



Qualitative Research on Key Early Childhood Behaviors in Cocoa and Non-Cocoa Communities in Côte D'ivoire

Contents

Acronym List	4
List of Tables	5
Context	6
Part I: Data Collection	8
Introduction	8
Research Objectives	9
General Objective	9
Specific Objectives	9
Sites	9
Data Collection	10
Data collection objectives	10
Data collection methodology	10
Data collection tools	11
Organization of data collection	11
Community Entry	11
Sampling	11
Data collection process	12
Challenges encountered	16
Part II: Results and Discussion	17
Introduction to the Analysis Method	17
General Results	20
Insight One	23
Insight Two	24
Insight Three	26
Insight Four	28
Insight Five	29
Insight Six	31
Insight Seven	33
Insight Eight	35
Insight Nine	37
Insight Ten	39
Insight Eleven	40
Insight Twelve	42
Insight Thirteen	43
Insight Fourteen	45
Insight Fifteen	47
Sample Journey Map	48
Similarities and Differences to other TRECC Formative Research	51
Similarities and Differences Between Sites	52
Part III: Opportunities for Intervention	58
Overview of Hybrid Process of Translating Insights into Action	59

Low Interruption Tweaks to Programs	59
Detailed low-tweak recommendations per insight	60
Low-tweaks recommendation by theme	64
Format of training	64
Accessibility	64
Engagement	64
Behavior change	65
Training content	65
Framing of content	66
Usability of Content	66
Summary: Top 5 low-tweaks recommendation	67
#1 Reframing Discipline	67
#2 Reframing Early Stimulation	68
#3 Reminders	68
#4 Community Champions: train community influencers as ECD champions	69
#5 Awards and Incentives	69
New Interventions for Future Consideration	70
Detailed new intervention recommendations	71
New intervention ideas classified in themes	73
Easy ECD Toolkit	73
Community group intervention	74
Role model and influencer interventions	74
Reminders and feedback	75
Signaling	75
Mass Media Interventions	76
Summary: Top 5 new intervention recommendations	77
#1: Easy ECD Kit of Resources for Parents	77
#2: A Comprehensive Multi Channel SBCC Campaign	79
#3 Adding Community Voices to the Mix	80
#4 Address Caregiver Mental Health	80
#5 Courtyards as Safe Playing Zones	81
TRECC ECD partners specific ideas	81
Testing Plans	84
Part IV: Conclusion	87
Appendix	89
NGO-specific relevant insights	89
Literature Review link	91
Complete Workshop notes link	91
Pictures from the workshop:	92
Pictures from the process of generating key insights	95

Acronym List

ANC – Antenatal care
BCT – Behaviour Change Team (Busara/Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs)
BVLf – Bernard Van Leer Foundation
CCP – Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs
CMR-Child Mortality Rate
CPCS-CI – Centre des Programmes de Communication Stratégique - Côte d'Ivoire
DI- Direct Observation
DMI – Development Media International
ECD – Early Childhood Development
FGD – Focus Group Discussion
FGM- Female Genital Mutilation
HCD – Human Centered Design
HKI – Helen Keller International
ICS- Investing in Children and their Societies
IDI – In-depth Interviews
IMR- Infant Mortality Rate
IRC – International Rescue Committee
JF – Jacobs Foundation
MFFE- Ministère de la Femme de la Famille et de l'Enfance
NGO- Non-Governmental Organization
PMNDPE – Projet Multisectoriel de Nutrition et de Développement de La Petite Enfance
PO- Participant Observation
SBC – Social and Behavioral Change
SBCC – Social and Behavioral Change Communication
SMS- Short Message (Text Message)
TRECC – Transforming Education in Cocoa Communities

List of Tables

1.	Team 1, Duékoué, Guiglo, Odienné itinerary	11
2.	Team 2, Bouaké, Daloa itinerary	11
3.	Week 1, Gbapleu, Saoundi Activity Program Itinerary	13
4.	Week 2, Gbapleu, Zokoguhe Activity Program Itinerary	14
5.	Week 3, Tiémé Activity Program Itinerary	14
6.	Category Insights and Illustrative Quotes Sample	16
7.	Main Insights by Theme	17
8.	Key Health and Development Indicators by Region of Study	38
9.	Emotional and Physical Safety Indicators	39
10.	ECD and Education Indicators	40
11.	BCT Low Tweak Intervention Recommendations	45
12.	Relevant IRC Insights	49
13.	PNN/HKI Relevant Work Insights	49
14.	Relevant ICS Work Insights	50
15.	Relevant PMNDPE+NGO Work Insights	50
16.	New Intervention Ideas	55
17.	NGO Specific Ideas and Prototype Descriptions	55
18.	PMNDPE Prototype Testing Plan	57
19.	SCSCEB/IRC Prototype Testing Plan	57
20.	DMI Prototype Testing Plan	58
21.	National Nutrition Program and HKI Prototype Testing Plan	59

Context

The Busara center for Behavioral Economics (Busara) and John Hopkins Center for Communication Programs (CCP) were engaged by the Bernard Van Leer Foundation (BVLf) to support various grantee organizations working on early-childhood development (ECD) issues in a variety of countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Peru, Colombia, Brazil, and the Netherlands). In Côte d'Ivoire, Busara and CCP (jointly referred to as The Behavior Change Team-BCT) support the Transforming Education in Cocoa Communities (TRECC) program, jointly funded by UBS Foundation, Jacobs Foundation and BVLf, with incorporating rigorous formative research and behavioral principles into its grant portfolio.

One of the three pillars of the TRECC program is Early Childhood Development (ECD). TRECC invests in ECD so that young children (0-5 years old) in rural communities, like ones in Côte d'Ivoire have a good start, develop properly and have the physical, cerebral and socio-emotional capacities needed to excel in primary school, and more generally, in life. TRECC's investments in early childhood are steered towards improving the practices and behaviors of parents, caregivers and families. Particularly, in key domains: health, hygiene and nutrition, early stimulation and learning, and protection.

In February 2019, the BCT facilitated a technical workshop regrouping all TRECC's implementing partners as well as governmental structures intervening in child development. From the workshop, all partners were able to share their vision and priorities in which the team was able to clearly define four priority ECD behaviors across ECD partners and stakeholders in Ivory Coast:

1. Exclusive breastfeeding during the first 6 months of life and continued breastfeeding through the first 24 months.
2. Nutritionally adequate and safe complementary feeding from 6 through 24 months.
3. Affectionate nurturing care and early stimulation practices that foster cognitive, socio-emotional and psycho-motor development
4. Positive discipline that excludes physical, emotional and psychological violence inside and outside of the home.

A literature review has been conducted by the BCT to assess the existing evidence, in particular the behavioural and structural problems facing the practice of the four identified behaviors. The

literature review revealed that while there exists a body of research in breastfeeding and complementary feeding behaviors in Africa, there is less available African based research on early stimulation and positive discipline practices, particularly with regard to regional or country specific studies..

For this reason the BCT decided to focus their formative research on the topics of:

- Early Stimulation : “Children 0-5 benefit from affectionate nurturing care and early stimulation practices that foster cognitive, socio-emotional and psycho-motor development” and
- Positive Discipline : “They benefit from positive discipline that excludes physical, emotional and psychological violence in and outside of the home.”

Simultaneously between May and October 2019, other TRECC partners including Helen Keller International (HKI), Development Media International (DMI) and the project implementation unit of the Multisectorial Nutrition and Child Development Project

(PMNDPE) conducted formative work of their own. Their findings have also been taken into account in this report.

The objective of the BCT's complementary formative research study is to provide clear and detailed recommendations on messages, activities and/or other interventions that could be implemented and tested by TRECC partners to improve Cote d'Ivoire's priority parental behaviors relating to ECD in Côte d'Ivoire.



Part I: Data Collection

Introduction

From November 24 to December 15, 2019, the research team of Centre des Programmes de Communication Stratégique - Côte d'Ivoire (CPCS-CI) carried out the data collection on key early childhood behaviors in cocoa and non-cocoa communities in Côte d'Ivoire. This formative research was conducted in accordance with the protocol as part of the contract signed between Busara and CPCS-CI.

This following, which marks the end of data collection activities, specifically describes:

1. The general context and the objectives of the study
2. The data collection process
3. Challenges encountered

Research Objectives

General Objective

The overall objective of the study is to better understand current practices, perceptions, barriers and facilitators of ECD practices and behaviors of caregivers of children aged 0 to 3 years in rural and peri-urban areas of Côte d'Ivoire. (The team narrowed the age of children from 0 to 5 down to 0 to 3 years old in order to better focus on the behaviours for which early stimulation is most crucial.)

Specific Objectives

The research aims to:

1. Describe good early childhood practices of these communities;
2. Describe existing practices damaging to early childhood development;
3. Describe the obstacles or barriers to cognitive and emotional stimulation of the baby and the practice of positive (non-violent) discipline.
4. Identify the positive and motivating factors that can facilitate the practice of good ECD practices.
5. Identify potential solutions or interventions to overcome obstacles and help disseminate good practices (e.g. key players who can influence behavior, preferred and trusted communication channels/sources of information, etc.)

Sites

Five townships served as sites for data collection: Bouaké, Daloa, Guiglo, Duékoué and Odienné. We selected the sites according to the following criteria:

- Sites had to span areas that were mostly cocoa regions (Duékoué, Daloa and Guiglo) and non-cocoa regions (Bouaké and Odienné) for comparison purposes.
- No previous ECD research must have already been conducted on those sites
- Sites spanning different geographical locations and ethnical composition from Center (Bouaké) to West (Daloa, Duékoué, Guiglo) and North West (Odienné).
- Sites had to be relatively easy to access by road, given the tight research timeline,

For each townships, villages where the TRECC project has not been implemented and where no previous research on ECD was conducted were selected for research. Each village had ethnically mixed communities.

The villages selected are:

- Saoundi in the township of Bouaké (non-cocoa)
- Zokoguhé in the township of Daloa (cocoa)
- Gbapleu in the township of Duékoué (cocoa)
- Gblapleu in the township of Guiglo (cocoa)
- Tiémé in the township of Odienné (non-cocoa)

Data Collection

Data collection objectives

Data collection aimed to collect information on the practices, perceptions, obstacles and facilitators of practices and behaviors related to early childhood development in the regions of Bouaké, Daloa, Duékoué, Guiglo and Odienné. Data were collected in each selected community through:

- Four group discussions (FGD), one for each of the following target groups: mothers, fathers, grandmothers and caregiver for a total of 20 FGDs across communities
- Four in-depth individual interviews (IDI) in total, one for each of the categories; mothers, fathers, grandmothers and caregivers for a total of 20 IDIs across communities
- Four observations, including two direct observations (DO) of caregivers and children in the public space, and two participant observations (PO) of caregivers and children in their household, for a total of 20 observations across communities.

Data collection methodology

The investigation was conducted in three main stages:

- Research preparation
- Data collection
- Transcription and storage of data

The preparation stage began with an exploration in the field, which made it possible to identify resource persons and potential focal points to facilitate the organization of data collection. This

stage also included the development and finalization of data collection tools, and the recruitment and training of investigators.

The investigator training from November 18 to 21, 2019 focused on data collection tools. There was particular emphasis on the principles and rules of ethics that were to be scrupulously respected in all stages of the data collection process -- the selection of participants, conducting of interviews and in the transcription of survey data.

Finally, a pretest of the instruments was organized in the department of Agboville, a cocoa area in the village of Grand Morié on November 20, 2019.

The pretest made it possible to adjust the data collection tools. The training made it possible to agree on the roadmap for investigators and transcriptionists, and define the practical provisions of the investigation and the deliverables.

Data collection tools

The guides used during this research were tested in Grand Morié and reviewed based on the outcomes from the pre-testing before the collection started. They included:

- Discussion guide for community leaders;
- Discussion guide for parents (mothers and fathers)
- Discussion guide for grandmothers
- Discussion guide for caregivers
- Individual in-depth interview guide for father, mother, grandmother and caregiver
- Direct observation guide
- Participant observation guide

Organization of data collection

Community Entry

Letters and briefing notes were sent to the various stakeholders involved to inform them of the research being carried out and the measures taken to facilitate the research. Letters were sent to village chief and "sous-préfets" These notes were followed by telephone reminders.

Sampling

The mobilization of study participants was carried out by local focal points, "community agents" in each community. Village authorities such as village chief and chief doctors helped the research team identify those community agents. The community agents then helped the research team identify

individuals who fit the selection criteria as defined by researchers (purposive sampling). Participant profiles were verified and sometimes, replacements of participants were made at the request of the researchers.

The data collection was conducted by four researchers divided into two teams of two researchers. The data collection strategy was centered around two axes based on the location of the selected communities.

The two teams of researchers worked simultaneously on different research sites. The first team crossed the regions of Duékoué, Guiglo and Odienné. The second team collected data in the regions of Bouaké and Daloa. Each data collection team had half of their investigators experienced in the field of ECD in order to balance relativism and the important ECD nuances.

Data collection process

The data collection phase took place from November 24 to December 15, 2019. (21 days of collection according to the program below):

Table 1: Team 1, Duékoué, Guiglo, Odienné itinerary:

Period	Sites
November 24-30, 2019	Gbapleu (region of Duékoué) - cocoa
December 1-7, 2019	Gblapleu (region of Guiglo) - cocoa
December 8-15, 2019	Tiémé (region of Odienné) - non cocoa

Table 2: Team 2, Bouaké, Daloa itinerary:

Period	Sites
November 24-30, 2019	Saoundi (region of Bouaké) - non cocoa
December 1-7, 2019	Zokoguhé (region of Daloa) - cocoa

In Bouaké (non-cocoa), data collection took place from Monday, November 25 to Friday, November 29, 2019, in the village of Saoundi, in the sub-prefecture of Languibonou, located about 10 km from

Botro and 12 km from Bouaké. The discussion groups were carried out within the village of Saoundi in a fenced area located outside the village. The site was very quiet because it was not inhabited.

In Daloa, the village of Zokoguhé (cocoa area) located 7 km from Daloa was chosen as the research community. The investigations took place mainly on the premises of a resident of the village. His concession, an unfenced space with trees planted in the courtyard, served for various activities related to this formative research.

In Duékoué (cocoa), data collection was carried out in the village of Gbapleu, located 45 km from the city of Duékoué. In Gbapleu, the meeting room of the health center served as the setting for the group discussions.

The village of Gblapleu (cocoa), located 12 km from Guiglo, was chosen as a research site. Group discussions and individual interviews were carried out in a quiet and remote site in the village called "gbôfô".

In Odienné (non-cocoa), data collection was carried out in the village of Tiémé located 30 km from Odienné. A room at the Tiémé health center was made available to the research team for group discussions and individual interviews.

On each site, the first day was devoted to meetings with the administration and village authorities. During these visits, the research team discussed with the authorities the context, objectives and research program in their locality. Then the team conducted an informal interview with the village chief. This interview allowed the research team to begin to understand the experience of early childhood from the perspective of parents.

Across the five study sites, a total of twenty (20) group discussions were carried out with 171 people, including 5 group discussions each with mothers, fathers, grandmothers and caregivers/guardians. Twenty (20) in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 people, including 5 in-depth interviews each with mothers, fathers, grandmothers and caregivers/guardians. Twenty (20) observations were made, including 10 direct observations and 10 participant observations.

The data collection was carried out on each site according to the program below:

Table 3: Week 1, Gbapleu, Saoundi Activity Program Itinerary:

Week 1: November 25-30, 2019		
Day	Activities in Gbapleu (Region of Duekoue)	Activities in Saoundi (Region Of Bouake)

11/25/2019	Entry into the community Meeting with community leaders	Entry into the community Meeting with community leaders
11/26/2019	Group discussion with mothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with fathers (8 participants per group)	Group discussion with mothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with grandmothers (7 participants per group)
11/27/2019	Group discussion with grandmothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with caregivers (8 participants per group)	Group discussion with fathers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with caregivers (6 participants per group)
11/28/2019	Group discussion with grandmothers (8 participants per group) In-depth interview with a father In-depth interview with a mother Direct observation #1 Participant observation with a mother	In-depth interview with a father In-depth interview with a mother In-depth interview with a grandmother In-depth interview with a caregiver
11/29/2019	In-depth interview with a grandmother In-depth interview with a caregiver Participant observation with a caregiver Direct observation #2	Direct observation #1 Direct observation #2 Participant observation with a caregiver Participant observation with a mother
11/30/2019	Weekly debriefing and summary	Weekly debriefing and summary
12/1/2019	Travel from Duékoué to Guiglo	Travel from Bouaké to Daloa

Table 4: Week 2 Gblapleu, Zokoguhe Activity Program Itinerary:

Week 2: December 2-7, 2019		
Day	Activities in Gblapleu (Region of GUIGLO)	Activities in Zokoguhe (Region of DALOA)
12/2/2019	Entry into the community Meeting with community leaders	Entry into the community Meeting with community leaders
12/3/2019	Group discussion with mothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with fathers (8 participants per group)	Group discussion with mothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with grandmothers (8 participants per group)

12/4/2019	Group discussion with grandmothers (8 participants per group)	Group discussion with fathers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with caregivers (8 participants per group)
12/5/2019	In-depth interview with a father In-depth interview with a mother In-depth interview with a grandmother Group discussion with caregivers (7 participants per group)	In-depth interview with a father In-depth interview with a mother In-depth interview with a grandmother In-depth interview with a caregiver
12/6/2019	Participant observation with a mother Direct observation #1 Participant observation with a caregiver Direct observation #2 In-depth interview with a caregiver	Direct observation #1 Direct observation #2 Participant observation with a caregiver Participant observation with a mother
12/7/2019	Weekly debriefing and summary	Weekly debriefing and summary
12/8/2019	Travel from Guiglo to Odienné	Travel from Daloa to Abidjan

Table 5: Week 3 Tiémé Activity Program Itinerary:

Week 3: December 9-14, 2019	
Day	Activities in Tiémé (Region of Odienne)
12/9/2019	Entry into the community Meeting with community leaders
12/10/2019	Group discussion with the fathers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with mothers (8 participants per group)
12/11/2019	Group discussion with grandmothers (8 participants per group) Group discussion with babysitters (8 participants per group)
12/12/2019	In-depth interview with a father In-depth interview with a mother In-depth interview with a grandmother In-depth interview with a caregiver
12/13/2019	Weekly debriefing and summary
12/14/2019	Direct observation #1 Participant observation with a mother Participant observation with a caregiver Direct observation #2

12/15/2019

Travel from Odienné to Abidjan

Challenges encountered

Our primary challenge was punctuality - in both regions, participants arrived late and delayed the start of activities. Concerns around privacy arose during observations, especially when taking photos. Researchers had to re-explain several times their objectives and reassured villagers by reminding them that their presence had been authorized by the village chief. In addition, certain roads - Bouaké / Saoundi, Duékoué / Gbapleu, Guiglo / Gblapleu - were difficult to pass, lengthening the travel time. Poor internet coverage slowed data transmission. Finally, the presidential visit to the area limited hotel access in Bouaké since his entourage and other dignitaries traveling with him were a higher priority for hotels. We recognize that we interviewed participants during a period of cocoa agricultural activity called "grande traite" that spans from November to January, which may have influenced our results. However, relatively similar results were found in terms of time pressure and financial stress in both and cocoa and non-cocoa regions and also across caregivers involved in cocoa or non-cocoa activities such as small business owners, which seem to indicate that seasonal agricultural activity has a noteworthy but limited influence on the generalizability of our results.



Part II: Results and Discussion

Introduction to the Analysis Method

After all data had been collected, every recording and field note was transcribed, resulting in over one thousand pages of transcripts from the focus group discussions, individual interviews, direct and indirect observations. These transcripts were then checked for quality consistency and then translated into English. Three separate data analysts then independently read through all of the transcripts, pulling direct quotes when a topic was mentioned more than once, into a master database. This database also had sections dedicated to the results from the three other formative research study findings from HKI, PMNDPE and DMI. The topics were then sorted, categorized into

themes and internally validated. We were able to distill down the massive amount of data into five major themes: general child development, communication, discipline, play and stimulation and cross cutting. The other three studies were then cross referenced for similar themes and when there was overlap, this was reflected in the analysis. The analysis team then manually combined themes to develop overarching insights from the data which are representative statements that reflect the main findings. Insight statements are concise syntheses of the reported behaviors and/or perceptions. For each insight created, illustrative quotes were selected to represent the insight. Evidence was then categorized into behavioural, social/cognitive, cognitive, social or emotional categories. A sample of our data by theme, category insights and illustrative quote can be found in the table below.

Table 6: Category Insights and Illustrative Quotes Sample

Theme	Category	Preliminary Insights (Darker shade = also found in formative research from either PMNDPE, DMI and/or HKI formative research)	Illustrative Quotes - English
Child Discipline	Behavior	<p>Most common discipline method used by order of severity of method (if the first method is not working, then parents would go to the next more severe method etc.):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak/negotiate and give advice (optional) • Shouting/scolding • Threaten with an object • Hitting with a stick on the calves or buttocks (chicotte) • Hit with hands (rare) • Ask child to kneel down 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. IDI, Guardian, Tiémé: I said " this is the last time you touch this book, if you touch it again I will whip you (chicotter)", and since he is afraid of the police, I said " if you touch this book again, I'm going to call the police, he's going to come and catch you ", so then he gets scared. 2. IDI, Mother, Gblapleu: Even God who is love punishes us when we make mistakes. Education and hitting go together. 3. FGD, Father, Tiémé: It's exactly like she said. If we tell her to stop something, she won't stop, so we have to hit her.
	Social	African kids would be inherently "stubborn/tetu", more so than in other contexts, therefore Western ideas of not hitting won't work	IDI, Guardian, Gblapleu: If the child has done something wrong, well we are in Africa, they are stubborn children and we said that at the meeting yes. I say I can kick the child.

	Emotional	Fear is the only way to discipline and get respected	FGD, Father, Gblapleu: if a child makes me angry, I frighten them instead of hitting them. Now if she is scared I can advise her.
	Cognitive	Risks associated with too much hitting is risk of hurting the child (and then incur higher cost for treatment) and also making the kid more stubborn and resistant to violence	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. FGD, Mother, Zokoguhe: There are useful methods like that, it's not necessarily hitting, hitting. Because at a certain point he will say it's only to hit me and then it'll be over. He will no longer be afraid of getting whipped. 2. FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: Hitting a child to the point that you hurt them is not good. In my opinion hitting is more exaggerated, that's what's not good about it. Just a small spank to tell them to stop, that's not a problem. But it's hitting to the point of exaggeration, that when it's not good. 3. FGD, Father, Tiémé: You can't hit him every day. If you hit him everyday there'll be a moment where you tell him to stop and he won't stop.

The above is a small section of the database featuring the theme, category, preliminary insight and illustrative quotes for each category: behaviour, social, emotional and cognitive. We can see that three of the four overlapped with the other TRECC partner formative research, further validating those findings. The process was repeated for each theme (General Child Development, Child Discipline, Child Stimulation, Information about Trusted Sources and Others). The complete insights database can be found [here](#).

As one can see from the selection of data pulled from the Child Discipline theme above, it is much easier to facilitate a conversation around the “what” than the “why” in this type of research. There are many personal stories about decisions that were made about which type of punishment to administer.

General Results

After all initial insights per themes were combined, the team was left with 78 insights from the BCT formative research alone, and 10 additional insights from the other TRECC partners' formative research. The BCT then worked on clustering all the insights into relevant grouping in an attempt to simplify and further focus (see photo in Annex). From this exercise, 15 overarching insights emerged, which attempted to concisely capture the essence of the research findings in a way that could allow for design work to be done. These are the insights presented during the co-design workshop to the partners. In the following section, we explain each main insight in detail.

Themes and insights from the data are summarized in the table below.

Table 7: Main insights by theme

Theme	Main Insights
General child development	Insight 1: Parents in the surveyed communities love and care for their children and believe their parenting decisions are in the best interest of the child, even if that includes violent discipline and lack of stimulation.
	Insight 2: Parents in the surveyed communities want their children to have a good education, a good job and represent the family well.
	Insight 3: The courtyard in a community is an important physical and social space for communal raising of children.
Discipline	Insight 4: Behaviors that would trigger violent discipline vary and centered around resource wastage, shame, physical danger and moral infractions.
	Insight 5: Different methods for discipline are used at various intensities depending on context (age, infraction, etc)- chicotte remains the most popular for children old enough to walk.
	Insight 6: Violence is stigmatized and is a stereotyped practice based on religion, tribe and region but the perception of parents' own self practice of violence is downplayed.
	Insight 7: Using violence is justified because of the inherent quality/traits of the children
	Insight 8: Using violence has perceived negative and positive long term consequences.

Play / Stimulation	Insight 9: Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning
	Insight 10: Playing with children can predispose one to judgement from others in the community, especially for fathers.
	Insight 11: Grandparents, neighbors and siblings have an important role in care, play and stimulation
	Insight 12: Fathers don't consider their role as being important in the early years, but play an important role later in the education of important values
Cross cutting	Insight 13: Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which makes parents deprioritize stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.
Communication	Insight 14: Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV. Social media is not a trusted source of information.
	Insight 15: Trusted influencers are in the close relative circle, as well as religious leaders and medical staff. Confidentiality, trust and competence are important



Insight One

Parents in the surveyed communities love and care for their children and believe their parenting decisions are in the best interest of the child, even if that includes violent discipline and lack of stimulation.

It was abundantly clear from the data that no parents wished their child ill. Love and care simply looks different in different contexts which was obvious when discussing issues around children's needs and the characteristics of excellent parents. In general, the notion of child development and meeting children's needs from the perspective of the participants was centered around hygiene, nutrition, education and health as first priorities. Several respondents mentioned being able to identify children who were loved if they were clean, well fed and well behaved.

Respondents agreed on the importance of showing love, but that expression took different forms and in some cases manifested itself as violent discipline. Many parents mentioned providing snacks, gifts, occasional play and limited affection as ways in which to show love, although this varied by region and in some cases, religion or tribal affiliation. For some fathers/grandfathers showing love meant bringing back gifts, and providing snacks or educating through "chicotte" (a tool used to beat children) to teach valuable lessons and instill important values. For these respondents, discipline was often mentioned as a sign of love and caring: "If you love your child, you correct [hit] him." On the other hand, a few mothers and caregivers mentioned ways of showing love could be signs of affection, play, speaking, hugs and kisses.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight One

FGD, Père, Zokoguhe Père: *[Un père exemplaire] C'est celui qui aime ses petits-enfants. il leur fait le petit déjeuner et à manger et leur offre des cadeaux*

FGD, Father Zokoguhe: *[An exemplary father] He is one who loves his grandchildren. He makes them breakfast and food and offers them gifts*

IDI, Mère, Zokoguhe: *Des câlins, des bisous. J'en prends soin car c'est moi en elle*

IDI, Mother Zokoguhe: Cuddles, kisses. I take care of her because it's me and her

FGD, Père, Saoundi: *nos enfants pour que ils savent que tu l'aime, les matins comme ça tu donnes galette, soit si l'enfant te dis je veux manger ça, tu vas acheter ça pour lui ou bien pour elle, il sait que tu l'aime*

FGD, Father, Saoundi: our children so that they know that you love them, in the mornings I give them cake so if the child tells you I want to eat that, you will buy that for him or for her, he knows you love him

Insight Two

Parents in the surveyed communities want their children to have a good education, a good job and represent the family well.

Regardless of motivation, all parents indicated wishes for success for their children in terms of getting a good education, a good job - such as doctor, public servant, judge, journalist, professor - and in some cases a future abroad. This was mentioned particularly for boys. In the cases of religious parents, a desire for their children's solid religious education (including the religious values) was also important to respondents. Since children are associated with their families through name, they are a constant representative of the family and community and as such are expected to exemplify the values and qualities of their family, and when the children behave in ways that does not cast a good light on the family, many feel there is a justification for corporal punishment. In many cases, what the parents wanted most for themselves was the success of their children. In some cases instruction of children through violent techniques is meant to avoid personal consequences, as explained by a grandmother in the Centre West Region: "I hit my grandchildren if they take money that I've left on or inside the table.. Because you never know. The day I am not there, if they go elsewhere and steal, my name will be spoiled. Others will say that one did not educate the child well and now they steal."

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Two

FGD, Père, Gblapleu: dans l'avenir, moi je préfère que le premier il devienne juge et le deuxième, qui est avec moi actuellement, je veux qu'il devienne journaliste.

FGD, Father, Gblapleu: In the future, I would like the first born to become a judge and the second that is with me right now, I want him to become a journalist.

IDI, Mere, Gbapleu : Celle de 12 ans là [une fille], je vois beaucoup parce que je veux qu'elle avance dans ses études, pour qu'un jour elle travaille aussi dans la fonction publique comme les autres aussi. Donc pour ses études je ne joue pas avec, je n'ai pas pu réaliser mon rêve d'enfance donc...

IDI, Mother, Gbapleu : The 12 year-old here [a girl] I see a lot in her because I want her to advance in her studies so that one day she can also work as a public servant like the others. So for her studies I don't play around, I could not realize my childhood dream so...

IDI, Grand-Mère, Zokoguhe: moi-même mon avenir, c'est l'avenir de mes enfants si mes enfants là réussissent moi-même j'ai réussi. Par ce que quand un enfant ne réussit pas, la maman elle est toujours souffrance, toujours son cœur est meurtri. C'est ça.

IDI, Grandmother, Zokoguhe: Myself, my future is the future of my children. If my children succeed, then myself I have succeeded. Because when a child does not succeed, her mom is suffering and her heart is damaged. That's it.

Insight Three

The courtyard in a community is an important physical and social space for communal raising of children.

When considering physical locations for ECD interventions, a recurring venue throughout the research was the “courtyard” or the small common space in the middle of a community or neighborhood where communal activities take place. There is a clear physical limit of where children can venture in a common courtyard setup. Raising a child seems to be a common experience, there is a common sentiment from participants that children in a community belong to everyone. A lot of different neighbors and caregivers will help out and care for a solo child if the mom or other caregiver is not around. Often children playing in the courtyard are being taken care of unofficially by different neighbors and community members people there for their own purposes. Several parents indicated that they sometimes leave their children in the courtyard in the care of others if they have something to tend to. Caregivers (both relatives and neighbours/friends) are usually females who love children and will willingly take care of other children from the neighborhood, often free of charge, alongside their own children or out of the goodness of their hearts. Some caregivers may also be men, depending on the community. It was mentioned in Saoundi that a man, for example, had taken responsibility for family members’ children when they were unable to. This notion of collective raising of children is particularly strong in certain regional contexts (for example in Daloa).

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Three

FGD, Gardienne, Gblapleu: l'enfant appartient à tout le monde et à cause de l'harmonie nous les gardons

FGD, Guardian, Gblapleu: the child belongs to everyone and because of the harmony we keep it

FGD, Mère, Gblapleu: une femme mossi, elle prend soin de l'enfant de sa rivale comme si c'était le sien

FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: a Mossi woman, she takes care of her rival's child as if they were hers

FGD, Gardienne, Gbapleu: Je m'occupe des enfants de la voisine quand elle va au champ. Sinon les enfants habitent avec elle mais quand elle va au champ, elle me confie les enfants et puis je prends soin d'eux d'ici son arrivée

FGD, Guardian, Gbapleu: I take care of the neighbor's children when she goes to the field. Otherwise the children live with her but when she goes to the field, she entrusts the children to me and then I take care of them until she arrives

FGD, Mère, Gbapleu: Ils sont dans la cour même souvent leurs parents sont pas là, les enfants ont faim, d'autres sont partis au champ, d'autres sont partis vendre

FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: They are in the courtyard even when their parents are not there, the children are hungry, others have gone and have left to sell

From Direct Observation, Zokoguhe:

Apparently the custody decision is not under discussion. In fact, as soon as the mother is absent, everyone present has custody of the child. During the observation of this day the child was treated the same by caretakers as his mother does.

The baby lying in the cradle starts crying, another woman who was passing by came in near the cradle and starts talking with the baby that stays still a moment.

"A" [baby] mother walks away from the court and the road and ends up in another concession to the other side of the road. "A" remains lying calm on the mat, the father walks away and "A" remains in the care of another woman.

Father and mother "B" are sitting under the mango tree on a bench next to the sleeping baby. Some time later, both of "B" parents get up and disappear, baby "B" remains alone asleep on the mat.

Insight Four

Behaviors that trigger violent discipline vary but mostly center around resource wastage, shame, physical danger and moral infractions.

Many hours of discussion around discipline helped clarify that the motivation and method for disciplining young children differ from older children. For small children, reasons for discipline centered around parental frustration at their child not being able to express their needs, safety concerns and shame. Small children doing something that annoys/stresses the parent (e.g. crying), doing something dangerous (e.g. leaving home), doing something wasteful (e.g. wasting food, breaking things) or doing something that would bring shame to the parents (e.g. defecating in wrong places) were listed as reasons fair enough to punish. For older kids, violent discipline is perceived to be needed when the child is doing something dangerous, not listening to parents, doing something that is considered morally wrong (e.g. stealing) or doing something wasteful.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Four

FGD, Gardienne, Zokoguhe: Un jour j'ai mis ma petite fille dans maison d'ici je vais partir elle a cassé les verres. De deux mes assiettes oui j'ai déposé cassable elle à tout casser. Donc je dis je vais arrêter tout ça là. Maintenant je prends ma main ou bien chicotte

FGD, Guardian, Zokoguhe: One day I put my little girl in the house and when I left, she broke the glasses and two plates. She broke everything and I had to dispose of them. So I said, this is going to stop here and that's when I take my hand or whip out

FGD, Mère, Zokoguhe: ce qu'ils ont dit aussi c'est vrai parce que si tu parles à ton enfant et il veut pas comprendre. Où tu dis faut pas il va arriver là bas, il arrive là bas, toi aussi tu sais pas qu'il est arrivé là bas. Si on le frappe là, il

vient il te dit là, tu dis toi même faut te mettre à genou, tu va le taper, tu vas le frapper même

FGD, Mother, Zokoguhe: what they also said is true because if you talk to your child he doesn't want to understand. He goes where you tell him not to go, and sometimes you're not aware of where he's gone. If we hit him, he tells you where he's been but you still have to tell him to get on your knees to spank or hit him

Insight Five

Different methods for discipline are used at various intensities depending on context (age, infraction, etc)- chicotte remains the most popular for children old enough to walk.

The decision and method to discipline a child is contingent on the behavioural infraction and is adapted to the age of the child; although there is disagreement on exactly when a child becomes aware and responsible for their actions (responses ranged from 3 months to 7 years old). The most common method of physical discipline used is “la chicotte” which is to hit with a small stick on the calves or buttocks. There is, however, before the chicotte, an escalation of softer methods (e.g. speaking, shouting) for young children which will result in chicotte if the child is not listening. Alternative methods include: withholding food and locking the children inside to isolate them. Some respondents reported using less physical discipline methods but by using scary stories instead of actual violence to scare the children (featuring cats, scary birds or other big animals). The most common discipline method used by order of gradual events where the following:

- Level One: Speak/negotiate and give advice (optional)
- Level Two: Shouting/scolding
- Level Three: Threaten with an object
- Level Four a: Hitting with a stick on the calves or buttocks (chicotte)
- Level Four b:: Make the child kneel for long amounts of time
- Level Five: Hit directly with hands (rarer)

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Five

FGD, Mère, Zokoguhe: [à partir de] 3 ans [l'enfant est conscient] parce que tu peux l'envoyer il dit il va pas, il sait que tu l'as envoyé. Il sait que tu es sa maman qui l'a accouché. Parce qu'à partir de 3 ans, elle te connaît déjà donc elle sait ce que tu dis. Donc comme ça là tu es énervé tu vas la taper

FGD, Mother, Zokoguhe: [starting from] 3 years old because you can send them somewhere and they say they won't go but they know you sent him. He knows that you are his mother, who gave birth to him. Because from the age of 3, she already knows you, so she knows what you are saying. So you're going to get annoyed and you're going to hit them

FGD, Mère, Zokoguhe (autres mères): Moi c'est à partir de 6 à 7 ans, comme ça je sais que il est devenu l'homme, il prend ses habits pour laver lui même

FGD, Mothers, Zokoguhe (other mothers): Me it is from 6 to 7 years, I know that he has become a man because he takes his clothes to wash himself

FGD, Père, Gbapleu: Un enfant est conscient du moment où l'enfant est en train de téter, ou il a déjà deux dents, il mord sa maman, les mamelons de sa maman, quand l'enfant mord les mamelons de sa maman, arrête d'abord de téter, et regarde le visage de sa maman, c'est à partir de ce moment que pour moi l'enfant devient un peu conscient

FGD, Father, Gbapleu: A child is conscious from the time that he is breastfeeding, when he has 2 teeth, he bites his mom, he bites his mom's nipples, when the child bites his mom's nipple and looks at his mom's face, it's from this moment that for me the baby becomes a bit conscious

Insight Six

Violence is stigmatized and is a stereotyped practice based on religion, tribe and region but the perception of parents' own self practice of violence is downplayed.

Many respondents from cocoa communities indicated that they had been “sensitized” on the negative consequences of violent discipline. Most said violent punishment is not good and spoke poorly of those who violently discipline their children, whether physically, verbally or emotionally (husbands, wives, neighbors, other religions, other tribes). The same people who spoke against violent punishment also admitted they use physical punishment with their own children. Yet, they did not consider their own actions as violent or negative discipline. There were also differences between regions/religions in perceptions of acceptability of violence. Women did not want to be stigmatized for physically disciplining their children lest they be branded as a “mechante.” There was also considerable disagreement amongst parents themselves about which parent in the couple was more violent. Mothers tended to say that fathers hit their kids more and fathers said vice versa. This reinforces that self-awareness of violent punishment levels may not be accurate for individuals, presenting an opportunity for intervention. Some tribal and religious differences were mentioned, “Burkinabe et Dioula are much harsher with their child and do not treat them right.” “Senoufo uses a lot of violence” (in Daloa) ” although the quantitative data is pretty clear that most parents across the regions could practice more positive discipline (see next section).

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Six

IDI, Père, Saoundi: parce que là, c'est écrit dans la bible que les enfants sont demain donc si tu maltraite un enfant tu... tu... tu mets mauvais signe sur l'enfant,

IDI,Father,Saoundi: Because it is written there, in the bible, that children are our tomorrow, so if you mistreat them, you...you...you condemn the child.

FGD, Père, Gbapleu: *si ta femme a essayé de crier ou bien frapper l'enfant d'une manière là je suis capable de crier sur elle, faut plus faire sa là, faut plus taper enfant là à cette manière encore ouai s'arrive souvent*

FGD, Father, Gbapleu: If my wife tries to yell or hit the child in a bad way, then I have to shout at her to stop. I tell her that she shouldn't do that or hit the child that way. That happens often.

FGD, Mère, Gbapleu: *Quand il est sur les nerfs, en frappant, il calcule pas. Il frappe trop, il tape partout où sa main arrive là, il va taper. Un jour il a tapé l'une de ses filles en tout cas c'était, c'était graves.*

FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: When he's on edge, he doesn't calculate where he hits. He hits too much, and he hits wherever his hand lands. One day he hit one of his daughters, and it was bad, it was serious.

FGD, Père, Gbapleu: *bien sûr que il y a une différence parce que dans la vie la chaque région a sa manière de faire c'est truc hein chaque ethnique à sa manière de fait son truc. Mais ce que moi je vois c'est que pour corriger un enfant d'autre peut faire des chicote bizarre gros pour chicote là c'est son coté qui est là je c'est que c'est ça.*

FGD, Father, Gbapleu: of course there is a difference because in life each region has its own way of doing things, eh, each ethnicity (culture) has their own tricks. But I've seen that others use bizarre and big ways of hitting and whipping the child.

FGD, Père, Saoundi: *oui, parce que si moi je te donne des conseils que tu refuses d'écouter, je vais utiliser la chicote, or je sais que le chicote n'est pas bon, donc c'est l'enfant même, puisque y'a des conseils pour éduquer mais toi tu refuses, donc qu'est-ce que je fais ? je te frappe, frapper là, peut être t'as me manquer de respect, mais au moins tu sauras que vraiment c'est moi qui t'es mis au monde.*

FGD, Father, Saoundi: yes, because if I give you advice and you refuse to listen then I will use the whip, I mean, I know that whipping is bad, but if I've advised and educated you and you refuse, then what am I supposed to do? I will hit you, perhaps you can disrespect me, but I will remind you who put you on earth.

Insight Seven

Using violence is justified because of the inherent quality/traits of Ivorian children, especially for children who are stubborn/“têtu”.

This insight came from many comments from respondents that reported that using violent discipline is necessary because particular children are inherently stubborn/difficult “têtu”, especially in Africa, so they need a firmer form of discipline. Several respondents mentioned that children are born with behavioural traits already ingrained and it is hard to change them. In this way, harsh punishment was not particularly used to change character but to prevent a difficult child to become even more difficult. There is also a pervasive perception that using positive discipline makes children more fragile, more difficult and less disciplined in their studies which can have a domino effect not only on the parent's later in life plans but can also sully their family names.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Seven

FGD, Grand-Mère, Zokoguhe: *"Si tu fais un enfant comme ça, celui qui est né intelligent si tu continues plus intelligent, mais s'il n'est pas trop intelligent c'est toi-même qui va trop augmenter son mauvais comportement. Ceux qui ne sont pas intelligent, tu vas faire tout, il ne va pas changer. Il devient pire même".*

FGD, Grandmother, Zokoguhe: "If you make a child like that, one who is born intelligent he'll continue to be intelligent but if he is not too intelligent it is you who will increase his bad behavior. Those who are not intelligent, you will do everything, it will not change. He becomes

even worse."

FGD, Mère, Gbapleu: il est têtu là, il est assis dans même coin là, souvent ça fait fâcher. On est obligé de le taper souvent.

FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: he is stubborn, he often sits in the same corner, and it makes me angry. We have to hit him often.

FGD, Père, Tiémé: Souvent, il faut dire, je vais te frapper, ou bien je vais-je te mettre en genou. Si tu lui dis d'aller se coucher là hum, demain encore, ou chaque jour, il va faire. Parce que ce n'est pas tous les enfants, il y a d'autres qui comprennent et d'autres qui ne comprennent pas. Il y a des enfants qu'il faut frapper sinon, ils ne vont pas arrêter.

FGD, Father, Tiémé: Often you have to say, I'm going to hit you, or I'm going to put you on my knees. If you tell him to go to bed, um, the next day and every day, he will do it. But not all children are like that. There are those who understand and others who do not. There are children who must be hit otherwise they will not stop.

FGD, Grand-Mère, Zokoguhe: les enfants de 0 à 2 ans maintenant naissent avec l'esprit de têtu (rires), quand tu leur dis de quitter là, il ne quitte pas donc comme ça je vais l'enlever de force souvent même je vais et je tape sur tes fesses.

FGD, Grandmother, Zokoguhe: children who are from 0 to 2 years old now are born with a stubborn spirit (laughs), when you tell them to move, they won't, so I have to forcibly remove them often, and I'll even spank their bums.

IDI, Gardienne, Gbapleu: Si l'enfant a fait quelque chose qui ne va pas. Nous sommes en Afrique, il y a des enfants qui sont têtus, on a dit ça à la réunion

oui. Moi je dis je peux donner coup de bâton à l'enfant

IDI, Guardian, Gbapleu: If the child has done something wrong, well we are in Africa, they are stubborn children and we said that at the meeting yes. I say I can kick the child.

Some people in Bouake mentioned that they believe that routine immunizations have made their children stubborn. This should be communicated to the Ministry of Health and Public Hygiene to be addressed immediately to their immunization rumor management team.

FGD, Mère, Saoundi: nous on sait pas nous on pense que c'est vaccin que on fait les enfants (rire) parce que moi ma fille là si tu dis que Marlène ce que tu fais faut plus faire elle va me dire je vais faire

FGD, Mother, Saoundi: we don't know, we, we think it's the vaccine that makes the children like that (laugh) because when I tell my daughter Marlene, that she shouldn't do something anymore, she says I'm going to do it.

IDI, Mère, Saoundi: Comme chez nous là-bas, les vieux disent que c'est à cause de vaccin que les enfants sont têtus, donc c'est pourquoi je demande.

IDI, Mother, Saoundi: Like with us here, the old people say that it's because of the vaccine that children are stubborn, so that's why I ask.

Insight Eight

Using violence has perceived negative and positive long-term consequences.

Parents clearly believed more in the positive outcomes of harsher punishment than its short or long term negative consequences. The good consequences of corporal discipline results in a child that

has good values, obtains a good education which in turns leads to a good job and good associations with the family and community. Fear and respect were terms that were used interchangeably and there was little stigma associated with adults whom children feared.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Eight

FGD, Mère, Gbapleu: – Oui, ils n’ont pas peur de toi. Voilà, parce que tu joues beaucoup avec eux donc ils n’ont, ils n’ont plus peur de toi, ils te prends comme leur camarade... quand elle parle de yeux renté ; elle veut dire que non les enfants n’ont pas le respect pour les parent

FGD, Mother, Gbapleu: - Yes, they are not afraid of you. There you are, because you play a lot with them so they are not, they are no longer afraid of you, they take you as their comrade ... when she talks about eyes with eyes ; she means no children don't have respect for parents

FGD, Grand-Mère, Gbapleu: C’est parce que pour moi, actuellement les gens parlent des droits des enfants, ça rentre dans leurs oreilles tout ça. Et puis avant la manière dont les maîtres chicotaient les enfants faisait qu’on travaillait bien, mais aujourd’hui celui qui a fait CM2 d’avant et celui qui fait pour maintenant ce n’est pas pareil.

FGD, Grandmother, Gbapleu: It's because for me, currently people are talking about children's rights, they've got it in their heads. But the way that our teachers whipped us made us work well, but now the results are not the same.

FGD, Père, Saoundi: tu sais enfants là, si tu joues trop avec tes enfants là, le respect là, ça peut pas

FGD, Father, Saoundi: you know children there, if you play too much with your children then there won't be respect.

In terms of the negative consequences of physical discipline, it was acknowledged that it can potentially significantly hurt the child physically and incur costs associated with the injury such as hospital, pharmacy and infirmary costs. It was more frequently mentioned, however, that repeated physical discipline could make the child resistant to learning from future violence (the child could get used to physical discipline and it would no longer be an effective way to control them after consistent exposure). Some younger parents indicated that too much violent discipline could have a negative long term outcome, although there was no mention from any participant of the long term mental or psychological damage violent discipline could do to a child.

FGD, Père, Tiémé: Ce n'est pas tous les jours que tu peux le frapper. Tu le frappes chaque jour, à arriver à un moment, si tu parles là, tu lui dis d'arrêter, il ne va pas arrêter.

FGD, Father, Tiémé: You can't hit him every day. If you hit him everyday there'll be a moment where you tell him to stop and he won't stop.

Insight Nine

Lots of good stimulation practices exist but for parents, playing is not equated with learning.

Respondents identified many good existing practices of playful stimulation with small children.

Those included (but were not restricted to):

- singing
- dancing
- making faces
- naming objects
- counting
- telling stories
- running after the child
- throwing and catching the baby
- hug and kisses

Findings from the observations showed that there was increased stimulation behaviours and play during bath time, and in the evening after 6pm, when both parents are present. Play, however, is mostly seen as frivolous and only for fun. Play is the main means of communicating with infants and small children. Communication starts early postnatally using language, songs and stories meant to give instruction for help, so that the child learns the language, recognize his/her family, which was specifically mentioned as an important milestone (especially identifying their father correctly).

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Nine

From participant observation, mother, Zokoguhe:

His mother returned to the house, and his father played with him. He touches her eye then yours. He laughs and touches his eye imitating his father.

FGD, Père, Gblapleu: j'aime chanter et danser avec ma fille. Pour ne pas qu'elle ait honte du monde. Sa maman aime beaucoup chanter.

FGD, Father, Gblapleu: I love to sing and dance with my daughter. Not to be ashamed of the world. Her mom likes to sing a lot.

FGD, Mère, Gblapleu: il faut des jeux qu'ils font du bruit, ou bien applaudir, faire des grimaces, chanter

FGD, Mother, Gblapleu: you need games that make noise, or to applaud, make faces, sing

IDI, Mère, Gbapleu: j'ai deux jeux que j'aime beaucoup faire avec les enfants, c'est le sport que j'aime beaucoup depuis que je suis petite et le jeu d'éducation. Comme quand un enfant dit un mot, on lui dit qu'on ne dit pas ça... souvent je suis dans la cuisine et puis quand elle vient je lui dis de compter les cubes

IDI, Mother, Gbapleu: I have two games that I really like to do with children, it's the sport that I love a lot since I was little and the education game. Like when a child says a word, we tell him we don't say that ... often I'm in the kitchen and then when she comes I tell her to count the

cubes

FGD, Mère, Zokoguhe: [je joue] Quand je veux le laver, arriver à le faire rire ou au couché les soirs

FGD, Mother, Zokoguhe: [I play] When I want to wash him, make him laugh or when we go to bed at night

Insight Ten

Playing with children can predispose one to judgement from others in the community, especially for fathers.

Although parental engagement with young children was universally agreed to be positive, there is clearly a balance that must be struck, especially for fathers. There is a prevalent sentiment that too much physical play is not good for the child (e.g. it will make their child act “crazy” or the child will not respect them) as well as for the parent. Fathers who display excessive physical play with their children are seen as submissive to their wives and parents in general who play too much can be labelled as lazy, strange or crazy.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Ten

FGD, Père, Saoundi: *par exemple si je vois un monsieur qui est en train de jouer comme ça avec son enfant, moi je peux dire ce monsieur-là est en train de gâter l'enfant, parce que quand il va partir à l'école, son idée c'est jouer, il va penser que à venir jouer avec son papa à la maison, l'enfant va pas faire quelque chose de bon, je vois que quand tu joues beaucoup souvent c'est bon mais c'est pas toujours bon*

FGD, Father, Saoundi: for example if I see a gentleman who is playing like that with his child, I can say that this gentleman is spoiling the child, because when he goes to school, his idea is to play, he will only think about coming home to play with dad, the child will not do something good, I see that when you play toot often it is good but it' is not always good.

IDI, Mère, Odienne: *Elle veut qu'on fasse la course. Quand je fais ça les gens se moquent de moi*

IDI, Mother, Odienne: She wants us to race. When I do that people make fun of me

Insight Eleven

Grandparents, neighbors and siblings have an important role in care, play and stimulation.

Grandparents, especially grandmothers are not only a source for information for new parents about how to take care of their infants and role models for the parents in terms of stimulation and discipline but also often serve as caretakers for the children. Conversely, parents may struggle with grandparents if there are differing discipline and stimulation philosophies. Some grandparents are said to "spoil" their kid because they play too much with them and may not adhere to the parents' wishes about discipline decisions. Grandparents have an opportunity to play with children because they have generally more time and many grandmothers are still young in age and actively still working. Occasionally jealousy develops between grandfather and grandmother if the grandmother starts spending too much with their grandchildren.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Eleven

FGD, Grand-Mère, Zokoguhe: *S'il est à la maison et qu'il a le temps, l'enfant vient s'asseoir sur ses pieds. Il le chatouille, ils se poursuivent, ils se taquent.*

FGD, Grandmother, Zokoguhe: If he is at home and has time, the child comes to sit on his feet. He tickles him, they chase each other, they tease each other.

Grand-Mère Zokoguhe: Si je veux communiquer avec mon petit-fils qui ne parle pas je fais des grimaces, je parle et je joue en même temps

Grandmother Zokoguhe: If I want to communicate with my grandson who doesn't speak, I make faces, I speak and I play at the same time

FGD, Grand-Mère, Zokoguhe : Elle ne veut pas que je joue trop avec sa fille, que je lui donne de l'argent, à un moment elle dit que nous les grandes mères gâtions les petits-enfants, que les petits-enfants ne les respectent pas et que dehors, ils sont impolis.

FGD Grandmother, Zokoguhe: She doesn't want me to play too much with her daughter, that I give her money, at one point she says that we grandmothers spoil grandchildren, that children do not respect them and that they are rude outside

FGD, Grand-Mère, Gblapleu: quand je joue avec mes petits-enfants mon fils dit que tu vas gâter mes enfants là tu vas les faire bébés gâté ça me plait pas pourquoi tu joues trop avec les petits enfants comme ça. Quand il dit ça je dis ceux-là c'est mes petits enfants de la manière je t'ai éduqué jusqu'à tu es devenu grand c'est comme ça je les ai éduqué si eux aussi ils font leur enfants tes petits-fils c'est comme ça tu vas les éduquer aussi c'est comme ça je leur dit.

FGD, Grandmother, Gblapleu: when I play with my grandchildren my son says you are going to spoil my children, you are going to make them spoiled babies I don't like it when you play with your grandchildren too much. When he says that I say these are my grandchildren and I'm educating them like I educated you. And when your children have children you will educate them the same way. That's what I tell them.

FGD, Grand-Mère, Saoundi: Ma fille toujours elle dit je gâte les enfants ; c'est moi qui gâte les enfants, c'est parce qu'elle ta vue que tu fais ça là, hein quand je dis il ne va pas manger, tu lui donne manger. je ne peux pas le laisser dans faim, donc toujours elle parle de moi que je gâte leurs enfants.

FGD, Grandmother, Saoundi: My daughter always says that it's me who spoils the children, it's because she sees me doing something, huh and when she tells me not to give him food, I still feed him. I can't leave him hungry, so she always says I spoil the children.

Grandparents are not the only group of relevant caregivers. Neighbors who take care of other parent's children also play an important role and are often more willing to spend time playing and less time disciplining. Finally, older children in the family including siblings often play adult-like roles early on. They can play an important role in caring for the child in absence of the parents and are an important source of play and stimulation (and sometimes of discipline).

From direct observation, Zokoguhe:

A group of children (ten) are gathered in front of the kitchen. A bigger one about 6 years old among them starts a fire and teaches her how to make seed sauce. They are having fun.

The girl is the babysitter because the others seem to be in her care. She intervenes when the children fight and manages to impose some order.

Insight Twelve

Fathers don't consider their role as being important in the early years, but see an important role for them later in the education of important values to the child.

A recurring comment about fathers' involvement in their children's very early years focused around the father's responsibility to support their family financially which can be very stressful in resource poor environments. Since their primary focus is on putting food on their tables and opportunities to interact with infants who do not speak can be challenging, many fathers believe their role only

comes in after 2-3 years old (once the child can walk and talk). At that point, the father's responsibility is to teach the child the family's values. The idea that small children must be able to identify their fathers and not let them "become a stranger" was a recurring conversation topic and of paramount importance.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Twelve

FGD, Père, Gblapleu: il faut l'emmener avec toi au travail, se promener avec lui, manger avec lui, aller en voyage avec son enfant sinon on devient étranger pour lui

FGD, Father, Gblapleu: you must take him with you to work, walk with him, eat with him, go on a trip with your child otherwise you become a stranger to him

FGD, Père, Gblapleu: Etre un père exemplaire c'est dire la vérité à son enfant, lui dire que la vie est difficile et l'éduquer en fonction.

FGD, Father, Gblapleu: To be an exemplary father is to tell the truth to your child, to tell him that life is difficult and to educate him accordingly.

Insight Thirteen

Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which makes parents deprioritize stimulation activities and predisposes them to administering violent discipline.

The amount of stress the average parent in Ivory Coast experiences on a daily basis is tremendous. Financial, family, community, religious, tribal, political and other pressures on top of ensuring that their children not only live but thrive can weigh parents down. An average day may include intense physical exertion, exposure to extreme temperatures, long commutes, and exhaustion for parents. Parents are tired, in a bad mood, stressed and have problems on their own; they do not always see

playing with their children as a result but rather as a luxury activity. Parents might not use the term “stress” themselves but make mention of “worry of life” or “thoughts being too much” “thoughts going in another place”. These were mentioned as barriers to playing and interacting with their small children. Sometimes parents are so tired and stressed that they are more susceptible to overreaction or violent discipline methods when a child misbehaves when in another setting perhaps they would have dealt with it differently. In the moment of stress often it can feel like corporal punishment is the easiest/most efficient and direct method.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Thirteen

FGD, Père, Saoundi: au champ aussi on peut pas trop jouer avec nos enfants, tu es allé travailler jusqu'en t'es fatigué donc tu peux pas

FGD, Father, Saoundi: in the field we can't play with our children too much, you go to work until you're tired so you can't

FGD, Père, Gbapleu: la mère joue toujours avec ses enfants, sauf quand elle est attristée par les soucis de la vie.

FGD, Father, Gbapleu: the mother always plays with her children, except when she is saddened by the worries of life.

FGD, Grandmother, Gbapleu: De fois je, je dis, quand je dis, ah aujourd'hui je ne veux pas jouer. Sa maman dit, ah quitté à côté de votre tante là aujourd'hui. Son pensé est allé au loin.

FGD, Grandmother, Gbapleu: Sometimes, I say, when I say, ah today I don't want to play. Their mom says, leave her with her aunt today. Her thoughts are far away.

IDI, Mère, Gblapleu: [Jouant avec son enfant] c'était un moment joyeux en tout cas. Quand c'est comme ça même, qu'il y ait la clientèle ou pas, j'ai cette joie

là. J'oublie un peu le stress et puis nous sommes là

IDI, Mother, Gblapleu: [Playing with her child] it was a happy moment anyway. When it's like that, whether there are customers or not, I have that joy there. I forget the stress a little and then there we are

FGD, Père, Zokoguhe: Le jour de repos au village c'est que c'est pour nettoyer tout ce qui est saleté autour

FGD, Father, Zokoguhe: The day of rest in the village is used to clean anything that is dirty.

IDI, Mère, Gbapleu: Parce que le jour de repos je ne peux pas faire ça. Je choisis le jour je dors un peu parce qu'ici le repos c'est dormir. Et quand je me réveille, je fais ma cuisine, je fais mes activités de la maison.

IDI, Mother, Gbapleu: Because on the day of rest I can't do that. I choose to sleep a little, because resting means sleeping. And when I wake up, I cook and do my house activities.

Insight Fourteen

Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV.
Social media is not a trusted source of information.

When asked which media and/or communication device parents used to get trusted information, they mentioned SMS, radio and television, which is consistent with national media consumption surveys. Some mentioned distrust in social media, especially Facebook.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Fourteen

IDI, Grand-Mère, Zogokuhe: C'est tout, nous on ne paye pas journaux ici. C'est la télévision nous on regarde.

IDI, Grandmother, Zogokuhe: That's it, we don't pay for newspapers here. We watch television here.

IDI, Père, Zokoguhe: Donc c'est ça souvent j'aime le journal de 20h, souvent à la radio pour mieux m'informé pour que ça soit clair. Parce que avec les amis, y'a d'autres qui peuvent dire voilà, voilà lui là il a dit ça, lui là il a fait ça.

IDI, Father, Zokoguhe: I often like the 8pm news, Often on the radio so I can be informed and so the information is clear. Because with friends, some people say this and others say that.

IDI, Gardienne, Gbapleu: Mais sur Facebook là il y a beaucoup de chose sur Facebook ce n'est pas la réalité souvent hein. Donc il faut faire très attention avec Facebook. Ce n'est pas tout qui est vrai.

IDI, Guardian, Gbapleu: But on Facebook, there are a lot of things on facebook, things that are not always reality.. So you have to be very careful with Facebook. It's not true all the time.

IDI, Mère, Gbapleu: Tant que je ne vois pas ou ne touche pas je ne peux pas me fier à ça.

IDI, Mother, Gbapleu: If I can't see it or touch it, then I don't trust it.

Insight Fifteen

Trusted influencers are in the close relative circle, as well as religious leaders and medical staff. Confidentiality, trust and competence are important.

There are many individuals who are trusted sources of information in the community for parental guidance and advice. Often parents listen to those closest to them in their family and social circle, their parents/aunts/uncles/ grandparents and other extended family members. The parents they look to as role models have raised successful children themselves. Religious leaders and medical staff, especially those that respect confidentiality and exude confidence are those that parents will seek out for advice and whom they report they listen to and act on information from.

Illustrative Quotes for Insight Fifteen

IDI, Père, Zokoguhe: bon souvent... comme je suis un peu curieux, je vais, je m'approche à des gens qui sont un peu plus âgé que moi voilà, qui sont âgé que moi pour donner des conseils dans la vie

IDI, Father, Zokoguhe: good often... since I'm a little curious, I go, and approach people who are a little older than me people who are older and can give me advice on life

IDI, Père, Saoundi: hein, nourrir l'enfant, conseiller, de causer avec leurs enfants et puis l'enfant devient intelligent, tu les vois, ils frappent pas mais ils parlent et puis l'enfant devient correcte et puis il vit bien, je peux m'approcher pour lui demander, tu fais comment, tu dis quoi à ton enfant et puis ton enfant est intelligent, ton enfant fait pas les bêtises, je peux m'approcher.

IDI, Father, Saoundi: eh, feeding the child, giving them advice can help them become more intelligent. So then they don't hit as much and they talk instead. They become correct and live well, I can approach them and ask them questions, how did you do that? The child is intelligent and does not make mistakes, I can approach them.

IDI, Grand-Mère, Gbapleu: Bon, pour les infirmiers et puis les docteurs eux je peux croire à ça, puisque c'est les docteurs. Ils comprennent les trucs sur les enfants comment il faut faire, comment il ne faut pas faire.

IDI, Grandmother, Gbapleu: Well I can believe nurses and doctors, since they are doctors. They understand the things about children and about what to do and not do.

IDI, Grand-Mère, Zogokuhe: Je n'ai pas confiance à quelqu'un sauf que j'ai une seule ami a qui je dis des choses, c'est elle qui est ma confidente, c'est elle seule. A part elle et mon mari, je n'ai pas confiance en une personne.

IDI, Grandmother, Zogokuhe: I don't trust anyone except for a friend whom I tell things to, she is my confidente, she is the only one. Apart from her and my husband, I don't trust anyone.

IDI, Mère, Zokoguhe: Parce que c'est ta sœur. "J'ai confiance en elle, elle peut me donner des bons conseils."

IDI, Mother, Zokoguhe: Because she is my sister. "I trust her, she can give me good advice."

Sample Journey Map

As part of our research, we also collected information on caregivers' typical day - and as such on babies and infant's typical day. While it is impossible to present them all, we found some similarities across different daily journeys. Below we present a (fictional) example of such a daily journey, drawn from the data, from the perspective of a 2 year old girl named "Ines". This daily narration also illustrates many insights that were presented above. A similar journey was presented during the co-design workshop in Abidjan to foster empathy for beneficiaries before the ideation phase.



Ines

Age: 2 years old

Nationality: Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

Father: Cocoa farmer

Mother: Stay-at-home / Runs a small juice business

Siblings: An older sister

Personality and Goals



Loves to sing and dance



She's social and looks for friends to play with



She's silly and like to make funny faces



Her biggest goal is to play, play and play!

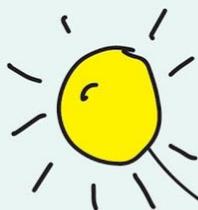


She tries to spend as much time as possible with the people she loves



She wants to help mom out with chores

Ines Journey Map



1. Rise and Shine

It's 6am and Ines has just woken up! Her mother whom slept nearby prepares breakfast for the family and dad heads out to work at the fields after making sure everyone has finished their plates.

2. Bath Time

About an hour after, her big sister heads out to school which means it's bath time. Ines loves bath time, it's when her mom sings, washes and plays with her. Ines can't stop giggling!

3. Getting Dressed

Mom helps Ines get dressed, but Ines just doesn't want to cooperate. Mom gives her a firm adult voice while giving her orders. Ines decides it's best to listen and gets dressed.

7. Neighbour Friend

Mom heads out to the market after a nap. Ines stays with a neighbour who watches her. Ines loves to stand on her feet and dance, there's so much laughter!

6. Mom is Busy

Mom is too busy to play. Ines sees a friend and goes outside of the courtyard to play with her. Mom yells at her to come back, it's not safe outside the courtyard.

5. Helping Out

Mom has a lot to do, she is preparing juices and is still washing dishes. She asks Ines to help out with chores in her adult voice. Ines helps out.

4. Playing Alone

While mom cleans and sweeps the house, Ines plays alone with any household item she can get her hands on, like cups or chairs.

8. Cooking

Mom gets back from the market and starts cooking. Ines wants to help, but gets too close to the cooking fire. This scares mom, so mom yells at her to get away and spansk her, Ines starts crying but mom ignores her.

9. Sister Bonding

Yes! Ines' sister has come back from school. They like to play together while mom finishes up dinner.

10. Dad's Home

Dad comes home from a long day of work and Ines runs to greet him. They laugh and make silly faces together, but only for five minutes because dad is tired and needs to rest.

11. Dinner

The whole family sits and eats dinner together. Ines tries to be silly and throws water on dad's food, but this displeases dad and he gets angry.

16. Mom Relaxes

After a long day of chores mom decides to relax and watches some television. She goes to bed after a bit.

15. Bedtime

Mom finishes up a few last chores and puts Ines and her sister to bed. It's time to sleep.

14. Storytime

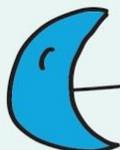
After bath time, dad tells Ines a story. He likes to tell stories about his childhood and about how things used to be in his time. He goes to bed right after.

13. Night Bath

Mom gives Ines a bath before bed, while dad watches to make sure it's done right.

12. Getting in Trouble

Dad takes Ines' food away from her after she threw water on his. She starts crying, mom gets annoyed so threatens to spank her. Ines stops crying.



Similarities and Differences to other TRECC Formative Research

There was considerable overlap between the findings of the BCT's study and those of the PMNDPE's, HKI's and DMI's. The more data points confirmed a finding, the more prominent that finding became on the shared spreadsheet. Prominent findings, perhaps expressed in different words, across the partner findings include:

- Parents want success for their children in terms of a good education, good job (doctor, public servant, judge, journalist, professor etc.) and also encourage studying or working abroad in order to gain success. Religious parents want their children to have a religious education to match their beliefs.
- There is this belief that children must fear their parents in order to respect them -- Creating fear is the only way to discipline and get respected. Younger caregivers are however challenging this view and don't believe parents need to be feared to be respected.
- Fathers believe their role comes in only after the child is 2-3 years old (once they can walk and talk) to teach them values and educate them.
- A lot of good stimulation practices exists from both mothers and fathers
- There is the idea that if a father plays too much with his young children he is considered "submissive" or weak by others.
- Fear that playing too much with their children will decrease the amount of respect their child has for them.(esp. in Guiglo, Odiene)
- Some language and communication practices in form of songs (lullabies) and "contes" in the local language to pass tradition, but few people mentioned this as being prevalent/important
- Parents work all day in the field which leaves little time for play or communication
- Parents are tired after work and playing takes too much energy
- Parents are in a bad mood and/or are stressed because of personal problems (often financial)
- Caregivers use communication to teach language and help the child recognize who is part of the family (e.g. who is their dad)
- Father use communication and play to educate and teach values
- Use of physical violence, including "chicotter" is common among parents to discipline their infant
- Violence is linked with their definition of love and affection. Violence must be used to properly educate the child, "if you love your child you correct him "
- Concept that for a child to truly listen they need to be hit

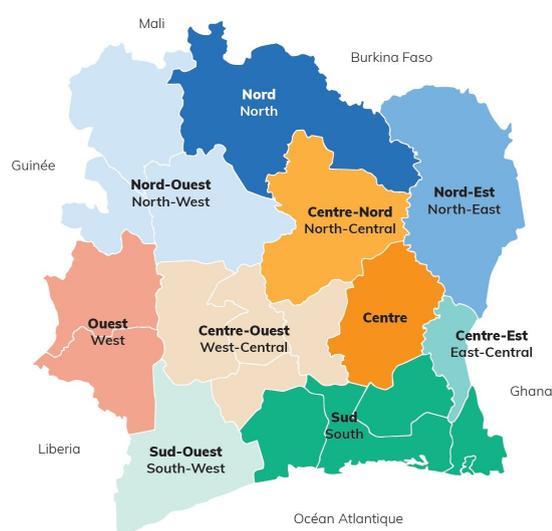
- There are risks associated with too much hitting, such as hurting the child (which leads to higher costs for treatment) and also making the child more stubborn and resistant to violence
- Lack of patience and control of emotions, especially anger
- Courtyard is an important neighborhood space where children, families and neighbours interact and play
- Most grandparents (mostly grandmas) love their grandchild and spend a lot of time playing with them, thus are often criticized for spoiling the child too much.

These findings were integrated into the insights that the BCT developed which were used during the workshop at the beginning of February 2020.

Similarities and Differences Between Sites

Although there were more reported similarities than differences between the cocoa and non-cocoa communities and regions in which the research took place, there were a few marked differences

Côte d'Ivoire



between the different sites when it comes to early stimulation and positive discipline practices. It is important to contextualize these differences. It is an oversimplification to suggest that certain parenting behaviours come down to religion or tribe. A good first start is to look at the most basic of development and health indicators, where we see some clear trends.

Firstly, there are significant differences in one of the most basic development indicators-women's literacy rates. By region where the research was undertaken we can see a range from 51.9% in the

Center to a devastatingly low 13.9% in the NW. Although infant and under five mortality is relatively consistent across the cocoa regions, we can see that the NW and Centre regions (both non-cocoa) are significantly different with the NW much higher infant mortality rate (IMR) and child mortality rate (CMR). When it comes to Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), the NW (according to the last MICS 2016) female respondents to the survey indicated that three out of four had undergone FGM.

Table 8: Key Health and Development Indicators by Region of Study

	% of literate women	% with electricity in their homes	Infant Mortality Rate	<5 Child Mortality Rate (per 100,000)	Percent of women that have experienced sexual / physical abuse by husband	% of women undergone Female Genital Mutilation	Median duration exclusive breastfeeding (in months)	% of homes that own a radio	% of females who watched television in the last week
Bouaké Centre	51.9	68.5	44	30	20.4	18.1	0.6	51.1	54.5
Odienné - NW	13.9	54.3	73	49	42.3	75.2	0.6	45.1	49.9
Daloa Centre West	37.8	53.4	66	55	24.7	34.8	0.5	44	52.6
Duékoué Centre West	37.8	53.4	66	55	24.7	34.8	0.5	44	52.6
Guiglo - W	32.1	32.2	43	43	32	62.1	0.7	40	37.1
Non Cocoa Area									
Cocoa Area									

Source: DHS 2011 and MICS 2016 (in bold numbers)

We see a clear inverse relationship between thigh early marriage rates coupled with low female literacy rates and high levels of domestic sexual and physical abuse, high rates of FGM and high infant and childhood mortality rates. Of major consideration is that the earlier a woman is married, the earlier she bears children which can not only be dangerous for her own health but also in the level of maturity needed to care for an infant and small child if she is still a child herself. Also, contraceptive rates are very low across the country (around 10% according to the last Demographic Health Survey) so multiple children in close proximity to each other is also a very real challenge, especially to those who marry early.

One would expect that in an area with such striking basic development indicators such as the NW Region that there would follow poor results for some of the more sophisticated measures of human and child development. If a population is striving to meet the most fundamental of needs, certainly one would expect that to be the primary focus of that population.

Interestingly, median exclusive breastfeeding times were consistently very low across all the regions. There also were also not great differences in radio ownership and television access across the regions with roughly half of respondents confirming access to radio and television.

Indeed, even the study respondents assumed differences in parenting practices throughout Cote d'Ivoire, "Of course there is a difference because in life each region has its own way of doing things, eh, each ethnicity (culture) has their own tricks. But I've seen that others use bizarre and big ways of hitting and whipping the child." (Caretaker, Gpableu)

When looking, however, at reported discipline and ECD related behaviours, the results are fairly consistent across regions: corporal punishment is high, positive discipline practices are low and, early stimulation practices are also low.

Table 9: Emotional and Physical Safety Indicators

	Emotional and Physical Safety Indicators							
	% of men aged 15-24 who think their life has improved in the past year and who think their life will be better in a year, Côte d'Ivoire, 2016	% of women who reported they are very or fairly happy	% of men who believe if his wife neglects the children he is justified in beating her	% of women who believe if she neglects the children he is justified in beating her	% of respondents to the module on the discipline of children who think that physical punishment is necessary to raise and educate a child correctly, Côte d'Ivoire, 2016	Non-violent disciplinary methods only	% of children aged 1-14 years according to the discipline methods applied during the last month, Côte d'Ivoire, 2016	% of children aged 1-14 years who have suffered violent punishments during the last month
Bouaké Centre	58.5	76.9	10	21.9	27.9	9.5	80.5	82.9
Odienné - NW	63.7	87.1	23.4	28.4	35.5	9.5	78	82.1
Daloa Centre West	55.5	78.8	15.6	47.4	38.6	6.6	85.6	90.1
Duékoué Centre West	55.5	78.8	15.6	47.4	38.6	6.6	85.6	90.1
Guiglo - W	57.7	78.8	12.1	25.4	25.9	9.2	83	84
Non Cocoa Area								
Cocoa Area								

Source: MICS 2016

Surprisingly, the region that suffers the lowest literacy rate and highest domestic results rates, NW Region (non-cocoa), also has the highest levels of women reporting they are "very or fairly happy." A phenomenon across the board is that females in every region reported that their husbands are justified in beating them if the wives neglect their own children. On average twice the percentage of women than men believe men are justified in beating their wives in the situation of child neglect (nearly to 50% in some cases, the exception being the NW Region where the gap between women and men is smaller-around a fourth of both tend to think beating is justified in the case of neglect). In interpreting this result, one could surmise that parents across regions in Ivory Coast love their children so much that they believe they themselves should be punished if they neglect their children-even if that perceived neglect could actually be the lack of beating their own children in order to educate their children correctly. We see these correlations across regions with 27-37% of parents reporting that children must be punished physically in order to be raised well which is not

only the best for the child but also a reflection on the parents' parenting skills and their own credibility in the community. This was echoed in the qualitative study by several participants. As one mother in the NW Region said, *"Even God who is love punishes us when we make mistakes. Education and hitting go together."*

A shift towards positive discipline has begun in the NW Region (non-cocoa), with mixed results according to caretakers of small children, *"Well! Our current education is asking us to not hit our children anymore, right ? They're (the children) so full of tricks."* One father from the NW said, *"Positive discipline is not adapted to our realities. Before they would whip the children at school and there were good results. Today with whipping being banned the results are catastrophic."* Other parents in the NW Region mentioned that physical punishment was crucial but a balance between discipline practices needs to be found, *"You can't hit him every day. If you hit him everyday there'll be a moment where you tell him to stop and he won't stop."* Likewise in cocoa communities a shift and perceived non value add of positive discipline was heard from respondents. One father in Duékoué said, *"Now things have evolved. We can't hit the kids like that, first of all, man is very fragile now before there was a certain way of hitting and children back then could resist it."* A mother in Guiglo lamented, *"It's because for me, currently people are talking about children's rights, they've got it in their heads. But the way that our teachers whipped us made us work well, but now the results are not the same."*

Encouragingly, 6.6-9.5% of respondents reported only using nonviolent discipline techniques with their children, although three fourths of parents reported disciplining their children in the past month using psychological assault and violent punishments. Interestingly, there isn't a direct correlation between reported domestic abuse between husbands and wives and subsequent reported violent punishment rates. In fact in some regions (Centre-West/cocoa) even homes with less reported partner violence reported higher violent and psychological assault discipline rates so it would not be fair to say that there is a relationship between higher overall mutually exclusive violence for women and children independently across regions. The complex dynamics of intrahousehold violence in the Centre West Region (cocoa) is clearly articulated by a father in Gblapleu (Wester/cocoa region), *"If my wife tries to yell or hit the child in a bad way, then I have to shout at her to stop. I tell her that she shouldn't do that or hit the child that way. That happens often."*

Table 10: ECD and Education Indicators

ECD and Education Indicators						
	% of children aged 5-11 years involved in housework for 28 hours or more a week	% of girls in the total population outside school, primary and secondary school	% of children aged 36-59 months who are on the right development path outside child development index	% of children under 5 years old left in inadequate custody for the past one week	% of children aged 36-59 months with whom an adult has engaged in four or more activities for promoting learning and school readiness in the past 3 days	% of children aged 36-59 months who attend an organized preschool education program
Bouaké Centre	4.1	17.8	58.2	13.6	2.5	9
Odienné - NW	19.3	36.8	53.3	21.9	2.1	5.8
Daloa Centre West	2.3	26.3	67.7	25.7	2.2	4.6
Duékoué Centre West	2.3	26.3	67.7	25.7	2.2	4.6
Guiglo - W	14.5	26.4	64.5	17.2	2.5	7.7
Non Cocoa Area						
Cocoa Area						

Source: MICS 2016

Examining the differences between regions in ECD and Childhood Educational Indicators shows a clear disparity between expectations of children in the different regions. Children in the Centre (non-cocoa) and Centre-West (cocoa) regions have very few reported cases of children helping with housework more than four hours a day while in the NW Region (non-cocoa) nearly one in five children contributes substantially to household chores. This was qualitatively confirmed by the study, although in the Centre West Region, “(Direct Observation:, Daloa) A group of children (ten) are gathered in front of the kitchen. A bigger one about 6 years old among them starts a fire and how to make seed sauce. They are having fun. The girl is the babysitter because the others seem to be in her care. She intervenes when the children fight and manages to impose even some order.” This combination of data suggests that the perception of a child’s role within a household differs by region.

A household’s perception of the value of a “rest day” differs across regions in terms of the types of activities people engage in, “Because on the day of rest I can’t do that. I choose the day I sleep a little because here rest is sleep. And when I wake up, I cook, I do my house activities.” (Caretaker,

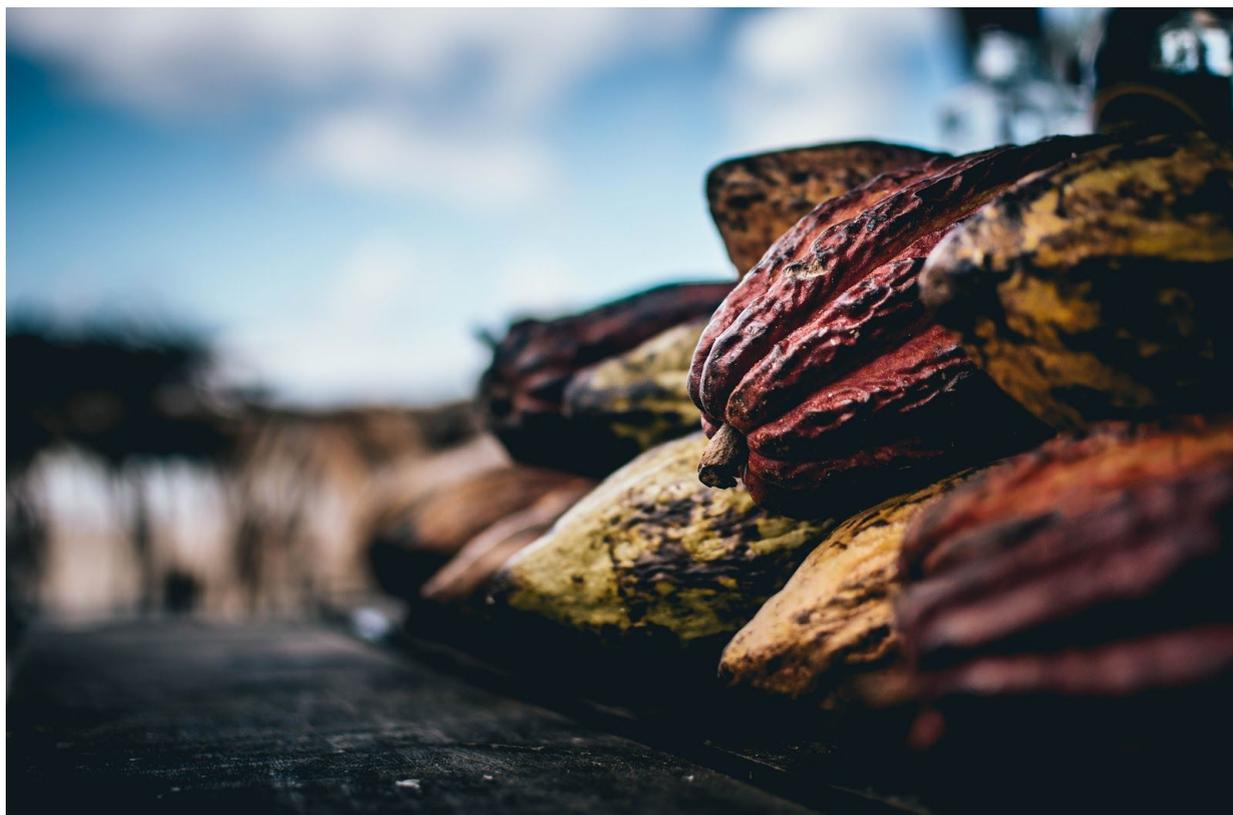
Duekoue). Beyond a household norm, it seems that in cocoa regions, rest can refer to being home for the majority of the day but still may include working, *"The day of rest in the village is that it is to clean up all that is dirt around"* (Father, Daloa). This presents a good opportunity for intervention (mornings/early afternoons on Sundays or other rest days as per local custom) for those communities that subscribe to the concept of a rest day.

Contradictory to participant wishes for education for both boys and girls in our research, if we look at the girl child's education, we see that unfortunately in all but one region over a quarter and up to a third of girls are currently not in school. Likewise there are very low rates of pre-school attendance for girls and boys in all regions with Guiglo in Western region boasting 7.7% of small children enrolled in preschool (which is clearly one of the reasons that TRECC is on the scene, to help fill that gap).

Infant and early childhood stimulation activity is shockingly low across the board in all regions with less than 3% of young children engaged by their parents in a meaningful way that promotes education. Indeed, as mentioned above, the qualitative research showed that many parents, especially in non cocoa regions think of play and education as very different, *"For example if I see a gentleman who is playing like that with his child, I can say that this gentleman is spoiling the child, because when he is going to leave 'school, his idea is to play, he will think that coming to play with his dad at home, the child will not do something good, I see that when you play a lot often it is good but it' is not always good."* (Father, Bouake).

Finally, several participants mentioned differences in parenting and discipline based on religion. Although there is a mix of Christian/Muslim/Other in all regions, it should be noted that the non cocoa regions have a larger Muslim population while the Cocoa Regions tend to have more Christians. One guardian from the Centre West Region said, *"The Christian family and the non-Christian family have a difference, I mean that the one who listens to the teaching of God cannot behave like the others, you are an example therefore you must be careful (to) behave."* A grandmother from the Daloa region (cacao) concurred, *"Those who do not know God must know that you are a Christian by the way you do, by your behavior, what comes out of your mouth must be calculated, so your child must be educated as the Bible teaches because a child who does not go to church at all and one who goes does not have the same behavior."*

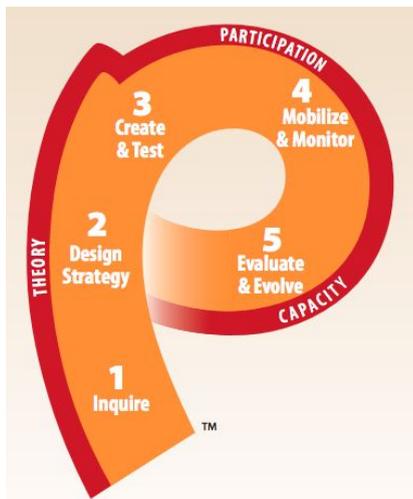
Thinking back to some of the gaps in the basic human development indicators along with the kinds of stories we heard from research participants, it is clear that it seems that overall cocoa and non-cocoa regions, despite being quite different in terms of development have more similarities in terms of ECD challenges and opportunities rather than differences.



Part III: Opportunities for Intervention

We used the findings from the research to develop recommendations for TRECC partners. In the first section “Low interruption tweaks to programs”, we outline 42 tweaks that could be integrated into ongoing programs without significant additional cost or efforts. These low tweaks interventions are organised into 2 cross-cutting themes that we summarized in the following section. We recognise, however, that in some cases, entirely new interventions might be most effective at delivering the outcomes we seek. We therefore present in the “New interventions for future consideration” 38 new interventions that are likely to deliver even more significant change in ECD outcomes. These new interventions ideas are organised into 6 cross-cutting themes that we summarize in a following section. This approach recognizes that TRECC partners are at varying stages of implementation and so, in the event that the newer interventions cannot be taken up, they can nevertheless enhance their ongoing interventions with tweaks.

Overview of Hybrid Process of Translating Insights into Action



To effectively transform the research insights into intervention ideas the BCT applied a hybrid model to working through the P-Process (see left), which was introduced to the TRECC partners in February 2019 in Abidjan. Added to the P-Process were elements of Human Centered Design (HCD), Social and Behavioral Change (SBC) and Behavioral Economics approaches to formative data collection and analysis. HCD approaches were used for the insights validation and idea generation portion of Steps One and Two of the P Process (Inquire and Design Strategy). The HCD process centers around the direct beneficiaries of ECD interventions. This hybrid process focused on building deep empathy with the

end users we were designing for; generating a lot of ideas collectively; building prototypes; sharing them with the target audience and rapidly iterating on these prototypes and eventually putting innovative solutions into practice.

This hybrid model brings rigorous analytical approaches with creative, empathetic and participatory methods together to encourage better solutions. The workshop involved an intensive 2-days workshop with TRECC stakeholders to review and validate insights, generate intervention ideas based on those insights, select best ideas, prototype them and finally plan for testing of the prototypes.

Involving the stakeholders at this stage of the analysis process ensures that recommendations are collectively generated including from local partners and that implementation partners select solutions that are realistic for their context, budget, confidence and buy-in is built in the solutions. Partners also align on the planning process-it paves the way for open minded thinking around quick pivots in improving programming as ongoing monitoring indicates changes are needed.

Low Interruption Tweaks to Programs

In the following section, we list 42 recommendations for “small tweak” interventions that can be incorporated in TRECC ECD projects with minimal costs and that corresponds to insights

highlighted above. Given that the common denominator of most TRECC ECD projects is the delivery of parental education programs, most recommendations listed can be integrated into parental education programs to improve their quality and potential impact. We then summarize the 42 recommendations by categorizing them under two themes: Training format and training content recommendations. Finally, we provide recommendations for BCT's prioritized top 5 low-tweaks interventions.

Detailed low-tweak recommendations per insight

The table below details all 42 recommendations listed insights by insights for both format and content of parental education programs.

Table 11: BCT Low Tweak Intervention Recommendations

Themes	Insights	BCT recommendations on how to incorporate insights into the work - low tweaks
Framing	All parents love and care for their children and believe their parenting decisions are in the best interest of the child, even if that includes violent discipline and lack of stimulation.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reframing love: Love is still wanting the best for their child, violence and a lack of stimulation stunts the child's actual ability to grow and develop properly. Thus, love is not violence, love is adequate stimulation. Build on love as the primary motivator. 2. Reward good parents who have been practicing the right ECD behaviors with non-financial incentives such as certificate, titles of "super parent", public recognition or micro-incentives related to ECD such as a printed poster with some children song lyrics
Framing	Parents hope for their child to become successful through a good education and job. Their child's success brings honor to the family name and positively represents the family as a whole.)	<p>Parents' aspirations for the success of their child and family should be used to motivate them at the beginning and throughout their parental training.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Remind parents during the introductory session and throughout that their child's well being and proper development directly impacts the child's ability to succeed in the future. Consequently, representing the whole family positively. 4. Introduce a simplified vision board exercise where they build a "poster" with a drawing of the baby, and ask them to fill in questions like; what life would you want for your child? Have parents refer to the board at the start of each session and throughout to consistently remind them of their motivations. 5. Talk about important and influential Ivorians who are well known and discuss how they became

		special and when possible use true stories about their roots and growing up in a supportive environment.
Format	The courtyard in a community is an active physical and social space for the communal raising of children.	6. Use the courtyard as a space to host specific training course and modules such as practice sessions for example)
Format	Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV. Social media is not consistently a trusted source of information.	7. Use all available mass media available such as community or regional radio, Social Media, TV and SMS to reinforce messages given during the training and/or to remind participants of the key messages from the training (e.g. SMS reminders, radio messages)
Format	Trusted influencers are in the close relative circle, as well as religious leaders, teachers and medical staff. Confidentiality, trust and competence are important.	8. Use those individuals as champions and messengers for ECD messages, to appropriately create credibility and persuasion. 9. Have health staff deliver important ECD messages during the ANC visits.
Framing	Resource wastage, shame, physical danger and moral infractions were found to trigger violent discipline and reactions.	10. Go through each common behavior and role play a scenario of different reactions to each of them. 11. Frame some of these “mistakes” as part of normal child development. 12. Give examples of cognitive levels at which children can be held responsible for their actions, could be reinforced by a visual or print material or even lining up children in the village by age and discussing
Framing	Different methods for discipline are used at various intensities depending on context (age, infraction, etc)- chicotte remains the most popular for children old enough to walk.	13. Give an alternative ladder with different intensity levels for punishments that are non-violent in the training. 14. Practice stress-reducing and self-calming methods and activities as a group (count to 10, walk away, etc)
Format	Violence is stigmatized and is a stereotyped practice based on religion, tribe and region but the perception of parents' own	15. Conduct discussion on violence, reflection exercise on own use of violence. 16. Publicly shame for parents who use violent discipline, especially with small babies to show that it is no longer socially acceptable.

	self-practice of violence is downplayed.	
Framing	Using violence is justified because of the inherent quality/traits of the children.	<p>17. Use agricultural metaphor (e.g. relating to how seeds grow up with adequate nurturing) to explain how all children are born as a sponge, with an enormous capacity for change and how violence actually negatively affects their (brain) development.</p> <p>18. Use analogies of how people get to greatness along different paths and give fictional or real examples of how much more direct the path to greatness is when the child is nurtured</p> <p>19. Test different frames of communication around making positive discipline a practice that can be i) compatible with African culture ii) is beneficial for the education of children, even difficult ones iii) can be as/more effective as physical punishment</p>
Format and Framing	Using violence has perceived negative and positive long term consequences (more fear = more respect)	<p>20. Group discussion on the positive consequence of violence. Show examples of how to gain respect without violence</p> <p>21. Showing impact on the brain of developing with violence (videos/photos)</p>
Framing	Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning.	<p>22. Show how already existing good practices and playing methods can be educational and allow the child to learn appropriately.</p> <p>23. Address that methods of learning can also be integrated into play in several scenarios, give examples through demonstration, videos in dialects etc.</p> <p>24. Show the impact of the brain developing through adequate stimulation (play) through images/videos and contrast with those visuals of a brain without stimulation.</p>
Framing and Format	Playing with children can predispose one to judgement from others in the community, especially for fathers.	<p>25. Rebrand involved fathers as “SuperDads” and feature their testimonials in sessions, on radio and social media, etc. Encourage them to talk to other dads.</p> <p>26. Find examples of parents who play their children even though others may ridicule them and hear how they block out the negative judgement</p> <p>27. Discuss and provide strategies on how to appropriately overcome judgements from others.</p> <p>28. Play videos of positive role models who counter that norm using the suggested strategies.</p>

		<p>29. Allow the parents to play during the sessions to normalize the behavior, for future public display and high praise the parents while they play with their children. Bring a local or religious leader to the session to also praise the parents immediately.</p>
Format	Grandparents/caregivers have an important role in play and stimulation.	<p>30. Dedicate specific sessions for grandparents/ caregivers on how they can positively influence the development of the child, by their interactions with them and through being an example for others.</p> <p>31. Have grandparents attend sessions and hear from parents about the frustrations of differing philosophies on discipline and reach some agreements and compromises.</p>
Format and Framing	Fathers don't consider their role as being important in the early years, but play an important role later in the education of important values.	<p>32. Find fathers where they regularly meet outside of work (e.g. cooperatives, "Grain") and have discussions around their role or feature mass media stories of positive father role models, in the early years of their children's development.</p> <p>33. Frame the message that values get shaped early on, and so it is critical for fathers to be actively involved from the get-go.</p> <p>34. Connect early stimulation and positive discipline with lifelong earning potential of the children.</p> <p>35. Connect early stimulation with children's connection with their fathers so he does not become a stranger to them, but instead a positive figure whom they can learn from.</p>
Format	Parents are tired and stressed from meeting basic needs, which deprioritize stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.	<p>36. Simplify the content.</p> <p>37. Reduce training time.</p> <p>38. Have sessions at a place and time that is convenient for father.</p> <p>39. Use pre-existing groups as discussion forums for ECD.</p> <p>40. Make sure all ECD messages of new stimulation practices should incorporate themselves easily in the parent's routine (e.g. how to use bath time to sing, dance or play)</p> <p>41. Make sure all recommendations on discipline methods have to be adapted to the reality of parents' life and are easy to implement.</p>

		42. Include teaching about stress-reducing activities and what to do when one “worries too much”.
--	--	---

Low-tweaks recommendation by theme

All small tweaks finding-specific recommendations can be organized under two themes. First, tweaks concerning changes to the training format and tweaks concerning changes to the training content. Here, we describe the rationale for these recommendations, per theme.

Format of training

Accessibility

With regards to format, a critical insight to take into account is the reality of the audience’s life as characterised by high levels of worry and fatigue stemming from work or child and family duties. Thus, it is critical to decrease extra burdens of attending the program by creating accessibility through timing, location of the program and simplified materials.

Timing and Duration: The timing should be aligned to parents’ rest day, with a consideration for not taking over all of their rest time. It might also be worth splitting the lessons across small chunks of time over many days, at convenient times, such as in the evening for example. This way, allowing them to still have time to rest everyday.

Location: The location would have to be in environments that caregivers naturally congregate. These places would be more convenient thus easier to access than asking caregivers to go out of their way to reach a separate location. For example, bringing the training to the courtyard, in markets, churches, and in cooperative meeting spaces. For men this may be after work in the fields at “the grain”.

Materials: Training material should be simplified and condensed for clarity, understanding, efficiency and easy accessibility.

Engagement

Incentives: Participation in the program should hold immediate benefit for the participant. We should take into account what participants might gain from participating in the training

in its entirety. Micro-incentives such as certificates of engagement, small prizes such as soaps, a rotating Parent of the Week trophy and so on, can encourage continuous participation in the training. Public celebration of parents who have completed key parts of the training or the full course and/or applied the right ECD practices can also constitute a powerful incentive.

Use of different communication channels: Relevant communication channels identified by the research should be used to reinforce the learning of the training material through as many sources as possible. SMS could be explored as an opportunity to keep engagement high throughout the program, for example, sending encouraging messages and reminding participants of key messages/practices addressed in the training, as well as acknowledging the individual's personal milestones (birthdays, X numbers of days without violent discipline or XXX number of days and counting of early stimulation).

Behavior change

Community Champions and Role Models: Community champions could be identified (and publicly recognized) as ECD role models, and grandmothers, caregivers, religious leaders, teachers, nurses should be involved in the training and made to reinforce ECD messages and exemplify the good practices outside of training. Influential Ivoirians who are practicing good ECD behaviors could also be showcased during the training.

Involvement of Grandmothers: Grandmothers in particular have been identified as playing an important role in the stimulation of the child. They should also be celebrated as community champions and specific dedicated sessions or entire trainings might be designed for this audience. In addition, grandmothers are usually less busy and more available for external activities than parents.

Group Discussions: Individuals are more likely to adopt new behaviors that have already been accepted and endorsed by respected and model community members. Organizing group discussions involving model parents can serve to discuss and validate new practices and can serve to shift social norms. Validation and acceptance of new practice by fellow community members, especially role models is a stronger driver to behavior change than didactically lecturing parents on what “the right thing to do” is.

Training content

Besides the format, the content of the training material should also be adapted to the findings highlighted in this report.

Framing of content

Aspirational Content: Aspirations that parents have for their children should be used to stir parent engagement and motivation. For example, a simplified vision board of parents' imagined future life for their children might be created at the start of the program and reflected upon at the start of each training session.

Plasticity framing: The training should insist on framing babies and children as capable of developing and growing based on inputs (e.g. nurturing or violent inputs) from their environment, especially in the early years. While this might be an important part of the parental education program already, we found that the majority of parents still perceive children as more or less born with inherent traits or quality and not particularly capable of change. Most parents do not fully recognize their own influence in shaping those traits and qualities. Testing if this message could be reinforced by showing more visual depictions of the brain and human development with and without stimulation or with and without violence would be beneficial in order to display their influence.

Usability of Content

The training should concentrate on providing parents with a lot of practice scenarios and realistic homework assignments in addition to theory. The training should focus on giving parents tools that they can easily use in their everyday life. For example, for discipline the training should provide them with alternative non-violent punishment methods that are easy for them to apply at home.

Scenario Based Content: The training should be specific and go through each typical discipline scenario (inspired by the findings from this research) and give parents guidance on how to react to each of the specific scenarios in a non-violent way. Those alternatives should match the reality of different intensity of 'mistakes' that parents perceive, with a 'ladder' of different gradients of punishment.

Tools and Games: For stimulation, similarly parents should leave the training with plenty of tools for games and songs that they can easily integrate within their life and work routine. The research has highlighted many good stimulation practices and the training content should recognize and use those as a starting point, while insisting on the potential (that

either exists or need to be created) as learning and educational opportunities of those existing practices.

Summary: Top 5 low-tweaks recommendation

#1 Reframing Discipline

Reframing content- Something that can be done relatively easily with the current curriculum and content that the TRECC partners are currently using is to reframe some of the concepts to be less awareness based and more tailored for the psycho-social factors which are known to influence Cote d'Ivoire's Four Priority ECD Behaviours.

We suggest reframing and test messages around children's development plasticity. Partners can show how all children are born with an enormous capacity to learn and how violence or stimulation can negatively/positively affect their development, using metaphors with concepts they know (e.g. using agricultural metaphor to relate to how seeds grow up with adequate nurturing or fade in inappropriate conditions). We recommend using visuals like videos or photos which show the impact of violence and nonstimulation on the brain/children's behavior are likely to be powerful tools. The BCT thinks it is important to reframe discipline because the respondents in this study did not think that their lack of stimulation or violent discipline could negatively impact their children, but that children were born with their personality traits. Yet it is crucial for them to understand the fundamentals of brain plasticity, to be motivated to apply all the different ECD advice.

We also recommend reframing positive discipline as a practice that is i) compatible with African culture ii) is beneficial for the education of children, even difficult and stubborn ones iii) can be as/more effective as/than physical punishment. The BCT thinks it is important to insist on framing positive discipline as something that is effective and contextually relevant and can be used effectively for all children, as those were the main barriers to the adoption of positive discipline techniques. Physical punishment has been common in the west as well, so the BCT discourages positioning non-violent discipline as a western trend.

One tool which could be used in this reframing discipline could be developing an alternative ladder of discipline escalation (this would need considerable pretesting and could be drawn in a poster or take the form of an actual representative object) that clearly show different intensity levels for punishments that are non-violent. This could be a visual reminder that when practiced often could become automatic. The BCT thinks it is important to give participants clear alternatives to what they can use instead of violent practices and also make tangible the consequences of both i) when violence is being used ii) different levels of punishment for different levels of mistakes.

#2 Reframing Early Stimulation

One way to reframe early stimulation is to show how already existing good practices and playing methods are actually educational even if they aren't didactic in nature. It was clear from the research that there were already many good practices observed, and at the same time, parents did not take these activities seriously as learning opportunities. Nearly all parents mentioned hopes of a good education for their child, the BCT believes that reassuring parents that by early stimulation and play they are already putting their child on the path towards a bright future will help motivate parents to continue these good practices.

The BCT suggests that any new stimulation practices or activities should incorporate themselves easily into the parent's routine (e.g. how to use bath time to sing, dance or play). Integrating into the existing lifestyle of parents is very important because parents are busy and do not have a lot of leisure time or time to dedicate to play. Instead of asking them to make some extra time in their day to play with their kids eg. by asking them to build new toys for them, they should encouraged to use stimulation and playful activities during the activities of their daily lives (e.g. while cooking, doing the dishes, bathing the kid, putting them to sleep etc.).

#3 Reminders

TRECC partners should use SMS and Whatsapp groups to reinforce messages given during the training and/or to remind participants of the key messages from the training at key parts of the day. Since the groups are relatively small and SMSes are inexpensive, these reinforcements remind participants of key learnings and also remind them to practice a certain behavior at home. They should be timed for when there are more opportunities for parent-child interaction (e.g. early morning and evening). WhatsApp groups can be used to create online communities, to share media through that channel and work to normalize good ECD behaviors while also helping build a social support group for parents.

The BCT acknowledges that participants have to learn and digest a high volume of information in the training and forgetfulness seems to be a problem. They should be helped in the process of learning through receiving messages that remind them of the day's learning. SMS can also be useful in asking and reminding them at the right moment to practice what they have learned in their daily lives. WhatsApp groups are also useful in that they create social groups and communities and can be used to share relevant communication content.

#4 Community Champions: train community influencers as ECD champions

In general, the research pointed out that a lot of the ECD advice and practices were perceived as “externally driven” and foreign concepts that were not readily accepted by communities. In order for parents and caregivers to start seeing those practices as culturally compatible and socially desirable, we need to involve community members who have the respect and trust of the community. Identified influencers, such as nurses, midwives, religious leaders and grandparents should first benefit from a targeted and intensive training to rally them to the ECD cause. These ECD champions should then be incentivized to relay ECD messages during their daily occupation (e.g. ANC visits, religious sermons). They could also make guest appearances in training, lead entire sessions, or follow-up with community members after training.

For example, the research clearly shows that grandparents are underutilized opinion leaders and interventionists in ECD. Training programs could be created specifically for grandparents, especially grandmothers. The content of the training could be similar to parents but adapted to the realities of grandmothers (e.g. less physical play). Super grandparents who take on larger roles with small children in the community should be recognized by establishing them as community role models. Grandparents seem like important caregivers to involve because

they have more opportunity to interact with small children, they are seen as experts by their own children and sometimes use positive discipline practices more. However, we also know that parents are also sometimes reluctant to follow their parents advice, so using grandparents as a community champion should be carefully tested against other community champions such as a nurse or a father/mother ECD champion.

#5 Awards and Incentives

Acknowledging that partners who participate in the TRECC partner trainings must sacrifice time from their busy days to do so and as a result sometimes do not receive the whole training as it was meant to be, the BCT recommends providing micro-incentives or non-financial incentives to motivate participants to attend the training in its entirety and for rewarding good mothers/fathers/ grandparents that have been applying the learning in their daily life.

The BCT sees that it is important to manage engagement throughout the program since some partners are struggling with attendance (especially for fathers), so different low-cost (or no cost ie: rotating father of the week trophy, soap, vouchers a drawing for something, etc) incentives should be tested to see which ones work best in motivating difficult audiences like fathers, to stay throughout the duration of the training. These incentives could also be used to reward participants who have been successful in applying the learnings in their daily lives (which could be monitored via recall of experiences or journaling), thus providing an incentive for parents to 1) attend 2) practice at home.

New Interventions for Future Consideration

In addition to small-tweaks recommendations, the research insights have the potential to inform novel and innovative ECD interventions beyond what is usually practiced and delivered. In this section, we present 38 original ideas for consideration. These ideas come from the behavioral change team as well as from the participants of the design workshop. We then summarize and

describe these ideas by categorizing them under 6 broad categories. Finally, we provide recommendations for BCT's prioritized top 5 new interventions.

Detailed new intervention recommendations

Table 12: New Intervention Ideas

Theme	Idea
Toolkit	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Scenario practice of non-violent methods for "stubborn/tetu" child: if they do that --> do this. Provide several options of discipline that adjust the intensity of the punishment in order to match with the gravity of the mistake (ladder of punishment). 2. Tools for anger and stress regulation (e.g. coherent breathing, counting, pausing etc.). Send SMS reminders at moments where parents seem to be most stressed 3. Playbook for parents with a game for each key moment of the day (waking up, breakfast time, bath time, etc) 4. Song/Dance about different members of the family and with educational content. 5. Mnemonic devices/activities such as songs, to remember how to add stimulation e.g. eye contact, touch etc. Use agricultural metaphor for adequate nurturing of a child 6. Ultimate relaxation kit for parents that includes playtime with children. Combining relaxing activities with fun games for kids
Community Group Intervention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Men's group discussion in places where they usually meet (e.g. Grain), that covers topics such as early involvement with childrens, violence and other ECD areas. 8. Antenatal support group that teaches songs and discusses ECD best practices. 9. What would Jesus/Mohammed do? Group conversations on religion and ECD using Bible/Quran to justify not using violence.
Role Model - Influencer Intervention	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 10. Nurses and midwives talking about play/discipline during ANC. 11. Griots singing nursery rhymes that deliver impactful messages that encourage positive ECD practices. 12. Community competitions where the "Father of the Month/ Week" is acknowledged and announced on the radio. 13. Model fathers to the "grain" or other agricultural cooperatives and talk about good practices. 14. Community ECD role models that can be recognized through badges, t-shirts with logo etc.

	<p>15. A discipline expert whom parents can take their children to, to receive counsel on their negative behavior. Where parents can bring their kids to him/her to explain the bad things he/she did.</p> <p>Grandparents:</p> <p>16. Celebrate grandparents regularly for how they contribute to the community's children.</p> <p>17. Weekly grandparents day at preschool or elementary school, grandparents volunteer to be in the courtyards.</p> <p>18. Grandparents could volunteer to give cooking classes or tell stories, etc.</p> <p>19. Grandparents could mentor "orphan" parents who do not have grandparents in the village</p> <p>20. Grandmothers could be asked to attend the ANC clinics to give talks on ECD (after being trained on the content)</p> <p>21. Grandfathers could work with young children in the community on a small community garden</p> <p>22. Grandparents could host areas where children can come and do their homework if their parents are not home.</p> <p>23. Grandparents could serve as volunteer monitors who speak with parents the next day who are heard loudly disciplining their child violently</p> <p>24. Grandmothers could be a part of a competition where they play a stimulating game with as many infants/toddlers that they can in a specific timeframe.</p> <p>25. Grandparents could work with older siblings who are the caretakers of their young siblings to show them stimulation techniques.</p>
<p>Reminders and Feedback</p>	<p>26. Positive feedback: Parents are given a poster with a picture of their child hidden, every time they play a song or successfully practice positive discipline they scratch one square that reveals one after the other the picture.</p> <p>27. SMS reminders to play at critical (specific) times.</p> <p>28. Stickers, posters and painted visuals that serve as play and singing reminders.</p>
<p>Signaling</p>	<p>29. Labeling and naming courtyards as " Safe Playing Zones" for babies and children to play in. This creates accountability for actions there. Specific individuals (caregivers, grandmothers etc..) would be responsible to uphold the "rules" and child's safety in that zone (e.g. no violent discipline)</p> <p>30. Adding specific flags to courtyards and houses, that indicate they are a safe space for babies to play in.</p>

Mass Media Interventions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 31. Parents provide testimonies on the radio about previous disciplinary methods (hitting etc.), and how now they use safer/better methods of discipline and why the methods are also effective. 32. Pictorial journey video of how small children develop into adults with or without discipline stimulation. 33. Radio spots for rhymes that parents can sing during bathtime. 34. Videos (disseminated via What'sApp or television) depicting daily life, and that have games that can be played at different moments of the day. The videos end with different outcomes for the children depending on what happened (grow up successful etc.) A point about positive practice being culturally appropriate, and effective should be made. 35. Multi episode radio drama that features humorous and exciting characters where early stimulation and positive discipline is modeled and discussed in passing but is not the main focus of the show-rather it's positioned as a mainstream program. 36. Griots periodically disseminate/singing messages about the two behaviours at key times of the day (ie: homework time for older children and bath time or bedtime for infants and toddlers). 37. Churches or mosques which feature sermons on radio or television mobilized to devote sermons to positive discipline or stimulation. A point about positive practice being culturally appropriate, and effective should be made. 38. Sponsor football matches or project regular television channels at the places where men meet after working in the fields (bars, certain areas of town or "grains" in the North) with interviews from positive father role models and other related content playing interspersed with the mainstream content.
---------------------------------	--

New intervention ideas classified in themes

All new intervention ideas can be organized under six themes. Here we describe the rationale for the ideas, per themes.

Easy ECD Toolkit

This set of intervention responds to the insights surrounding parents feeling the burden and stress of everyday life - therefore calling the need to provide tools that encourage stimulated ECD while simultaneously being easy and fun for the parents to learn and apply. This ties in with a fundamental principle of behavioral science of simplifying, which is that making any change "easy" through reducing barriers and efforts will increase the likelihood of behavioral change. Examples of such tools could be:

- Visual aid (in the form of a poster, or guidebook) designed for dealing with “stubborn” children, that contains guidance on a range of possible reactions to have for specific behaviors that trigger discipline, all of which is recorded in the research. The guide will include relaxation and anger regulation techniques for parents (e.g. deep breathing).
- Visual aid (in the form of a guidebook or video/poster) that helps unlock the child’s potential by incorporating games and songs that will be used during key moments of the day (e.g. bath time). The songs will be educational and will cover topics like getting to know family members and remembering how to stimulate the child. In addition, the suggested activities will be both relaxing for the parents and interactive (stimulating) for the child..

Community group intervention

Creating group discussions with pre-existing groups will allow members to be in a comfortable environment where they can find support during challenging situations, while also being in a safe place that provides the opportunity to adapt to new, less harmful ECD methods.

For example, members of an antenatal group could have discussions about their difficulties and questions concerning pregnancy and receive advice on ECD topics, like beneficial discipline methods and the dangers of violence in discipline before the child is even born. This would give parents the opportunity to learn and be receptive to messages about positive ECD tools before they have the burdens associated with childcaring. Women’s groups, microfinance groups and religious groups are just a sample of the different types of groups that could be used. This set of interventions also corresponds to a principle of behavioral science that is using the social environment of the audience to motivate behavior change (social status, social acceptance).

Role model and influencer interventions

Using influencers and role models in the community to transmit key messages is another core principle of behavioral science and SBCC. Individuals feel the need to follow the lead of credible, knowledgeable experts or community leaders in an authoritative position, and are more likely to be receptive to messages if received from that said expert/authority.

In this context, we identified religious leaders, doctors, and midwives as being influential figures in the community eligible to pass on ECD messages. Nurses, midwives or religious leaders can become champions of ECD messages, such that a person can hear the same key ECD message when they go for training, then a health check-up visit and during church service. A key learning from the field

of social and behavioral change is that the more exposure an individual has to the same message and through different channels, the more familiar the message feels, thus they're more likely to like the message and change their behavior (mere exposure effect).

Role models can also be any parent or grandparents who have been performing the desired behaviors and are elevated as "model parents or grandparents" and publicly recognized as such. These role models can also be elected through a competitive process, which is also a technique known by behavioral change specialists to motivate people to give the best of themselves when they are in competition with others, especially if a reward is on the line. The reward does not necessarily have to be financial but can benefit other aspects of their lives (social status etc.). For example providing model parents/grandparents with wearable distinctive badges or other wearable identification, allow them to be recognized as responsible members in their community and increase their social prominence. Role models can then be brought into group discussions, or asked to publicly share their own experiences to foster inspiration, motivation and direct advice to parents in their communities. Public recognition of these role models or influencers on local radio or in local news is a very effective and inexpensive way to get these people on board.

Reminders and feedback

Even with the best intentions, humans are limited in remembering everything they must do and do not always act according to their intentions. There are multiple reasons for that. However from the results of this research, it was indicated that forgetfulness and/or distractions are significant barriers to acting on those good intentions, especially due to the high cognitive load caused by a stressful environment. Timely reminders are often used to help guide the target audience in the right direction. Intentionally signed SMS messages reminding parents to play games with their kids at certain times or non-digital cues like stickers and posters, or communication material painted on walls of houses and shops, come into use to trigger specific behaviors that can eventually become habits.

Another barrier to acting on intention, is the capacity of humans to under or overestimate their likelihood of engaging in certain activities, where they overestimate their positive behaviors and underestimate their use of negative ones (optimism bias). For example, our research suggests that parents might be underestimating their use of physical violence. A "feedback" system where parents are given accurate feedback on the prevalence of their practice could help overcome this limitation. For instance, we could help visualize parents' effects on their child's development by having them place pebbles in a brain or child-like shaped container when they've demonstrated positive techniques.

Signaling

Bright or labelled flags could be placed in physical surroundings like the courtyards and outside specific caregiver homes. The flag would deem that environment as a “Baby Safe Zone” where babies and young children can safely play or stay comfortably for a few hours, being monitored by a volunteer caregiver, neighbor or grandmothers typically who will pledge to not use violent discipline. This kind of messaging could be a behavioral change intervention in itself because it signals that the community is taking this issue seriously and that their community is one that takes action, therefore allowing community members to be proud of their community. Pride is a strong motivator for change and upkeep in communities. These flags could also become a status sign for parents/caregivers that have the flag in their home and would create a support system for parents/caregivers when they leave for work or other responsibilities knowing that they can leave their children in a nurturing environment where children can be attended to, played with and disciplined without violence.

Mass Media Interventions

Finally, mass media interventions can be effective for social and behavior change. Three decades of research in social and behavior change has proven that the more ways in which people are exposed to the same message, the more likely they are to actually change their behaviour. In the case of parenting behaviors for ECD, for example, hearing a message in a parent group can be exponentially more impactful if they hear the same message on a community radio spot and also hear their religious leader saying the same thing and see it in a WhatsApp video clip.

Radio, video or print materials are often the most popular means of media outreach. In our context and given our research findings, potential media intervention could include, but are not limited to using one of the following formats:

- Testimonies of parents who explain what they used to do and what they do now, why they decided to change and how it has positively impacted them and their family. These testimonies can be integrated in a radio show format where people could call in to give their testimonies live and have their questions answered by a trained radio host.
- Radio clips of songs that can be sung to children during key moments of the day aired at a time where people are most likely to listen (for example during the evening, a radio jingle could remind parents to put their babies to sleep after playing with them).
- Pictorial journey through print or video following children who have been adequately stimulated and disciplined vs children who have not, the material would then show the outcome of a child growing healthy and successful in the first case. Getting parents to think

about (and aspire to) the future, as opposed to just the present, is an important lever to make them engage with ECD.

- Radio interviews with role models or influencers working with community radio stations.
- Radio soap opera that would air one episode daily following the life of parents' challenges in raising stubborn children. We follow the journey and challenges of the parents as they resist violent discipline and make sure they play with their children enough. We follow the growth of the children, who then go on to become successful adults.
- Multi episode radio drama that features humorous and exciting characters where early stimulation and positive discipline is modeled and discussed in passing but is not the main focus of the show-rather it's positioned as a mainstream program

Specific framing of the message will need to address barriers identified in the formative research (e.g. perception that positive discipline is not adapted to local reality) and be pre-tested rigorously before scaled-up.

Deciding on which stations to place mass media products is particularly important, especially when we consider budget implications. Mass media interventions can reach a wide audience and the best mass media pieces are not didactic in nature but rather touch emotions in a way that provokes listeners to talk about what they have heard/seen. Community radio stations would be an appropriate channel to explore for TRECC interventions although regional radio stations may end up with better coverage. It is important to consider costs, coverage and timing for the spots (the most popular time Ivorians listen to the radio is around the news time).

Summary: Top 5 new intervention recommendations

If we consider the opportunity to implement new interventions in addition to “low tweak” interventions, there are many exciting programmatic components which could be tried, based on the combined formative research results.

#1: Easy ECD Kit of Resources for Parents

The first new intervention is an Easy ECD Kit of Resources that would include a number of user friendly, low literate, engaging and culturally relevant tools, games, songs, reminders, and other products for parents or soon to be parents of infants and toddlers. The content could include materials that address all four of the Cote d'Ivoire's Priority ECD behaviours or only positive discipline and early stimulation behaviours depending on which fits best. During

the workshop in February 2020, a need for more tangible resources was clearly expressed and although no partner ended up taking this on, we believe it will fill a significant gap.

This Kit of Resources would address the lack in the physical materials that most parents report not having access in their homes and also ties together the concepts that they have learned in the TRECC provided training with tangible activities and representations of those concepts.

Examples of materials that could be in this kit could include:

- Reminders/cues to action: A sticker for the bathtub with a game or action reminder on it
- Reminder: Something to grow (a vegetable seed) as a reminder of nurturing kids with play and songs, singing a song when they water it.
- Positive feedback tool e.g. a photo taken of their child when they start the trainings of their baby which are then covered in a “scratch off” material like you might see on lottery tickets--parents scratch off a portion each time they practice a positive TRECC behaviour and they end up with a full photo of their smiling baby-this is an illustrative example and could be further refined with some prototyping
- A variety of visual aids:
 - A poster designed for dealing with “stubborn” children, that contains pictorial guidance on a range of possible reactions to have for specific behaviors that trigger discipline, all of which is recorded in the research.
 - Mini posters of suggestions of songs to sing by key time of day (e.g. bath time) that help unlock the child’s potential. The songs will be educational and will cover topics like getting to know family members and remembering how to stimulate the child. In addition, the suggested activities will be both relaxing for the parents and interactive (stimulating) for the child. The posters may have lyrics but should be taught during the trainings and used as reminders at homes.
 - Stories to tell children with many pictures and very few words that parents could use as a prompt/base for storytelling
 - Visual representations of brain development illustrating with positive discipline versus violent discipline and early stimulation versus no early stimulation
 - Posters of a life journey of someone whose parents practiced the TRECC behaviours versus someone’s life journey of someone whose parents did not
 - Colourful posters/pages that can be used for early childhood games (with photos/drawings of items, body parts, etc)

- A wearable, tangible item that identifies people in the community who are trying to practice the TRECC behaviours to build social status and organic interest in the program. This would need to be carefully pre-tested as it has potential to backfire, since there is some skepticism around some ECD concepts.

These are examples of materials above that could be included in a Early ECD Kit of Resources for parents but certainly there are many other items which could also be included as well.

#2: A Comprehensive Multi Channel SBCC Campaign

Since we know that behaviour change is a multifaceted and complex process, we need to consider some SBCC core essential principles in order to increase the likelihood of uptake of key TRECC behaviours. Central to SBCC is the clear repeated research that shows that repeated exposure to a message from as many different channels as possible increases behaviour change. Since at the moment most TRECC interventions are limited to interpersonal communication in community training, adding in mass and mid media as a layer over this community intervention makes a lot of sense. While DMI is already working on some radio spots regarding TRECC's key behaviours, those spots could be backed into a comprehensive multi channel SBCC Campaign which would also prioritize some products that we feel would have some good traction, described below.

Diverging from a didactic approach to ECD, a turn towards an edutainment approach could be employed to begin to chip away at some of the social norms around the TRECC behaviours. Multi episode radio dramas or comedies that feature humorous and exciting characters and storylines are already popular in Ivory Coast. Creating a fun mainstream show that simply features and discusses the TRECC behaviours but are not the main focus of the show has been very effective in other thematic issues such as health, democracy, etc. That could be paired with an IVR (Integrated Voice Recording) platform where the content could be re-accessed free of charge (several neighboring countries have done a similar approach with hundreds of thousand accessing the content through IVR-which shows that if the content is high quality enough, people do demand it).

Adding to the edutainment approach would also be short videos, designed to "go viral" disseminated via What'sApp depicting daily life that show games that can be played at

different key moments of the infant/toddler's day (waking up, breakfast time. Some videos may end with different outcomes for the children depending on what happened (grow up successful etc.). These videos would also underline that positive practices can be culturally appropriate.

Community radios would also be looped in under the SBCC strategy to recognize local ECD champions and feature religious leaders, nurses/doctors/social workers/teachers/ECD experts, model parents, etc. as part of their normal programming, as a way to add another layer of exposure to these important messages about the TRECC priority behaviours.

#3 Adding Community Voices to the Mix

As either a stand-alone intervention or a part of Intervention #2-A Comprehensive Multi Channel SBCC Campaign, including influential community voices clearly arose from the research as a needed channel for ECD messaging, to overlay the existing interpersonal communication interventions. Adding these community voices to the mix also addresses a gap that the research showed, that participants need to be reached where they already are whenever possible instead of imposing on them a change in venue, day to day routine, etc. The research shows that influential opinion leaders such as close family, health professionals and religious leaders are trusted sources of information for new parents. This intervention would be developing guidance and a system to recruit, train and support additional community voices.

Integrating messages about ECD best practices and especially the Cote d'Ivoire Four Priority ECD behaviours to routine ANC services is a great way in which to reach a captive audience who have infants on their minds. This could be a great opportunity for nurses/midwives or ECD specialists or social workers to teach women songs or games and help develop plans for practicing these behaviours.

Church or mosque leaders could be leveraged to devote sermons to the Cote d'Ivoire Four Priority ECD Behaviours. These leaders could also reach their existing men's or women's Bible or Quran study groups or other groups within their faith with ECD discussions. Experts could be invited to give technical information while the leaders could be provided that encouragement for these positive practices are easily found within the religious texts, that these behaviours are becoming or are culturally appropriate, and testifying to their effectively should be made (of course only among religious leaders who are not themselves big

proponents of “spare the rod, spoil the child” themselves). Religious leaders, since many are men, are already uniquely positioned to speak directly to new fathers in the early years and to reiterate the importance of the Cote d'Ivoire Four Priority ECD Behaviours which are very important for fathers too.

#4 Address Caregiver Mental Health

Stress management and stress reduction for new parents was a very clear need found across formative research studies. The idea for this new intervention is to develop a comprehensive Caregiver Mental Health component to add to the existing interventions. Since parental peers are already being brought together, integrating group therapy components may be very useful. Inputs from psychological resources would be necessary for this (and even perhaps a cognitive behavioural therapy approach) and may look like a parental education group with a group therapy component or vice versa, could be a parental support group with an educational component. In addition to group therapy the Caregiver Mental Health focus would include a relaxation kit with:

- Strategies and tips for managing stress
- Exercises for practicing stress management techniques
- Anger regulation techniques/tools (ie: counting, taking a walk/walking away, deep breathing, squeeze beans, etc)
- A journal for people to draw or write feelings, successes, etc.
- A section repositioning play as a “de-stressing” opportunity during key moments of the day
- An opt-in stress management reminder during times of the day with anticipated stress (evenings/nights and mornings)

#5 Courtyards as Supervised Play Zones

An important observation of the research is that since parents and caregivers are often busy, children are sometimes left alone for a long period of time, with no supervision. Since courtyards were referred to many times as places of refuge in communities, an idea for a new intervention could be labeling (small sign) and naming courtyards as “Supervised Playing

Zones” for babies and children to play in. Just having this visual sign creates accountability for actions there. If these spaces were “institutionalized” in this way, specific community champions (caregivers, grandmothers etc.) would be responsible to uphold the “rules” (i.e. the TRECC Priority Behaviours) and from supervising children for a specific amount of time. Children are already congregating in these areas, this is more legitimizing the space and also introducing an element of accountability. These spaces could also be places where reminder stickers and painted visuals could serve as play and singing reminders. This way children at least are benefiting from these positive behaviours from the community, if not at home. This safe playing space idea could take on many different forms based on the community as well and its local resources.

TRECC ECD partners specific ideas

All original ideas proposed are attached in annex, but following the HCD process, a selection has been made on all low-tweaks and new intervention ideas to finalize and work on four winning ideas. The process for selecting the ideas was as follows: first, all participants voted for their favorite ideas, we selected the most highly ranked ideas. Then, with those ideas, we further clustered them in four big winning ideas according to the following criteria:

- “Feasible” in terms of budget and incorporation in current partner’s programming and timelines
- Linked to at least one research insight
- Potential for impact (based on literature and understanding of the context)

These four ideas were:

1. A role model intervention, similar to Supernanny (a popular French show, well-liked in Cote d'Ivoire), displaying a local super “caregiver” going to households to discipline families in difficulties, usually with difficult children. Local supernanny would be a role model in terms of showing that positive discipline is effective and locally relevant.
2. ECD toolkit intervention with contextually-relevant songs, games, stress management activities all easily integrated in parents and caregivers daily life
3. Community intervention using religious and associative platform to spread positive ECD messages

4. ECD space intervention, for the creation of nursery zones (in courtyard or others), that would be staffed with grandparents and other willing caregivers, that would be a place where babies and children be stimulated through games and other learning activities, while also being a place where no violent discipline is allowed.

Those four ideas were then presented to partners who were asked to select one big idea to work from. Partners were asked to select an idea that they were confident they could later test and implement.

This is a description of their ideas for prototyping:

Table 13: NGO Specific Ideas and Prototype Descriptions

Organization	Description of Prototype
IRC	<p>Idea 3:</p> <p>Prototype 1: "Mobile Parenting" idea that would allow parenting education to be taken into non traditional settings like markets.</p> <p>Prototype 2: The second prototype was the idea of a visible brand/tangible wearable recognition sign illustrating that the wearer has attempted to make positive ECD parenting decisions.</p> <p>Prototype 3: The third prototype was the idea to introduce a song to the existing creches, with the intention of the song working its way back into the home for the young childrens parents to hear.(the song would be about not using corporal punishment and nurturing care and stimulation). After plotting them on an Impact/Feasibility matrix, it was decided that the second and third prototypes would move forward, with the possibility to test each on their own and a potential third group that would be a combination of both the song and the wearable recognition.</p>
HKI/PNN	<p>Idea 3:</p> <p>This group decided to focus on using religious leaders and religious framing to inspire behavior change. The prototype that they would like to test is testing different ECD messages that are inspired from Bible verses. They would work with religious leaders to co-develop the messages and then test which variation of the message is the most inspiring and conducting to behavior change.</p>
DMI	<p>Idea 1:</p> <p>This group decided to focus on an intervention of mass media that would be a TV/radio show displaying a "Super nanny", a role model caregiver that will go from village to village and find solutions to real issues that parents are experiencing in terms of ECD (e.g. disciplining their children). They wanted to prototype different characters for the lead role.</p> <p>Prototype 1: "Mamie choc" a grandmother</p>

	Prototype 2: "Papie choc" a grandfather Prototype 3: "Mamie et Papie choc" a duo of both lead characters
PMNDPE	<p>Idea 4:</p> <p>This group decided to focus on using grandmothers to staff ECD centers. A challenge faced in this prototype, would be to find a way to keep the volunteer grandmas engaged and motivated throughout the process. They tested 3 different types of prototypes:</p> <p>Prototype 1: Motivating grandmas using aspirational tee-shirt with "model grandma" on it</p> <p>Prototype 2: Motivating grandmas through public ceremonies in the communities where grandmothers would be celebrated in front of everyone and given a "pagne" as an award</p> <p>Prototype 3: Motivating grandmothers by organizing official meetings of grandmothers with "sous-prefet", which grandmothers are meant to value a lot.</p>

Testing Plans

An important next step is testing the prototypes. While they are informed by comprehensive qualitative insights, testing prior to implementation at scale is the most cost effective way to proceed. This will allow us to attribute causality and rely on revealed, rather than self-reported, preferences and/or data. Each partner organisation has developed a plan for testing their prototype in the next year, found below. Busara and CCP will continue to support the NGOs as they test their prototype with qualitative and quantitative methods. This will include routine coordination meetings starting with IRC and PMNDPE first as their implementation schedules were determined to be the most amenable to quick integration of the prototypes.

Table 14: PMNDPE Prototype Testing Plan

Organization / Project name (for TRECC projects)	PMNDPE
Prototype (name and brief description)	Mobilization of grandmothers for their participation in stimulation activities in ECD centers
What are we testing?	The motivating effect of the three prototypes
What is our test approach? Quantitative or qualitative?	Qualitative -

	Quantitative -
What direct or indirect results do we want to maximize / improve?	Increase the involvement of grandmothers and perpetuate their presence in daycares
What are the programmatic implications? (example create new tools)	Create new activities Mobilization budgeting
What are the implications in terms of monitoring and evaluation? (e.g. additional data to be collected)	Evaluation of the impact of this intervention on the community
What are the implications in terms of calendar of activities? (for current projects)	No significant changes in activities
What are the cost implications? (take into account the cost of M&E programmatic implications and timing)	Prototype development cost Data gathering
How are we going to find the financial resources?	Through a PMNDPE budget line

Table 15: SCSCEB/IRC Prototype Testing Plan

Organization / Project name (for TRECC projects)	SCSCEB / MFFE / IRC
Prototype (name and brief description)	Itinerant schools for parents Recognition sign for "good parents"
What are we testing?	Parental education modules in different places contexts + distinction signs for good parents
What is our test approach? Quantitative or qualitative?	Both, pretest / post test + focus group Potentially Quantitative
What direct or indirect results do we want to maximize / improve?	Positive discipline techniques are used by a large number of parents in the communities.
What are the programmatic implications? (example create new tools)	Creation of pliers ribbon bracelets, Educators on the move
What are the implications in terms of monitoring and evaluation? (e.g. additional data to be collected)	Comparison between a community that tests the project and another that does not test it
What are the implications in terms of calendar of activities? (for current projects)	Add interventions in the chosen communities.
What are the cost implications? (take into account the cost of M&E programmatic implications and timing)	+ educator bonuses Materials for making bracelets / clips

How are we going to find the financial resources?	Complementary projects / budget realignment
--	---

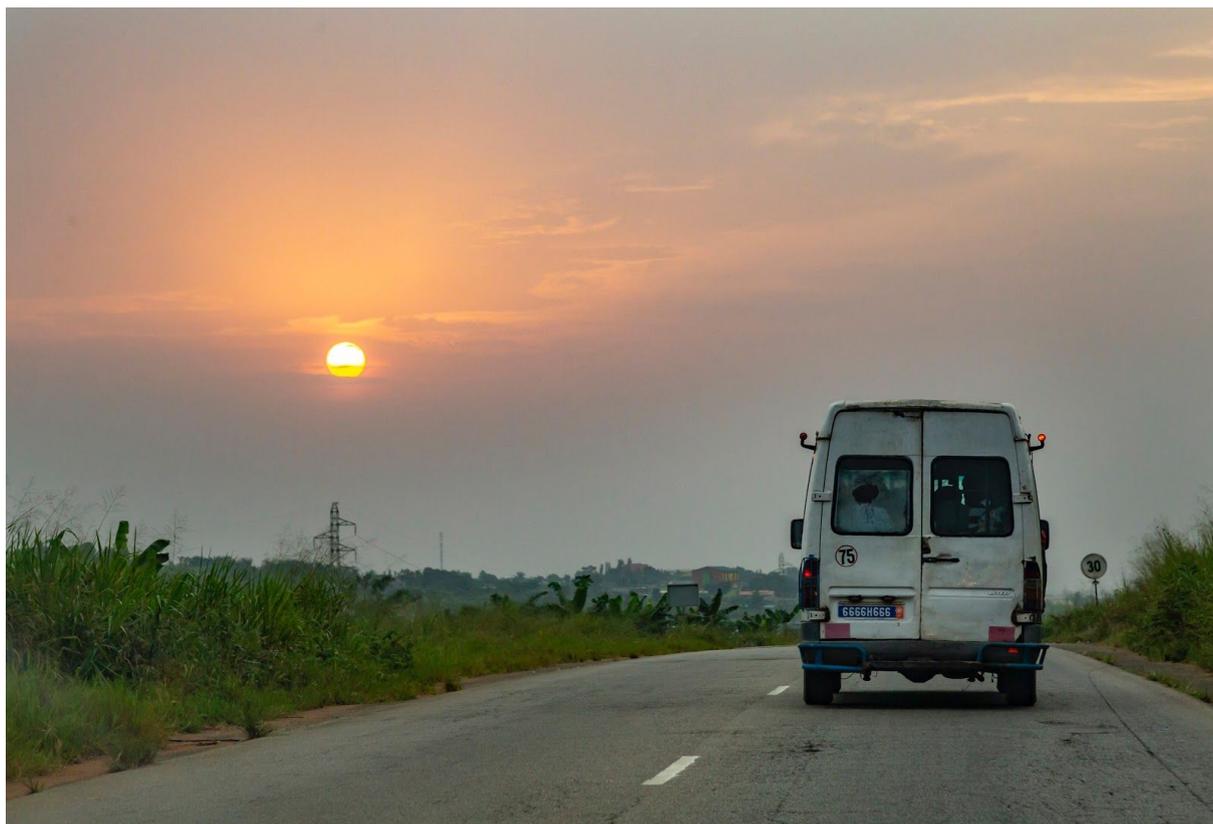
Table 16: DMI Prototype Testing Plan

Organization / Project name (for TRECC projects)	DMI
Prototype (name and brief description)	Mamie / Papie Choc Television and / or radio program during which our host finds solutions to real ECD problems for families.
What are we testing?	The format, the media (TV or radio), the presenter, presenter partners, the profitability
What is our test approach? Quantitative or qualitative?	Qualitative, copies of different formats are tested and focused in local languages
What direct or indirect results do we want to maximize / improve?	Positive discipline methods and stimulation practices are normalized amongst Ivorian parents
What are the programmatic implications? (example create new tools)	Creation of new tools, creation of media content which can also be distributed online and through social networks
What are the implications in terms of monitoring and evaluation? (e.g. additional data to be collected)	Over time we can refine the format to meet the concerns of the target audience. Maybe we can put in place an effective mediation system.
What are the implications in terms of calendar of activities? (for current projects)	Organization of the casting shoot, scenario etc From February to April. Shooting in April post-production in May
What are the cost implications? (take into account the cost of M&E programmatic implications and timing)	0FcfA filming and pre-production at (...) Exception of animators (1,500,000) and rental of equipment (300,000) post production 900,000, pretest 3,000,000.
How are we going to find the financial resources?	DMI finances the pre-production so no cost except for the animators and the material. It would have cost 1M500000 without this support. Post production may be a gift from the production company. Pretest: BVLf, Jacobs foundation (...)

Table 17: National Nutrition Program and HKI Prototype Testing Plan

Organization / Project name (for TRECC projects)	National Nutrition Program, Helen Keller International
Prototype (name and brief description)	Use of places of worship for the CCSS on ECD in communities

What are we testing?	Involvement of religious leaders Support existing messages with religious references
What is our test approach? Quantitative or qualitative?	Qualitative
What direct or indirect results do we want to maximize / improve?	More parents are reached by ECD messages on positive discipline ECD messages are trusted and acted on because they come from religious leaders
What are the programmatic implications? (example create new tools)	Find motivated leaders Train religious and community leaders Develop a scientific collection sheet
What are the implications in terms of monitoring and evaluation? (e.g. additional data to be collected)	Additional data to collect
What are the implications in terms of calendar of activities? (for current projects)	Second quarter 2020
What are the cost implications? (take into account the cost of M&E programmatic implications and timing)	Training of religious leaders Motivation of leaders (meeting with the prefect) Intervention monitoring
How are we going to find the financial resources?	TRECC



Part IV: Conclusion

The many ongoing ECD initiatives in Ivory Coast are yielding strong results and plans for scale up are underway. From February 2019 to February 2020, four solid formative research studies have been conducted to contribute to the former dearth of research on ECD in Ivory Coast. While more insights overall from the combined body of new literature were focused on the first two of Cote d'Ivoire's Four Priority ECD behaviours (exclusive breastfeeding until six months old and complementary feeding after six months), there is also now considerably more information on early stimulation practices and positive discipline to help make programmatic decisions. Four studies of this scope in one year is a truly fantastic and very quick feat, TRECC and its partners should be proud!

The BCT's approach to formative research started similarly to the other three studies from PMNDPE, DMI and HKI, with focus groups and in-depth individual interviews. Direct and in-direct observations were then conducted. Initial analysis was then processed as a large group with all TRECC stakeholders to co-design potential actionable programmatic interventions.

The recommendations made in this report were tailored from the insights of our research in combination with our knowledge of human behavior, cognition and how it relates to society and decision making. The small tweak interventions were made with functionality, cost efficiency and easy integration to current TRECC programs in mind, specifically in the format and framing of the training. They include interventions that feed into fundamental human values and behaviors such as being accepted into society, adding convenience to families and individuals and creating social norms through model community members.

The new interventions for future considerations were designed with the intent to encourage the uptake of healthy ECD practices. These include methods that could be adopted by community members and mass media alike that are simple to access/understand and consistently remind users of positive parenting and ECD behaviors which bring pride to individuals and communities practicing them.

Outcomes from the codesign workshop included exciting prototypes which TRECC partners will be further developing and testing to hopefully add additional impact to their ongoing interventions. The BCT will continue to support these partners as they develop and rapidly iterate prototypes through the end of 2020. Results of these interventions will be included as addendum to this report.

Appendix

NGO-specific relevant insights

During the co-design workshop, TRECC partners were asked to prioritize insights from the formative research and vote for those more likely to inform their work. We have included them here for reference.

Table 18: Relevant IRC Insights

Insights IRC Indicated Most Relevant to their Work:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The courtyard in a community is an important physical and social space for communal raising of children.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV. Social media is not a trusted source of information
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which deprioritize stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning

Table 19: Relevant PNN/HKI Work Insights

Insights PNN/HKI Indicated Most Relevant to their Work:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trusted influencers are in the close relative circle, as well as religious leaders and medical staff. Confidentiality, trust and competence are important
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV. Social media is not a trusted source of information.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which deprioritized stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grandparents, caregivers and siblings have an important role in play and stimulation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fathers don't consider their role as being important in the early years, but play an important role later
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using violence is justified because of the inherent quality/traits of the children

Table 20: Relevant ICS Work Insights

Insights ICS Indicated Most Relevant to their Work:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which deprioritized stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Playing with children can predispose one to judgement from others in the community, especially for fathers.

Table 21: Relevant PMNDPE+NGO Work Insights

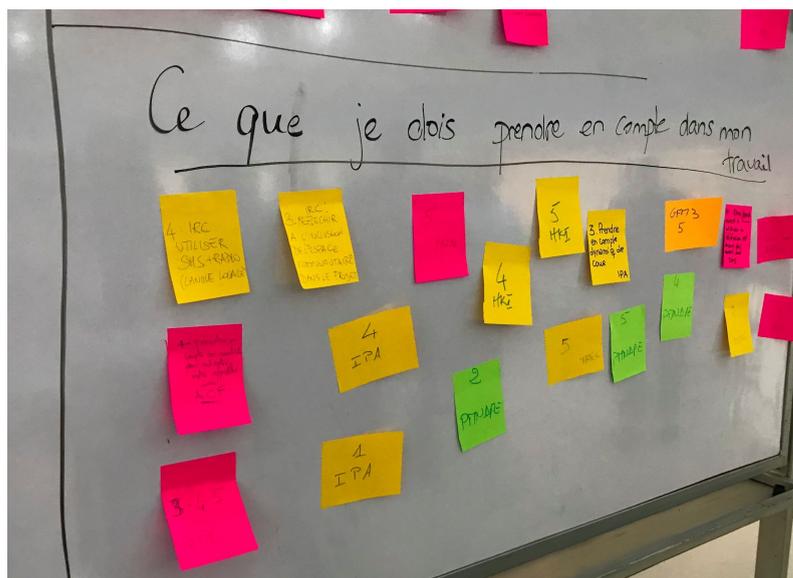
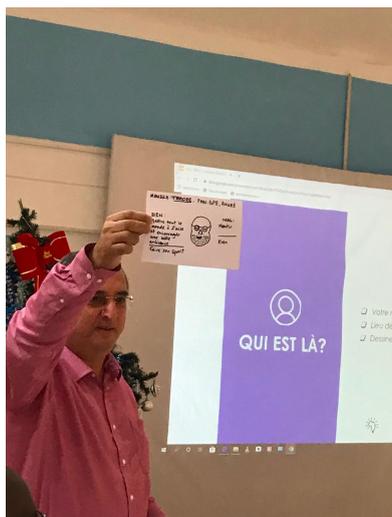
Insights PMNDPE +NGOs Indicated Most Relevant to their Work:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents in the surveyed communities want their children to have a good education, a good job and represent the family well.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trusted influencers are in the close relative circle, as well as religious leaders and medical staff. Confidentiality, trust and competence are important
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preferred channels of communication include SMS, radio and TV. Social media is not a trusted source of information.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behaviors that would trigger violent discipline varied with and centered around resource wastage, shame, physical danger and moral infractions.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence is stigmatized and is a stereotyped practice based on religion, tribe and region but the perception of parents' own self practice of violence is downplayed.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Using violence has perceived negative and positive long term consequences.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents are tired and stressed meeting basic needs which makes them deprioritize stimulation activities and predisposes them to giving violent discipline.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lots of good stimulation practices exist but playing is not equated with learning
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Playing with children can predispose one to judgement from others in the community, especially for fathers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grandparent, caregivers and siblings have an important role in play and stimulation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fathers don't consider their role as being important in the early years, but play an important role later in the education of important values

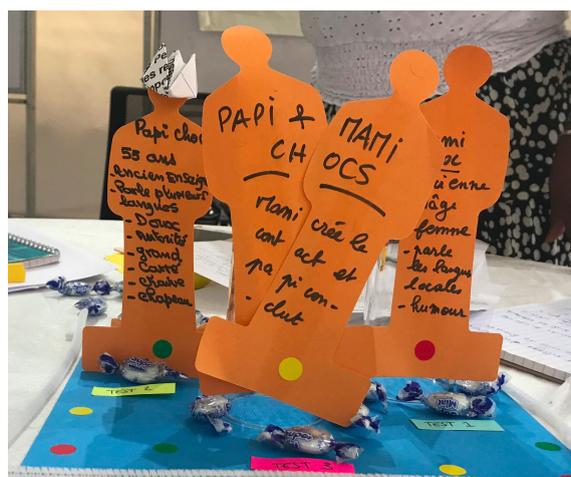
*DMI did not provide any insights that are relevant for their work during the workshop

[Literature Review link](#)

[Complete Workshop notes link](#)

[Pictures from the workshop:](#)





Pictures from the process of generating key insights





Contact us for more information

alice.escande@busaracenter.org

amccart7@jhu.edu

Photo Credit: Alexandre Brondino, Eva Blue, Arno Partissimo, Ety Fidele