the focus group discussions, two staff members need to be present. One staff member will lead the discussion by asking several questions and summarizing the answers orally. This staff member is called the discussion leader. The discussion leader facilitates the group to talk, to share, to think and to discuss. The other staff member is there to write the summaries down on the answering sheet. This staff member is called the observer. It is an important task for the two staff members to set a climate of trust and understanding in the group, so that everyone feels free to speak up and share their ideas.

In every focus group discussion, you will ask the same questions. Please ask these questions in the local language so that we make sure that the participants fully understand the question. Be aware that you don't give suggestions. After you have posed a question, you let the participants to discuss the question with each other. You can help them by asking 'can you tell me more?'. When the discussion is finished, the discussion leader will summarize the answers and asks whether this is right or whether anything else should be added. The observer writes down the summary and the additions in the local language. Then continue with the next question and repeat this procedure.

Note: For the focus group discussion for children between 8-12 years old, you will only ask the first two questions, since the other two questions might be too difficult for children.

After the focus group discussions, the answering sheets need to be translated into English by the discussion leader or the observer. Then all the original and translated answering sheets have to be sent back.

Note: For the translation, it is important that you use the same words as the participants. We do not want to have perfect, academic answers but we would really like to know the words that they are using to describe something.

Below you can find some instructions for the discussion leader. Take a pen, these instructions and an empty answering sheet with you to every focus group discussion.

1. Fill in the focus group (mothers or children (8-12) or.. etc.), number of participants, your own names and the date in the form below.

2. Introduce yourself and the goal of the focus group discussion:

'The goal of today is to find out what good parenting is and what the challenges of parents are in your community, in hope to be able to give some support. That is why we need some information from you today.'

3. Speak out the following rules of the focus group discussion:

'There are no good or wrong answers. Respect each other's views and opinions and keep information from within the group confidential.'

Let the participants come up with other rules:

'If you have any other rules which make it more easy for you to speak up, please tell.'

4. Start off with a small introduction game to get to know each other (max. 10 minutes).

For example: Let every two people talk with each other (3 minutes) and let them introduce each other to the group afterwards (7 minutes).

5. After the game, ask the following questions:

'What is a good mother in your community?'

'And how can you see that someone is a good mother?'

6. Let the participants discuss the question. You can help them by asking 'Anything else?', 'Can you tell me more?' until the participants have nothing more to add and for you (and us) everything is clear.**7. Summarize the answers and check whether this is right or whether anything else should be added.****8. Ask the following questions:**

'What is a good father in your community?'

'And how can you see that someone is a good father?'

9. Repeat step 6 and 7 for these questions.

For the focus group discussion for children between 8-12 years old, you are done!

For the other focus group discussions, you can continue!

10. Ask the following questions:

Adolescents sometimes are unruly, disrespectful, arrogant and mean towards their parents. Sometimes they are also drunk or gamble.

'What makes adolescents to behave that way to their parents?'

'What can be done to make them obedient?'

11. Repeat step 6 and 7 for these questions.

12. Ask the following questions:

It seems that some parents have a hard time to take their responsibilities, sometimes because of drinking, sometimes because of more wives.

‘Why do parents avoid their responsibilities as a parent?’

‘What would help to make them do take their responsibilities?’

13. Repeat step 6 and 7 for these questions.**14. Ask the following questions:**

Within marriages there seems to be some problems, like disunity between the parents or domestic violence in the home. Children sometimes are send away to be protected from the violence and young woman and their children regularly come to live back with their parents.

‘What makes marriages hard and fail at times?’


‘What can be done to make marriages succeed?’

‘What will help to make the outcomes for the children better?’

13. Repeat step 6 and 7 for these questions.

You are done! Give thanks to the group.

Appendix 5 Answering sheet focus group discussions

Focus group:	Number of participants:	
Discussion leaders: 1. 2.	Date:	
Questions:		
1. What is a good mother in your community? And how can you see that someone is a good mother?		

2. What is a good father in your community? And how can you see that someone is a good father?

3. Adolescents sometimes are unruly, disrespectful, arrogant and mean towards their parents. Sometimes they are also drunk or gamble. What makes adolescents to behave that way to their parents? What can be done to make them obedient?

4. It seems that some parents have a hard time to take their responsibilities, sometimes because of drinking, sometimes because of more wives.
Why do parents avoid their responsibilities as a parent? What would help to make them do take their responsibilities?

5. Within marriages there seems to be some problems, like disunity between the parents or domestic violence in the home. Children sometimes are send away to be protected from the violence and young woman and their children regularly come to live back with their parents. What makes marriages hard and fail at times? What can be done to make marriages succeed? What will help to make the outcomes for the children better?

Appendix 6 Questions semi-structured in-depth interviews

In this interview we hope to get some things more clear which have been mentioned in the free-listing and the focus groups. It is important to understand every word well, because only than our final questionnaire will be in the right words and concepts fitting in the Arivu community.

1. What does taking care of children mean and what does loving your children mean? (different?)
2. How do families see their responsibility towards orphans in the community?
3. How do families see their relationship with neighbours in the community?
4. Children said that some fathers are selfish towards neighbours and relatives. What does this mean exactly? And how is this selfish behaviour being expressed?
5. How do parents think they are a good example for their children?
6. Children and youth are telling that parents should talk peacefully in order to make them not to be disrespectful. How do parents talk to their children at the moment, according to you? (demanding, or how?)
7. It has been said that parents have a poor attitude towards education. Why do parents think this way about education? Are there difference for boys and girls?
8. The focus group discussions found that good parents do tell their children about their history/background and property. Why is that so important?
9. Digging with the family is seen as a characteristic of a good father. Why does this have to be done with the whole family?

Some things about the family formation.

10. Most of the focus groups acknowledged that a man who takes more wives, cannot take care of all of them. Why do they keep taking multiple wives?
11. Families are often big. What do people think about family planning? Why is this? And which methods are already used?
12. Fathers said that mothers should only report issues with the children when they can't handle them. Why is this happening like that? According to you, don't fathers want to be more involved in raising children?
13. And what about mothers, do mothers want fathers to be more involved? Or do they see it/wanting it as their task?
14. Parents and children recognize that parents should advise their children and give them knowledge. It sounds like advices are not yet given enough according to both the parents and children. Why do parents not yet advice their children, though they see it as an important thing?

15. Corporal punishment is normal in Uganda. What are examples of corporal punishment which are used towards children (beating, stopping from eating food, denying food, overworking, imprisonment, caning)?
 16. Are the effects of corporal punishment known by parents?
 17. Do parents know other methods/ways of disciplining their children without using corporal punishment?
 18. We found that a lot of parents are drinking alcohol or use marihuana. Why are parents drinking alcohol or using marihuana?
 19. It has been said that disunity, mistrust and misunderstanding between parents is a problem in avoiding responsibilities of men and failed marriages. What makes that they often don't agree with each other?
 20. Has this male/female balance changed over the years?
 21. One of the solutions that has been given to solve the disunity between parents is to unite them again. What can be done to unite parents?
 22. Also there has been said that people in the community does not marry out of love or marrying too fast without knowing each other well. Why?
 23. Which of these now mentioned points can and should, according to you, be improved with the parenting training of REK? (way of talking to children, attitude towards education, family planning, corporal punishment, alcohol use, bad marriages)
- (Only asking when time is there and maybe only to one person)
24. The children said that some mothers chase people from their homes. What does this mean? What kind of people are being chased? Why are these people being chased?
 25. The teenage boys says that some mothers kill people who anger them with poison. Does this happen a lot? What are they angry about?
 26. Woman called second wives of their husband 'human goat'. Why? What does it mean?

This is the end. Is there anything you feel like we have missed? Anything you want us to know?
Oke, thank you very much for your time and the information you have given us.

Appendix 7 Questionnaire

Parenting in Arivu, Uganda: Questionnaire

PART I

Instructions

Before we start with the parenting training, we would like to ask you some questions about your own parenting practices. This questionnaire consists of part I with personal information and part II with statements about your parenting practices. Your answers will be treated confidentially and they will only be used for research purposes.

Do you want to take part in this research about the current parenting situation in Arivu? --- If yes, continue with the questionnaire.

Date:

Please be honest and know there are no right or wrong answers. I will read the questions and write down your answers.

Do you have any questions? --- Ok, let's start with your personal information.

Name:

Village:

Gender:

- Male
Female

I am the head of the household:

- Yes
No

(Approximate) age:

- <16
16-20
21-25
26-30
31-35
36-40
41-45
46-50
>50

Education level:

- None
Primary school until class
Secondary school 1-4 (ordinary level)
Secondary school 5-6 (advanced level)
Institution
University
Other:
.....

Marital status:

- Single parent
- Married:
 - Monogamous
 - Polygamous
- Divorced
- Widow(er)
- Other:

Occupation:

- None
- Farmer
- Fisherman
- Teacher:
- Business:
- Other:

My children:

I will fill in the gender and age for all of your children below 18 and your relationship to the child.

Child	Gender	Age	Relationship	Child	Gender	Age	Relationship
1	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent	2	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent
	<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent		<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent
			<input type="radio"/> Grandparent				<input type="radio"/> Grandparent
			<input type="radio"/> Other:				<input type="radio"/> Other:
3	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent	4	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent
	<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent		<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent
			<input type="radio"/> Grandparent				<input type="radio"/> Grandparent
			<input type="radio"/> Other:				<input type="radio"/> Other:
5	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent	6	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent
	<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent		<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent
			<input type="radio"/> Grandparent				<input type="radio"/> Grandparent
			<input type="radio"/> Other:				<input type="radio"/> Other:
7	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent	8	<input type="radio"/> Boy	<input type="radio"/> Biological parent
	<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent		<input type="radio"/> Girl		<input type="radio"/> Step-parent
			<input type="radio"/> Grandparent				<input type="radio"/> Grandparent
			<input type="radio"/> Other:				<input type="radio"/> Other:

My children (1):

PART II

Instructions

Thank you for answering the first part of this questionnaire. The next part consists of several statements about your parenting practices. First, there is a section with general questions. After this section, there are different questions for children between 0-6 years old, 7-12 years old and 13-18 years old. I will only ask you the questions that matches with the ages of your children. Please make sure that when I ask you questions for children between 0-6 years old, for example, you keep all your children between 0-6 years old in mind. This is the same for children between 7-12 years old and 13-18 years old.

For all the statements there is a scale from 1 – 10 between never and always. You can rate your parenting practices and ideas from 1, which stands for *never*, up to 10, which stands for *always*. Scores between 1 and 10 can be seen as gradual steps progressing from *never* to *always*. You can give only one rating for each statement.

Do you have any questions? --- Ok, let's start with the statements.

Section A

Answer these questions with **all your children** in mind, regardless of their age.

*Note: *Ask these questions when the participant has a spouse.*

	Never		Always
1. I find parenting hard.	○	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	○
2. * I find it important for my child that both parents are involved in the upbringing.	○	○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○	○

3. * My spouse and I solve our issues by talking.

4. I think it is good to have many children, even if my budget is too tight.

5. It is okay to miss some stages of my child's immunization.

6. * I feel like my spouse and I work together to provide for our child.

7. When my child is stubborn, I feel like giving up on him/her.

8. When my child gets diseases such as malaria, I use local herbs for treatment instead of going to a health centre.

9. * I feel my spouse supports me in the upbringing of our child.

10. When I earn money, I spend most of it on alcohol.

11. * Beating occurs often when my spouse and I quarrel.

12. During pregnancy and delivery woman can do without professional support.

13. I see my child as the cause of many of my problems.

14. I drink alcohol... *Note: multiple answers are possible.*

Other:

I do not drink alcohol

...to forget my problems

...because I have nothing to do

...to avoid responsibilities at home

...because of peer pressure

...to socialize/relax with friends

...because it is part of my culture

Section B

Answer these questions with all your children between 0-6 years old in mind.

Never

Always

15. I think that my behaviour influences the behaviour of my child.

16. I think it is important to send my son to preschool.

17. I feed my child when he/she is hungry.

18. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.

19. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days.

20. I think it is important to send my daughter to preschool.

21. I can have my child play around without paying attention.

22. I visit the preschool of my child.

23. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well.

24. I feel like I don't understand my child.

25. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her.

Section C

Answer these questions with all your children between **7-12 years** old in mind.

Never

Always

26. I think it is important to send my daughter to school.

27. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her.

28. I hear and consider the opinions of my child.

29. I think that my behaviour influences the behaviour of my child.

30. I feel like I don't understand my child.

31. I am aware of my child's schoolwork.

32. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.

33. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days.

34. I think it is important to send my son to school.

35. I advise my child on who to be friends with.

36. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well.

Section D

Answer these questions with all your children between **13-18 years** old in mind.

Never

Always

37. I think that my behaviour influences the behaviour of my child.

38. I hear and consider the opinions of my child.

39. I prefer my daughter to marry before the age of 16.

40. I teach my child how to dress properly.

41. I think it is important to send my son to school.

42. I feel like I don't understand my child.

43. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well.

44. Because my child says that he/she has rights, I find it difficult to make him/her listen to me.

45. I think it is important to send my daughter to school.

46. I advise my child in whom to be friends with.

47. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.

48. I prepare my child for marriage and his/her role as spouse and parent.

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix 8 Instructions for administering questionnaire

First of all, thank you for willing to help us with our research about parenting! In the next few weeks, you will facilitate the parenting training of Help a Child in Arivu, called 'The Parenting Challenge'. Help a Child would like to measure the impact of this training on the parents: do they feel like they are better parents after the training than before? As students of the Utrecht University and interns of Help a Child in the Netherlands, we will conduct the baseline for this impact study by measuring the current parenting situation of parents in Arivu before they start The Parenting Challenge. This will be measured via a questionnaire. Halfway through and after the parenting training, the questionnaire will be administered again in order to measure the impact of the parenting training. We hope to see that the parenting ability will be improved due to the parenting training.



You will be the one filling in these questionnaires **with each parent who is participating in the parenting training**. The instructions below will guide you through this process. It is important that you follow these instructions in order to make sure that it is done in a correct and replicable manner. So we kindly ask you to read these instructions **very carefully**.

The questionnaire

There are two main parts. Part I consists of questions around the personal situation of the parent. Part II contains four sections: section A consists of general questions, section B of questions for children between 0-6 years old, section C of questions for children between 7-12 years old and section D of questions for children between 13-18 years old. Section A must be filled in by every parent; sections B, C and D depend on the ages of the participants' children. For example: when they have children of 4 and 8 years old, you have to ask the questions of sections A, B and C.

The process

For the baseline, the questionnaire needs to be filled in **before the start of the first session**. This can be done just before the start of the first session or one or more days in advance. Since some parents might be illiterate and in order not to make differences in how the questionnaire is taken, you have to read the questions, the parent answers and you write down the answers. So make sure you have printed enough questionnaires and some extra in case of mistakes.

Important notes in advance

- When parents have a practical question about the questionnaire, you can try to answer it. However, when they have questions **about the content of the questionnaire**, you can unfortunately not answer these.
- When parents do not understand a question, you can repeat the question 2 times. **Do not add questions nor give suggestions**. The questionnaire is adapted to their

cultural context, so in this case it is up to them to decide what is meant with a certain question.

Instructions

1. Ask one parent at a time to sit with you at a place where you will not be distracted. Ask the parent whether he or she wants to take part in this research. When a parent says 'no', you can continue with the next parent.
2. Fill in **the date** on the questionnaire form and make sure that **the name** of the participant is written **on every page** of the questionnaire.
3. **Read the instructions** on the questionnaire form out loud.
4. **Fill in all the personal information** from the parent.
Note: When parents do not want or do not know how to answer a certain question, you can leave this question open.
Note: When parents have more than 8 children and therefore do not have enough space in the table at the end of part I, you can use the blank space on the next page.
5. Check whether all the personal information have been filled in. Then **continue with part II** of the questionnaire.
6. Again, **read the instructions** on the questionnaire form out loud.
7. **Begin with section A.**
*Note: Make sure you ask the questions with * and ** to the right parent (see the questionnaire).*
8. When section A is finished, fill in the sections that belong to **the ages of the participants' children** (sections B, C and/or D).
9. Check whether all the questions of the needed sections have been filled in. **Thank the participant** for answering the questions.
10. In case you wrote something in the local language (notes, open questions, etc.), please **translate these into English** and send it back to us.

Appendix 9 Descriptive statistics per statement

Statement	Group of age	N	Mini- mum	Maxi- mum	Mean	Standard deviation
1. I find parenting hard.	all age groups	78	1	10	5,60	3,017
2. I find it important for my child that both parents are involved in the upbringing.	all age groups	78	5	10	9,41	1,273
3. My spouse and I solve our issues by talking.	all age groups	74	1	10	6,59	3,070
4. I think it is good to have many children, even if my budget is too tight.	all age groups	78	1	10	4,29	3,288
5. It is okay to miss some stages of my child's immunization.	all age groups	78	1	10	3,77	4,039
6. I feel like my spouse and I work together to provide for our child.	all age groups	73	1	10	7,77	2,908
7. When my child is stubborn, I feel like giving up on him/her.	all age groups	78	1	10	2,47	2,552
8. When my child gets diseases such as malaria, I use local herbs for treatment instead of going to a health centre.	all age groups	78	1	10	2,15	2,126
9. I feel my spouse supports me in the upbringing of our child.	all age groups	74	1	10	7,38	3,293
10. When I earn money, I spend most of it on alcohol.	all age groups	77	1	10	2,42	2,136
→ When I drink alcohol.	all age groups	31	1	10	4.39	2.140
→ When I do not drink alcohol.	all age groups	46	1	3	1.09	.412
11. Beating occurs often when my spouse and I quarrel.	all age groups	74	1	10	2,69	2,663
12. During pregnancy and delivery woman can do without professional support.	all age groups	78	1	7	1,35	1,079
13. I see my child as the cause of many of my problems.	all age groups	78	1	10	3,82	3,258
15. I think that my behaviour influences the behavior of my child.	0-6 years	67	1	10	5,99	3,427
16. I think it is important to send my son to preschool.	0-6 years	66	1	10	7,42	2,946
17. I feed my child when he/she is hungry.	0-6 years	67	1	10	7,93	2,476
18. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.	0-6 years	66	1	9	2,56	2,009

19. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days.	0-6 years	67	1	10	8,22	2,242
20. I think it is important to send my daughter to preschool.	0-6 years	66	1	10	7,24	2,785
21. I can have my child play around without paying attention.	0-6 years	66	1	10	5,32	3,245
22. I visit the preschool of my child.	0-6 years	35	1	10	5,00	3,796
23. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well.	0-6 years	66	1	10	7,12	2,804
24. I feel like I do not understand my child.	0-6 years	67	1	10	2,73	2,767
25. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her.	0-6 years	67	4	10	8,48	1,988
26. I think it is important to send my daughter to school.	7-12 years	60	1	10	9,08	2,011
27. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her.	7-12 years	60	4	10	8,35	1,867
28. I hear and consider the opinions of my child.	7-12 years	59	1	10	6,58	2,298
29. I think that my behavior influences the behaviour of my child.	7-12 years	60	2	10	7,17	2,330
30. I feel like I do not understand my child.	7-12 years	60	1	10	3,48	3,078
31. I am aware of my child's schoolwork.	7-12 years	58	1	10	6,97	3,293
32. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.	7-12 years	60	1	10	2,88	2,611
33. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days.	7-12 years	59	2	10	7,73	2,281
34. I think it is important to send my son to school.	7-12 years	60	3	10	9,42	1,441
35. I advise my child on who to be friends with.	7-12 years	60	1	10	7,18	2,703
36. Counselling my child helps him/her to behave well.	7-12 years	60	1	10	7,68	2,236
37. I think that my behaviour influences the behavior of my child.	13-18 years	36	1	10	6,67	2,908
38. I hear and consider the opinions of my child.	13-18 years	36	1	10	6,39	2,718
39. I prefer my daughter to marry before the age of 16.	13-18 years	36	1	10	1,53	1,797
40. I teach my child how to dress properly.	13-18 years	34	5	10	8,44	1,761

41. I think it is important to send my son to school.	13-18 years	35	7	10	9,43	0,917
42. I feel like I do not understand my child.	13-18 years	36	1	10	5,89	3,022
43. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well.	13-18 years	36	1	10	7,31	2,516
44. Because my child says that he/she has rights, I find it difficult to make him/her listen to me.	13-18 years	35	1	10	4,11	3,075
45. I think it is important to send my daughter to school.	13-18 years	36	5	10	9,44	1,206
46. I advise my child on who to be friends with.	13-18 years	36	5	10	8,72	1,684
47. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane.	13-18 years	36	1	7	2,86	1,915
48. I prepare my child for marriage and his/her role as spouse and parent.	13-18 years	36	1	10	6,44	2,999

Appendix 10 Cronbach’s alpha and significances in questionnaire

Topic	Statement (age in years)	Cronbach’s alpha topic	Cronbach’s alpha statements	Significant difference (statements)	T	df	n
Parents’ mutual problem solving	3. My spouse and I solve our issues by talking. (all)	.198 <i>(n=74)</i>	-	-	-	-	-
	R11. Beating occurs often when my spouse and I quarrel. (all)						
Cooperation of parents in raising their children	2. I find it important for my child that both parents are involved in the upbringing. (all)	.657 <i>(n=75)</i>	-	-	-	-	-
	6. I feel like my spouse and I work together to provide for our child. (all)						
	9. I feel my spouse supports me in the upbringing of our child. (all)						
Health	5. It is okay to miss some stages of my child’s immunization. (all)	.270 <i>(n=78)</i>	-	-	-	-	-
	8. When my child gets diseases such as malaria, I use local herbs for treatment instead of going to a health centre. (all)						
	12. During pregnancy and delivery woman can do without professional support. (all)						
Alcohol use	10. When I earn money, I spend most of it on alcohol. (all)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Parenting in common	1. I find parenting hard. (all)	.483 <i>(n=26)</i>	-	-	-	-	-
	7. When my child is stubborn, I feel like giving up on him/her. (all)						
	13. I see my child as the cause of many of my problems. (all)						
	4. I think it is good to have many children, even if my budget is too tight. (all)						
	24. I feel like I do not understand my child. (0-6)						
30. I feel like I do not understand my child. (7-12)	.585 <i>(n=26)</i>	.066 <i>(24+30)</i>	-1,880	50	51		
42. I feel like I do not understand my child. (13-18)	<.001 <i>(24+42)</i>	-3,916	29	30			
Feeding	17. I feed my child when he/she is hungry. (0-6)	-	-	-	-	-	-

School involve- ment	22. I visit the preschool of my child. (0-6)	.627 (n=28)	-	.025 (22+31)	-2,382	27	28
	31. I am aware of my child's schoolwork. (7-12)						
Importance of school	16. I think it is important to send my son to preschool. (0-6)	.697 (n=24)	-	<.001 (16+34)	-4.659	49	50
	34. I think it is important to send my son to school. (7-12)			<.001 (16+41)	-4.944	28	29
	41. I think it is important to send my son to school. (13-18)			.517 (34+41)	-.656	28	29
	20. I think it is important to send my daughter to preschool. (0-6)			.484 (16+20)	.704	64	65
	26. I think it is important to send my daughter to school. (7-12)			.209 (34+26)	1.271	59	60
	45. I think it is important to send my daughter to school. (13-18)			.499 (41+45)	-.683	34	35
				<.001 (20+26)	-5.835	49	50
Influence of parents' behavior	15. I think that my behaviour influences the behavior of my child. (0-6)	.072 (N=26)	-	-	-	-	-
	29. I think that my behaviour influences the behavior of my child. (7-12)						
	37. I think that my behaviour influences the behavior of my child. (13-18)						
Discipli- ning	18. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane. (0-6)	.788 (N=26)	-	.247 (18+32)	-1.171	49	50
	32. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane. (7-12)			.370 (18+47)	-.911	29	30
	47. To discipline my child, I use bad words and/or I beat/cane. (13-18)			.594 (32+47)	.538	29	30
Advising	23. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well. (0-6)	.322 (N=26)	-	-	-	-	-
	36. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well. (7-12)						
	43. Giving my child advice helps him/her to behave well. (13-18)						
Showing love	19. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days. (0-6)	.644 (N=50)	-	.220 (19+33)	1.243	49	50
	33. To show love to my child, I give him/her clothes and meat on special days. (7-12)			.477 (19+25)	-.715	66	67
	25. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her. (0-6)			.035 (33+27)	-2.158	58	59
				.762 (25+27)	.304	50	51

	27. I spend time with my child to show I love him/her. (7-12)					
Safety	21. I can have my child play around without paying attention. (0-6)	-	-	-	-	-
Hearing children's opinion	28. I hear and consider the opinions of my child. (7-12) 38. I hear and consider the opinions of my child. (13-18)	.008 (N=29)	-	-	-	-
Children's rights	44. Because my child says that he/she has rights, I find it difficult to make him/her listen to me. (13-18)	-	-	-	-	-
Dressing	40. I teach my child how to dress properly. (13-18)	-	-	-	-	-
Advising about peers	35. I advise my child on who to be friends with. (7-12) 46. I advise my child on who to be friends with. (13-18)	-.104 (N=30)	-	-	-	-
Marriage of children	39. I prefer my daughter to marry before the age of 16. (13-18) 48. I prepare my child for marriage and his/her role as spouse and parent. (13-18)	.243 (N=36)	-	-	-	-