An Examination of Childcare Practices and Perceptions amongst Employed Ugandan Males and their Working Spouses in the Kampala and Mpigi Districts

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ABSTRACT

This study examines childcare practices among employed Ugandan fathers with working spouses. The researcher adopted a dominant quantitative design as well as a qualitative design (mixed methodology). A survey was used to obtain quantitative descriptive data. Random cluster samples of 200 fathers (100 in Kampala and 100 in Mpigi) and 200 mothers (100 in Kampala and 100 in Mpigi) were interviewed with questionnaires. The Quantitative data was analyzed using the statistical software (SPSS) and presented in the form of bar graphs and tables.

The qualitative component of the study comprised fourteen Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with an average of six to seven participants (7 FGDs in Kampala and 7 in Mpigi). This qualitative data was analyzed in relationship to themes and associated categories and the patterns that emerged were triangulated with statistical data.

The most significant findings include:

- The data reveals two sets of contradictory perceptions around fathers' involvement in childcare: (i) Individual fathers (70%) and mothers (90%) are comfortable with the idea of fathers' involvement in childcare and yet (ii) according to FGD data, fathers' involvement in childcare is not culturally acceptable. Furthermore, 42% of the fathers never get directly involved in childcare and the reasons offered are linked to the perceptions that spouses may manipulate them, or spouses/neighbors may disrespect them.
- Three levels of fatherhood emerge from the data (i) very traditional fatherhood, where fathers do not directly participate in childcare at all (42%); (ii) somewhat traditional fatherhood, where fathers participate in some selective childcare activities (play) beyond material provision (42.6%); and (iii) contemporary fatherhood, where fathers are willing to participate in a variety of custodial activities which include changing nappies (20.2%).
- Fathers are twice more likely to be involved in childcare when they are wealthier than their spouses than when their spouses are wealthier than them. Wealthier fathers have more confidence to do childcare work—knowing that their spouses are not likely to disrespect them. Where mothers are wealthier than the fathers, fathers' childcare involvement is limited largely due to issues of 'power' and self-esteem.
- There are slight differences in urban and rural fathers' perceptions and practices regarding childcare. E.g. urban fathers (56%) are more likely than rural fathers (44%) to express the belief that childcare is ideal for fathers. However, the urban and rural differences in themselves do not explain fathers' involvement in childcare. The more educated fathers tend to occupy more formal employment which is mostly found in urban areas. Exposure to higher education as well as the impact of urban culture and greater accessibility to many forms of media may accelerate changing gender roles in urban areas

The following recommendations are suggested:

- There is a need for the government's Ministry of Gender and Social Development, and civil society organizations devoted to gender and development to engage in community education targeting perceptions relating to power and gender division of labor and helping fathers and mothers understand the developmental role that both parents play in the lives of their children.
- While mothers' wealth as well as mothers' work contributes towards household necessities, it may be a source of insecurity for fathers. Parenting courses which address such issues may be helpful. Since education has a direct and positive relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare, the Ministry of Education should mainstream gender issues in the education curricula starting with the primary school level. Whilst this could be more easily implemented in urban areas, other strategies are needed in rural areas where traditional practices abound.
- Some intervention strategies that target traditional leaders and elders may assist in addressing some of the issues raised in this study. Positive cultural practices can be assimilated into contemporary fatherhood practices.

DECLARATION

I, Apollo Nkwake Mukasa, hereby declare that this thesis is my own unaided work; and that the assistance obtained has been only in the form of professional guidance and supervision; and that no part of this thesis has been submitted in the past for a degree at any other University; and that the information used in this thesis has been obtained by me while registered as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Development, University of Cape Town.

Signature

January 2012

DEDICATION

To my daughters—Theodora, Gianna and Benita; and my wife Maureen, who have made my study of fatherhood a real and worthwhile experience

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APA:	American Psychological Association
BCPRS:	Beliefs Concerning the Parental Role Scale
CBD:	Central Business District
CRC:	Convention on the Rights of Children
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FIS:	Father Involvement Scale
GNP:	Gross National Product
GoU:	Government of Uganda
HJIE:	Heather Joshi Institute of Education
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
IMR:	Infant Mortality Rate
KCC:	Kampala City Council
MFPED:	Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development
MGLSD:	Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development
NECDP:	Uganda Nutrition and Early Childhood Development Project
NRA:	National Resistance Army
PCCAS:	Perceived Competence in Childcare Activities Scale
PICCI:	Paternal Index of Childcare Inventory
PPS:	Probability Proportionate to Size
PSFI:	Partner Support for Father Involvement
PSOCS:	Parenting Sense of Competency Scale
SAPs:	Structural Adjustment Programs
SDT:	Self-Determination Theory
SPRS:	Satisfaction in the Parental Role Scale
SPSS:	Statistical Program for Social Scientists
UBOS:	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UCT:	University of Cape Town
UDHS:	Uganda Demographic and Health Survey
UN:	United Nations
UNECDP:	Uganda Nutrition and Early Childhood Development Project
UNFPA:	United Nations Population Fund United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNICEF:	United Nations International Children's and Education Fund
UWONET:	Uganda Women's Network
W-FCS:	Work-Family Conflict Scale
WHO:	World Health Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Chapter Overview

In this chapter the study background; statement of the problem; focus of the study; significance of the study; study title; research questions; research objectives , key assumptions; study variables and assumptions about their connectedness; clarification of key concepts, reflexivity and the structure of the research report, are presented. The background to the study highlights changes in gender roles and the increasing involvement of mothers in market production. The problem statement underlines the effects of mothers' involvement in paid employment on childcare and the apparent lack of fathers' involvement in childcare. The research questions and objectives set the parameters for this study. Factors that may influence fathers' childcare activities are presented in a diagram.

1.2. Background to the study

In all societies in the world, it is evident that culture assigns particular roles to men and women (United Nations Population Fund–UNFPA, 2005; Ahikire, 1999). Housework, which includes childcare, food preparation, and domestic cleaning, has traditionally been regarded as the women's domain. Both global and national statistics testify to this situation. For example, UNFPA (2005) reports that fathers spend about a third as much time as mothers in providing direct childcare. World Bank estimates in 1995 showed that women's unpaid domestic labor accounted for 40% of gross national product (GNP) worldwide, although in developing countries, 66% of women's work is excluded from national accounting mechanisms (World Bank, 2002a). In Uganda, national statistics show that the greater share of household tasks is performed by women and girls: cooking (86%); fetching water (70%); collecting firewood (73%); childcare (62%); washing clothes (88%); and caring for the sick and elderly (62%) (Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development [MGLSD], 1999). In contrast, the men's place is largely understood to be in the wage employment sector and not at home. A recent national household survey shows that men spend about one hour more per day than women do on economic activity. The females spend about 9 hours per day on care labor (mostly childcare) activities compared to males who spent about 1 hour (Uganda Bureau of Statistics-UBOS & Macro International, 2006a). Thus it is still being taken for granted that women's place is in the home although some shift in thinking is occurring due to the growing need for women to find employment. However due to this traditional thinking, women are often discriminated against in the employment sector (Christensen & Gomory, 1999).

With the husbands providing the income in many traditional contexts, women are expected to take care of the children and perform other related home duties. In such contexts

many women may be deprived of education, which is the major determinant of formal employment and earnings (Hawkins, Alan, Christiansen, Sergeant & Hill, 1995). Often girls are unfairly discriminated against when it comes to school attendance since they are the ones who have to sacrifice their schooling to look after younger siblings (Christensen & Gomory, 1999).

However, the construction of gender roles in societies has not been static. Since the 1960s and 1970s, women have begun to enter the paid labor force (Coltrane, 2000). This change, which began in the developed countries, was facilitated by factors like increased urbanization, industrialization, migration, education, population growth, religion, and politics. The continued widening of the service sector has also created opportunities for women to be employed. The development of domestic technology and services has also contributed to make housework less physically onerous and less time consuming, thus enabling more women to work outside the home (Coltrane, 2000). Further, more capacity has been developed to control child bearing due to more efficient and widely available contraception, giving women the freedom to enter the labor market. The rising costs, as well as standards of living, have also increased the need for the husband's wage to be supplemented by the wife's income. In addition, in developing countries like Uganda, affirmative action has increased women's education, hence their opportunities for the formal employment sector have been increased (Coltrane, 2000).

The way women spend their time has changed from unpaid homemaking activities to significant amounts of time in paid labor force participation (O'Connell, 1994; Anderson & Green, 2006; Hill, Hawkins, Martinson & Ferris, 2003). It is also apparent that men's roles have not adapted in a corresponding manner to address the changes created by women's involvement in formal employment (Hill et al., 2003). This has implications for childcare, which includes feeding, bathing and clothing, child health, entertainment, education, socialization, information and learning of values (Hawkins et al., 1995). Thus it would be important to explore changing child care practices and perceptions particularly in an African society. In Uganda like elsewhere in the world, child care practices and gender roles have evolved under the influence of modernization.

1.2.1. Traditional child rearing roles in Uganda

According to Najjuma (1999: 36), child rearing is a "process by which one generation purposefully transmits culture to the young, to the adults and to the old for their social, cultural, physical, intellectual and economic benefits and for the benefit of the whole society". Child rearing practices are also "methods by which a community or an individual family raises a child or children within that community" (Iganga, 1987:17). These practices pertain to the child's needs in relation to nutrition, shelter, clothing, physical and psychological warmth, as well as training for the future.

Dobson (1989) views child rearing practices in relation to the upbringing of children socially, spiritually, physically, and morally. They include all activities aimed towards developing the child's potential and laying the foundation for future development. Similarly Fong (1980:30) suggests that child rearing practices are "the methods and approaches a family or community uses whether intentionally or unintentionally to develop an individual physically, socially, emotionally and morally"

From the above definitions, it is clear that the process of child rearing is multi-dimensional; it is physical, psychosocial, and spiritual. As reflected in Najjuma's (1999) definition, in Africa, and in Uganda in particular, children are raised by their families as well as their communities. However increasing urbanization is leading to weaker extended family and community bonds (Coltrane, 2000). This implies that the child rearing role is largely taken on by the immediate family.

Child rearing and socialization are major functions of the family (Najjuma, 1999). The family, as the first institution of socialization, plays a major role in shaping the personality of the child together with other socializing influences and continues to influence the child throughout his/her life. The family has the central role in transmitting culture which includes social behavior, customs, beliefs, values, attitudes, and other acceptable norms.

Traditional households have historically consisted of large, extended families comprising of a male head of household, his wives, children, relatives, and friends. Households in Uganda have traditionally operated on a kinship basis with regards to their social organization (Obbo, 1991). Even though extended families were more costly to maintain, they provided free labor and moral support (Wakoko, 2003). Traditional households were also largely polygamous and patriarchal. Household headship, like landownership, conferred status, prestige, and security.

Wandira (1971:33) recognized the important role played by the indigenous family in educating and forming their offspring. The family and clan had considerable significance for indigenous education of values and customs. They provided a large circle of persons within which a person was accepted without discrimination. The values presented to the child were values that conformed to the traditions of the clan thus contributing towards cohesion and sustainability of a particular set of world-views. Parents took responsibility for educating their children in family and clan values and more generally in the *mpisa ya nsi* (customs of the land). Parents were blamed when children did not know the proper forms of greeting or were not encouraged from an early age to participate in the fulfillment of clan duties.

According to Najjuma (1999), traditional child rearing practices in Uganda included the following: preparation for the child when the mother was pregnant; establishing the legitimacy of the child; warm welcome of the newly born child; naming ceremonies; breast feeding and infant care; weaning; acquisition of skills during early childhood; early training in etiquette and social habits ; early cultivation of values; early encouragement of spiritual values; mental development during childhood; meeting psychological needs of children; education for production; language education; education through the clan and village activities; children's play; education for adolescents and education for marriage.

1.2.2. The gender division of child rearing roles

In Uganda, the traditional gender division of child rearing roles was part of a broader division of all household and community tasks. The role of a household head in the past (and also today) was normally reserved for men, but it was also not uncommon to find women in positions of power due to the fact that women controlled the "bowl" (Robertson, 1996), that is, the cooking pot that fed every member of the household. Productive tasks were organized on the basis of age and gender. Men were mainly responsible for hunting, constructing of households, providing clothing, and securing non-farm foods such as meat, fish, and beer (Tadria, 1987).

In contrast, a major role for women was gardening to produce food for their families, especially staple foods such as potatoes, root crops, bananas, and various vegetables. Despite differences in gender roles, Ugandans, like other Africans in Sub-Saharan Africa, performed complementary tasks that enabled them to maintain their households while also meeting the demands of their chiefs (Wakoko, 2003).

Women and men also shared certain tasks. In north-western Uganda, for instance, women worked with their male relatives in tobacco fields (Wakoko, 2003). They helped in clearing land and in the transportation of branches for supporting tobacco seedlings (Uganda Women's Network [UWONET], 1997). In some parts of Central Uganda, women often worked with their husbands in the manufacturing of bark cloth, while men assisted in the cultivation of sim-sim (sesame), although this was considered a *woman's crop*. Throughout Uganda, household headship was, and remains, a role for men.

Child rearing tasks were carried out by women, especially during early childhood. Preparation for the child when the mother was pregnant was always a task for the extended family, especially the wife's aunts, mother, and mother-in-law. For this reason, younger women in advanced stages of pregnancy often stayed with their mothers or aunts for more training and

guidance on how to look after the young children and for support. The man's contribution was mainly to provide money for buying some necessities (Najjuma, 1999).

The role and/or decision of establishing the legitimacy of the child was undertaken by men. Men took the lead in the naming ceremonies and since Ugandan societies are patriarchal, the child belonged (and still belongs) to the father's clan. Hence, the naming was done by the father or the father's next of kin (Najjuma, 1999). Physical care, including feeding and infant care, weaning, acquisition of skills during early childhood, early training in etiquette and social habits, early cultivation of values, early encouragement of spiritual values, mental development during childhood, as well as meeting the psychological needs of children were mostly women's roles. During early years, children spent more time with their mothers as fathers were more likely to work away from home. One Luganda proverb (which is also biblical) confirms the mother's role for instilling proper behavior in children: "A well behaved child brings respect to the father. But a badly behaved child brings shame to the mother."

Thus, women were held primarily responsible for the proper behavior of their children. This notion is further confirmed by Ezawu (1985: 41-42) who indicated that: "In many traditional societies, mothers are fully devoted to the bringing up of their children and they understand the children's language and reflexes. Mothers were assisted in taking care of their young ones by aged women, relatives who were very experienced in childcare". Usually when the mother did not do the rearing, another woman did. As boys grew older, they spent more time with their fathers as they learned men's roles like hunting. Likewise, older girls spent more time working with their mothers and helping to care for younger siblings.

However, this gender division of labor and child rearing roles has undergone some changes, which have been precipitated by the slow transformation of Ugandan society. This transformation which has taken place over time was partly due to colonization, the influence of the missionaries, western education and economic changes.

1.2.3. Factors that facilitate changes in child rearing and gender roles

Modern education

It has been argued that education, from the time it was introduced by missionaries, has played a major role in questioning the previous cultural practices (Najjuma, 1999; Sekamwa, 1999; Iganga. 1987; Ezawu, 1985; Wandira, 1971). The traditional education was more inclined towards and supportive of existing gender roles (Wandira, 1971). Although the introduction of modern education was a step to modernization and, thus, might have gradually led to questioning of the

status quo, it did not work in isolation. Another factor, that is colonization, also further affected traditional roles.

Colonization and changes in gender roles

The arrival of British colonial rule in Uganda led to major changes in many aspects of community life. In order to get materials for their industries, the British administrators encouraged, or forced, African men to provide labor in commercial crop production and in industrial activities (Wakoko, 2003). In northern Uganda, men were recruited to provide unskilled labor on the sugarcane plantations. A substantial number of men were deployed in the industrial copper mines of Kilembe, located in the western region of the country (Mamdani, 1984). The colonial taxation policies and the increasing need for cash pushed more men into migration, leaving women to assume greater responsibilities for household support. By independence in 1962, Ugandan women were gradually shifting their focus from subsistence agricultural production, modeled along the lines of a traditional gender division of labor to extra-domestic activities that had the potential for meeting their practical needs (Robertson & Bergerm, 1986). Through and beyond the colonial period, other historical changes have seen women's roles continuously extending beyond the household.

Post-Colonial experiences and changes in women's' roles

The 1980s were marked by continued instability and conflict. For instance, between 1970 and 1985, Idi Amin's military regime was ousted by the Tanzanian army and replaced by the Obote II government that failed to restore peace in the country. Although Obote's regime did not operate on sectarianism, sectarian sentiments by the opposition leaders culminated in a guerrilla war that killed up to one million people and led to the flight of many professionals into exile (Wakoko, 2003). In 1986, the National Resistance Army (NRA) took over power, installing Yoweri Museveni as president. These political upheavals were followed by a series of problems in the country, including the virtual collapse of major infrastructures, a disintegration of social services, scarcity of foreign exchange, and persistent high inflation (Oloka-Onyango, 2000; Maxwell, 1993; Tripp, 2002). This difficult economic situation was further worsened by the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programs (Tripp, 2002). In 1982 and again in 1996, the IMF/World Bank economic liberalization policies also known as Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) were implemented. These policies included cutbacks in government spending on social services, particularly education and health care, reductions in infrastructural improvement, cutbacks in government employment, price controls, and reductions in protective tariffs. While these economic policies generated improvements, such as shrinking the national budget deficit in the mid 1990s, a decline in inflation and some traces of overall national economic progress (Tamale, 1999;

Tripp, 2002), they had adverse effects on the quality of living, especially for women. For example, a study of the impact of structural adjustment policies on Ugandan farmers by UWONET (1997) revealed that SAPs in Uganda undermined women's cash crops (e.g. cotton) by only providing financial and marketing incentives to the men's crops (such as tobacco). Structural Adjustment Programs have also been associated with unemployment for many (Tripp, 2002). Apart from cutbacks in spending, reduced food consumption, labor exchange for consumer items and migration of male labor to urban centers, a major coping strategy among households has been the juggling of work responsibilities, which has meant the increasing involvement of women in market production (Wakoko, 2003).

As a result of women's active participation in market production, there is an increasingly asymmetric division of roles at the household level. Women are taking on more of the male-ascribed roles, particularly with regard to household budget expenditures and on food and general child maintenance (Kwagala, 1999). The majority of women have to balance work together with their domestic roles, which include childcare. Men, on the other hand, may or may not be taking on childcare roles in this new context.

1.3. Problem statement

The problem under focus is the apparent lack of fathers' participation in childcare in Uganda, despite the increasing involvement of the mothers in formal employment.

Whereas mothers/women are increasingly involved in formal employment, they may continue to bear the full brunt of domestic responsibilities (Hill et al., 2003). This dual role creates an overload on women, impacts on the marital dyad, and affects childcare activities. Mothers have less time to attend to their children. Alternative arrangements like day care centers and the use of child attendants may offer some solutions if available and affordable (Sempangi, 1999). Some studies in the developed countries such as the United States, Australia, and Western Europe have indicated an increasing involvement of fathers in childcare as a result of the mothers' involvement in paid employment (Christensen & Gomory, 1999; Hawkins et al., 1995; Marsinglio, Day & Lamb, 2000; Dienhart, 1998; Lopton & Barclay, 1997). In addition, there is a body of evidence that paternal involvement in childcare is related to better child development outcomes (Klinger, 2000; Pruett, 2000).

Thus, as a result of increasing maternal employment, there has been a shift in marital/family power dynamics. These changing dynamics have impacted on previously accepted perceptions regarding childcare roles of fathers, which were traditionally circumscribed and minimalist. This

changing trend has generated tension and shifted perceptions about the roles fathers should adopt in childcare in relation to both fairness and a Western view of the impact of fathering on the development of children. However, despite changing perceptions, it is questionable whether the actions/behavior of fathers has actually changed.

Although increasing paternal involvement is visible in post-industrialized countries, it may not be accurate to generalize this pattern to developing countries like Uganda, where socio-economic and cultural contexts are different from those of the developed world. Moreover, studies on fatherhood, even within developed settings like Western Europe, have testified to variations in gender roles (Plantin & Kearney, 2003; Lopton & Barclay, 1997). Furthermore, a preponderance of work-family research indicates that actual behavior is much more aligned with traditional gender roles, even in the developed countries (Coltrane, 2000; Hill et al., 2003).

A limited study on fathers' participation in childcare in Uganda has been done (Nkwake, 2004), but this study focused on only one district, Kampala. That particular study ascertained the effect of maternal employment on childcare; and fathers and mothers' attitudes towards practices regarding fathers' involvement in childcare. The study did not take cognizance of the fact that, 80% of the population in Uganda is rural (UNFPA, 2005). Further, the study did not ascertain the factors that influence these attitudes, perceptions, and practices regarding fathers' involvement in childcare. Studies on fathers' involvement in child rearing within the African context are sparse. This present study seeks to address these deficits.

1.4. The focus of the study

This study focuses on childcare practices among employed Ugandan males with working spouses in Kampala, an urban district, and Mpigi, a rural district. The study ascertained and documented the nature, magnitude of, and the factors that are related with fathers' involvement in childcare.

Key objectives of this study included examining the nature and range of fathers' involvement in childcare activities (including feeding, holding, bathing, health care, playing with, and changing nappies for children, taking children to and from school, and helping children with their homework) in families where the mother is employed, as well as the factors that influenced this involvement. The study explored the characteristics of fathers' work and educational background; characteristics of the mothers' work and educational background; time spent working; income earned; work related benefits; mothers' and fathers' perceptions of paternal involvement in childcare; and their influence on the time spent by fathers in directly caring for their children.

Although the researcher recognized that increased maternal employment has caused a real problem of care for children during the day, (Hill et al., 2003) and that this needs to be addressed, this study did not focus on daycare. Rather, the study focused on the childcare roles of fathers with working wives.

Respondents had to meet certain criteria. Only fathers with children below six years of age, and their working wives or partners who were the mothers of these children, in Kampala and Mpigi (Uganda) were included in the sample. The two districts were selected from central Uganda on the basis of their levels of urbanization, to enable comparison of findings in the urban and rural areas. Comparison of urban and rural contexts was aided by selection of two districts from the same region, predominantly occupied by the same cultural group. Kampala is the most urbanized district in Central Uganda and in Uganda in general, with 100 percent of its population living in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). On the other hand, Mpigi is the most rural district in the central region with only 2.5 percent of its population living in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002).

1.5. Significance of the study

Children comprise 56 percent of Uganda's population (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). This is a very significant sector of the population as the future of any nation lies in its children. Whereas maternal employment has increased affordability for childcare and other survival requisites such as health care, it is important to ascertain the extent to which fathers are currently engaged in childcare. The researcher believes that fathers should play a more prominent role in childcare, not only because of fairness but because it affects children's healthy development.

By illuminating the nature, magnitude of, and the factors that influence fathers' involvement in childcare, the findings of this study will be a resource to the Department of Children's Affairs as well as other child advocacy agencies in shaping policy that will address child development and childcare.

1.6. Title of the study

The topic of this study is **"Childcare practices and perceptions amongst employed Ugandan fathers and their working spouses in the Kampala and Mpigi districts."**

1.7. Main research questions

- What are the perceptions of working fathers and their working spouses about paternal involvement in childcare?
- What is the nature and range of childcare activities involved in by those working fathers whose wives are employed?
- What factors encourage working fathers' involvement in childcare?
- What factors hinder working fathers' involvement in childcare?

1.8. Main research objectives

- To identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners in reference to paternal involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.
- To describe the nature and range of childcare activities undertaken by those working fathers with employed wives in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.
- To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.
- To determine the factors that hinder fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.

1.9. Key Assumptions underlying the study topic

Five key assumptions that are interlinked, underpin this study. These include the following:

- Fathers' perceptions regarding the fairness of working wives carrying double roles may have led them to taking on various childcare activities, particularly in the early morning and evening, such as before and after work hours.

- Following the above assumption, fathers' perceptions regarding what constitutes a good father may have been influenced by a Western psychological model of fathers playing a more active role in their child's care. This may have led to a change in their actions regarding childcare.

- Wives who are working outside of their homes may have challenged the traditional understanding of roles in families; so fathers' perceptions regarding wives' responsibilities for childcare may have been affected, which, perhaps, has led to a change in their actions regarding childcare.

- As a result of these wives working outside of their homes, perceptions about gender roles as well as the power dynamics between such spouses may be changing, thus leading to fathers performing more actions related to childcare activities.

- Since more wives are working due to economic need and there is not always the possibility of substitute child minders, fathers could play a more active role, since this would tie in with the notion of being good fathers.

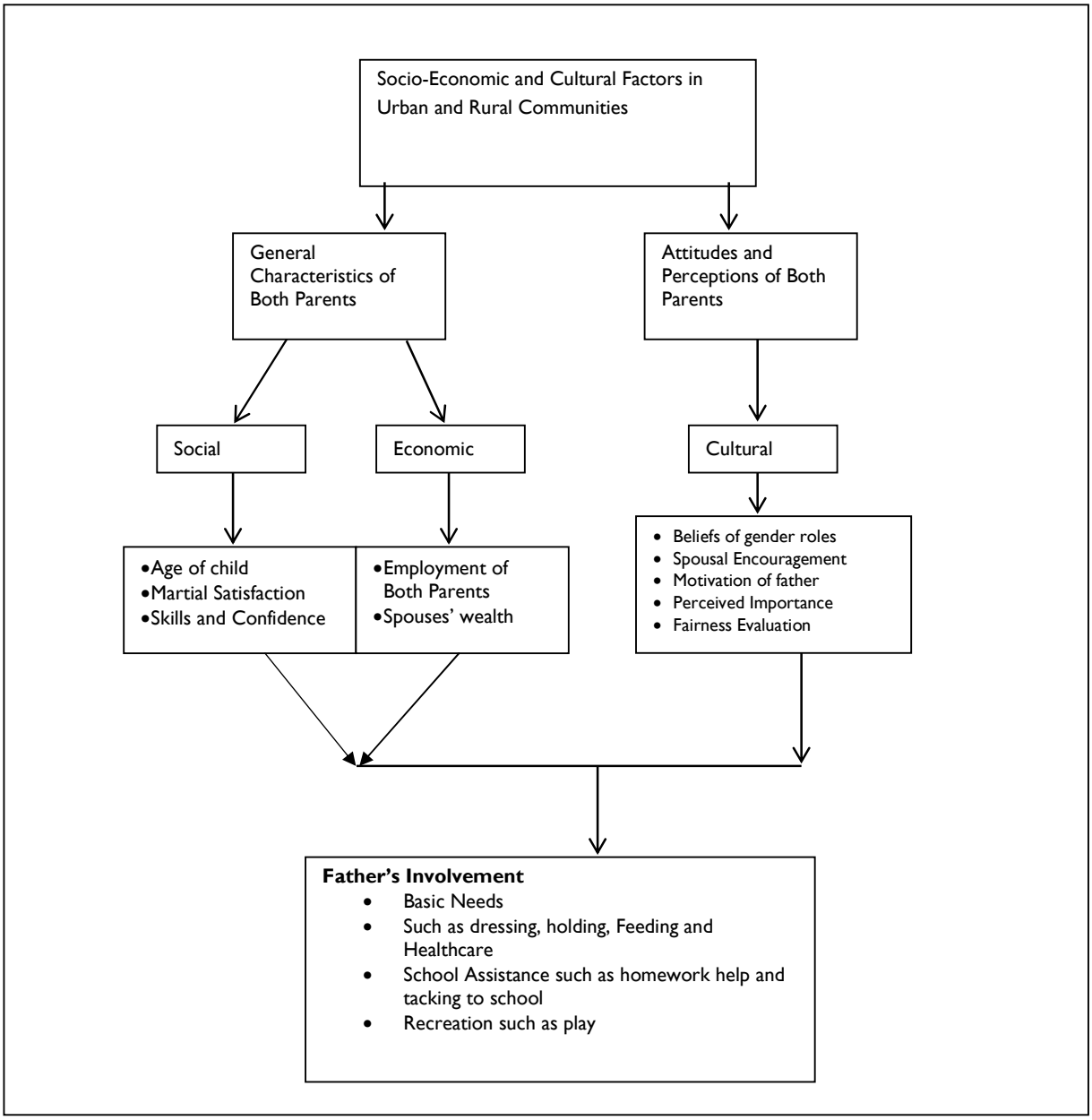
1.10. Study variables and their interconnectedness

At the beginning of the study, several assumptions were made concerning relationships between respondents' socio-economic characteristics and fathers' involvement in childcare. As shown in Figure 1:12, fathers' and mothers' socio-economic characteristics (background factors) include education level, beliefs about gender roles, form of employment, location, marital satisfaction, fathers' confidence in childcare tasks, and perceived spouse wealth. These factors are related to fathers' and mothers' attitudes and perceptions towards fathers' involvement in childcare. They may, therefore, encourage or hinder fathers' involvement in childcare.
The assumptions are as follows:

- Fathers with wives/partners who are working for fewer hours may be involved in childcare less often than those whose wives work for more hours. Similarly, fathers who work for more hours may be less involved in childcare than those who work fewer hours.
- Fathers with traditional beliefs about gender roles may be less likely to engage in childcare than fathers with progressive beliefs are. On the other hand, mothers with progressive beliefs are more likely to have positive attitudes about fathers' involvement in childcare than those with traditional beliefs.
- Fathers reporting more marital satisfaction are more likely to report involvement in childcare than those who report less marital satisfaction.
- Fathers that feel competent regarding childcare tasks are more likely to be involved in childcare than those who don't feel competent.
- Mothers' employment might create a change in childcare, since it reduces the amount of time and attention given to the child by the mother and increases the need for alternative childcare arrangements (Sempanyi, 1999). This change in childcare may influence fathers' and mothers' attitudes and perceptions about fathers' participation in childcare.
- Attitudes and perceptions about paternal involvement in childcare were measured in terms of motivation, such as whether they think it is important or not; fairness evaluations, such as whether they think it is fair or not. In turn, these attitudes and perceptions may directly influence fathers' involvement in childcare.

In this study, paternal involvement in childcare is measured by indicators such as fathers' participation in playing with, bathing, feeding, and holding, dressing children, helping with schoolwork, medical attention, and taking children to and from school. These criteria have been used in previous studies on childcare in Uganda, for example by Mulindwa and Ntozi (2004) and by Nkwake (2004).

Figure 1: Factors that may influence fathers' childcare activities



1.11. Clarification of key concepts

Children

According to the 1996 Children's Statute (Government of Uganda [GoU], 1996), children are considered to be individuals below 18 years of age. For purposes of this study, however, children will refer to individuals below 6 years of age—the age of early childhood, when children need the most attention (Uganda Nutrition and Early Childhood Development Project [UNECDP], 1998). This age group has also been considered by the World Bank funded UNECDP as a very important stage in child development (UNECDP, 1998). This definition is also informed by Lockshin, Glinshaya, and Marito (2004) who have used the age group 0–6 years in their study on the effect of early childhood development programs on women's labor force participation and children's schooling in Kenya.

Childcare activities

Klinger (2000) argues that a father's contributions to a child's life are complementary to those of the mother and they include financial support, care giving, physical play, promoting trust, identity, family traditions, security, self-protection, humor, courage, independence, self-confidence, and patience.

This study focuses on care giving. The father's involvement in child rearing has been considered from two perspectives, traditional and contemporary (Cabrera, Tamis-LaMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000). Traditional approaches to understanding father involvement typically include the extent to which the father is the primary source of income for the child's education and well-being, and as such, indirectly involved in the development of the child (Cabrera et al., 2000). Contemporary approaches to father involvement take into consideration the father's direct role in care giving, for example bathing, feeding, and other frequent interactions on a daily basis (Pruett, 2000; Cabrera et al., 2000). The latter approach to father involvement in childcare is explored in the present study.

According to Klinger (2000), care giving includes feeding, bathing children, putting them to bed, teaching, and other tasks. According to Hawkins et al. (1995), childcare is the process of attending to a child's need of shelter, protection, food, clothing, and health. According to O'Connell (1994) childcare involves a range of tasks to meet a child's basic needs ; feeding, bathing and clothing, monitoring a child's health, being a child's entertainer and playmate, educator, socializer and source of information, and developer of the child's views and values. In this study, childcare is limited to participation in activities such as feeding, holding, bathing, health care, playing

with and changing nappies, transporting children to and from school, and helping children with their homework. The elements of this definition have also been used by Laflamme, Pomerleau & Malcuit (2002) to compare fathers' and mothers' involvement in childcare and stimulation behaviors during free-play with children. These criteria have also been used by Mulindwa and Ntozi (2004) and Nkwake (2004) in studying childcare in Uganda. In this study, it is considered that these activities are more than just activities, but are chosen as indicators of the extent or prevalence of fathers' involvement in childcare. They do not measure the actual quality of fathers' involvement with children.

Mothers

For purposes of this study, *mothers* refers to working women, married or unmarried, who are living with their spouses (working spouses), with children, whether biological or adopted, below 6 years of age.

Fathers

For purposes of this study *fathers* refers to working men, married or unmarried, living together with biological or adopted children below six years of age, and with the (working) mothers of those children.

Employment

Since the study was conducted in both rural and urban areas, it would have been difficult to obtain a meaningful sample of respondents in rural areas if a conventional definition of formal employment was used. The study defined *employment* as income-generating work that engages individuals at or away from their homes for at least five hours in a working day (which is more than half a day) and at least three working days in a week (which is more than half a week). Work engagement for at least more than half a day and more than half a week for mothers and fathers is deemed to subtract a significant amount of time that would otherwise be used for childcare**.** Employment was defined to include formal and informal employment. The study defined the informal sector according to Ikoja-Odongo and Ochola (2004). These authors defined the informal sector as:

> "That part of a developing economy that works in very difficult conditions and its practitioners use a lot of effort to produce goods and services. It comprises a diversity of small and micro enterprises and trades that are widely spread throughout the country. It excludes illicit activities like smuggling; money laundering and drug trafficking that are hidden, secret or underground. The sector employs males and females; adults, youth and children; the literate, semi-illiterate and illiterate, and able and disabled people alike. It is

characterized by routine work involving innovation, imitation and duplication of products and services where artisans acquire wide experience, compensating for their limited education. It provides goods and services to a majority of low-income earners, making extensive use of local raw materials, employing adaptive technology. The sector is characterized by low levels of productivity, low division of labor, low incomes, low capital intensity, flexible hours of operation, low level of formal credit, and labor intensity". (Ikoja-Odongo & Ochola, 2004:55)

Employed/working wives/husbands

The study considers working or employed wives or husbands to be spouses that are engaged in income generating work at or away from their homes for at least five hours in a working day, that is more than half a day, and at least three working days in a week, or more than half a week.

Perceptions

In the current study, *perceptions* refer to the extent to which fathers and mothers think, feel, or understand that paternal involvement in childcare is fair, good, or important. Fairness definitions in fatherhood research have been used by Apparala, Reifman and Munsch (2003) and Coltrane (2000) among others.

1.12. Reflexivity

The researcher was raised in rural Uganda, in the Buganda society where, traditionally, gender roles were asymmetrical. Women were mostly involved in childcare and other domestic chores while men were mostly involved in paid employment. After graduating with a Bachelor of Social Work and Social Administration, the researcher worked with several child-focused organizations, which argued that fathers' involvement in childcare was related to better child development outcomes and thus emphasized the need for fathers' involvement in childcare. This is where the researcher developed an interest in investigating the circumstances under which fathers may be involved in childcare. The experience with child-focused social work also led the researcher to acquire more egalitarian perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare. At the time when the researcher designed this study, he was not yet a father. However, during the course of the study, the researcher became a father. Therefore, the researcher's upbringing, work, and fathering experience could have influenced his interpretation of study findings. However, the researcher ensured objectivity through *triangulation*: collecting and analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data to draw conclusions about fathers' involvement in childcare, and by comparing study findings with findings from other studies.

1. 13. Structure of the research report

This research report contains six chapters. In Chapter One: The introduction, study background; statement of the problem; focus of the study; significance of the study; study title; research questions; research objectives , key assumptions; conceptual framework clarification of key concepts, reflexivity and the structure of the research report are presented.

In Chapter Two, a review of literature pertaining to major themes of the study is presented. Childcare, gender roles, women's employment, and men's participation in domestic childcare are discussed in this chapter. This is followed by Chapter Three, which outlines the methodology used to carry out the study. Particular focus is made on the area of study, study population, sample size, sampling procedures, data collection, pre-field activities, data processing, and analysis.

The study findings and interpretations are presented in Chapter Four. These are based on the objectives of the study and the research questions. Finally, Chapter Five contains the summary and conclusions drawn from the study findings, recommendations are made, shortcomings of the study are outlined, and suggestions about other areas of further research are made.

1. 14. A Social Development Study

The researcher wishes to locate this study within the broader social development field- which is concerned with how macro systems influence the behavior as well as the personal and adaptive capabilities of individuals. The conceptual mapping of this study covers the situation of children; gender roles and division of labor; socio economic differences between urban and rural areas and their impact on child rearing; maternal employment; perceptions of the ideal father; and fathers' involvement in childcare. While this study holds interest for social workers and other professionals, it addresses social development professionals much more directly, with regard to social policy, education and employment, as well as childcare practices.

The following chapter discusses literature related to childcare, gender roles and fathers' involvement in childcare.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Overview

As highlighted in the diagram (Figure 1:12), the themes of changing gender roles, maternal employment, and fathers' involvement in childcare are central to this study. All of these themes have attracted many research endeavors in the last two decades. Research on gender roles and inequalities abounds (Anguyo, 2002; Hill et al., 2003; Feed the Children Uganda, 1998; O'Connell, 1994; Blechner, 2009; Grebowicz, 2007; Ridley-Duff, 2008; Anderson & Green, 2006). There is extensive research on childcare and development (Anold, 2002; Gittins, 1993; Sempangi, 1999; Evans & Myers, 2000; Feed the Children, 1998; Witter, 2002; and others). In addition, much research has been done on the increasing role of women in market production and the challenges and problems of women in the workplace (Berk, 2009; Kail, 2006; Christensen & Gomory, 1999; Drago & Kashain, 2001; McBride, 1990; Patterson, 2008).

However, there is a lack of knowledge about fathers' involvement in childcare, especially in developing countries like Uganda, where strongholds of traditional gender roles still exist. Although there is a rapidly increasing volume of research on fathers' involvement in childcare (Saraff & Srivastava, 2008; Morman & Floyd, 2007; Olmstead, Futris, & Pasley, 2009; Becvar & Becvar, 2008; Carriero, 2009; Santrock, 2007; Christensen & Gomory, 1999; Hawkins et al., 1995; Marsinglio et al., 2000; Lopton & Barclay, 1997; Meiksins & Whalley, 2002), most of this research has been done in post-industrialized countries like the United States, Western Europe, and Australia, and may only have limited application to the realities of developing countries like Uganda.

In this chapter, literature related to theories that explain fathers' involvement in childcare, as well as measurements that previous research has employed in the effort to explain paternal involvement in childcare is reviewed. The discussion is organized according to the following sub themes:

- The global and local situation of children
- The role of family units in childcare
- Gender roles and gender division of labor
- Gender differences reflected in other social demographic characteristics of Ugandans
- Socio-economic differences between rural and urban areas in Uganda
- Maternal employment and childcare
- Perceptions of the ideal father

- Magnitude of fathers' involvement in childcare
- Justification for fathers' involvement in childcare
- Theories attempting to explain fathers' involvement in childcare
- Measuring paternal involvement in childcare.

2.2. The global and local situation of children: the need for better care

There is widespread agreement and recognition that the future of any country lies in the hands of its children. Children can be a great cost to society if they do not receive adequate fulfillment of their needs during their early years. It is therefore important to enhance children's wellbeing from their youngest years so as to improve their potential for growth and development. In this regard, several commitments on global and national levels are in place. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, of 1989 states in its preamble, "The child by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care including appropriate legal protection before as well as after birth" (UN, 2009; UNECDP 1998:3). Article 6 of the convention states, "State parties should pursue to the maximum extent possible, the survival and development of the child" (UN, 2009; UNECDP, 1998:3).

The outcome document adopted at the UN General Assembly Special Session on Children (New York, 8-10 May 2002) entitled "A World Fit for Children" (United Nations International Children's and Education Fund [UNICEF], 2002) contains more commitments. The plan of action, under the general aim of promoting healthy lives, states:

> We are determined to break the intergenerational cycle of malnutrition and poor health by providing a safe and healthy start in life for all children; providing access to effective, equitable, sustained and sustainable primary health care systems in all communities, ensuring access to information and referral services; providing adequate water and sanitation services; and promoting a healthy lifestyle among children and adolescents.

Despite these recognitions and commitments, the situation of children in the world still leaves a lot to be desired. According to the 2008 "State of the World's Children Report" (UNICEF, 2008), each year 9.7 million children die before their fifth birthday, although most of these deaths are preventable. It is estimated that over 60% of deaths in children under age 5 years (currently >10 million per year) could be prevented by various existing interventions (Steketee, Black, Bhutta, & Morris, 2003). The world is unlikely to achieve the Millennium Development Goal target of a two-thirds reduction in the rate of child mortality by 2015 (Steketee et al., 2003).

Of all children who die before the age of five years, almost 40% die during the first month of life (World Health Organization [WHO], 2005). Of these neonatal deaths, around 26% are caused by severe infections. Around 2 million children under the age of five die from pneumonia each year—around 1 in 5 deaths globally (WHO, 2005). In addition, up to one million infants die from severe infections, including pneumonia, during their first month after birth (UNICEF, 2008).

In Uganda, 1,406,000 children are born every year. Yet Uganda ranks at the twenty-third position in the world's under-five child-mortality list with 134 children dying before the age of 5 years in every 1000 live births (UNICEF, 2008). Every year, 188, 000 children die before the age of five years. In every 1000 live births, 78 children die before one year, 40% of infants are not exclusively breast fed before 6 months, 20% of the children under five are underweight, while 32% are stunted (UNICEF, 2008). The evidence presented points to a need for improved care for children. It has been recognized that improving the quality of lives of children is also dependent on addressing the quality of childcare and gender inequalities (UNICEF, 2008).

2.2.1. Childcare in Uganda

The quality of childcare in Uganda can be improved. Care is mainly provided at household level. However, there is no uniform pattern of care in the country (Sempangi, 1999). There are also wide variations in the types of caregivers. Women play a major role as compared to men. Most children less than three years old are cared for by their mothers, grandmothers, older children and neighbors, as traditionally, it is thought that children above three years—especially girls, do not need much attention beyond provision of basic needs like food, shelter, and clothing (Sempangi, 1999). This is contrary to the view held by most child development experts that children this young need considerable attention and stimulation in order for their development to be optimized (Klinger, 2000). The situation is made even more serious by HIV/ AIDS, which has orphaned 884,000 Ugandan children between the ages 0–14 (UNICEF, 2004). This has resulted in an increasing number of children being placed in the care of grandparents, especially grandmothers (UNICEF, 2001 & 2004).

In rural areas, the government's Universal Primary Education has elicited some changes. Previously, older children were expected to care for younger children. As older children have been admitted to schools, they are less available to help in caring for their younger siblings. Many rural mothers are forced to care for their young children themselves or leave them with their grandparents, while others take their children along to the farms/fields where they work, often carrying children on their backs. Other desperate options include locking children in their homes and tying them to fixed furniture to protect them from being hurt (UNICEF, 1997a).

The situation in urban areas is not any better. Working mothers do not have enough time to care for their children (UNICEF, 1997b). Most of them look for young children from rural areas to help with childcare. However, this practice has been curtailed due to the implementation of Universal Primary and Secondary Education policies that have led to increased enrollment of children in school. Some of the mothers in urban areas, who can afford, keep their children in day care centers, while others employ childcarers (UNICEF, 1997b). These options pose some challenges, such as being only affordable to some or the carers being inexperienced and feeling overwhelmed by a myriad of household chores. Worse still, some carers do not have the right attitudes towards the children (Nkwake, 2004; Sempangi, 1999).

In Uganda there are very few day care centers and those are prohibitively expensive (Sempangi, 1999). In addition, center caregivers are not usually trained (UNICEF, 1997a). Although the law requires day care centers to register with the Ministry of Education and Sports, this regulation is not effectively enforced and therefore, many centers are not registered and the government does not provide technical or financial support to centers. This makes it difficult to ensure quality childcare. Thus the extended family continues to remain an important source of alternate childcare, especially in the rural areas.

Mulindwa and Ntozi (2004) observed a high dependence on relatives rather than childcarers as providers of care to children while the mothers were at work. These relatives normally include younger sisters, nieces, mothers, and sisters-in-law. The high costs of babysitters ranks as the most important reason for not using them. Other reasons include their dishonesty and the lack of adequate space in homes to accommodate them (Mulindwa & Ntozi, 2004).

However, it is reported that relying on relatives also has its problems, despite the free childcare services they render. Some of the problems include the mother not being able to give proper and explicit instructions on how she would like the child to be cared for, especially to someone who is volunteering to help. In her study on women working in grocery markets in Kampala, Davis (1997) found a reluctance to bring in an extra person because of the economic burden that it poses. In any case, most mothers lack the capital to restart their businesses after child birth. Although mothers seek the help of maids and relatives, there are some childcare activities that they often want to execute themselves. Tasks mothers normally prefer to perform by themselves include feeding the baby, preparing food like porridge for the baby, cleaning the cups and other feeding items, preparing clothes and whatever the baby is going to use for the day (Davis, 1997).

2.2.2. The role of family units in childcare

According to Arnold (2002), the quality of childcare often depends on several factors, including resource availability at household level for the caregiver; skills and knowledge of the caregiver; physical capacity of the caregiver; and consistency, knowledge, and responsiveness of caregivers. Quality of childcare would include understanding the developmental milestones and cues in child development (Arnold, 2002).

Further, it has been argued that childcare provision needs to be holistic (Berk, 2009) since it is difficult to disentangle the physiological and psychosocial needs of young children (Arnold, 2002). Most often, the context in which children's psychosocial as well as physiological needs are met is the family. For most children, it is the family, in all its permutations, that is most closely involved in the day-to-day provision of care (Kail, 2006; Patterson, 2008). The family is a vital institution essential for the development of children (Gittins, 1993). Children need care and help during their early years and usually this assistance is given within a family group by parents, relatives, or a legal guardian. Often, the family unit initiates the process of each child's socialization and lays the foundations on which relationships are built with people outside the family (O'Connell, 1994). Erikson's (1968) theory supports these arguments.

Erikson's (1968) posits that that personality develops in a series of stages, with varied impacts from social experience across the whole lifespan. If the stage is handled well, the person will feel a sense of mastery, which he refers to as ego strength (Erikson, 1968). If the stage is managed poorly, the person will emerge with a sense of inadequacy. The most important of these stages is the first stage: "Trust versus Mistrust". This occurs between birth and one year of age. Because an infant is utterly dependent on the adults around him or her, the development of trust is based on the dependability and quality of the child's caregivers (Erikson, 1968). If a child successfully develops trust, he or she will feel safe and secure in the world. Caregivers who are inconsistent, emotionally unavailable, or rejecting, contribute to feelings of mistrust in the children they care for. Failure to develop trust will result in fear and a belief that the world is inconsistent and unpredictable (Erikson, 1968). For most children, these influences are determined by their families.

The preamble to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1997c) states that "the family, as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and wellbeing of all its members and particularly children, should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community".

Thus part of a family's responsibility is the provision of care for young children. In the UN International Year of the Family (1994), the role of families was affirmed through various statements: "The family constitutes the basic unit of society and therefore warrants special attention. . . Families assume diverse forms and functions from one country to another and within each national society" (O'Connell, 1994:22). It is clear that families play an important role and furthermore it is accepted that roles and functions will differ from one context to another; Family policies are also aimed at fostering equality between women and men within the family and to bringing about a fuller sharing of domestic responsibilities and employment opportunities.

Research on childcare needs to analyze the contribution of the family within its cultural context. Gittins (1993) argues that the family's roles are paradoxical. Whereas the family can be a place of nurturing and personality building on one hand, on the other hand it can be restrictive and a hindrance to the full development of individuals. Hierarchical and patriarchal structures within the family as well as differing perceptions of childcare needs can impact negatively on child rearing practices. The hierarchical way the family is organized is based on socially defined gender roles. It is in the family context that gender roles are ascribed. Thus, what makes for a "good mother," or a "good daughter," or "a good wife," an "ideal husband," or "ideal father" are roles constructed in the family (Rothausen, 2001). These social constructions, to a great extent, determine and affect the provision of childcare, especially at household level. Where both partners accept these hierarchical patterns as well as the prescribed gender divisions, the impact on child rearing may not be problematic since both partners have consented to a 'traditional norm'. No studies have been done comparing children raised in traditional households with those raised in more egalitarian, modern households with regards to their emotional, psychological and educational wellbeing.

2. 3. Gender roles and gender division of labor

Social scientists make distinctions between sex and gender (Rothausen, 2001). Sex refers to biological differences such as chromosomes, hormones, and reproductive organs. Thus, the categories of sex are *female* and *male* (Rothausen, 2001). Gender refers to a set of culturally expected personality, behavior, and attitude attributes associated with being one sex or another in any given society; or simply, socially constructed differences between men and women (World Bank, 2001). Gender is perpetuated through institutionalized gender symbolism and gender structures. The categories of gender are *feminine* and *masculine* (World Bank, 2001).

Gender or sex roles are socially expected behavior patterns determined by an individual's sex and are learned, change over time, and vary widely within and across cultures (World Bank, 2001). There is often social censure for not conforming to notions of what is appropriate for a

boy/man or girl /woman. Gender roles may set out special responsibilities for men and women in social and economic activities and could also determine access to resources and decision-making authority. These roles can change with social, economic, and technological changes. The psychological sense of oneself as a women/girl or a man/boy is then referred to as gender or *sex identity*. It is often, but not always, that females "feel like" women or girls and males "feel like" men or boys (World Bank, 2001).

Virtually all human societies display a gender division of labor, both between and within the spheres of paid work and unpaid activities (Heather Joshi Institute of Education [HJIE], 1999). In most cultures, men and women have distinct roles. Traditionally, men's activities are primarily productive, and women's roles have been more concerned with reproduction and nurturing within the family. Gender roles differ from the biological roles of men and women, although they may overlap. For example, women's biological roles in child bearing may overlap with their gender roles in relation to child rearing, food preparation, and household maintenance (HJIE, 1999).

The World Bank (2001) argues that in most societies, low-income women have three roles: reproductive, productive, and community management roles, while men undertake productive and community politics activities. Reproductive roles include child bearing/rearing responsibilities and domestic tasks for women required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of survival of human life. These reproductive roles include not only biological reproduction but also the care and maintenance of the work force (male partner and working children) and the future workforce (school-going children) (World Bank, 2001). These are usually unpaid positions.

Productive roles are those tasks that earn money. It is work done by both women and men for pay in cash or kind, which includes both market production with an exchange value, and subsistence production with actual use value and also potential exchange value. Productive tasks are valued higher than reproductive tasks (World Bank, 2001).

Community managing roles are activities undertaken primarily by women at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role, to ensure the survival and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption, such as health care and education. This is voluntary unpaid work (World Bank, 2001). Community politics roles are activities undertaken primarily by men at the community level, organizing at the formal political level, often within the framework of politics. This is usually paid work, whether paid for directly or indirectly through state power.

The gender division of labor is one of the key ways in which all economic tasks are organized. For example in Uganda's agricultural sector, women contribute 80% to the agricultural labor force of food production, while men contribute 20%. Women contribute 60% to planting, 70% to weeding, 60% to harvesting, and 90% to processing /preparation. The proportions contributed by men are 40%, 30%, 40%, and 10% respectively (MGLSD, 1999). These statistics show that women shoulder a greater proportion of both the reproductive and the productive roles.

Writing on gender and agriculture, Fong & Bhushan (1996) identify five factors that determine/influence gender based differences: institutional arrangements; the formal legal system; social cultural attitudes; ethnical and class based obligations; and religious beliefs and practices. Institutional arrangements create and reinforce gender-based constraints or, conversely, foster an environment in which gender disparities can be reduced (Fong & Bhushan, 1996). For example, where women primarily grow food crops, institutions providing agricultural credit for food crop production can either promote or discourage women's access to credit.

In some countries, including Uganda, the formal legal system also reinforces customary practices and gives women inferior legal status. Women are sometimes discouraged or even barred from owning land, property, and other agricultural assets or from opening bank accounts and contracting for credit in their own names. Socio-cultural attributes and ethnical and class/caste based obligations affect farming systems and determine which crops men and women grow, who drives tractors or gives livestock vaccinations, or whether women need their husbands' approval to sell their cattle or the products of their labor (Fong & Bhushan, 1996). In some parts of the world, religious beliefs and practices limit women's mobility, social contact, access to resources, and the types of activities they can pursue. Some interpretations of religious law, for example, stipulate gender-based differences in inheriting land. It is important to note that these four factors do not only refer to agricultural systems, but across all sectors, including the domestic sector. These factors influence role expectations for individuals in society and in families in particular.

2.3.1. The effect of women's work on women's welfare

Housework as a domain for women is not only undervalued, but also elicits adverse effects on the lives of women. It has been noted that housework is deeply imbued with patriarchal notions of motherhood (O'Connell, 1994). Idealizing the institutions of motherhood as all-powerful, strong, and caring brings with it the implication that mothers alone have full responsibility for child bearing and all the domestic work that childcare encompasses (Blechner, 2009; O'Connell, 1994).

It is true that motherhood is sometimes perceived as an honor. For some women, childcare may be experienced as a pleasurable and rewarding role, but these are heavy responsibilities. Childcare, for example, involves a range of tasks to meet a child's basic needs of feeding, bathing and clothing, monitoring their health, and ensuring that the child is stimulated (including the opportunity for play with other children, etc.). Women may also be expected to care for other family members who are ill, disabled, or elderly. These roles may be obligations dictated by custom and convention for women, while men are distanced from such tasks. For example, when men are left without a woman to do these tasks for them, they quickly employ a housekeeper—if they can afford one (Grebowicz, 2007; O'Connell, 1994), or demand the help of a sister, daughter, or mother. Women without a husband, whether or not they have children or do wage work are not always seen as needing such help or services (O'Connell, 1994). As women, they are considered by definition responsible for such jobs themselves, whatever their circumstances. One example is the effect of women entering wage employment. Karla (2002), in the study on gendered labor in the service sector, notes that with increased participation of women in the labor force, there is an increase in dining out. Thus, food preparation and service, which was provided "for free" by housewives is now purchased outside the home.

In some countries like Uganda, these manifold household responsibilities have detrimental effects on the welfare of women. Household responsibilities compromise women's ability to earn an income independently (Hill et al., 2003). They also serve to reduce women's relative bargaining power and decision-making capacity within the household. Since housework interferes with girls' ability to attend school, it also limits their career options at a later stage with further implications for their future children's welfare as well. Studies show that the presence of young children significantly reduces the likelihood of mothers participating in the labor force. In Mexico, for example, a newborn decreases the mother's labor force participation by 12% and an additional child between one and five years old reduces it by a further 9% (World Bank, 2001). By sharp contrast, male labor force participation is not affected. If anything, evidence suggests that the presence of young children tends to have a positive impact on fathers' labor supply (World Bank, 2001).

It has been argued that, in this respect, availability of low cost childcare related services enables women to enter the labor force and girls to go to school (Brock, 1999; Ridley-Duff, 2008). It is similarly argued that labor saving devices liberate women from certain aspects of domestic work (O'Connell, 1994; Brock, 1999). However, these do not challenge the sexual division of responsibility and labor or directly improve women's status within the family. If anything, the

literature suggests the need for a scientific study of how childcare roles have changed in the face of increased involvement in formal employment.

2.3.2. Gender and social demographic characteristics

Education, employment, and household decision making

Women in Uganda are at an educational disadvantage compared to men. Indicators from the Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a) show a large gender gap in education: 39% of Ugandan women age 15–49 cannot read at all, compared to 16% of men. About one-fifth of women (19%) have no formal education, compared to just 5% of men. Three in ten men (30%) have some secondary or higher education, compared to one in five women (21%).

Women's comparative lack of schooling limits their opportunities and constrains their choices. Education is crucial to gaining the knowledge, skills, and confidence that women need to improve their status and health. Studies show that a woman's educational level is strongly associated with health status, contraceptive use, fertility rates, and health of her children (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a). Fortunately, the gender gap in educational attainment appears to be narrowing as the proportion of girls with at least some secondary education has increased (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

Exposure to mass media is another important aspect of economic empowerment. Most Ugandan women and men have some exposure to mass media, including radio, television, and newspapers. Women have less exposure than men do, however. This puts women at a disadvantage in receiving information, such as employment opportunities, health campaign messages, and civil society announcements. According to the 2006 Ugandan Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS), 25% of women age 15–49 do not have any exposure to mass media, compared to only 11% of men. Few women or men age 15–49 are exposed to all three types of media on a weekly basis, only 6% of women and 9% of men. Women have less exposure than men to radio, the most popular media source for all Ugandans. About three-fourths (74%) of women listen to the radio at least once a week, compared to nearly nine in ten men (87%) (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

Employment and earnings

Employment is a powerful source of empowerment for women as well as men, but social norms and lack of education limit women's employment opportunities and earnings. Responses to the 2006 UDHS indicate that among all Ugandan adults, about eight in ten women (81%) are

currently employed, compared to over nine in ten men (94%). Three-quarters of women employed in the past 12 months (75%) work in agriculture, compared to about two-thirds of men (68%). Significantly, the UDHS also shows that married women earn much less than married men. Only 5% of women who work in agriculture are paid in cash; 30% of employed women receive no payment for their work, compared to just 13% of men. Seventy-six percent of wives who receive cash for their work earn less than their husbands while only about 9% earn more (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

Household decision making

Women's participation in household decision making can be used as a measure of women's status, along with education and employment. According to the 2006 UDHS, most Ugandan married women have subordinate roles to their husbands. Sixty-one percent of women report personally making decisions about their own health care or jointly making them with their husbands. Similarly, 64% of women report making decisions about visits to family or relatives on their own or jointly with their husband. While 65% of women report making purchases for daily household needs on their own or jointly with their husband, only 51% of women report participating in making major household purchases; overall, only one in four married women (25%) participate in all four areas of decision making either on her own or jointly with her husband. One in five (19%) do not participate in any of them.

The UDHS (2006) also collected data on men's attitudes towards a wife's participation in decision making. Overall, men say that a husband should play the major role in making most household decisions. According to the UDHS, only 40% of men think a wife should decide about her visits to family members or relatives, and only 29% of men think a wife should make decisions about major household purchases. On the other hand, 73% say a wife should make the decisions about purchasing daily household needs, and 70% say a wife should decide what to do with the money she earns. From this data, it appears that most men would like women to be involved in generating income and contributing to the household needs, yet at the same time play a minor role (more minor than their husbands' play) in making household decisions.

In Uganda, women's participation in household decision making varies in relation to background characteristics. For example, decision making authority increases with age. Among married women age 15–19, only about one-quarter (26%) participate in all four types of household decisions compared with about half (52%) of women age 45-49. Employed women are more likely than unemployed women to participate in household decisions. Surprisingly, women with no schooling are more likely than women with secondary or higher education to participate in all four

types of household decisions (44% and 38%, respectively). Men with secondary or higher education, however, are more likely than men with a primary education or no schooling to think that wives should be involved in household decision making (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

Marriage and parenthood

Many Ugandans become sexually active before they marry, and it is not uncommon for women to have children before getting married (UBOS & Macro International 2006a). Early sexual activity exposes women to unintended pregnancies, as well as HIV and other sexually transmitted infections, and childbearing among teenagers is more dangerous for both mother and child. The median age at first sexual intercourse is 16.4 years among women age 25–49, compared with 18.1 years among men in the same age group, which is a gender gap of 1.7 years. However, gender differences in age at first sexual intercourse may be narrowing, in part due to higher education among women. According to the UDHS (2006), 71% of women age 25–49 were sexually active by age 18 compared to 49% of men age 25–49. Women with at least some secondary education start having sex nearly two years later than women with less than secondary education (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

Many Ugandan women marry young and begin childbearing soon after marriage. On average, women become sexually active and get married younger than men do. The median age at first marriage was 17.6 years among women age 25–49. In contrast, among men age 25–54, the median age at first marriage was 22.3 years—a gender gap of nearly five years. More than half (55%) of women 25–49 were married. By age 20, almost three-quarters (74%) of women were married, compared to only about one-quarter (26%) of men 25-54 (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a).

However, younger women are waiting longer to marry than older women did. Only 3% of women age 15–19 married before age 15 compared to 18% of women age 45–49. Women with more education also wait longer to marry. Among women age 25–49 with at least some secondary education, the median age at first marriage is 20.6 years, four years later than the median age of 17.1 years among women with primary education or no education. Even among Ugandans with secondary education, women marry younger than men do. Among men age 25–54 with at least some secondary education, the median age at first marriage is 24.4 years, almost four years later than among educated women age 25–49 (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a). Early marriage and childbearing often cut short a woman's schooling and limit her options for employment. Also, the sooner a woman begins childbearing the more children she is likely to have.

The aforementioned data from the UDHS (UBOS and Macro International, 2006a) show that there are various social economic challenges that confront women in Uganda. Such challenges are consistent with the asymmetry in gender roles and may influence men's ability to increase their involvement in gender ascribed female roles, like childcare. In order to understand the Ugandan social demographic context, it is important to appreciate the differences between rural and urban areas, since these differences also influence gender roles (Coltrane, 2000).

2.3.3. Socio-economic differences between rural and urban areas in Uganda

A national household survey conducted in 2005/2006 reveals many important differences between rural and urban areas that impact on gender roles (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b). Uganda's population is at 27.2 million, with a higher percentage of females (51%) compared to males (49%). More than half of the population of Uganda (51%) is below 15 years of age with the percentage higher in rural areas (52%) than in urban areas (44%). The working population of age 15–64 years is 46%. There is a higher dependency ratio in rural areas (123) than in urban areas (85). The proportion of people in the rural areas has been decreasing since 1999, while the proportion in the urban areas has been steadily increasing. The average household size has been estimated at 5.2, with the average household size larger in rural (5.3) than in urban areas (4.6). Children in rural areas are more likely to live with their biological parents (49.9%) than those in the urban areas (44.4%) (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b).

Uganda is a poor country. The average income per capita is US $250 (Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development [MFPED], 2004). Thirty one point one percent of Ugandans are estimated to be poor, corresponding to nearly 8.4 million persons, of which, 84.6% live in rural areas and 15.4% live in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b). One half of households have all members possessing at least one pair of shoes, with the proportion in urban households being almost twice that of rural households (81% as opposed to 43%). Overall, 8% of households take only one meal a day, of which, 9% of the households are in the rural areas and 6% in the urban areas. Ten percent of the households provide nothing for breakfast to children below 5 years (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b). Urban households were more likely to provide nutritious breakfast to children less than 5 years than their rural counterparts were.

Overall, 69% of the population is literate. There are still gender variations in the literacy rates, with female literacy estimated at 63% compared to the male literacy rate of 76%. The proportion of females who had never had formal education is higher (28%) than that of males (11%). The rural-urban literacy rate breakdown shows considerable differentials, with a higher rate in the urban areas (86%) than in rural areas (66%). The proportion of people without any formal

education is higher in the rural areas (23%) than in urban areas (9%) (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b).

According to the 2002 Uganda population and housing census, for all persons aged 10 years and above, 57% are in employment. Of these, 42% are self-employed and 15% are employed, while a further 39% are unpaid family workers. The remaining 4.6% are looking for work. Wider sex differentials exist for unpaid family workers, where 63% of the females compared to 18% of the males are in this category. Nearly 25% of the women are self-employed, whereas 57% of the men are in the same category (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). Eighty-three point seven percent of the rural population aged 14–64 years is employed in comparison to 65.1% in urban areas, which could be explained by the finding that seven in every ten persons are employed in agriculture, which is mostly practiced in rural areas. Thus, the remaining thirty percent of the population are employed in other sectors such as Sales, manufacturing, education, transport, storage and communication, which are located in urban areas. Only one fifth of all households have wage employment as the major source of earnings. The proportion is far higher in urban households (41%) compared to rural households (16%). Rural residents spend more time on care labor activities than their urban counterparts (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a). The current study especially focuses on: distance between home and workplace; time spent at work and type of employment (formal/informal) in relation to urban and rural fathers.

Thus, data from the Uganda National Demographic and Health Survey (UBOS and Macro International, 2006a) and the National Household Survey (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b) indicates that the asymmetry is not restricted to gender roles. Women continue to occupy a subordinate status in the domains of education and employment. The data also show significant differences between rural and urban areas. For example, the rural population is poorer and less educated than the urban population, and rural residents spend more time on care labor activities than urban residents do. Such differences are thought to be related to changes in gender roles. A review of the country's history indicates that several changes in socio-economic conditions have elicited changes in gender roles, characterized by the increasing involvement of women in market production. Women's involvement in market production has had an effect on childcare.

2.4. Maternal employment and childcare

Today, traditional patterns of life are changing, and demand for paid work is escalating everywhere. Labor force profiles are changing along with social roles (Coltrane, 2000). Women are now entering the labor force in increasing numbers, although often with less education and fewer skills than men (O'Connell, 1994; Anderson & Green, 2006; Hill et al., 2003). Conversely, male

employment figures have shrunk or remained static (Lockshin et al., 2004). This may seem advantageous to women, but benefits in the form of paid leave, maternity leave, social security, or health insurance are usually lacking, and this could mean that mothers return to work before they have weaned their babies thus impacting negatively on childcare (Lockshin & Fong, 2000).

Mothers who work do not breastfeed as much as those who do not work. Studies have indicated the nutritional significance of breastfeeding the baby during the first three months. A study conducted on breastfeeding and maternal employment in urban Honduras (World Bank, 2002b) revealed that employed mothers were more likely to seek the help of other people (such as friends and family members) in the care of their children than unemployed mothers were. This is an indication of how employment affects women's availability for childcare. The study further showed that for many employed women, childcare seemed to be an insurmountable obstacle (World Bank, 2002b). The feeding of children was thought to be an interruption, which robbed them of time from other tasks. The study also revealed that employed mothers introduced supplements to breast milk earlier than non-employed mothers did. The same study revealed that among the employed women, those at highest risk of early cessation of breastfeeding are those who work more than six hours per day, six days per week, and have help with childcare at home (World Bank, 2002b). Employed mothers also reported more feeding of breast milk substitutes (artificial milks) and supplements (others foods) than non-employed mothers. This research shows that mothers' availability to breast feed their children is affected by their work demands and such mothers tended to seek other childcare alternatives.

Maternal employment has been reported to impact various aspects of children's lives, such as health, education, and personality (Lockshin & Fong, 2000). Researchers have argued that maternal employment can be advantageous to childcare through increased incomes for affording childcare necessities (Anderson & Green, 2006). On the other hand, although maternal employment may afford households more childcare necessities, it reduces the amount of time that mothers are available to their children. It is therefore important to analyze the way gender roles have changed to accommodate mothers' employment by increasing men's participation in childcare.

Effect of working mothers on children

What impact does the working mother have on her children? In the early 1980s, the dominant view was that a mother's absence from the home due to employment negatively affected the adolescent's vocational orientation (Hoffman, 1999). Later, it was acknowledged that the working mother positively impacts on the development of career ambitions insofar as the children admire and aspire to be like their mothers more than the children of non-employed mothers do. They seek independence and tend to be more autonomous, self-reliant, and achievement-oriented.

Hoffman's (1999) study indicates that the mother's employment influences both male and female attitudes regarding gender roles and vocational choices. As more women become economically empowered, the relationships they have with the rest of the world at a social, economic, and political level are being transformed.

Santrock (2007) argues that demands for change in the family are sparked by biopsychosocial changes in one or more of its members and by various inputs from the social system in which the family is embedded. A change in a mother's gender roles impacts on the children, spouses, parents, and their own identities. The family is a matrix of identities within which the individual's identity is first defined based on interaction with parental and sibling subsystems. The attributes of healthy families that contribute to the individual's self-esteem and self-acceptance include clear boundaries, well-differentiated functions, flexibility, clear and honest communication, good adjustment to life-cycle transitions, and a strong parental coalition (Zanden, Crandell, & Crandell, 2007).

Despite the increasing rate of women involved in income producing work, gender asymmetry persists. Women are not usually relieved of household responsibilities when starting a formal job but remain the primary parent, emotional nurturer, and housekeeper. Hence, it is apparent that the mix of formal employment and childcare for women does not only affect both the mother's work and the quality of childcare, it puts stress on the mother's health as well. Most of the research on mother's formal employment has placed the emphasis on the effect of mothers' work on the quality of childcare. Schindehutte, Morris, and Brennan's (2003) research on South African women as entrepreneurs showed that there are multiple points at which work and family interact, often creating tensions and destabilizing family life. Both managerial and personal dilemmas arise as the entrepreneurial business grows and evolves. The mothers reported that owning a business disrupted family life but impacted on the children positively with regard to the financial benefits which allowed children to make more choices about their future. Disadvantages of having mothers engaged outside of the home related to absent mothers and how this impacted on family life and other stresses. Generally these findings suggest however that the overall impact on families is more positive than negative.

The issue at stake is whether or not fathers could play a role in addressing childcare needs when mothers are also working. Fathers' response to changing childcare needs may be influenced by social expectations and perceptions of the 'ideal father'.

2.5. Perceptions of the "ideal father"

According to Lamb, Pleck, Charnov & Levine (1987) the way fathers perceive and perform their fatherhood role is much influenced by cultural ideals. Morman and Floyd (2002) have argued that the meaning of fatherhood is mainly a cultural product. Thus, as culture changes, so do norms pertaining to 'ideal father. A number of theories point towards the fact that social expectations can put pressure on fathers to behave in ways that they may not necessarily initially, inwardly agree with. For example, LaRossa, Schumm & Steinmetze's (1993) symbolic interaction theory posits that meanings are developed through social interactions that are interpreted by the individuals. These meanings influence the way individuals view their social roles and role identities, hence providing motivation for behavior. Roles are shaped by the shared norms that a person has in a particular social status or position (Spencer, Ted & Kay, 2009). According to Stryker's (1987) identity theory, roles specify the expected attitudes, values, behavior patterns, obligations, and privileges that are attached to that status. Traditionally, the social status of fathers has been associated with the roles of material provider, nurturer, and disciplinarian (Rane & McBride, 2000).

Cultural ideals are dynamic. For example, the social revolutions from the 1960s and 1970s that have reconstructed the role expectations of women have likewise elicited new role expectations for men (Parke, 1995; Arriella, 2002). Marsiglio et al. (2000) explained that within every historical epoch a dominant belief about the role of effective fathering has existed, for example, the father being perceived as the primary moral leader in colonial times to the father being perceived as a primary breadwinner in the middle part of the twentieth century to the new perception of the nurturant father from the mid-1970s onwards. To date, more egalitarian beliefs about fatherhood are emerging, which favor a nurturant father who is emotionally involved and responsive in all aspects of childcare (Lamb et al, 1987). The nurturant father is not regarded simply as an instrumental provider and protector; he is also expected play an expressive, nurturing role in his children's life (Finley & Schwartz, 2004). A number of studies, especially in post-industrialized countries, have shown that fathers see their role as transcending material or financial provision (see Fox & Bruce, 2001; Maurer & Pleck, 2006). According to Rane and McBride (2000), fathers perceive several responsibilities implied in their role and status, including being available, sensitive, and supportive of their children; sharing in caretaking activities; disciplining; and serving as companions, confidants, and teachers. A study by Spencer et al (2009) among nonresident and divorced fathers revealed that men's definition of self as father is both complex and integrative. In their study, seven fathering role identities emerged: provider, teacher, protector, disciplinarian, caretaker, supporter, and co-parent.

The nurturant father seems more visible in research done in post-industrialized countries. Research done in developing countries shows that there is still emphasis on the traditional view of the father role. Turner's (2000) research in Burundi highlights this in interesting ways. In Burundian society, like many other parts of Africa, the father or husband is ideally the breadwinner and the person who gives orders in the house. A good husband and father would give gifts—usually clothes—to his wife and children and make the right decisions for the family's well-being as a whole. The ideal wife, on the other hand, is quiet, shy, and should obey and respect her husband. In Turner's study, one of the community leaders explained:

> A man has to give some orders in his house - and when woman is equal to the man that means woman also has to give orders in the house; some orders to the man. In Burundi it is forbidden for a woman to give orders to the man. (Turner, 2000: 4)

Thus, in such traditional societies, fathers are there to provide and direct their households whilst women should be the primary child care givers. A father's involvement in childcare could be misconstrued as women being disrespectful to their husband's ascribed roles (Turner, 2000).

Writing on gender roles in South Africa, Walker (1995) argues that traditional ideals of motherhood (and fatherhood) persist. According to Walker, the patriarchal society continues to impose a cultural definition of mothers as homemakers and the role of childcare is still confined to women. Richter and Morrell's (2006) research in South Africa shows that men continue to be characterized in the public and not in the domestic realm, which in turn reinforces broader patriarchal power relations that assign the unrecognized responsibility for childcare to women. Traditionally, black African fathers were mostly separated from their children by the need to work in distant places on terms of migrant contracts. However, they argue that this was not the case with all fathers. Fathers in urban areas had a better chance for establishing relationships with children (Richter & Morrell, 2006).

In Ramu's (1987) study on Indian fathers, the provider role was ranked highly regardless of wife's employment. According to Ramu, where traditional normative prescriptions allow the husbands ultimate refusal of housework, a wife's employment would have no significant effect on the way her husband behaves. In a study by Saraff and Srivastava (2008), also in India, the seven dimensions of the fathering role were identified as caretaker, surety, economic provider, playmate and friend, role model, family head, and resource. The findings revealed that caretaking was viewed as one of the most important attributes of an ideal father. Nevertheless, a noticeable proportion of men believed ideal fathers to be surety, economic provider, and/or role model. With about two decades between the two Indian studies, some differences are noticeable. The later study depicts a

more egalitarian view of the ideal father, balancing both the material provider and nurturing roles. This may be an indication that the Indian normative prescriptions are also undergoing change with regards to child caring practices.

It appears that the post-industrialized countries have made significant strides toward gender-neutral ideals of social roles, including fatherhood. Studies conducted in the United States reveal that many fathers today are playing a much greater role in the daily care of their small children than fathers normally did a generation ago. This reflects a change in the attitudes and active choices that males make today, revealing perhaps the new mindsets that are a result of decades of struggle for equal rights for men and women in all spheres of life (Morman & Floyd, 2007). However, research also shows that this change is gradual, and some elements of traditional ideals of the father role still persist. For example, research done in the United States by Spencer et al. (2009) shows that there is still a strong emphasis on the provider role for fathers. In Spencer et al's (2009) study, fathers tended to take on second jobs to provide additional income to the family thereby assuming a greater provider role as well as taking on more stress.

2.6. Justification for fathers' involvement in childcare

Does a father's contribution to his children's well-being end with financial support? Are fathers less important than mothers in regard to childcare? The ability to support a family is a basic expectation of fatherhood in most African societies, but fathers are not expected to engage in direct childcare. This was a constructed, gendered notion that tied in with cultural values. However, as a result of psychological evidence, the important role of fathers in the development of their children has been recognized (Lopton & Barclay, 1997). Various studies have indeed shown that the fathers' emotional investment and involvement in taking care of the children are linked to the children's cognitive development and to the development of their relational abilities, as well as to the mutual wellbeing (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000).

Klinger (2000) identifies several myths about father's involvement in childcare in the United States. According to Klinger, there is a misconception that girls do not need fathers which is not true. He argues that girls with active and hardworking fathers are more ambitious, more successful in school, attend college more often, and are more likely to attain careers of their own. They are less dependent, more self-protective, and less likely to date or marry abusive men. Another misconception Klinger (2000) highlights is that many fathers think that small children do not need their influence, and they can just step in when the children are older. However, it is likely that if a father waits until his son or daughter is older, the child could resent the father's lack of previous

involvement, might have become more dependent on the mother, and may not show much interest in the father's activities, opinions, or suggestions (Klinger, 2000).

Klinger (2000) notes that many people, particularly single mothers, question the notion that children suffer without an active father in the family. Mothers assume their love and guidance is enough. However, an avalanche of evidence from educators, law enforcement officials, mental health facilities, and teen pregnancy programs show the negative consequences of raising children without fathers (UNICEF, 1997a; Pruett, 2000; Dierhart, 1998; Hawkins et al., 1995; Lopton & Barclay, 1997). The facts clearly demonstrate that children of disrupted families experience increased emotional, behavioral, and educational problems.

So powerful is the relationship between fatherlessness and juvenile crime that this factor alone is more predictive than poverty level, race, and education level (Anderson & Green, 2006). When fathers are absent from the home, adolescent and teenage boys are two to four times more likely to be arrested for juvenile offenses (Klinger, 2000). Children living in non-intact families are twice as likely to repeat a grade than those living with both parents, and their dropout rate is two times greater (Klinger, 2000). Boys who got in trouble for violent misbehavior while at school are eleven times more likely to come from fatherless homes. Fatherless children have more difficulty forming and maintaining peer relationships than those from two-parent families. Children involved with their fathers, on the other hand, have stronger self-esteem, are less susceptible to peer-pressure, show greater skills and competence, and are more self-reliant (Klinger, 2000). Warm, supportive interactions with an engaged father or father figure can benefit children both intellectually and socially. Even if interactions are infrequent or if the father does not live with the child, some positive effects can occur (Pruett, 2000).

Among adolescent boys, those who receive more parenting from their fathers are less likely to exhibit anti-social and delinquent behaviors. For adolescent boys, a lack of father's parenting was significantly correlated with adolescent conduct problems, such as anti-social behavior and delinquency. Quality of parenting by fathers was measured by adolescents' responses to a set of 14 questions, such as how often their fathers talked with them, supported their mothers' decisions, and enforced discipline (Angie & Gavazzi, 2003; Simons, 1999). Among adolescent girls, those who have a strong relationship with their fathers are less likely to report experiencing depression. The higher adolescent girls rated the relationship with their fathers, the less likely they were to experience depression (Videon, 2002).

Fathers' religiosity is linked to higher quality of parent-child relationships (King, 2003). A greater degree of religiousness among fathers was associated with better relationships with their children, greater expectations for positive relationships in the future, investment of thought and effort into their relationships with their children, greater sense of obligation to stay in regular contact with their children, and greater likelihood of providing emotional support and unpaid assistance to their children and grandchildren. Fathers' religiousness was measured on six dimensions, including the importance of faith, guidance provided by faith, religious attendance, religious identity, denominational affiliation, and belief in the importance of religion for their children (King, 2003). Fathers who regularly attend religious services are more likely to be engaged in one-on-one activities with their children. Frequency of church attendance was a stronger predictor of paternal involvement in one-on-one activities with children than employment or income, and comparable to race, ethnicity, and education. Fathers who were active in conservative or mainline Protestant congregations were significantly more engaged with their children in one-on-one activities and other youth activities than their unaffiliated counterparts were. (Wilcox, 2002).

Civically active fathers are more likely to participate in youth-related activities. Among fathers who lived with their children—whether biological, adopted, or step—those who participated more in civic, work-related, and service groups tended to be more involved in youth-related activities than fathers who were less civically engaged (Wilcox, 2002 & 2004). Paternal praise (as opposed to harsh criticism or indifference) is associated with higher school achievement, higher educational goals, and better classroom behavior (Pruett, 2000). Today's world is complex and challenging, and children appear to need the balance of a mother and a father, although marital relationships between men and women may be difficult to maintain (Pruett, 2000).

Effects of fathers' involvement on marital relationship

The benefits of fathers' involvement in childcare are not limited to child development. It is also said to have effects on the father-mother relationship. According to Lally (1999), the process of nurturing life is the most profoundly transforming experience in the range of human possibilities. Hawkins et al. (1995) noted that greater responsibility by men for nurturing children will reduce developmental incongruence between fathers and mothers; an incongruence that causes many marital difficulties.

Employed mothers report a great amount of stress attributed to greater overall responsibility of childcare. This stress would be reduced by less role-overload, which comes with a more equitable distribution of home and childcare (Lally, 1999). In addition, equality in paid work

cannot be achieved unless men take a fair share of this unpaid work. However, this is more likely to be among couples with egalitarian views about gender roles. For example, Geiger (1996) argues that mothers with traditional perceptions of gender roles have guilt about leaving childcare to fathers, as it may be a sign of incompetence on their part.

How does involvement in childcare impact on fathers?

It has been argued that in more traditional family arrangements, men can feel restrained by their role, as it is less central than that of the mother and envy the close relationship between the mother and child (Lewis & O'Brien, 1987). Russell (1983) in Lally (1999:13) observed a significant change in the father-child relationship when fathers adopted a shared care-giving role. Direct father's involvement (beyond material provision) made for a less superficial more intimate relationship, which was particularly gratifying because of its expressive nature (Lally, 1999:13). The fathers interviewed in Russell's study reported that they and their children had become closer, had a better understanding of each other, and that they enjoyed the love and affection they shared. Many fathers described this closeness, both emotional and physical, as a highly valued new dimension in their lives.

Geiger (1996), who interviewed a group of fathers, she called "primary care-givers" reported similar reactions. She noted that these fathers, who have reconsidered values of professional achievement in favor of parenthood, reported satisfaction with the deep involvement with their children. Children can become a potential stimulus to men's development (Hawkins et al., 1995). However, Lally's (1999) study revealed higher levels of paternal involvement were related to fathers' providing lower scores on both the objective and subjective domains of the quality of life measures, such as self-esteem. This is in line with Erikson's (1968) notion of generativity in his theory of personality development. Although there are several benefits such as the potential for personal fulfillment through closer and richer relationships with the children along with the positive influences on their development, fathers appear to be reluctant to move away from the more traditional role. Fathers are not likely to change to a less traditional position, unless they are able to recognize advantages for themselves (Lamb et al., 1987). Lally (1999) warns that while increased paternal involvement can be rewarding, it should not be romanticized. There are a number of costs associated with greater paternal involvement, including the likelihood of diminished earnings and career opportunities. Other costs include possible marital friction, boredom with tedious daily chores, and social isolation from disapproving friends and relatives. Fathers who stay at home with young children often find the community and institutions are insensitive to their needs. Since these fathers are not given the support women offer each other, they become even more socially isolated than women in the same situation (Lally, 1999).

2.7. Theories attempting to explain fathers' involvement in childcare

Various explanations have been put forward regarding the factors that affect father involvement in childcare. These are discussed and include the concepts of fairness; self-determination theory; Lamb's model (motivation, skills, and self-confidence, social supports and stresses, institutional factors and child characteristics); role theory; and identity theory.

2.7.1. Fairness evaluations and father's involvement

Many studies on fathers' low involvement in domestic work, and childcare in particular, focus on fairness; that if family work is not shared equitably, the wives will feel a sense of unfairness and that this will negatively affect their wellbeing and the quality of marital relationships (Coltrane, 2000; Apparala et al., 2003). However, focusing on fairness is complex and variedly subjective. For example, seemingly inequitable situations may not be judged so by all wives (Hawkins et al., 1995). In a study on fairness and fatherhood, Apparala et al. (2003) argued that, in translating fairness evaluations into the kinds of attitudes measured, the same factors that lead women to perceive their own amount of housework as unfair should also lead respondents (especially women) to believe that both the father and mother should perform each of the household tasks. In one study, Dancer and Gilbert (1993) examined husbands' and wives' perceptions of who was doing their "fair share" of household work and parenting. In self-ratings, wives were more likely than husbands to say that they were doing their fair share. Ratings of the other spouse revealed that husbands thought that their wives were doing their fair share more so than wives thought their husbands were. Since there is no standard definition of what is fair, fairness evaluations vary from couple to couple, depending on context and social expectations.

Coltrane (2000) concluded that fairness evaluations are influenced by employment, gender, education, and ideology. A study by Apparala et al. (2003) conducted in fourteen European countries also confirms that at the individual level, respondents were more likely to hold egalitarian attitudes toward household work and childcare when they were younger, were female, and held liberal political attitudes.

According to Nippert-Eng (1996), the way spouses perceive fairness depends on their beliefs of expected roles for men and women. Thus, if the husband's main role is wage work, and the wife's main role is housework (which includes childcare), each partner seeks to perform well in his or her territory or responsibility/role. Twiggs, McQuillan, and Marx-Feree (1999) support this argument. According to them, performing one's core role is the first form of fairness and harmony among the couple (Twiggs, McQuillan, & Marx-Feree, 1999). This implies that among couples with

more traditional perceptions of gender roles, fathers' involvement in childcare may be perceived as unfair, especially if they are the main breadwinners.

This supports the exchange/resource theory (Lamb & Haddad, 1992) which posits that the social organization of married couples' family role dynamics is based on the continual exchange of rewards and gratifications. It assumes that household members use their resources to bargain for lower involvement in household tasks to balance the fairness equation. This theory predicts that the increasing movement of married women into the labor market should lead to an egalitarian division of labor in families.

On the basis of Lamb & Haddad's (1992) resource theory, at the individual level, it could be assumed that when women have more resources (e.g., education, income, occupation), belong to a higher social class, and contribute more to household income, they would have more liberal attitudes toward participation in household tasks (i.e., husbands should share equally in these tasks). Similarly it could be assumed that the more resources men have (e.g., power, income, education), the less liberal their attitudes toward participation in household tasks would be (i.e., women should do most of the work). At the macro level, respondents living in countries in which women are empowered would be expected to have more liberal attitudes. In sum, this theory suggests that the person with more material resources derived from outside the home will have more marital power and hence do less household work (Apparala et al., 2003; Coltrane, 2000).

Socio economic status may affect parenting practices in a number of ways. On one hand, fathers who are able to provide adequate financial resources for their children may feel that they have fulfilled their parenting expectations and may be less inclined to actively engage with their children (Becker, 1991). On the other hand, however, fathers who are unable to provide economic support may instead assume other parenting responsibilities such as care-giving activities (Hofferth, 2003). Based on the findings of prior research, it was hypothesized that fathers in socio-economically disadvantaged situations would perceive their father roles as being just as important to children compared to more economically advantaged fathers (Marsiglio & Cohan, 2000). However, the notion that greater financial contribution to the household elicits less involvement in childcare is contested.

Lally's study (1999) on fathers' quality of life showed that both subjective and objective quality of life score were low when a high level of involvement in childcare was combined with a high proportion of economic contribution. This suggests that fathers who made a higher financial

contribution to their households had greater satisfaction when they did not participate in childcare than when they did.

This would support many of the findings reported in a review by Pleck (1997), where the stress of the combination of work and family roles led fathers to experience high levels of stress. Much of this stress was attributed to fathers being unable to honor work commitments due to their childcare obligations, and this was observed to manifest in poor health and diminished well-being (Pleck 1997).

A different form of fairness

Do women feel that by doing housework they are providing care for their family? Carriero (2009) attempts to explain the "overburdened and satisfied women" paradox, and he argues that this explanation is based more on Thompson's (1991) distributive justice approach rather than the resource exchange theory. Thompson (1991) argues that women's sense of entitlement may be undermined if they make within-gender comparisons as opposed to between-gender comparisons. If women compare their husbands' household contributions to their own (between-gender), they are likely to see inequality in the division of labor. However, Thompson (1991) argues that women are more likely to make within-gender comparisons. They compare their husbands to other men they know, most of whom contribute very little. Therefore, the division of labor in the household appears fair. Hochschild's (2003) research also suggests that some wives compare their husbands' contributions to alternatives available "on the market," and eventually come to accept that their husbands' small contributions are better than the majority of husbands, or "the going rate." In addition, women may compare themselves with other women who are "doing it all," or in Hochschild's term, the "supermoms "who have jobs as well as care for their children. Such women may have high expectations for themselves.

2.7.2. Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1991)

According to self-determination theory (SDT), an understanding of behavior regulation must include an examination of the origins of the regulatory process, distinguishing between origins that are related to the self and those that are related to forces or pressures external to the self. Deci and Ryan (1991; 2000) have proposed that the regulation of behavior can take many forms that correspond to qualitatively different styles of behavior regulation. These regulatory styles vary in their level of autonomy and are associated with one of two basic types of motivation: intrinsic motivation or extrinsic motivation.

Intrinsic motivation represents the manifestation of one's innate tendency to seek, challenge, discover novel things, and to master the environment in the absence of material rewards or external constraints (Deci & Ryan, 1991). When intrinsically motivated, one embraces the activity with a sense of personal choice and commitment. *Extrinsic motivation* pertains to a variety of behaviors engaged in as a means to an end and not for their own sake (Deci & Ryan, 1991). The activity is performed to prompt pleasant consequences or to avoid unpleasant ones. The father who is intrinsically motivated to be involved with his child may interact with his children spontaneously for the immediate satisfaction he gains or for the sense of satisfaction of the need to be effective, connected with others, and autonomous (Palkowitz, 2002).

This theory posits that the more a father considers that his partner supports his sense of competence as a parent, provides interpersonal support, and supports his autonomy as a parent, the more he would feel competent in the parenting activities in which he is involved (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In turn, perceived competence would be related to more self-determined motivation for those activities. The more self-determined a father perceives his motivation to be, the greater involvement he would report; the more self-determined his motivation, the greater the satisfaction he would derive from his performance of the father role (Ryan & Deci, 2000). This theory thus underscores the importance of wives' encouragement to fathers' involvement in childcare. However, it may not be accurate to argue that the only way a father could become intrinsically motivated is if the mother supported him. Other factors such as personal experiences, beliefs of gender roles, exposure or knowledge about fathers' involvement in childcare, among others, could contribute to intrinsic motivation.

Intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation

Bouchard, Lee, Asgary, and Pelletier's (2007) study of French fathers investigated the degree to which fathers' motivation for involvement with their preschool children was intrinsic versus extrinsic. Their study revealed that a father's perceptions that his partner has confidence in his parenting ability were related to both feelings of competence in parenting and to his motivation, which in turn was related to his involvement and to his satisfaction in his performance of the parental role.

2.7.3. Lamb *et al* (1987) Model (1987)

Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, and Levine (1987) specify four categories of influence that shape father involvement. These include the fathers' motivation to be involved in their children's lives; skills and self-confidence in the fathering role; social support and stresses; and institutional factors such as job characteristics.

Motivation

Fathers' motivation to be involved in fathering is more important than their spouses' beliefs in determining the amount of time fathers are involved with their children (McBride & Rane, 1998). Two measures of motivation are worth mentioning: First, men's commitment to and identification with the fatherhood role is associated with their level of paternal involvement. Specifically, men who have more progressive beliefs about fatherhood report greater participation in childcare than men with more traditional beliefs (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). Research by Summers et al. (1999: 297) among low-income Americans showed that fathers and mothers understood that fathers' time with children and involvement in childcare was crucial for children's development. Fathers in this American study referred to this engagement as "being there" for their children and drew a distinction between "fathers" and "dads." Another factor that may also influence men's motivation to be involved with their children is *career saliency*. Fathers who are less emotionally attached to their jobs may spend more time with their children if they are able (McBride et al., 2004).

Skills and Self-Confidence

Parenting self-efficacy and parenting satisfaction are two components of skills and self-confidence that affect fathers' involvement. *Parenting self-efficacy* is the degree to which a parent believes he/she is able to care for the child's emotional and physical needs. This is associated with paternal involvement. Among mothers, those with high parenting self-efficacy are more responsive and stimulating with their children and more involved and direct in their parenting interactions. Fathers report lower levels of parenting efficacy than do mothers (Hudson, Elek, & Fleck, 2001). Similar to mothers, however, fathers who perceive themselves as having greater skill at childcare report greater involvement in and responsibility for childcare tasks (Sanderson & Thompson, 2002).

Social Supports and Stresses

Mothers' beliefs regarding fathering, marital satisfaction, and work-family conflict are social supports and stresses that have been found to influence paternal involvement. In general, women's beliefs about how involved their partners should be in fathering are related to men's involvement (Hofferth, 2003). Mothers who report more traditional gender-role beliefs typically have partners who are less involved in childcare (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). In addition, positive emotional interactions with a partner may affect men's state of mind and reinforce their desire to be involved in all facets of family life (Aldous, Mulligan, & Bjarnason, 1998). Some studies have shown that fathers who report greater marital satisfaction also report more participation in childrearing (Bonney, Kelley, & Levant, 1999). Greater marital satisfaction has been related to higher quality of

father-child interactions (McBride & Mills, 1993). However, other research has found that, for men, more time spent in childcare is associated with lower marital satisfaction (Nangle, Kelly, Fals-Stewart, & Levant, 2003).

At the same time, the relationship between marital satisfaction and involvement in childcare may be affected by other variables. For example, Hoffman (1999) found that men with more traditional views of fatherhood but who took greater responsibility for childcare reported higher levels of marital dissatisfaction when increased paternal responsibility was due to their wives' employment. Perhaps fathers who believe work involvement is the primary mechanism for fulfilling spouse and parenting roles (i.e., the traditional provider role) may feel resentful about taking responsibility for childcare. Traditional views of fathers' involvement in childcare are more profound in rural than urban areas (Atkinson, 1994) and more prevalent among uneducated fathers (Monna & Gauthier, 2008).

Institutional Factors

Although institutional factors include workplace policies (e.g., parental leave, flexibility of work schedules), in particular, research has focused on work hours in relation to fathers' involvement in childcare. Research shows that the more hours men spend at work, the less involved they are in the care of young children (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). As might be expected, the more hours mothers spend working, the greater fathers' involvement in childcare (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004).

The roles of other institutional factors have been examined in research on work-family. For example, a study by Haas and Hwang (2005) in Sweden examined whether or not parental leave policy is an effective strategy for changing the gender-based division of labor for childcare and for shaping the social construction of fatherhood. Their findings confirm positive effects of leave-taking on fathers' participation in childcare. The study reveals that leave taking was effective to paternal involvement especially when fathers have taken 90 or more days of leave.

Another study by Hill et al. (2003) used a global corporate sample of working fathers from 48 countries to compare working fathers to working mothers on key work-family variables. Their study reveals that fathers struggled as much as mothers to keep work from draining their energies. Though fathers were less likely than mothers to have used corporate programs to help find harmony between work and family life, they frequently chose options that provided flexibility in their work (Hill et al., 2003). Overall, the use of any work-family programs by fathers, including the specific use of flexi-time and flexi-place, were found to be work-family adaptive strategies that

predicted greater work-family fit. Having a spouse as the primary caregiver did not predict greater work-family fit for working fathers, but it did for working mothers (Hill et al., 2003). This implies that, in the presence of a spouse availing more time for childcare, mothers were more likely to seek a balance between their work and family time than fathers. Curiously, having greater responsibility for childcare predicted greater work-family fit for fathers but less work-family fit for mothers (Hill et al., 2003). This implies that fathers were more likely to seek a balance between their work and family time when it dawned on them that they are the ones to take primary responsibility. Interestingly, when fathers took primary responsibility, mothers still sought a work-family balance. When mothers took primary childcare responsibility, fathers were reluctant to seek a work family balance.

A study by Nangle et al. (2003) on fathers and mothers (dual-earner couples) of preschool-aged children examined work and family variables as related to paternal involvement in engagement (i.e., directly interacting with the child), responsibility (i.e., scheduling activities and being accountable for the child's well-being), and accessibility (i.e., being available to the child but not in direct interaction). In the study, fathers' reports of responsibility and accessibility were significantly predicted by structural variables and beliefs. However, fathers' reports of engagement were not predicted by work and family variables (e.g. job stress and work and family conflict). Mothers' reports of the work-family fit did not predict their reports of father involvement (Nangle et al., 2003). These findings suggest that for fathers of young children, parental involvement appears mainly self-determined.

Work family conflict

Work-family conflict has been defined as a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respects (Carlson, 1999). Stephens and Sommer (1996) identify three forms of work-family conflict: time-based, strain-based, and behavior-based conflict.

- *Time-based conflict* occurs when time devoted to one role makes it difficult to participate in another role, or when time pressures associated with one role make it physically impossible to comply with expectations arising from another role.
- *Strain-based conflict* is experienced when strain symptoms from one role intrude into and interfere with participation in another role. The two roles are incompatible to the degree that strain created by one domain makes it difficult to comply with demands in the other domain.
- *Behavior-based conflict* occurs when specific behaviors required in one role are incompatible with behavioral expectations within another role. In other words, in-

role behavior patterns in one role (e.g., aggressiveness at work) may be incompatible with the expectations of behavior in another role (e.g., warmth at home).

Carlson (1999) argues that while the previous definitions emphasize the fact that each of these are, in fact, unique constructs, there may also be some similarities across the three forms of conflict. For example, all of the forms of conflict are based on perceptions held by the individual. However, time- and strain-based conflict are more likely to be determined by an individual's perception of the situation, while behavior-based conflict is more likely to be based on the individual's perception of behaviors or actions in a situation. Further, time and strain are more likely to be experienced similarly (and thus be more highly correlated) because strain may come as a result of time demands.

An important element in the work-family conflict is availability of paternity leave. Seward, Yeatts, Zottarelli, and Fletcher's (2006) study among American fathers revealed that fathers who took leave were more likely to share some specific childcare tasks with mothers than fathers who did not take leave, but no differences were found for time spent with children or taking responsibility for childcare. Parents' egalitarian beliefs, income, and education had more impact than taking leave on fathers' overall involvement in childcare. Loscocco's (1997) study among self employed mothers and fathers reveals that, even among those who create their own jobs, for women, the family tends to intrude more on work and for men, work tends to intrude more on family. Though all of those interviewed enjoy considerable flexibility, the women tend to emphasize the importance of that flexibility for balancing work and family lives. Provider status and parental identity are key influences shaping how work fits with family. The life stages of the family and the business are also important. Gender was deeply embedded in all of the processes identified, as women and men confront or confirm their gender identities in constructing the linkages between their work and family lives.

The role of child characteristics

In addition to institutional factors, another factor that has been identified to influence father's involvement in childcare has to do with the characteristics of children themselves, such as age and gender (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erikson, 1998). As children mature, both parents spend less time with them, but due to fathers' lower initial levels of interaction, the decline in paternal involvement is less pronounced than the decline in maternal involvement (Pleck, 1997). It has also been proposed that fathers dedicate more time to sons than to daughters (Early Childcare Research Network, 2000). Fathers' differential treatment according to gender is greater in play

than in other care giving activities (Levy-Shiff & Israelashvili, 1988), and fathers tend to spend more time with older children (Pleck, 1997).

Research indicates a relationship between child's gender and fathers' involvement in childcare. In Siegal's (1987) meta-analysis of 39 studies on fatherhood in Australia, in 20 of 39 independent published studies, the father's treatment of boys and girls differed significantly. The pattern of father-specific effects was most evident in the area of discipline and physical involvement and was weak in the areas of affection and everyday speech with infants and toddlers. Also, fathers differentiate between the sexes to a much greater degree than do mothers.

According to reciprocal role theory, it is argued that the differences in the way fathers deal with boys and girls are intricately related to the nature of the socialization process (Block, 1983). Differential socialization processes have often been used to account for sex-typing in children's behavior (Block, 1983). Since boys and girls are treated differently by socialization agents, principally parents, boys engage in masculine activities, and girls engage in feminine ones. The socialization behavior of parents may consist of differential childrearing strategies employed by one parent alone, or both parents acting separately or together. In this respect, the father's role may be critical (Miller, 2005).

According to reciprocal role theory, the father's socialization behavior promotes masculine and feminine characteristics in both boys and girls. Consistent with the father's instrumental role as the traditional provider for the family, boys are sought out by the father and are socialized to take on this role for themselves. While both mothers and fathers encourage sex-typing in children, the father makes a greater distinction between sons and daughters. The father transmits to the child the norms and expectations of the world outside the family. Boys are directed toward the autonomy and independence necessary for instrumental behavior though positive and negative reinforcement and techniques of discipline and control (Miller, 2005).

Though fathers may promote independence in daughters as well, girls are treated more gently, in keeping with their expressive role as caring, empathic persons. But in particular, through mildly seductive behavior and allusions to the girl's physical attractiveness, fathers may reinforce the heterosexual aspects of femininity in contrast to the maternal or domestic ones (Pajares, Abby & Nabi, 2009).

2.7.4. Role Theory

Role theory suggests that social roles are shared norms and expectations about how an individual should behave in certain situations (Rane & McBride, 2000). According to role theory, the father's role is based on his internalized concept of appropriate paternal behavior. Past research, in fact, has shown that one determinant of fathers' participation in childcare is their beliefs about appropriate parenting roles for mothers and fathers. In traditional families, the lack of preparation and social support systems for new fathers often entrenches the mother as the childcare specialist. Therefore, it is not surprising that fathers behave in accordance with maternal beliefs and expectations (Palkovitz, 2002). These different parental roles lead to different patterns of interaction between the parents and their infants. The ways in which mothers and fathers define their roles influence the quality and quantity of their behavior with their children. Some women who subscribe to more traditional gender roles may not expect the fathers to share parental responsibilities (Bonney et al., 1999) or may not want to give up their childcare role. According to Robinson and Godbey (1997), most of the time men spend with their children is in the form of "interactive activities," such as play or helping with homework, rather than in the "custodial" cleaning and feeding that are considered to be the mother's domain. This is aligned with the traditional gender division of labor.

One way mothers restrict paternal involvement in the family work is by "gate keeping" the domain of home and family (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). Mothers who work at low paying, less prestigious and unfulfilling jobs garner few psychological rewards or prospects for advancement. As a result, these mothers may place significant value on women's roles as wives and mothers, roles in which they may feel irreplaceable and can exercise significant autonomy and power (Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Allen & Kerry, 2002). There are other social structures that reinforce such traditional gender division of labor. For example, a study by Casterline, Williams, and McDonald (1986) on age differences between spouses in developing countries suggests that spouse age differences are reinforced by kinship structures and traditional gender roles among other factors. Thus men prefer to marry younger women who are more likely to shoulder all the productive, reproductive, and community roles.

In addition, DeLuccie (1995) found that maternal attitudes toward, and maternal level of satisfaction with, paternal involvement were reliable predictors of the level of paternal involvement. In contrast, levels of involvement vary, but may be due primarily to emotional and practical barriers, rather than the sex of the parent in cases where parents do not reside with their children (Stewart, 1999).

Maternal gate keeping

Fagan and Marina (2003) defined *gate keeping* as mothers' preferences and attempts to restrict and exclude fathers from childcare and involvement with children. Gate keeping can occur as a result of various beliefs and behaviors that ultimately inhibit a collaborative effort between spouses and which limit men's opportunities for learning and growing through caring for home and children (Allen & Hawkins, 1999). Wives are said to be more influential in involving their husbands in parenting than were husbands in involving their wives in parenting (Fagan & Marina, 2003). Walker and McGraw (2000) have observed that mothers play a key role in promoting relationships between children and fathers. Research also shows that mothers believe they have primary responsibility for the home and childcare. Perhaps such perceptions emerge because women may appraise and define themselves by their ability to influence the domestic arena (Rutter & Schwartz, 2000). It may not be women themselves favoring this perception; it may be a social expectation. These perceptions can be explained in part by family systems theory.

According to *family systems theory*, all systems erect boundaries that affect the flow of information and energy between the environment and the system or between various parts of the system (Klein &White, 1996). *Boundaries* are defined as the invisible barriers that regulate the amount of contact between individuals (Klein &White, 1996). An important role of the boundaries is to protect the autonomy of the family and its subsystems by managing proximity and hierarchy (Becvar & Becvar, 2008). Maternal gate keeping can be, in part, explained by women's positions within the social structure. It has been argued that because women do not wield a lot of influence readily within the traditional patriarchal social structure, they have instead sought to obtain power within the family structure (Fagan & Marina, 2003; Farrell & Sterba, 2008). DeLuccie (1995) hypothesized that maternal attitudes and satisfaction with father involvement may have a gatekeeping function in relation to the magnitude of father involvement. She found that these gatekeeper variables are significantly associated with father involvement with children. Furthermore, they serve a mediating role between amount of father involvement and mothers' satisfaction with social support, with employment status, and with marriage, as well as with age of the child (DeLuccie, 1995).

Mothers may limit father's involvement as a means of confirming their position in the home. However, it could also be that they do not trust the competence of fathers to carry out childcare tasks. In Fagan and Marina's (2003) study, fathers' competence was indirectly and directly linked to amount of father involvement with children. Gate keeping mediated the relationship between fathers' competence and involvement. Maternal gate keeping was causally linked to amount of fathers' involvement. Some have argued that fathers are unlikely to participate in their

children's care without the support of their wives (Bonney et al., 1999). In their study, women who had more liberal attitudes about the father's role in parenting tended to have husbands or partners who participated in more childcare. This may indicate that sometimes gate keeping may be an unconscious function of the wife's behavior. Mothers who are less critical and reassuring to fathers may yield a greater amount of fathers' involvement in childcare than those who are more critical or show less confidence in the fathers' ability to carry out childcare tasks. The dimension of the husband's role that is most resistant to change is participation in domestic duties. Husbands in both groups do not significantly differ in the amount of time spent on various chores, the quality and efficiency of service, and orientation toward domestic labor. This implies that wives' employment status exerts no moral or psychological pressure on some husbands, to engage in any domestic work. To some degree, the attitude of wives toward domestic labor encourages husbands' inflexibility. Few wives attempt to use their co-provider roles as leverage for demanding more help from their husbands in domestic duties. Instead, they have sought the assistance of other women and thus ensured that domestic work remains firmly within the female sphere. In this regard, commenting on the Hindu culture Meiss (1980) observes,

> The question is not exclusively the amount of actual work, but one of who does the domestic work. The question of who serves whom is closely connected with the whole authority structure of the Indian family. The demand of the wife that the husband should help is a direct attack on his privileged status: for to serve the husband gladly and without hesitation is the highest duty of the good Hindu wife. (p. 269)

Rural urban differences

Research points to the existence of more traditional gender division of labor in rural than in urban areas (Fan, Zhang, & Rao, 2004). Atkinson's (1994) research in the United States Midwest shows that rural mothers were significantly more likely than urban mothers to use relatives for childcare rather than nonrelatives, including baby-sitters or day care centers and preschools. The relatively greater use of relatives for childcare in rural areas may be an indication of extended family structures that have traditionally been a major form of childcare even in Africa. The fact that urban mothers were more likely to use non family alternatives for childcare implies the lack of extended family structures in urban areas, making urban childcare more challenging and expensive. Atkison (1994) also found out that significantly fewer rural mothers used childcare than urban mothers. Rural mothers who used care averaged significantly fewer caregivers than urban mothers and more hours of care. These findings point to the fact that in addition to childcare being more expensive in urban than rural areas, mothers in urban areas are more likely to be in need of childcare support than those in rural area. As discussed in chapter four, this may be because more mothers in urban areas work away from home than in rural areas.

2.7.5. Identity Theory

Identity theory (Stryker, 1987) has been used to explain both levels and forms of father involvement, positing that fathers' involvement with children stems from the meanings and importance they assign to being fathers (Marsiglio et al., 2000). According to identity theory, it is through social interactions that statuses (such as father, husband) and roles (such as provider, nurturer, disciplinarian) are given meaning, and behaviors reflecting these statuses and roles are either inhibited or reinforced. The meanings that individuals attach to particular roles result in the creation of identities, and these identities subsequently guide behavior. Over time, behaviors associated with particular identities become stable and are invoked across a wider variety of situations, rather than being situational or context-specific. Some recent research suggests that the relationship between identity and behavior is bi-directional, such that individuals' behavior also affects their identities (Marsiglio et al., 2000).

Identity is defined as internalized sets of role expectations (Stryker, 1987). Thus, father identities are conceptualized as fathers' self-perceptions and expectations regarding how they should enact different roles within the paternal status. This conceptualization has been measured in a number of ways, including fathers' satisfaction with and competence enacting their father identities, role clarity, willingness to invest time and resources in their father identities (Fox & Bruce, 2001), and perceptions of the ideal father (Saraff & Srivastava, 2008; Mackenzie, 1998).

Identity theory traditionally has held that an individual's behavior is more likely to reflect identities that are both salient and central. However, scholars have challenged the influence of identity salience. Studies that contain measures of both salience and centrality (Rane & McBride, 2000) generally found that centrality is more influential to behavior than salience.

Commitment to an identity also is associated with the enactment of identity-related behaviors. According to identity theory, commitment consists of the relationships that support the enactment of an identity and the costs associated with giving up these relationships if the identity is not enacted (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Theoretically, commitment to father identities should be higher when a greater number of important relationships encourage the enactment of these identity-related behaviors. Thus, commitment acts as a moderator such that higher levels of commitment strengthen the relationship between identity and behavior. Although identity theory does not address the potential effect of relationships that discourage the enactment of an identity, theoretically, fathers with more relationships that discourage the enactment of their father

identities should be less likely to behave in accordance with their identities (Stryker & Serpe, 1994).

2.7.6. Research and theories on the magnitude of fathers' involvement in childcare

Several studies have estimated the amount of time fathers spend in childcare activities. These studies show that the extent of fathers' involvement in childcare is not better than their attitudes around involvement in childcare. A study by Romano and Bruzzese (2007) on Italian fathers shows that actual fathers' involvement is higher than that revealed of Ugandan fathers in the current study. In an average weekday, 58.6% of fathers with at least one child aged 13 or less declared they spend time in childcare activities, and 50.7% declared they spend time in housework activities. Fathers dedicate 1 hour 15 minutes to housework and 1 hour 17 minutes to childcare work. A study by Yeung, Sandberg, Davis-Kean, and Hofferth (2001) among fathers in the US showed that on average, fathers spent 1 hour and 13 minutes on a weekday and 3.3 hours on a weekend day interacting directly with their children. The level and nature of father's involvement vary by children's age and gender.

Lyn's (2006) study of Australian fathers categorizes childcare into four broad activity groupings (a) interactive childcare: face-to-face parent-child interaction in activities such as teaching, helping children learn, reading, telling stories, playing games, listening to children, talking with, and reprimanding children; (b) physical and emotional childcare: face-to-face parent-child interaction that revolves around physical care of children, such as feeding, bathing, dressing, putting children to sleep, carrying, holding, cuddling, hugging, soothing; (c) travel and communication: travel can be associated with transportation to school, visits, sports training, music and ballet lessons, and parents and teacher nights, including time spent waiting and meeting trains or buses; communication (in person, by telephone, or written) includes discussions with a spouse, other family members, friends, teachers, and child workers when the conversation is about the child; and (d) passive childcare: supervising games and recreational activities such as swimming, being an adult presence for children to turn to, maintaining a safe environment, monitoring children playing outside the home, keeping an eye on sleeping children.

Lyn (2006) observed a gender difference in the amount of interactive care activities of talking to, playing with, reading to, teaching, or reprimanding children that involves multitasking. Majority of the father's time in interactive care is done as a main activity. Fathers were less involved in the physical care activities, which arguably are most demanding. Interestingly, mothers did more interactive care than fathers, but it is was a lower proportion of their total time in

childcare. Therefore, fathers enjoyed relatively more play and talking time with their children than mothers did. Mothers did more physical care than fathers.

A study of Indian fathers by Saraff and Srivastava (2010) categorized childcare activities into four groups:

- Traditionally female childcare tasks, such as feeding, dressing/changing nappies, taking the child to bed, fathers were reluctant to involve themselves in such activities.
- Nurturance: Nurturance means providing responsible and loving care that meets the emotional and social needs of the child. Relatively higher proportion of fathers (as well as mothers) reported that they frequently administer medicine to the child as well as help the child with his/her personal problems. However, only a few fathers are likely to be concerned about who the child's friends are. It may be inferred that fathers are more participative when the child is suffering, either from physical or mental health problems
- Educational and functional interaction, which includes play, helping the child with homework and helping the "child to learn." Except for taking child to school or picking up the child from school, at least one-fifth of the fathers are engaged frequently in all other activities. Nearly 70% of the fathers report playing with the child either sometimes or frequently. Fathers tend to "specialize" in play.
- Disciplining: This is a traditional role of father. In this Saraff and Scrivastava's (2010) study, this traditional role of the father as a disciplinarian is close to extermination. A clear majority (75%) of fathers hardly ever ("never" or "rarely") inflict punishment upon their children, while a mere 4% of fathers accept that they punish the child frequently.

Li-ching and Roopnarine's (1996) study among 25 Taiwanese families observed mother-infant and father-infant interactions in the home, and parents provided estimates of their involvement in care giving and household activities. Observations indicated that mothers held infants more than did fathers and were more likely to feed, smile at, vocalize to, and engage in object play with them than were fathers. Fathers engaged in more rough play with infants than did mothers. There were no gender differences in soothing infants or displaying affection to them. Mothers and fathers treated males and females quite similarly. Infants were smiled at, vocalized to, approached, and seemed to be more distressed in the presence of mothers than in the presence of fathers.

The aforementioned studies show that fathers are more likely to be involved in interactive activities such as playing with children, than the custodial activities such as changing nappies.

A synthesis of theories

While some weaknesses and strengths are pointed out in different theories, this study doesn't privilege one theory over others. Rather, it eclectically draws from the different theories. The following discussion highlights only those major themes emerging from the theoretical review.

One of the main themes that emerge from these theories is fairness. Although fairness evaluations are subjective and influenced by a range of factors including employment, gender, education, cultural beliefs, among others, they are a crucial dimension of perceptions of fathers' involvement in child care. Fairness is explained by some spouses as husbands doing their traditional gender-ascribed roles and by other spouses as husbands making a contribution to some childcare activities since they are also working mothers.

In this study, fairness is interrogated as a perception of both fathers and mothers whether they practice traditional or egalitarian gender roles and /or whether fathers earn more or less income than their wives.

Another set of very connected themes includes motivation, satisfaction, confidence and social supports. Studies such as Lally's (1999), Pleck's (1997) studies suggest that a greater sense of fairness makes fathers (as well as mothers) feel more satisfied, not only about their marriage, but also about life in general even when it may be stressful at work.

According to self-determination, role and identity theories, intrinsic motivation is a stronger predictor of fathers' involvement in childcare than extrinsic motivation. It is also true that even when fathers are motivated to participate in childcare (often intrinsically), they could be hindered by lack of confidence, childcare skills, and less supportive work arrangements, spouses and cultural beliefs. It is suggested that traditional beliefs about gender roles are more common in rural than urban areas.

The next section reviews some of the instruments that have been used to review fatherhood since some of the indicators of these instruments have been used to guide the development of this study's questionnaires.

2.8. Measuring Paternal Involvement in Childcare

Although the main data collection tools for this study were guided by the study objectives, various other instruments on fatherhood were additionally reviewed. NB: it is important to note that insights gained from these instruments helped to shape the data collection tools for the study. No adaptation or modification of original copyrighted scales was done.

While there is a dearth of knowledge and evidence regarding paternal involvement in childcare in the developing world, particularly in Uganda, considerable research has been done on this subject in the developed world. Various instruments have been used to examine paternal involvement in childcare (2.8.1-2.8.9).

2.8.1. The Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

The GEM Scale uses a series of questions to find out men's views on the roles and behavior of men and women (Pulerwitz & Segundo, 2006). Horizons/Population Council and Instituto Promundo developed the scale using findings from research with men in Brazil and a literature review (Population Council, 2006). The instrument includes 24 items that measure traditional and egalitarian norms and behaviors. In the scale, respondents are asked if they agree, partially agree, or disagree with statements such as, in the category of Traditional Norms and Behaviors: "There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten." "I would be outraged if my partner asked me to use a condom." "A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family." In the category of Egalitarian Norms and Behaviors: "A man and woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use." "A man should know what his partner likes during sex." "It is important that a father is present in the lives of his children, even if he is no longer with the mother" (Population Council, 2006). The GEM Scale measures quantitative changes in gender norms that relate to home and childcare and sexual relationships (Population Council, 2006). In the current study, reference was made to this tool in creating a measure for fathers' and mothers' attitudes about paternal involvement in childcare.

2.8.2. Partner Support for Father Involvement (PSFI)

The Partner Support for Father Involvement (Bouchard & Lee, 2000) measure is a 12-item scale developed to assess perceptions of three different kinds of support for the paternal role (four items per subscale): support for competence (e.g., my partner has confidence in my abilities as a parent), interpersonal support (e.g., my partner does what she can to make things easier in my role as a parent), and support for autonomy (e.g., my partner respects my opinion when we make a decision concerning our child). In the current study, the PSFI was referred to in constructing

measures that would study the role of wives in encouraging/discouraging paternal involvement in childcare.

2.8.3. Perceived Competence in Childcare Activities Scale (PCCAS)

The Perceived Competence in Childcare Activities Scale (Bouchard & Lee, 2000) is 15-item scale, representing the levels of father perceived competence. Using the PCCAS, fathers are asked to rate their sense of competence for each activity listed on the Father Involvement Scale using a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*not competent)* to 7 (*very competent*). In the current study, elements of this scale were adapted to aid the development of measures to question fathers' perceived competence in childcare, and how it affects their involvement in childcare roles.

2.8.4. Father Involvement Scale (FIS)

Bouchard and Lee (2000) developed this 15-item scale by translating items from published scales (e.g., McBride & Mills, 1993) and adding items addressing emotional care. In this scale, fathers were asked to estimate their level of involvement in activities requiring direct interaction with their preschool child (e.g., helping child with the morning routine), using a seven-point scale (ranging from 1, *never* or *0 times a week,* to 7, *all the time* or *7 times a week*). The current study referred to elements of this instrument in developing measures to interrogate fathers' involvement in day-to-day childcare activities.

2.8.5. Satisfaction in the Parental Role Scale (SPRS)

This 5-item scale (Picard-Lessard, 1995) examines satisfaction with performance of different aspects of the parental role. Fathers indicate their degree of agreement on a 7-point scale (1, *do not agree at all*, to 7, *strongly agree*) with statements about their involvement with their children (e.g., I am satisfied with the extent to which I take responsibility for raising my children). The current study referred to elements of this tool in the development of measures to interrogate fathers' satisfaction with their involvement in childcare activities, and the motivation for their involvement.

2.8.6. Paternal Index of Childcare Inventory (PICCI)

A version of Radin's PICCI questionnaire (Radin & Goldsmith, 1989) that was modified by Nangle et al. (2003) assesses paternal engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. The modified version of the PICCI is a combination of the original PICCI items, items from McBride's Paternal Responsibility Scale (McBride & Mills, 1993), and additional items developed to assess aspects of paternal involvement with young children. Items measuring engagement include "bathes the child" and "reads to child" (McBride & Mills, 1993). Sample statements from the accessibility subscale are

"monitors child while he/she is playing" and "is available to the child if he/she becomes upset (McBride & Mills, 1993)". Sample items from the responsibility scale are "buys child clothes" and "determines appropriate activities for the child (McBride & Mills, 1993)." Both mothers and fathers answered each item using a five-point scale: 1, *mother always does*; 2, *mother usually does*; 3, *both parents share equally*; 4, *father usually does*; and 5, *father always does*. Higher scores reflect that the father performed the childcare activity more often. In the current study, reference was made to this tool in developing measures for the extent of fathers' involvement in childcare.

2.8.7. Beliefs Concerning the Parental Role Scale (BCPR)

The 26-item BCPR (Bonney, 1997; Nangle et al., 2003) assesses parents' beliefs regarding appropriate roles of the mothers and fathers in the care of young children. Statements such as "It is important for a father to spend quality time (one to one) with his children every day" and "It is more important for a mother rather than a father to stay home with an ill child" are rated on a scale from 1(*Agree Strongly)* to 5 (*Disagree Strongly*). Lower scores indicate more traditional (i.e., less liberal) views of men's involvement with children (Bonney et al., 1999). This study referred to elements of this tool in developing measures to interrogate fathers' and mothers' attitudes concerning paternal involvement in childcare.

2.8.8. Parenting Sense of Competency Scale (PSOC)

The PSOC is a 16-item scale (Gibaud-Wallston & Wandersman, 1978) that measures both parental satisfaction and parental self-efficacy. Nine of the items assess parental satisfaction (e.g., "Being a parent makes me tense and anxious"--reverse scored). Seven items assess parental self-efficacy (e.g., "I meet my own personal expectations for expertise in caring for my child"). Items are rated from 1 (*Strongly Agree*) to 6 (*Strongly Disagree*). Lower scores reflect higher parenting satisfaction and better parenting self-efficacy. The current study used elements of this tool to develop measures to interrogate fathers' perceived competence in childcare, and how it affects their involvement in childcare roles.

2.8.9. Work-Family Conflict Scale (W-F)

The W-F Conflict Scale (Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connelly, 1983) measures two dimensions of work-family interference: work to family and family to work. Participants rate items such as "After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I'd like to do" and "My personal demands are so great that it takes away from my work" on a five-point scale from 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*). The first two items assess the amount of interference from family to work, and the last two items measure the amount of interference from work to family. For both dimensions, higher scores indicate greater interference. Total scores for each parent are

obtained by combining the scores of both dimensions. During the current study, elements of this tool were reviewed in developing measures to interrogate how fathers' work influences their involvement in childcare roles.

In sum, the aforementioned tools indicate specific ways in which previous research has measured paternal involvement in childcare. The current study adapted some key elements from these various scales and, combined additional measures, to determine the extent as well as factors that explain paternal involvement in childcare in Uganda.

2.9. Summary

This chapter has highlighted various research arguments and debates that attempt to give insights into the issue of gender roles and fathers' participation in childcare. The discussion shows that fathers' participation in childcare can be a function of multiple factors ranging from those that relate to the father-mother relationship, father characteristics, mother characteristics, and external factors, such as the workplace, among others. However, there is as yet no coherent study on the current involvement of fathers in childcare in Uganda when their wives are engaged in paid employment. This study seeks to address this gap. The following chapter discusses the methodological considerations

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. An Overview

This chapter explains the details of the methodology that governed the execution of the study. First, the area of study is described, the study design and study population are then explained. A description of sample selection methods and sample size follows. Details of data collection, processing, and analysis are then presented, followed by a description of ethical issues and some limitations of the study.

3.2. Geographical context of the study

The study was conducted in the central region of Uganda in one urban district of Kampala and one rural district of Mpigi. The two districts were selected on the basis of their levels of urbanization to be able to compare findings between urban and rural areas. Kampala is the most urbanized district in Central Uganda and in Uganda in general, with 100% of its population living in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). On the other hand, Mpigi is the most rural district in the central region with only 2.5% of its population living in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). Selecting study districts from the same region provides for a broad similarity of cultural beliefs although practices may vary. These two districts, being in the central region, are dominated by the same cultural group, the Buganda.

Buganda is the kingdom of the Baganda people, the largest of the traditional kingdoms in present-day Uganda. The three million Baganda (singular form is Muganda, and often is referred to simply by the root word and adjective, Ganda) make up the largest Ugandan ethnic group, although they represent only about 16.7% of the population (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). The name Uganda, the Swahili term for Buganda, was adopted by British officials in 1894 when they established the Uganda Protectorate, centered in Buganda. Buganda's boundaries are marked by Lake Victoria on the south, the Victoria Nile River on the east, and Lake Kyoga on the north. The Luganda language is widely spoken in Buganda and is one of the most commonly used in Uganda, along with English (Mukasa, 2008).

In terms of social structure, the Buganda society is not stratified. There are no social layers conceived in terms of relations of inferiority and superiority (Fallers, 1959). There is however, a great sensitivity to distinctions of honor, wealth, importance and authority of particular persons, but no conception of broad groups of persons who are essentially equal with respect to these qualities (Fallers, 1959). One form of differentiation is found in the Buganda clan structure.

The Baganda are organized into clans, a key feature of their culture. A clan represents a group of people who can trace their lineage to a common ancestor in some distant past. The clan essentially forms a large extended family and all members of a given clan regard each other as brothers and sisters regardless of how far removed from one another in terms of actual blood ties. In the customs of Buganda, lineage is passed down along patrilineal lines (Buganda Cultural and Development Foundation, 2012). Along the lines of patriarchy, particular roles are prescribed for men and women. Women are traditionally responsible for the reproductive roles while men are in charge of the productive and community leadership roles.

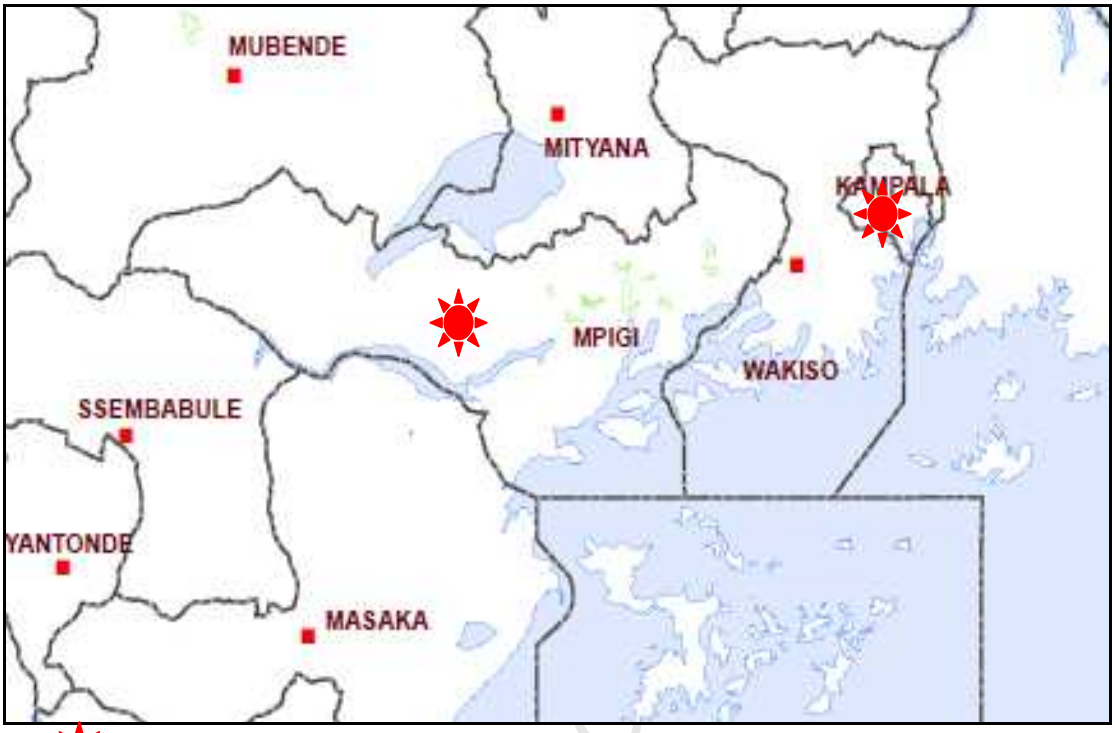
3.2.1. Kampala District

As shown in Figure 2a, Kampala, the capital city of Uganda, is located on latitude 0 degrees 19' north, longitude 32 degrees 35' east. It covers an area of 189 sq. km; the land area is 176 sq. km and lies 1180 m above sea level. The average annual rainfall is 12-150 cm (Kampala City Council [KCC], 2001). The district is almost entirely surrounded by Mpigi and Wakiso Districts, as well as Lake Victoria, which forms its border in the south (KCC, 2001) (see figure 2b).

Figure 2 (a): Administrative map of Uganda

Source: Magellan Geographix (1997)

Figure 2 (b): Map showing study area



Source: United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA) (2009)

The main languages spoken by the city residents are Luganda, English, and Swahili, in that order, but all indigenous languages of Uganda are used in the cosmopolitan city. The district is mainly industrial, but its suburbs produce agricultural products such as potatoes, cassava, beans, and green vegetables. Poultry and animal husbandry form part of the city's small-scale cottage industries. The Central Business District (CBD) is Kampala's commercial heartland where most of the business activity takes place. Major hotels, banks, markets, shops, offices, and leisure sports are located here. Many city residents live in the central area but the majority lives in the suburbs (KCC, 2001) and thus may be engaged in informal businesses or small-scale farming. Kampala's rapid development is driven by a strategic four-point (re-organization, restoration, rehabilitation, and re-development) modernization program, which is also the centerpiece of Uganda's national economic recovery programme (KCC, 2001). Fifty-four percent of the population lives in tenement dwellings and 12% live in stores and garages (MFPED, 2004). The majority (65%) occupies rented houses, and 71% of households' occupy rooms, as opposed to freestanding houses. Approximately 36% of the houses are built of mud and wattle (MFPED, 2004). Slums are a common feature in Kampala. Twenty-seven percent of the population lives in slums that cover 10% of the total area of

Kampala and have an average population density of 14,112 people per square kilometer (MFPED, 2004).

Administratively, the district is subdivided into administrative divisions equivalent to a sub-county. Kampala city has five divisions: Makindye, Rubaga, Kawempe, Nakawa, and Central Divisions. Recently two more divisions, Makerere and Kyambogo, came into being specifically to cater for the needs of large institutions of learning located in their areas of jurisdiction. However, because some legal requirements have yet to be put in place, the two divisions have not yet become fully fledged divisions. Kampala district divisions are further subdivided into smaller units, from parish down to village level. There are 99 parishes (also called Local Council II) and 998 villages (also called Local Council I) (KCC, 2001).

According to the 2002 National Housing and Population Census, Kampala has a population of 1,208,544 people (UBOS& Macro International, 2002). The population density is 4,581.3 people per kilometer; the distribution for Makindye, Rubaga, Kawempe, Nakawa, and Central divisions is 24%, 23%, 20%, 18%, and 15% respectively (UBOS& Macro International, 2002).

3.2.2. Mpigi District

At Independence in 1962, Mpigi was part of the Buganda Kingdom. Following the abolition of kingdoms in 1967, Buganda was divided into 4 districts: East Mengo, West Mengo, Mubende, and Masaka. Under the 1974 Provincial Administration, West Mengo became Mengo District, which, in 1980, became Mpigi District. In 2000, Busiro and Kyadondo counties and Entebbe Municipality were separated from the Mpigi district to create the Wakiso District (See figure 2b). Mpigi boarders the districts of Mubende in the north, Wakiso in the east, Kalangala and Masaka in the south, and Sembabule in the west (Mpigi Local Government, 2007).

The district has over 414,757 people, 206,012 of which are females and 208,745 are males (Mpigi Local Government, 2007). The major economic activity is agriculture with food crops such as sweet potatoes, beans, cassava, maize, bananas, and ground nuts. Cash crops include coffee and cotton. Various fruit and vegetables like tomatoes, onions, and cabbage are also grown in the Mpigi district. The district has a total of 324 primary schools, with 246 being government, 57 private and 21 being community schools. There are over 37 secondary schools; 16 are government, 10 private, and 11 community. It also has three technical institutions, three teacher training colleges and Uganda Martyrs University Nkozi (Mpigi Local Government, 2007).

3.3. Research design

The current study adopted a mixed methods approach. Both quantitative descriptive and qualitative descriptive designs were adopted. Quantitative research is based on the positivist paradigm and relies on careful observations and measurements. Its main aim is to objectively measure the social world, test hypotheses and predict and control human behavior (Poggenpoel, Myburgh, & Linde, 2006:413). Quantitative researchers try to explain how one set of variables is related to another and thus reduce human behavior to a set of finite characteristics that can be quantified and operationalized so that they can easily be tested (Perone & Tucker, 2003; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Quantitative research quantifies phenomena in numbers rather than words. It focuses on measuring the relationships among variables, and it seeks to describe observations through statistical analysis of data (Trochim, 2004). In the current study, a dominant quantitative design was adopted in order to measure the extent to which demographic and other variables, including attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs, are associated with paternal involvement in childcare. A questionnaire was used to examine the relationship between socio-economic and demographic variables like age, education level, number of children, and nature of employment (independent variables) and childcare practices (see Appendices 1 and 2).

On the other hand, qualitative research stems from "an antipositivistic interpretative approach, idiographic, thus holistic in nature and intended to understand social life and the meaning that people attach to everyday life" (Poggenpoel et al, 2006:413). Qualitative researchers reject the idea that human behavior can be studied with the same methods as the natural or physical sciences, assuming that human behavior is always bound to the context in which it occurs, and, therefore, behavior must be studied holistically rather than through manipulation (Perone &Tucker, 2003). Thus, qualitative research is an intensely personal and subjective style of research. According to Trochim (2004), qualitative research describes phenomena in words rather than numbers. It attempts to understand meanings that people give to their deeds/behavior or to social phenomena. Qualitative approaches are designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts within which they live. According to Babbie & Mouton (2001), the qualitative design enables the researcher to obtain an insider's perspective of the phenomenon being studied. According to Trochim (2004), the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of the participants, and its particular social and institutional context is largely lost when textual data are quantified. Thus, qualitative methods are characterized by the use of non-numeric data (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In the current study, the qualitative approach was used to deepen understanding of childcare roles by eliciting meanings/perceptions that respondents held. For the qualitative approach, focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted to gather the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs about mothers' and fathers' child rearing activities (see Appendix 3).

Triangulation

According to Perone & Tucker (2003), triangulation involves using more than one research method or data collection technique. Triangulation is important because:

- By combining different methods, the advantages of each methodology complements the other making a stronger research design, resulting in more valid and reliable findings (Perone & Tucker, 2003).
- The inadequacies of individual methods are minimized and more threats to internal validity are addressed
- The use of triangulation allows researchers to capture a more complete, holistic and contextual portrayal of a given phenomenon.

Triangulation is not simply combining different types of data, but it attempts to relate the two types of information so as to leave the validity of each type of information intact. In using triangulation, bias can be minimized and validity enhanced (Perone & Tucker, 2003). Thus the current research combined both quantitative and qualitative research designs-to promote reliable and valid results as well as completeness (Breitmayer, Ayres, & Knafl, 1993). The quantitative design employed through questionnaires administered to a random sample helped to generate consistent and quantifiable measures of behavioral patterns related to fathers' involvement in childcare, while the qualitative design employed through focus group discussions (FGDs) helped in generating a truer and fuller picture of the perceptions and practices pertaining to fathers' involvement in childcare. In all the themes discussed in Chapter Four, data from the FGDs is compared with data from the questionnaires to cross-validate the findings and to highlight both the similarities and the ambiguities.

3.4. Sampling

The following section highlights the sampling considerations in relation to the survey sample size; focus group sample size, data collection; data processing and analysis.

3.4.1. Sampling considerations

The study population included both working fathers and their spouses (wives/partners) who are and who were employed. As mentioned earlier, the study uses *mothers* to refer to working women, married or unmarried with children, born or adopted, below 6 years of age, and living with their husbands/partners. The study uses *fathers* to refer to working men, married or unmarried, living together with their working wives/partners and children below six years of age.

These categories of respondents were deemed to be involved in the day-to-day giving of childcare in families.

3.4.2. Survey sample size

The sample size will be discussed in relation to size determination and adjusting for design effect

- **Sample size determination**
  - The sample size for the survey was calculated using Cochran's formula (Cochran, 1977). This formula has been widely used for determining cost effective but rigorous samples (Satish & Burnett, 1996).

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \times P (1-P)}{d^2}$$

Where

n = sample size

z = 1.96 (level of confidence at 95%) (Satish & Burnett, 1996).

p = 50% (proportion of the population with the characteristic of interest; in this case, the highest recommendable estimate was used for lack of requisite population data)

d = 5% (expected error)

The resultant sample size was 196, which was adjusted for design effect.

- **Adjusting for Design Effect**
  - Since cluster sampling was used, the sample was doubled to cater for *design effect*. Design effect arises because respondents in the same cluster are likely to be somewhat similar to one another (Alecxih et al., 1998). As a result, in a clustered sample, selecting an additional member from the same cluster adds less new information than would a completely independent selection. Thus, for example, in single stage cluster samples, the sample is not as varied as it would be in a random sample, so that the effective sample size is reduced (Alecxih et al., 1998). This loss of effectiveness is called the design effect. Since there was no sufficient information to compute the inter-class correlation, a statistic required to determine design effect, a standard and most effective design effect of 2 was used, and therefore the sample was doubled. The resultant sample size was 392, which was corrected to 400 respondents (200 fathers and 200 mothers).

- **Sampling design and procedures**
    - The study employed both the cluster and random sampling designs, using households as the primary sampling units and mothers and fathers as the primary units of analysis. Cluster sampling is a sampling technique used when natural groupings are evident in a statistical population. It is often used in marketing research. In this technique, the total population is divided into these groups (or clusters), and a sample of the groups is selected. Then the required information is collected from the elements within each selected group. This may be done for every element in these groups, or a sub sample of elements may be selected within each of these groups (Roberts, 1978). In the current study, administrative units of the districts, which are sub counties/divisions and villages were used as clusters, as shown in Tables 1 and 2.

    - To obtain a sample of villages, within divisions/sub counties and parishes, the Probability Proportionate to Size (PPS) procedure was used. Since survey data collection was household based, PPS was used to obtain the sample of respondents. PPS is commonly used for the selection of survey sites in the manner that ensures that the select sites are representative of the area to be surveyed (Mabirizi, Orobaton, & Kironde, 2005).

    - The first step was to obtain the best available census data for all of the communities in the area of interest (i.e., of Mpigi and Kampala Districts) from the Uganda Bureau of Statistics. This information was developed during the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census, (UBOS & Macro International, 2002) and it is continuously updated.

Table 1: Summary of Sampling, Kampala District[1]

Division	Parish	Village	# of Households	# of Fathers	# of Mothers	Total
Central Division	Bukesa	Kakajo I Zone	10	10	10	20
Central Division	Mengo	Rubaga Zone A Zone B	10	10	10	20
Kawempe Division	Bwaise III	St Francis Zone H	10	10	10	20
Kawempe Division	Kawempe II	Mugalu Zone E	10	10	10	20
Kawempe Division	Kyebando	Kisalosalo 'O'	10	10	10	20
Kawempe Division	Mulago II	Kiwonvu Zone 'B'	10	10	10	20
Makindye Division	Ggaba	Ggaba Mission 'D'	10	10	10	20
Makindye Division	Kibuye I	Juuko Zone A	10	10	10	20
Makindye Division	Makindye II	Madirisa E	10	10	10	20
Makindye Division	Luwafu	Nakinyuguzi Zone 'G'	10	10	10	20
Total			100	100	100	200

NB: 100 Fathers and 100 Mothers in the Kampala District selected.

Table 2: Summary of Sampling, Mpigi District

Division/ Sub county	Parish	Village	# of Households	# of Fathers	# of Mothers	Total
Butambala	Budde	Gwatiro	10	10	10	20
Butambala	Bulo	Nakatooke	10	10	10	20
Butambala	Kibibi	Gombe	10	10	10	20
Butambala	Kibibi	Mitwetwe	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Kabulasoke	Bulwadda	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Kabulasoke	Kifampa	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Kabulasoke	Bukandula	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Kyegonza	Mamba	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Maddu	Degeya	10	10	10	20
Gomba	Maddu	Maddu	10	10	10	20
Total			100	100	100	200

Note: 100 Fathers and 100 Mothers in the Mpigi District selected.

From the census data, household lists for Mpigi and Kampala were selected. For each district, a table was drawn in a Microsoft Excel sheet with four columns. The first column listed the name of each community/village. The second column contained the total population of each community. The third column contained the cumulative population. It was obtained by adding the population of each community to the combined population of all of the communities preceding it on the list. As suggested by Sullivan & Maberly (2000), the list can be in any order: alphabetical,

[1] Being the country's capital city, Kampala district's administrative divisioning does not include counties as that of Mpigi district

from smallest to largest population, or geographic. The lists in the current study were arranged in alphabetical order. The sampling interval (k) for the survey was obtained by dividing the total population size by the number of clusters to be surveyed (10). A random number (x) between one and the sampling interval (k) was chosen as the starting point using a table of computer generated random number tables, and the sampling interval was added cumulatively. The communities to be surveyed were those with the (x + n) th person, the (x + 2 n) th person, the (x + 3 n) th person, and so on up to the (x + 30 n) th person. Accordingly, communities were listed in tables, from which a random sample was obtained. This procedure is adequate for selection of household survey samples as it ensures that clusters with larger populations have a greater likelihood of being included in the sample than smaller ones. The procedure has been used variously in similar surveys (Mabirizi et al, 2005; Businge, Nkwake, Kironde, & Ekochu, 2008).

As shown in Table 1, two counties/divisions were randomly sampled from each district; three sub-counties were randomly sampled from each county; 10 parishes were randomly sampled from each sub-county, and one village was randomly sampled from each parish. From each village, 10 households were randomly sampled, and from each household, a mother, father, or both—where both existed—were interviewed.

At the village level, interviewers worked with recognized village leaders to identify households with any child under the age of 6. At every level, a sampling frame was developed in consultation with local authorities. At village level, it was common that sampling frames (village registers) did not exist. Where they existed, it was common that they were not updated. During the sampling process, village registers were developed with the help of local leaders. Where registers did not exist, and where they existed but were not updated, the research team created/updated them in collaboration with the local leaders. These then served as sampling frames for the survey. After developing updated lists, simple random samples were obtained with a table of computer-generated random numbers to obtain interview locations.

3.4.3. Focus Group Sampling

According to Powel & Single (1996) a Focus group is a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of the research. Focus groups differ from group interviewing as group interviewing involves interviewing a number of people at the same time, the emphasis being on questions and responses between the researcher and participants. Focus groups however rely on interaction within the group based on topics that are supplied by the researcher (Morgan, 1997). Thus, the key

characteristic which distinguishes focus groups is the insight and data produced by the interaction between participants.

Focus groups elicit information in a way which allows a researcher to find out why an issue is pertinent, as well as what is pertinent about it (Morgan 1997). As a result, the connection as well as the gap between what people say and what they do can be better understood (Lankshear, 1993). If multiple understandings and meanings are revealed by participants, multiple explanations of their behavior and attitudes will be more readily articulated (Lankshear 1993). Focus groups can be used either as a method in their own right or as a complement to other methods, especially for triangulation (Morgan, 1997) and validity checking. Focus groups can help to explore or generate hypotheses (Powell & Single, 1996) and develop questions or concepts for questionnaires and interview guides. However, focus groups are limited in terms of their ability to generalize findings to a whole population, mainly because of the small numbers of people participating and the likelihood that the participants will not be a representative sample (Morgan, 1997).

In the current study FGDs were used as the main qualitative data collection method to complement survey data in generating greater understanding of the study questions.

- A total of fourteen FGDs were conducted consisting of six-seven participants. FGDs were organized within in the communities where quantitative data had been collected to ensure that qualitative data is comparable with quantitative data.
- With the help of local leaders, participants were invited to voluntarily participate in the FGD meetings. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and guaranteed that participants' responses would not be used to identify them as individuals.
- Five FGDs were conducted in Kampala—one in each of the five divisions of Kampala,
- Five FGDs were conducted in Mpigi—one in each of the five sub-counties/divisions of the district.

An additional four FGDs (two in Mpigi and two in Kampala) were conducted after data analysis to further understand the meaning of some of the statistics. The initial FGDs had been designed to focus only on the third and fourth research questions-factors that favor or hinder fathers' involvement in childcare. After analysis, the researcher realized the need for focus group discussions to further understand the survey data gained on the first and second questions-that is, the perceptions and magnitude of fathers' involvement in childcare.

3.5. Data collection

Data was collected using questionnaires (see Appendices 1& 2) for the survey and using a Focus Group Discussion Guide (Appendix 3) for the focus groups.

3.5.1. Focus Group Data

- The FGDs were facilitated by the researcher himself, who was assisted by two note takers.
- The researcher used a focus group discussion guide (see Appendix 3).
- The group discussions focused on factors that are related to fathers' involvement in childcare, as well as fathers' and mothers' perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare.
- All the transcriptions were translated into English which the researcher analyzed according to themes and categories of themes that emerged.

3.5.2. Quantitative data collection

Structured questionnaires were developed keeping the research objectives in mind as well as the conceptual framework. Insights were also got from various scales, e.g. the Beliefs Concerning the Parental Role Scale, Paternal Index of Childcare Inventory Satisfaction in the Parental Role Scale and the Father Involvement Scale (see section 2.8) without necessarily adapting or modifying**.** Enumerators were used to carry out the survey, interviewing 200 mothers and 200 fathers. It was estimated that sample size would allow for inference at a confidence interval of 95% and to accommodate a margin of error of + 5% (see Appendices 1 and 2).

Training of enumerators for the survey

Because of the large survey sample obtained for the study, a team of four experienced research assistants (see table 3) was engaged to assist in administering some of the questionnaires during the data collection process. Before data collection, there was two-day training for these research assistants (enumerators). This training involved agreeing on question intents and recording rules, sampling procedures and on the responsibilities of the team members. Although the researcher was assisted by the team of four research assistants, he had full control of the data collection process. To ensure quality in data collection, research assistants were supervised closely as they worked with the researcher.

The four enumerators were selected on the basis of their past experience in survey data collection and in qualitative data collection. They were also suitably qualified and were fluent in the language spoken by the sample respondents (Luganda). All research assistants happened to be male and to limit potential bias from male respondents, interviewer training was done. Furthermore, questionnaires were designed in such a way to limit interviewer bias.

Table 3: Enumerators Profile

ENUMERATOR	GENDER	AGE	QUALIFICATIONS	LANGUAGE
Moses Sebagala	Male	43	Has a bachelor's degree in Community Development and has served with several Non-Governmental Organizations as a social worker for 15 years.	Fluent in English and Luganda.
Thomas Oyabba	Male	32	Has a bachelor's degree in Social Sciences has worked as research assistant for several research firms for 7 years. Fluent in Luganda	Fluent in English and Luganda
Michael Musoke	Male	28	Has a bachelor's degree in Social Work and Social Administration, with 9 years of experience in survey data collection with numerous research firms.	Fluent in English and Luganda.
James Mugisha	Male	35	Has a bachelor's degree in Education, has taught secondary school, and has been involved in several community assessments and research exercises for 13 years.	Fluent in English and Luganda.

Table 4: Program for Training Data Collectors

Day One	Issues	Facilitator
9.00 am – 9.05 am	Welcome remarks	Apollo
9.05 am – 9.10 am	Introductions	All present
9.10 am – 9.15 am	Training overview	Apollo
9.15 am – 9.30 am	Purpose of the Study	Apollo
9.30 am – 9.45 am	Study Methodology	Apollo
9.45 am – 10.45 am	Q and A	
10.45 am – 11.00 am	Break	
11.00 am – 11.30 am	Interviewer Demeanor	Apollo
11.30 am – 12.00 pm	Tools review	Apollo
12.00 pm –1.00 pm	Lunch break	
1.00 pm – 4.00 pm	Tools review and discussion	
Day Two	**Issues**	**Facilitator**
9.00 am – 9.05 am	Recap	Apollo
9.05 am – 9.10 am	Recap	All present
9.10 am – 9.15 am	Tools review and discussion	Apollo
9.15 am – 9.30 am	Tools review and discussion	Apollo
9.30 am – 9.45 am	Tools review and discussion	Apollo
9.45 am – 10.45 am	Q and A	
10.45 am – 11.00 am	Break	
11.00 am – 11.30 am	Tools review and discussion	Apollo
11.30 am – 12.00 pm	Tools review and discussion	Apollo
12.00 pm – 2.00 pm	Logistics and data collection plan	

3.6. Data processing and analysis

3.6.1. Quantitative data analysis

The completed questionnaires from the survey were reviewed for completeness and accuracy. This was done during the course of data collection to allow for the timely follow up on any missing data. During data cleaning, coding of questionnaires was done for easy coordination of data entry. Furthermore, during data cleaning, responses to open questions were also coded.

For data entry, a template was developed in the Epi-Info Program Version 4 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention[CDC], 2010), where data was entered. Epi-Info was selected for the study because it allows the design of a template with a similar appearance to the questionnaires format and design. This minimizes data entry errors. Further, it allows skip patterns that minimize entry errors. A team of three data entry clerks was used to enter data.

After data entry, descriptive routines were used to examine the frequency of outliers and, hence, to perform cleaning of entered data before analysis. For data analysis, data was exported to the SPSS program for analysis (Kintu, Kironde, Ekochu & Businge, 2007). Since the study is descriptive, most of the analysis employed descriptive statistical procedures such as frequencies and means for attitude and behavioral measures. However, since the fourth objective sought to ascertain factors that are related with paternal involvement in childcare, cross tabulations with the use of Pearson's chi square tests were used to establish the relationship between paternal involvement in childcare and other variables like education level as in Mabirizi et al. (2005). The Chi-square test for association is a non-parametric test of statistical significance widely used in bivariate tabular association analysis. Typically, the hypothesis is linked to whether or not two different populations are different enough in some characteristic or aspect of their behavior based on two random samples. In this study the sample group from Kampala (largely urban) can be compared with the sample group from Mpigi (largely rural) to check for differences. The Chi-square test is used to ascertain if an observed distribution conforms to any particular distribution. Calculation of this 'goodness of fit' test is by comparison of observed data with data expected based on the particular distribution (Sarantakos, 1997).

3.6.2. Qualitative data analysis

Qualitative data from focus group discussions was analyzed thematically (Sarantakos, 1997). During the focus group discussions, the researcher facilitated the discussions as a note taker documented participants' responses. The researcher was keenly aware of limiting any researcher bias that could occur. In ten FGDs, notes were taken with the help of a note taker. In four

additional FGDs, tape recorders were used with the participants' permission. Note taking carried out during the actual groups was followed up by writing out further notes more clearly after the focus group discussions.

The process of analysis was based on Tesch (1990) as well as Sarantakos (1997). The researcher read through all the notes and made comments about its meanings. Verbatim recordings on tapes was transcribed and analyzed according to the Tesch (1990) and Sarantakos (1997) approach. Since all FGDs were conducted in Luganda, all notes were afterwards translated to English by the researcher.

The FGD notes of all the transcriptions were analyzed as follows:

- The researcher tried to gain a sense of what the respondents were saying.
- Descriptive labels were made on the margins reflecting the meaning of the text.
- Once all the transcriptions had been read through and labels assigned on the margins, further analysis was done.
- Some of these labels were grouped into major themes and others were grouped as categories of these major themes.
- The major themes reflected some of the main objectives of the study (section 1.7).
- Color coding was used to identify themes and categories that emerged.
- After participants' responses were categorized according to the study objectives, the researcher identified direct quotations that could be juxtaposed with survey results. Direct quotations were used to present the perceptions of the respondents in the focus groups. Qualitative data from the FGDs was triangulated with data from the survey and presented in an integrated manner. Thus, discussion of findings (chapter four) identifies points of agreement and disagreement between qualitative and qualitative data.
- A framework for presenting the survey and FGD findings was developed at a later stage (see Table 5:80).

3.7. Ethical considerations

The study was conducted in a manner that observed research ethics in order to protect the rights of study participants. The main ethical considerations that applied to this study included the following:

Voluntary participation and informed consent:

This principle requires that respondents are not coerced into participating in research (Trochim, 2004). Closely related to the notion of voluntary participation is the requirement of

informed consent. Essentially, this means that prospective research participants must be fully informed about the procedures and risks involved in research and must give their consent to participate. Ethical standards also require that researchers not put participants in a situation where they might be at risk of harm as a result of their participation (Trochim, 2004). During the study, interviewers discussed intentions of the study with respondents. Every respondent was informed about his or her right to decline the invitation to participate in the study or to refuse to answer specific survey questions.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

Confidentiality implies that study participants are assured that identifying information will not be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study (Sales & Folkman, 2000). Closely related to confidentiality is the principle of anonymity. Anonymity implies that the participant will remain anonymous throughout the study - even to the researchers themselves. Clearly, the anonymity standard is a stronger guarantee of privacy, but it is sometimes difficult to accomplish, especially in situations where participants have to be measured at multiple time points (e.g., a pre-post study) (Trochim, 2004). In the current study, anonymity for all respondents was guaranteed and ensured. Data collected from respondents was not used to identify them as individuals.

Non Deception of research subjects

This means that participants must know the truth about (a) that they are taking part in research and (b) what the research requires of them (Sales & Folkman, 2000). Sometimes deceptive tendencies may be inevitable in research where covert observation is involved (the *identity of the observer* and/or the *purpose of the research* is not known to participants) (Trochim, 2004). The current study did not involve covert observation and there was no deception of respondents regarding the subject of study or its intents. The findings presented in this report are, as much as possible, an accurate reflection of participants' responses, without distortion.

Respect for Intellectual Property

This principle requires researchers to honor patents, copyrights, and other forms of intellectual property; give credit where credit is due, and give proper acknowledgement or credit for all contributions to research and never plagiarize (Resnik, 2010). In the current study, appropriate acknowledgment suitably has been made to references used. The American Psychological Association (APA) style manual (6th Edition) was used in referencing.

Reporting on research subjects' illegal behavior

According to University of Cape Town (UCT)'s guide to research ethics, a researcher needs to take precaution not to harm their relationship with the study participants at the same time not to deliberately conceal participants' illegal behavior. This ethical issue did not arise, as the study did not generate data pointing to illegal behavior of respondents.

3.8. Limitations linked to this study

The researcher was aware of several limitations both general and specific to the research design and methodology.

General limitations

It was not possible to find a sampling frame for the population to be studied. To address this limitation, sampling frames were constructed at village and sub-county levels with the help of local leaders, where simple random samples were obtained.

Another limitation was related to cluster sampling (Espeut, 2010). Cluster sampling involves selecting a sample in a number of stages (usually two). The units in the population are grouped into convenient, usually naturally occurring clusters. These clusters are non-overlapping, well-defined groups which usually represent geographic areas. At the first stage of selection, a number of clusters are selected. At the second stage, all the units in the chosen clusters are selected to form the sample. A key limitation associated with cluster sampling is design effect. In many countries, families or individuals with similar behavioral patterns tend to live in close proximity to one another. The selection of neighboring households within a given cluster, as is done with cluster sampling, introduces a bias that does not exist when individuals are selected randomly. This bias is reflected in a statistical measure known as the *design effect* (Espeut, 2010). In this study, design effect was minimized by increasing the sample size as discussed in section 3.4:65.

There was suspicion among some of the respondents since cultural issues, such as gender roles and family matters, are usually sensitive matters. This limitation was addressed by taking care to explain to respondents the objectives of the study and assuring them that the information they provided would not be used to identify them as individuals.

Further, since data was collected from only two districts of central Uganda, generalizing findings of the study is possible only for the districts where data was collected. However, some assumptions can be drawn from the study regarding paternal involvement in childcare in Uganda as a whole.

The study attempts to measure the relationship between socio-demographic factors like income and fathers' involvement in childcare by using a quantitative, descriptive approach. However, the relationships presented in this report are not causal relationships, as that would require an experimental design.

Limitations within quantitative methods

- Although quantitative methods produce quantifiable, reliable data that are usually generalizable to some larger population (Denscombe, 1998), their chief limitation is the risk of decontextualizing human behavior in a way that may remove observations from their real world setting (Robson, 2002). In developing quantitative measures, the phenomenon may be over simplified and the nuanced complexity may be ignored (Mason, 2002). The choice of a mixed methods approach was aimed at reducing this limitation.
- Structured interviews were the main source of data. According to Goldman and Mitchell (2003), this method is prone to reactive effects, e.g., interviewees may try to show answer questions in a socially desirable manner. Also the method is prone to investigator effects e.g. (e.g., interviewers may distort data because of personal biases and poor interviewing skills). To control for some of these limitations, enumerators were trained in appropriate interview techniques and the researcher worked closely with the enumerators.
- Since a relatively large sample was extrapolated, the data gathering process and the data cleaning and coding process was time-consuming but systematic procedures were put in place to ensure that the fieldwork was carried out with integrity.

Limitations within qualitative methods

- Although qualitative approaches are excellent for exploring subjective perceptions, meanings and experiences (Walford, 2001), they are at the same time open to biases and idiosyncrasies (Woods, 1999). According to Woods (1999), subjectivity may arise from the selective and variable use of transcripts, quotations and examples to skew the findings in accordance with the researchers' line of argument (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005). The researcher took note of Lincoln & Guba's (1985) framework for assessing the trustworthiness of this qualitative data-credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability as discussed in section 3.9.

- Focus groups were used to collect the qualitative data. According to Morgan (1997) a key strength of focus group discussions is the reliance on interactions to produce data. "The comparisons that participants make among their experiences and opinions are a valuable source of insights into complex behaviors and motivations" (Morgan, 1997:15). However, this very attribute produces a corresponding weakness as the group itself may influence the data generated. This arises when some participants withhold things that they may say in private, or express more extreme views in a group than in private. To minimize these weaknesses, the researcher facilitated the discussions in a way that created an atmosphere which encouraged participants to freely express their views. Probing was used to crosscheck responses that could be made just for the sake of giving the right answer. As well, FGD facilitation ensured discussions were not dominated by some of the members.
- During data collection in rural Mpigi district, it was difficult to conduct focus group discussions for mothers, as their husbands would not allow the researcher to meet them separately. However, to the advantage of the study, husbands' involvement in the mothers' focus group discussions generated more vibrant discussions on fathers' involvement in childcare.

3.9. Data Verification Strategies of Qualitative studies

Data verification was done according to Lincoln and Guba's (1985). Following Lincoln and Guba's framework, trustworthiness of qualitative data was ensured through the following ways:

- Credibility (the extent to which the data measures or tests what it is actually intended-(Lincoln & Guba,1985) was ensured by strict adherence to recommended procedures of conducting Focus group discussions and maintaining appropriate size and composition. In addition, FGD data was collected within the same areas as survey data was collected to ensure that both data was comparable. Data collection tools (FGD guide) were pretested to ensure appropriateness of questions. To ensure that participants were honest, the researcher ensured that FGDs involved only those who were genuinely willing to take part and prepared to offer data freely. Participants were encouraged to be frank from the outset of each FGD and rapport was always established in the opening of the FGDs.

- Transferability-the extent to which the qualitative study findings can be understood within the context of the particular characteristics of the geographical area in which the fieldwork was carried out (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The area of study and procedures of data collection have been documented in chapters one and three in order to make it easy for

future studies to compare qualitative findings of this study with those of studies in similar contexts. In the same vein, findings of this study (in chapter four) are discussed in relation to other studies on fatherhood in Africa, and other parts of the world.

- Dependability-the extent to which use of the same methods in the same context with the same participants would yield similar results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In-depth methodological description is one of the strategies recommended and thus used by the researcher to ensure that this study can be repeated and to allow for the integrity of research results.

- Conformability refers to objectivity and the extent to which findings are free from the intrusion of the researcher's biases (Lincoln & Guba,1985). Here steps must be taken to help ensure as far as possible that the work's findings are the result of the experiences and ideas of the informants, rather than the characteristics and preferences of the researcher. The strategies recommended and thus used in this study for ensuring confirmability included: Triangulation to reduce effect of investigator bias, admission of researcher's beliefs and assumptions (reflexivity), Recognition of shortcomings in study's methods and their potential effects and in-depth methodological description.

Summary

In this chapter, the context, the research design and sample sizes are discussed. The process followed in collecting and analyzing data was also clearly laid out. Some limitations inherent in this study were also presented and accounted for. Data Verification strategies were briefly discussed. The following chapter presents and analyzes the findings of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR:
PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyzes the findings of the study. As stated in Chapter One, the study intended to examine childcare practices and perceptions amongst employed Ugandan males and their working partners in the Kampala and Mpigi districts. The study ascertains and documents the nature and magnitude of the factors that influence fathers' involvement in childcare. The data was collected from working mothers and fathers with working spouses in urban and rural areas. Specifically, the study intended to (a) identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners about paternal involvement in childcare; (b) describe the nature and range of childcare activities undertaken by those working fathers whose wives are involved in employment in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda; (c) determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda; and (d) determine the factors that hinder fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda. The findings and interpretation of results are presented in seven major themes as shown in Table 5:80. The table also highlights the corresponding objectives that each of these major themes address. Furthermore particular 'category factors' are clearly presented in the table. These category factors are linked to the major themes. Various references to relevant studies that resonate with this study are also set out in the table. The manner in which the table has been constructed provides a logical framework for presenting and discussing both the quantitative and qualitative findings. The urban-rural comparisons are dealt with as a major theme in itself. Thus, triangulation of data will occur systematically as each theme is unfolded and discussed.

Table 5: Framework for presenting the Survey and Focus Group Findings

Major Themes	**Objectives**	**Category factors**	**Findings (Survey and FGDs)**	***References pertaining to Themes and Categories***
Socio economic characteristics		Age, employment, workplace location, length of work, education, religious inclination, location of residence, child characteristics, maternity and paternity leave, Spouse characteristics	Figures 1, 2, 3 and 4 Tables 6, 7, 8,9, 10 and 11	*UBOS & Macro International (2006; 2006b); Casterline et al. (1986); Ocici (2006) ; Ikoja-Odongo & Ochola (2004); Coltrane (2000); ECRN (2000); ILO (2000)*
Perceptions of the "ideal father" in relation to involvement in childcare	Objective 1	Are individual fathers and mothers comfortable with the idea? Is it socially acceptable?	Table 12 FGD data	*Cabrera et al. (2000); Finley & Schwartz (2004); Fox & Bruce (2001); Maurer & Pleck (2006); Marsinglio et al (2000); Morman & Floyd (2002); LaRossa & Reitze (1993); Rane & McBride (2000); Turner (2000); Walker (1995); Richter & Morrell (2006); Ramu (1987); Saraff & Srivastava (2008); King (2003)*
Comparing perceptions with practices	Objectives 1 and 2	Overall perceptions versus practices, comparison of specific childcare activities	Figures 5 , 6, 7, 8, Tables 13, 14, FGD data	*Pruett (2000); Cabrera et al. (2000); Haas & Hwang (2005); Carlson (1999); Marsinglio et al (2000); Morman & Floyd (2002); Tuner (2000); Lewis & O'Brien (1987); Lally (1999); Robinson & Godbey (1997); McBride & Mills (1993); Romano & Bruzzese (2007); Yeung et al. (2001); Li-ching & Roopnarine (1996);*
Motivation for fathers' involvement in childcare	Objectives 1, 3 and 4	Self-motivation, perception of necessity for fathers' involvement, self-confidence and skills, encouragement by wives	Figures 9, 10, 11, 12, FGD data	*Deci & Ryan (1991); Lewis & O'Brien (1987); Lally (1999); Klinger (2000); Lopton & Barclay (1997); Cabrera et al. (2000); Anderson & Green (2006); Videon (2002); Simons (1999); Summers et al. (1999); Doherty et al. (1998); Pleck (1997); Levy-Shiff & Israelashvili (1988); Deci & Ryan (2000); Allen & Hawkins (1999); Fagan & Marina (2003); Walker & McGraw (2000); Rutter & Schwartz (2000); Allen & Hawkins (1999); Bouchard et al. (2007); Bonney et al. (1999); Haas & Hwang (2005); Hill et al. (2003)*
Work related influences on fathers' involvement	Objectives 2, 3 and 4	The influence of work stress, childcare along the work day, form of employment	Figures 13, 14, 15, 16 Tables 15, 16 FGD data	*Pleck & Masciadrelli (2004); Nangle et al. (2003); ILO (2000); Haas & Hwang (2005); Monna & Gauthier (2008); Tanturri & Mencarini (2010)*
Marital issues	Objectives 3 and 4	Overall marital satisfaction, fairness evaluations, spouse wealth	Figures 17, 18, 19 FGD data	*Richter & Morrel (2006); Allen & Hawkins (1999); Bonney et al. (1999); Aldous et al. (1998); Kluwer et al. (1996); Thompson (1991 & 2006); Hochschild (2003); Blumstein & Schwartz (1983); Brines (1994); Heckert et al. (1998); Oppenheimer (1997)*
Rural-urban comparisons	*Objective 3 and 4*	*Rural urban differences in perceptions and practices Appraising the relative strength of education, workplace location*	*Figures 15, 16, 20-30*	*Coltrane (2000); Wakoko (2003); UBOS & Macro International (2002); Monna & Gauthier (2008)*

4.2. Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

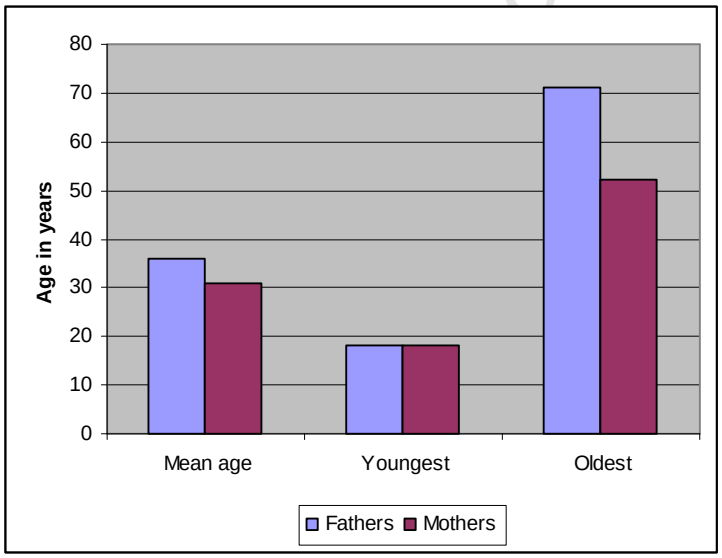
Information was gathered on socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, such as age, occupation, location of residence and workplace, length of work day, education, religion, family, number and age of children, and number of spouses. Information on respondents' characteristics helps to deepen understanding of their perceptions and practices regarding childcare.

As mentioned earlier, all respondents—mothers and fathers—had a spouse with whom they lived, a child below six years, and both parents were involved in one or more forms of activity meant to generate income. These conditions were prerequisites for respondent selection, so as to adequately study fathers' participation in childcare.

4.2.1. Age

Age is important in influencing economic activity. For example, younger mothers may be more likely to go into employment, which may impact on the time they have for childcare. Similarly, younger fathers are more likely to be employed, which may limit their availability for childcare tasks.

Figure 3: Respondent age



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

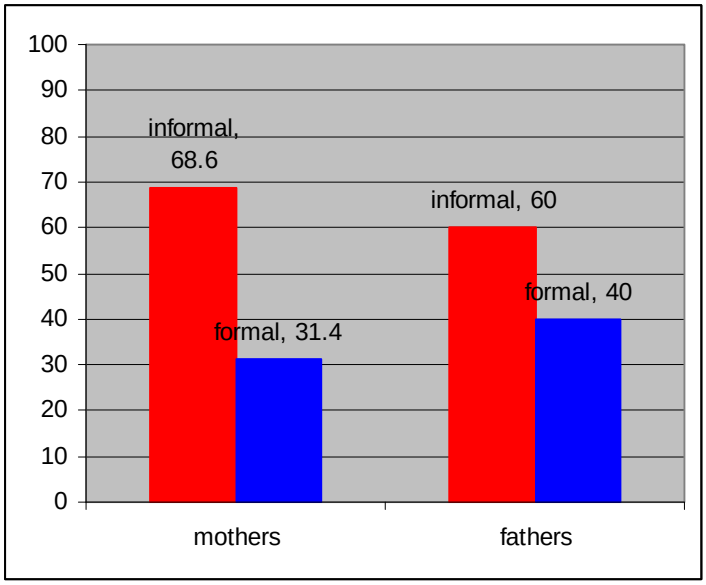
As shown in Figure 3 the mean age of fathers in the survey sample is 36 years. The youngest father is 18 years, while the oldest father is 71 years. On the other hand, the mean age of

the mothers in the survey sample is 31 years. The youngest mother is 18 years, while the oldest mother is 52 years. It is clear that mothers are generally younger than fathers, which is the norm in Uganda, where women are married at a younger age than men. As shown in Chapter Three, the median age at first marriage is 17.6 years among women age 25–49. In contrast, among men aged 25–54, the median age at first marriage is 22.3 years (UBOS & Macro International, 2006a). Could spousal age differences hinder fathers from participating in childcare? A study by Casterline, Williams, and McDonald (1986) on age differences between spouses in developing countries suggests that age differences are reinforced by kinship structures and traditional gender roles, among other factors. As earlier mentioned in Chapter Three, men prefer to marry younger women who are more likely to shoulder all the productive, reproductive and community roles (World Bank, 2002a). The contrast between fathers and mothers is evident even in other socio-economic characteristics, like employment.

4.2.2. Respondents' employment

Employment was defined to include formal and informal employment. As mentioned in Chapter One, the formal sector was defined to include government departments and private enterprises that are officially registered with more than 10 employees (Ocici, 2006). Thus, enterprises that are not officially registered and employing less than 10 staff were considered to be part of the informal sector. According to Ikoja-Odongo and Ochola (2004), such enterprises work in very difficult conditions and their practitioners use a lot of effort to produce goods and services.

Figure 4: Fathers and Mothers formal and informal employment distribution



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

The researcher had expected that informally employed parents would have more flexibility with time for work and childcare, since they are usually self-employed (Nkwake, 2004). According to survey results (Figure 4), fathers are more likely than mothers to be in formal employment. This could be explained by the asymmetry in access to education and employment opportunities for men and women. For example, a national demographic and health survey shows a large gender gap in education: 39% of Ugandan women age 15-49 cannot read at all, compared to 16% of men. About one-fifth of women (19%) have no formal education, compared to just 5% of men. Three in ten men (30%) have some secondary or higher education, compared to one in five women (21%) (UBOS and Macro International, 2006b). It is therefore not surprising that there are more fathers in formal employment and more mothers in informal employment. This pattern is also reinforced by the traditional gender division of labor and the beliefs that women should depend on men for material support; hence there is no need for them to go to school. Although such beliefs are slowly changing in many parts of the country, more males than females have access to education.

Table 6: Distribution of participants' by occupation and education level

Occupation	Education Level			
	Fathers O' Level and below	Mothers O' Level and below	Fathers Advanced level and above	Mothers Advanced level and above
Formally employed	22.2%	25.0%	77.8%	75.0%
Informally employed	89.4%	94.0%	10.6%	6.0%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Survey results show a relationship between occupation and education levels. As shown in Table 6, most of the fathers (77.8%) who report being employed in the formal sector have attained Advanced Level ('A Level') Education and above, while 22.2% have attained Ordinary Level ('O Level') Education and below ($p<0.05$). Similarly, mothers who have attained advanced level education are more likely to be in formal employment than their less educated counterparts. It is worth noting that, while their type of employment is likely to influence fathers' and mothers' availability for childcare work, a father's involvement in childcare may be more directly influenced by the type of employment his spouse is involved in.

4.2.3. Spouses' employment

It is expected that the spouse's type of employment has an influence on the child rearing situation and the need for paternal involvement. For example, the flexibility of a father's work schedule may allow time for his involvement in childcare. On the other hand, the inflexibility of a mother's work schedule may place a greater demand on the father to be involved in childcare. According to survey results, most of the fathers (68.5%) report that their wives are involved in informal employment. Similarly, most of the mothers interviewed (60.3%) report that their husbands work in the informal sector. Thus, although findings discussed in later in section 4.2.6) show that highly educated parents are more likely to be formally employed than their less educated counterparts, the majority of fathers and mothers are informally employed and most of the respondents have obtained O' level education and below. The finding that a small proportion of the respondents are formally employed is similar to the national figure of 80.0% of Ugandans being employed in the informal sector (Ocici, 2006). Thus, the distribution of employment at household level (spouse employment) is consistent with the general pattern of employment in the study area and the country, with more people employed in the informal sectoral overall; and more men than women employed in the formal sector. This pattern of employment may be related to the

likelihood that mothers may work closer to or stay at home while fathers may work away from home, as will be discussed in the next sub section.

4.2.4. Workplace location

Workplace location was defined to include *At home*, where respondents live most of the time; *Away but near home*, within one hour from the workplace; and *Far from home*, more than one hour from the workplace. According to Table 7, most respondents (87.6%) work at home or near home, compared with 12.4% who work far from home. Mothers are more likely to work at home (55.0%) than fathers (36.0%).

Table 7: Respondents' gender and workplace location

Work Location	Fathers	Mothers
Work at home	36%	55%
Work near home	47%	35.5%
Work far from home	15%	9.5%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

The fact that mothers are more likely to work at home than fathers could be because of the gendered division of labor that requires women to stay at home and attend to household chores including childcare (Coltrane, 2000), as the men are involved in paid employment away from home.

4.2.5. Length of work

The length of the work day influences the amount of time available for fathers and mothers to engage in childcare activities. This was measured by the average number hours of work per day. Survey results (Table 8) show that the mean length of a work day was 7.3 hours.

Table 8: Average length of a work day

Mean length of work day (Hours)								
Fathers	Mothers	Rural respondents	Urban respondents	Formal sector	Informal sector	Away from home	Near Home	Overall
7.8	7	7	8	7.8	7.8	9.2	7.5	7.3

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Fathers work slightly more hours a day than mothers. Fathers in the formal and informal sector work the same number of daily hours. Fathers in urban areas work one hour a day more than fathers in rural areas; similarly, fathers who work away from home work about two hours more than those who work at or near home. It appears that the more distant the workplace is from their homes, the longer the fathers' work day. Thus, if paternal involvement in childcare depends mostly on fathers' availability, fathers in rural areas as well as those that work at home should be more involved in childcare than fathers in urban areas or those that work farther from home.

4.2.6. Education attainment

Education attainment was defined to include 7 levels. These are pre-primary school level, which consists of 3 years of education; primary school, which involves 7 years of education; Ordinary Level ('O' Level), which involves an additional 4 years of education after primary school; Advanced Level ('A' Level), which involves two more years of education after 'O' Level; vocational school or university diploma (2 years post-school); Bachelor's degree (3-5 years post-school) and post graduate degree (post Bachelor's degree).

Table 9: Distribution of study participants by education attainment

Education Level	Fathers	Mothers
Below Primary School	1.8	4.5
Primary School	34.7	39.7
Ordinary Level	25.6	28.1
Advanced Level	4.1	1.7
Diploma	9.5	7.0
Bachelor's Degree	20.7	15.7
Post-Graduate Level	3.6	3.3

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

As shown in Table 9, most respondents have attained O'Level Education and below (62.2% of the fathers and 72.3% of the mothers). Thirty-eight percent of fathers have attained Advanced Level and higher education compared to 28% of mothers in this sample of respondents.

The gendered asymmetry in education attainment is not unique to the study area. According to a recent national study done in 2006, 19% of women have never been to school compared to 5% of men. Thirty percent of the men have some secondary or higher education, compared to 21% of women (UBOS and Macro International, 2006b). Women in Uganda are at an educational disadvantage compared to men.

Further, education attainment has a notable influence on workplace location. Parents that have attained higher levels of education are more likely to work away from home than those with lower levels of education. As shown in Table 10, 90.0% of the fathers who work at home have not achieved beyond O Level, while 76.5% of the fathers that work far from home have attained high school education and above (p= .000).

Table 10: Relationship between education attainment and workplace location among fathers

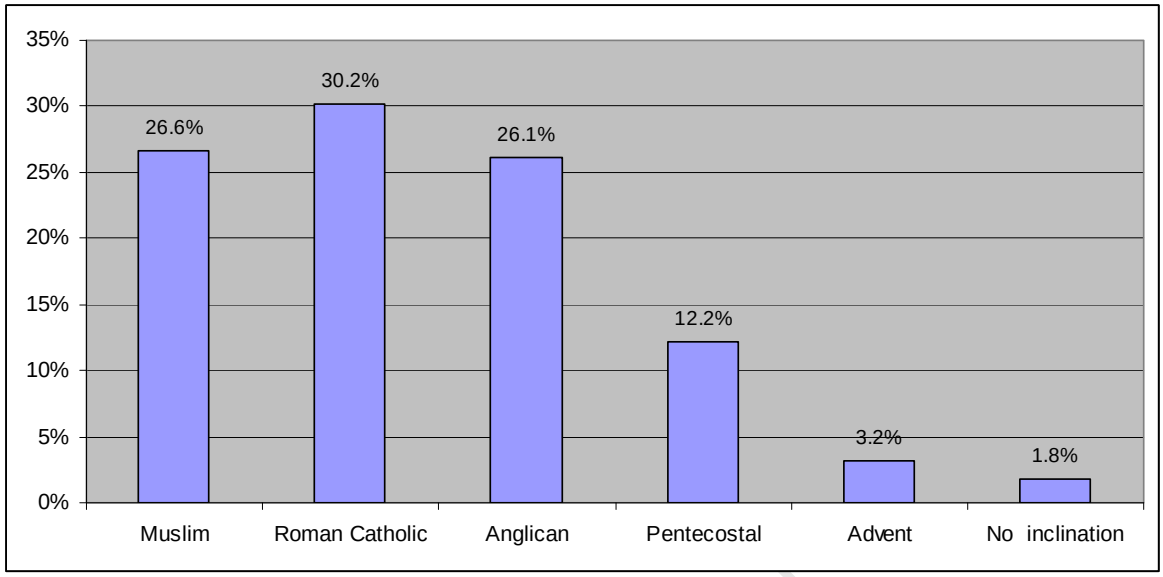
	Education Attainment		
Workplace Location	**'O' level and below**	**'A' Level and above**	**Total**
At Home	90.0%	10.0%	100.0%
Away but near home	53.7%	46.3%	100.0%
Far from home	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

4.2.7. Respondents' religious affiliation

The study collected information regarding respondents' religious affiliations because many religions assign different roles to men and women. Consequently, religion is likely to influence mothers' and fathers' attitudes and practices regarding childcare.

Figure 5: Distribution of study participants by religious affiliation



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

As shown in Figure 5, 71.7% of the respondents are affiliated to the Christian religions and 26.6% are Muslim. Of the Christian denominations, Catholics are the majority (30.2%). The distribution of religious affiliation in the sample is similar to the national one, in which Catholics are also the largest group (41.9%), followed by Anglicans (35.9%); Muslims (12.1%); Pentecostals (4.6%); Adventists (1.5%); and others (UBOS & Macro International, 2006b).

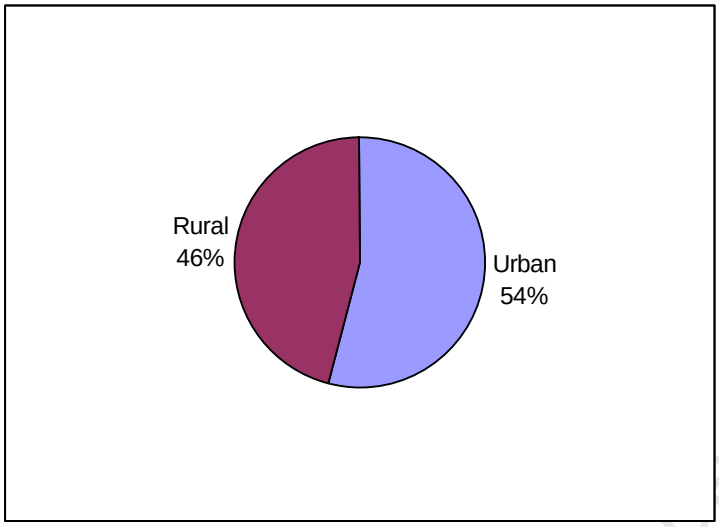
4.2.8. Location of residence

The study gathered data from both rural and urban areas to compare attitudes and practices regarding paternal involvement in childcare. Urban areas have been defined according to Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). UBOS defines urban areas to include gazetted cities, municipalities, and town councils, including ungazetted trading centers of 1,000 persons or more (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). According to this definition, even those who live in peri-urban areas (situated on the periphery of Kampala city and in Mpigi town) are included in the urban population.

Figure 5 shows that 46.0% of the respondents live in rural areas, while 54% live in urban areas. According to the 2002 Uganda National Population and Housing Census, only 12.0% of Uganda's population lives in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). Thus, the study sample may have included a higher proportion of urban dwellers than the national average. This is

probably because half of the sample came from the capital city, where 100% of the population is urban.

Figure 6: Distribution of respondents' by location



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

4.2.9. Child characteristics

Child characteristics such as age, sex, and number of children are thought to have a relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare. For example, it has been proposed that fathers dedicate more time to sons than to daughters (Early Childcare Research Network, 2000). The mean number of children for the 200 couples surveyed was 4 children. The mean age of the youngest child is 2.7 years. Further, respondents provided information on the gender of their youngest children. Forty nine point two percent of the youngest children reported are male, while 50.8% are female, thus there is an almost equal distribution of youngest male and youngest female children.

4.2.10. Maternity and paternity leave

Having access to leave from work increases the time available for childcare. Most of the fathers (70.3%) report that they do not take paternity leave from work. Legislation in Uganda does not require paternity leave for fathers, although some international organizations provide paternity leave of 5 days in their human resource policies. However, most of the mothers (63.6%) report that they take maternity leave from work. The average length of maternity leave is reported to be 40 days (equivalent to 6 weeks). Uganda is a signatory to the Maternity Protection Convention of 1952, (International Labor Organization [ILO], 1952 & 2000) which entitles women to at least six

weeks (40 days) of maternity leave. However, since the majority of the population is employed in the informal sector, many mothers do not have access to formal maternity leave. Sometimes the informal maternity leave is shorter than six weeks in which case they have to depend on maids and members of the extended family.

4.2.11. Other spouse characteristics

On average, every respondent has one spouse. Both fathers and mothers report that they have stayed with their spouses for 9 years on average.

4.2.12. A Summary of respondents' characteristics

- The mean age of fathers is 36 years, and the mean age of the mothers is 31 years.
- There are more mothers (68.6%) than fathers (60.0%) employed in the informal sector.
- More fathers than mothers have obtained Advanced Level Education and above.
- Respondents who attained Advanced Level Education and above are four times more likely to be employed in the formal sector than those who attained Ordinary Level Education and below.
- Nine in every 10 respondents work at home or near home
- Six in every 10 mothers work at home, whereas 4 in every 10 fathers work at home.
- Parents that attained higher levels of education are more likely to work away from home than those who attained lower levels of education.
- Ninty percent of fathers who work at home have not achieved beyond Ordinary Level Education.
- Forty-six percent of the respondents live in rural areas; 54% live in urban areas.
- The mean number of children is 4. The mean age of youngest child is 2.7 years.
- Seven in every 10 fathers do not take paternity leave at work.
- Three in every 10 mothers do not take maternity leave from work.
- On average, every respondent has one spouse. Both fathers and mothers report that they have stayed with their spouses for 9 years on average.
- Fathers work longer hours in paid employment than mothers. Urban fathers work more hours in paid employment than rural fathers.

4.3. Perceptions of the "ideal father" in relation to involvement in childcare

4.3.1. Introduction

In response to the second objective, this section discusses fathers' and mothers' perceptions of what is ideal in relation to fathers' involvement in childcare. It is important to understand fathers' views of what is ideal for them in relation to childcare since this would influence their willingness to participate in childcare. Similarly, mothers' perceptions of the " ideal husband" or "ideal father" may influence their motivation to support or encourage their spouses to participate in childcare. Perceptions of the "ideal father" are discussed in respect to whether fathers and mothers are comfortable with the idea of fathers' involvement in childcare; whether they think it is practically feasible or socially acceptable.

4.3.2. Fathers' and mothers' views on fathers' getting involved in childcare

The response to this question is generated mostly from survey data. Survey data indicates that most respondents have egalitarian, rather than traditional, perceptions of what constitutes the "ideal father". This means that they would be comfortable with the idea of fathers' involvement in childcare. Most of the fathers (91%) and mothers (96%) believe that an "ideal father" should participate in childcare. Almost 7 in every 10 fathers think that childcare should not be left to mothers alone (see Table 11). In fact, most of the fathers (74.4%) and mothers (87.8%) believe that fathers who participate in childcare were well brought up.

Table 11: Fathers' and mothers' views on fathers' involvement in childcare

Indicator Statement	**Fathers**		**Mothers**	
Childcare should be left for mothers—fathers should not be involved	Agreed	Disagreed	Agreed	Disagreed
	32%	68%	28%	72%
Fathers who engage in childcare are well brought up	74.4%	25.6%	87.8%	12.2%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

(Note: "Well brought up" means that an individual behaves in ways that are socially acceptable depending on how they were socialized.

In table 12, the question of whether fathers who engage in childcare are well brought up is presented together with other perceptions including the perceptions that such fathers are "inferior", or "virtuous". The data shows that most respondents view fathers' involvement in childcare as an attribute of being well brought up.

Table 12: Fathers' and mothers' beliefs about fathers who babysit their children

Perceptions	Percent (Fathers)	Percent (Mothers)
Traditionally, they are not well brought up	12.2	5.8
They are well brought up	63.1	71.1
They are inferior	8.6	3.7
It is a virtue	11.3	15.7
Indifferent	5.0	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

This data shows that most respondents think it is "good manners/ virtuous" and ideal for fathers to participate in childcare, even though it is not a traditionally gender-ascribed role for men. To some degree, FGD data confirms these views. For some fathers, being the head of household also means being responsible for childcare:

> *You have to look after the . . . child . . . you have great responsibility because you are the owner of the home; it involves the child because then; where is your responsibility if there is no family? The child is the one who "makes" the family which you head (Father, Mpigi).*

Thus, according to this respondent, fathers' involvement in childcare is ideal in the sense that it reinforces their position of responsibility as head of the household. This notion of a responsible father is supported by survey data. When asked how fathers feel about their involvement in childcare, most fathers and mothers mention that childcare made fathers feel more responsible (see Table 13). However, this responsibility may not be thought to mean actual involvement or interaction with children as much as it is thought to mean their material provision (Cabrera et al., 2000). This is in direct contrast to the notion of a nurturant father. It has been argued by Finley & Schwartz (2004); Fox & Bruce (2001); and Maurer & Pleck (2006) that fathers' willingness to participate in childcare beyond material provision is consistent with the emerging nurturant father, who is not regarded simply as an instrumental provider and protector, but is also expected to play an expressive, nurturing role in their children's life. Yet the current study shows that fathers' willingness to be involved in childcare beyond material provision is more aligned with their need to strengthen their responsible position as head of the household rather than being involved in nurturing activities.

Table 13: Fathers' and Mothers' responses on how fathers feel about their involvement in childcare

Perceptions	Percent (Fathers)	Percent (Mothers)
Feel controlled by wife	2.7	10.1
Feel disrespected by wife	8.1	9.4
Feel unfairly treated	2.3	6.6
Feel it is not normal	5.4	10.1
Feel more responsible	43.2	31.9
Feel more fulfilled	8.6	8.7
Feel it is normal	29.7	23.3
Total	100	100

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Fathers' involvement would be ideal depending on the situation at home

Focus group discussion data reveals that to some fathers, direct involvement in childcare depends on the situation at home, which is variable. An important issue is whether other caregivers are available or not to provide childcare. One father explained:

> *It depends on who is at home. If you are there at home alone with your wife and a young child, there is no way you should be excluded from any childcare work. When your wife is doing one thing, you do the other (Father, Kampala).*

Another father said that it is the father's responsibility to ensure that the child is being cared for but not his responsibility to carry out the actual caring.

> *I think the responsibility of the father is to ensure that the child is having care. He does not have to perform the activities himself. But he can supervise or arrange to have the child cared for by another person such as a maid (Father, Mpigi).*

From the FGD data, it is clear that some fathers would like to be exempted from some of the childcare work if there are other care providers available at home. In explaining some of the activities that fathers should be exempted from, one father said:

The baby may be seated there, and she defecates. I can help in feeding the baby, but finding me washing or cleaning pupu off the cloths; No way! The father shouldn't be the one to clean or even bathing the baby (Father, Mpigi).

This comment suggests that some fathers do not see themselves carrying out the more unpleasant tasks, such as changing nappies.

Some fathers are of the view that even if there are other childcare providers available at home, fathers should participate in some childcare activities, such as holding and feeding children in order that the child recognizes who the father is. One father commented:

Even if these people [other childcare providers] are around, I could hold the baby and see how she is feeling. I could feed her once in a while. I have to do it if the child is to know that I am the father (Father, Kampala).

It is not clear whether this father understands the importance of bonding or whether his need to be recognized as the father, by the child, is more paramount.

4.3.3. Is fathers' involvement in childcare socially acceptable?

Although some fathers may find their involvement in childcare ideal, they may be constrained by social/cultural expectations. Findings from the focus group discussions shed some interesting light on this issue.

An ideal man is a man with money, with an established home and land; who is hardworking, shares responsibility in childcare, and with ability to balance (his time) between wives and children. He must never go to the kitchen or wash utensils, clothes whether the wife is around or not (Mother, Mpigi).

For us we can't pay school fees for the children, but for them as men they are the ones who can help us to pay the school fees for the children, that job is too big, we can't manage it. Okay, some of them (some women) have money but now like us, the truth is that we don't have money (Mother, Mpigi).

The husband buys home necessities; the wife cleans the child and looks after the child in all ways. The husband may decide to walk away and the wife remains and looks after the child, bathes the child, feeds the child, and cleans the child very well and the husband will find when the child is

clean. As long as husband has left everything prepared and available and has given her the money, this is okay (Mother, Kampala).

What brings the problem is that when these men get to know that you are making money, they leave everything to you. It would have been good when I and my husband are both making money and sharing the responsibilities (Mother, Mpigi).

The help must come from the man so that it's the woman who cleans the child very well and the child looks well. If he has money, and you ask. . . The child does not have a dress, pamper, the child does not have a nappy, he has to provide all those things because you won't bathe the child if he / she does not have Vaseline, a dress, a pamper and so on (Father, Kampala).

The preceding views of both mothers and fathers emphasize that the father's role is largely one of being the provider of material goods and not so much the actual caretaker. These findings seem to be in contrast with earlier findings (see Section 4.3.2) where the majority of fathers (91%) and mothers (96%) indicated that they were comfortable with the idea of father's involvement in child caring. Thus, it is apparent that some ambiguities are present in this study and this could be indicative of some level of ambivalence between how respondents think they should be responding and what their honest feelings about the matter really is.

It appears that some fathers will get involved depending on whether or not neighbors and friends are around. It also depends on how the wife views his child caring activities.

Culturally it is not acceptable, neighbors laugh at you if they see you getting involved (Father, Mpigi).

It is hard but the truth is that we ladies, we are the ones who are supposed to take the responsibility of looking after children. It's shaming and embarrassing for the man to look after a child (Mother, Kampala).

There is time when you also get ashamed. When there are visitors, you cannot just call your husband from the sitting room and you tell him to come and do what . . . and look after the child. There is something you also look at and get ashamed (Mother, Kampala).

But I wonder how the bazungu (people from the West) do it! . . . I have a brother who lives in America, you can call him and he tells you that he has remained home with the children even though visitors have come home, he does not mind, he changes the child's pampers and even cleaning bathing the baby, you find that the wife is not there (Mother, Kampala).

Thus fathers' involvement in childcare is much more complex than initially thought. Although both fathers and mothers may have the view that it is good thing for fathers to be involved, various social/cultural expectations play a large role. Marsinglio et al (2000) and Morman and Floyd (2002), have argued that the meaning of fatherhood is mainly a cultural product. Also, LaRossa and Reitze's (1993) symbolic interaction theory posits that social expectations can put pressure on fathers to behave in certain ways that may be contrary to their beliefs about what should be done. According to Rane and McBride (2000), the social status of fathers traditionally has been associated with the roles of material provider, nurturer, and disciplinarian. Turner's (2000) research in Burundi highlights that in Burundian society, like many other parts of Africa, the father or husband is ideally the breadwinner and connected to this role is the implication that it is the man who gives the orders in the house. Research on gender roles in South Africa by Walker (1995) and Richter & Morrell (2006) shows that the patriarchal society continues to impose a cultural definition of mothers as homemakers, and the role of childcare is still confined to women. Ramu's (1987) study in India showed similar traditional role expectations even in incidences where wives were employed. Yet an Indian study two decades later (Saraff & Srivastava, 2008) depicts a more egalitarian view of the "ideal father", balancing both the material provider and nurturing roles. This could be indicative of some shifts occurring in traditional societies.

Power and dominance issues

Many respondents (mothers and fathers), especially in rural areas of Mpigi district, remarked that the 'ideal man' should not be belittled through physical involvement in childcare.

> *It is not proper for a responsible man to be found lighting fire to cook when my wife is seated. It is disrespectful. In fact if you do it two or three times, the next thing you hear her bragging to the neighbor's wife that: "I have finished that one, I have put him in the bottle." So because of that I can't allow it (Father, Mpigi).*

"Putting someone in the bottle" is a contemporary Luganda expression that signifies control or dominance of one person over the other. In Buganda, it is commonly used by women to indicate that they are gaining control over their husbands, a notion with which men are uncomfortable. The use of this expression "I have put him in a bottle" signifies that the man's position as the dominant head has been challenged by his wife who is assigning tasks to him that traditionally belonged to her (traditionally assigned gender-roles). The Buganda society is mostly still patriarchal, which is why some women feel that allowing their husbands to participate in childcare is an act of disrespect (Fong & Bhushan, 1996). Thus issues of tradition which often

conflates with patriarchy (power and dominance) can serve as a smokescreen that limits more egalitarian practices. Traditional cultural practices may also be 'boosted' by selective religious interpretations of what it means to be a husband and a wife.

Religious influences on perceptions of the "ideal father"

Findings from the Focus Group Discussions reveal that patriarchal beliefs are often reinforced by religion and wider social expectations. For example, some respondents think that the ideal gender division of labor is biblically determined and their role is to follow it:

> *Yes, biblically, it's a woman's responsibility. According to the Holy Bible in Proverbs 31, men's role is to supervise what's taking place and to judge and correct what is not going well. . . . Naturally, mother's love is much valued by children since a child grows in her womb. Fathers have many children in different women and its better for women to care for their own children (Father, Mpigi).*

> *A woman… God created her when she was supposed to be something at home, we are not against it but as we said that she is like a child, what you orient her into is what she does. . . . at my home I find when everything has been done (Father, Kampala).*

Religion can also shape fathers' positive attitudes albeit that some may fear the wrath of God.

> *All religions can influence in that it counsels the parent. For example, if you do not take care of your child you are neglecting your family and religion teaches that such parents go to 'hell'. So this fear can influence parents to be more responsible (Father, Mpigi).*

> *Religion helps for those who cherish and seriously practice their respective religions. When someone is religious he tends to put into practice the requirements taught in church. Some of the teachings influence the fathers to care for the whole family including the child (Mother, Kampala).*

Research in the United States indicates a positive relationship between religion and fathers' involvement in childcare. Fathers' religiosity is linked to higher quality of parent-child relationships (King, 2003). A greater degree of religiousness among fathers was associated with better relationships with their children, greater expectations for positive relationships in the future, investment of thought and effort into their relationships with their children, greater sense of obligation to stay in regular contact with their children, and greater likelihood of providing emotional support and unpaid assistance to their children and grandchildren.
Besides religion, early socialization experiences also play a role.

Upbringing and shaping perceptions of the "ideal father"

Some respondents explain that this notion of the "ideal man" or father depends considerably on how one was brought up or raised.

> *If in the home where he was brought up they did not show him love, he will also know that they don't show a child love because he does not know it. Eeeh . . . he does not know it, he knows that if a woman gives birth to a child, that's how it is supposed to be because that's how he was treated when he was young (Mother, Mpigi).*

> *Now like a boy when he grows up knowing that it's the mother who looks after a child, like a boy who has grown up with his mother, you see how he grows up knowing that it's the woman who looks after a child? He knows it's the woman, because he grew up knowing that it's the mother who looks after a child. He tells you that you are supposed to look after the child (Mother, Mpigi).*

> *The first reason is the culture. We grow up knowing these are roles for women. The men also have their roles. Secondly, we tend to think that these are minor activities, so we leave them for the mothers. According to traditional roles, usually men concentrate on financial matters and mothers focus on home management. It does not matter if she works or not (Father, Mpigi).*

> *The kind of grooming is partly responsible. For example, we grew up knowing that cutting grass for the cattle is the work of boys; splitting firewood and fetching water was our work as boys. Peeling bananas, cooking, babysitting were girls' tasks. So this attitude remains in men, that certain tasks are for men and others are for women (Father, Mpigi).*

> *For instance, in history men were sent abroad, say, to fight wars for the king. He would just leave. It is women who would be left to manage the houses. So history plays a role in the role division, which assigns childcare activities to women. Some of these attitudes are still prevalent even until today (Father, Mpigi).*

> *The reason why men leave the "little things" for women is that we are groomed to think that these are roles for women (Mother, Mpigi).*

Thus early socialization does seem to play a role in shaping these respondents' perceptions. It is not clear to what extent culture is responsible for such perceptions of gender roles.

Hiding Behind a Cultural Smokescreen

Some respondents argued that the reason some fathers (and mothers as well) do not participate in childcare lies in their personality. There were some dissenting views regarding traditional roles.

> *The argument that men provide financial help is not true. These days, we also work and earn money. I don't wait for my husband to buy soap to wash his shirt. When he finds his clothes clean, he doesn't ask how I got the soap or refund the money. He simply changes (Mother, Kampala).*

> *Some men blame culture for no good reason. I think the biggest influence is the characteristics of the two individuals, the father and the mother. Otherwise how else do you explain the fact that some fathers have no problem performing the childcare roles? (Father, Kampala).*

This data shows that although Ugandan society supports a traditional division of labor, actual involvement ultimately depends on the individual father and his willingness to step into a new role. It appears that although this study interviewed working couples, women still largely depend on men for material support. Thus, mothers seem to think this is a trade-off and are willing to do the child caring on their own.

The data supports some important conclusions about respondents' perceptions of the "ideal father". There is a strong tendency towards the traditional approach to childcare described in Chapter One, which typically includes the extent to which the father is the primary source of income for the child's education and well-being (i.e. indirectly involved in the development of the child) (Cabrera et al., 2000). The findings from this study so far contrast, to some degree, with those by Saraff and Srivastava (2008). In a study on Indian fathers' perceptions of the "ideal father", Saraff and Srivastava (2008) observed that caretaking was viewed as one of the most important attributes of an "ideal father". And these fathers were role models who provided materially as well-being nurturant towards their children. In this Ugandan study, the more traditional perceptions of the "ideal father" are related to broader patriarchal expectations and beliefs, upbringing, and the fear of deviating from social and religious norms. Thus, respondents' in this study are not really supportive to fathers who feel the need for involvement in childcare. It also seems that social expectations (which come through clearly in the FGDs) outweigh individuals' perceptions of what is 'ideal' (as reflected in the survey data).

Issues of power and dominance (part of the patriarchy) also play a role in maintaining gender ascribed roles.

4.3.4. Summary of major findings

- Involvement in childcare makes most fathers (43.2%) feel responsible. Very few fathers report feeling unfairly treated (2.3%); or disrespected by their wives (8.1%).
- According to 74.4% of the fathers and 87.8% of the mothers, fathers who engage in childcare are well brought up.
- Fathers are comfortable with the idea of involvement in childcare on grounds that it reinforces their image and position as responsible heads of households and their recognition by children.
- For some fathers, what matters in childcare is for someone to meet a child's need; it does not matter who does it. It does not have to be their direct role. Some fathers and mothers are more concerned about what others will say if the fathers are doing childcare activities. It may seem as if the wives are dominant.
- Some mothers and fathers think that cultural pressures notwithstanding, the ultimate behavior is incumbent upon the individual. This is why some fathers are involved in childcare.

4.4. Comparing perceptions with practices

4.4.1. Introduction

The previous section discussed perceptions of the "ideal father". In response to objectives one and two, the following section compares fathers' and mothers' perceptions with practices in relation to fathers' involvement in childcare. As discussed in Section 4.3, perceptions (as well as practices) around childcare may be contemporary/egalitarian or traditional. According to Cabrera et al. (2000), the traditional perspective to fatherhood emphasizes the father's role as that of being a primary source of income for the child's education and well-being (being indirectly involved in the development of the child). The contemporary or egalitarian perspective, takes into consideration the father's direct role in care giving such as , bathing, feeding and interacting with the child fairly frequently (Pruett, 2000; Cabrera et al., 2000). Thus, a father holding contemporary views on the role of the father would believe that in addition to material provision, he should be involved in direct child caring.

4.4.2. Mixed perceptions: mixed practices

Perceptions of the "ideal father" in relation to childcare are mixed. At the individual or personal level, fathers (70%) and mothers (90%) are comfortable with the idea of fathers being involved in childcare. However, FGD data showed that this idea is not socially acceptable. Do fathers' actual practices tend more towards the egalitarian personal level perceptions of fatherhood or more to the traditional socially acceptable perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare? Data shows that actual practices tend more towards traditional fathering. On average, fathers do not spend more than 1.4 hours a day on childcare (see Table 14). Table 15 shows that 58% of fathers participate in childcare. The survey interviews with fathers captured some of the reasons that fathers gave for their involvement in childcare:

"Because at times my wife is so tired by the time she comes from the garden"
"Because I like sharing duties with my wife"
"I want to bond with my children"
"These children are my blood"
"For purposes of togetherness"
"I'm supposed to supplement my wife's care in childcare"
"I feel I need to help my wife"
"I do all that work since my wife doesn't return until the week ends"
"I feel I should be with my wife"
"I like my baby. He is my first born, so I feel I should hold him as soon as I come home"

"I only hold the child. By the time I come home, my wife has done all other work"

"It's my responsibility and I love my child"

The reasons fathers gave for their involvement are not different from those discussed in section 4.3, namely the need for a relationship with children; the need to be fair to their wives and sometimes because their wives are absent. Some of the explanations given by non-involved fathers included the following:

"I'm busier with work than my wife"

"I come back home late"

"I'm ever busy. Children stay with their mother"

"I have no time to look after children"

"I'm a sheik [sheik refers to a Muslim leader] and religion dictates the issues of a household. A wife is the one supposed to do housework"

"I concentrate on things like school fees, cultivating . . ."

"My wife does not allow me to get involved at all"

"My wife is not encouraging"

"Men are not supposed to babysit at all"

Most of the reasons non-involved fathers give for their lack for involvement are related to traditional perceptions of gender roles and fathers' work/time constraints. This shows that although perceptions of the' 'ideal father" appear to be egalitarian, actual practices are traditional. Similarly, it is surprising that although 90% of the mothers believe that an "ideal father" should be directly involved in childcare (see section 4.3), only 63% encourage their husbands to participate in childcare. Thus, the traditional gender division of labor continues to dominate with regards to how the fathers' role is being practiced.

Table 14: Estimated average time (in hours) fathers spend in childcare in a day

Childcare activities	**Bathing**	**Holding**	**Taking to and from school**	**Helping with homework**	**Dressing**	**Feeding**	**Playing**	**Medical attention**	**overall**
Average time spent by fathers	.37	.52	.42	.57	.35	.32	.46	.51	1.4

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Table 14 conveys the stark reality that fathers in this study are actually minimally involved in childcare despite their subjective perceptions about childcare involvement (see section 4.3).

Table 15 shows that most of the fathers who participate in childcare are satisfied with their level of involvement in childcare (84%). A significant percent of fathers (79%) who are not satisfied with their involvement in childcare are those who do not participate in childcare (P = .000). This implies that even non-involved fathers would wish to be involved in childcare —perhaps they are limited by work constraints (Haas & Hwang, 2005; Carlson, 1999) or by social expectations (Marsinglio et al, 2000; Morman & Floyd, 2002; Tuner, 2000). Or, supposing fathers do not think direct involvement in childcare is their role, why would they like to be involved in it anyway —perhaps it is because of the need for recognition by their children (Lewis & O'Brien, 1987; Lally, 1999), or the need to appear more responsible as the head of the households, or the need to be fair to their wives (Twiggs et al., 1999; Nippert-Eng, 1996,). Most of these possibilities are discussed in later sections.

Table 15: Fathers' satisfaction with their participation in childcare

Level of satisfaction	**Level of participation**	
	Participate in childcare (58% overall)	**Do not participate in childcare (42% overall)**
Satisfied with their level of involvement in childcare	84%	21%
Not satisfied with their level of involvement in childcare	16%	79%

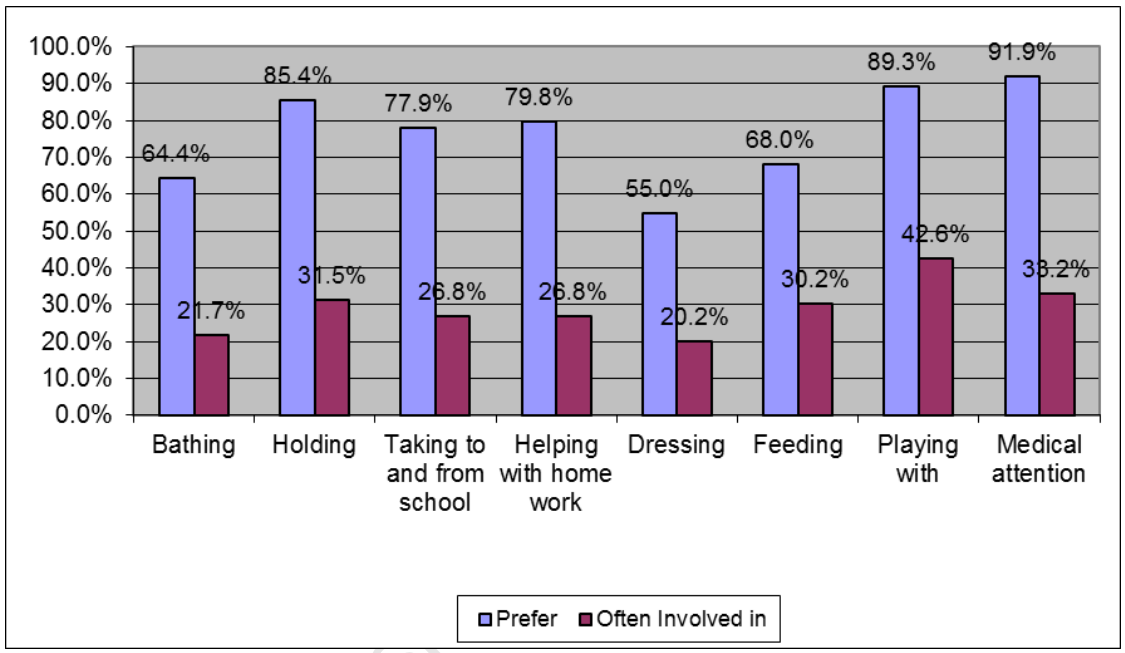
Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010).

In highlighting the gap between fathers' perceptions and actual involvement in childcare, Cowan and Cowan's (1992) research on transition to parenthood offers some clues as to why there may be ambiguities between ideals and practices. Their research showed that although many fathers may have egalitarian views of their involvement in childcare, they found it difficult to translate this to actual practices. Also, Gerson's (1993) study points out that although some fathers may be willing to be involved in childcare, they may be limited by their breadwinning responsibilities. Furstenberg (1995) argues that where fathers' ideals are not matched by actual practices, it is more likely that their ideals are not egalitarian enough. He argues that structural factors, like work, are not as powerful as fathers' beliefs and perceptions in predicting fathers' involvement in childcare.

4.4.3. Perceptions versus practices in relation to specific childcare activities

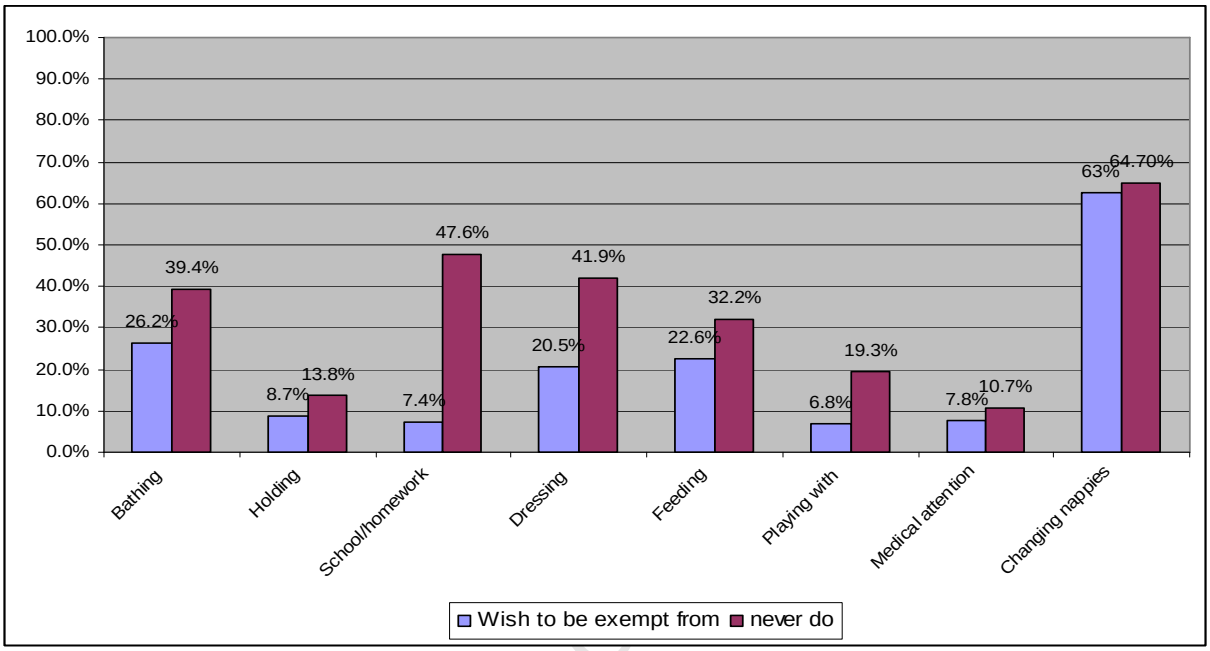
In Figure 7, it is clear that there is a discrepancy between what fathers say they would like to do, and what they actually do. For example, 92% of fathers would like to take their children for medical attention, but, in actual fact, only 33% do so or 89% want to play with their children but only 43% actually do so.

Figure 7: Fathers' stated preference for, and actual involvement in, specific childcare activities



Source; Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Figure 8: Activities that fathers wish to be exempted from and those they never do



Source; Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

It is also interesting to compare activities that fathers dislike with those that they don't do. In Figure 8, the most disliked activities are changing nappies, bathing, and feeding. The least done activities are changing nappies, homework/school, dressing, and bathing. Thus, the least liked are also the least done activities. It appears that fathers get involved in taking children to school and helping with their homework much less than they say they wish to. According to qualitative data discussed in section 4.3, this may be related to work or time constraints among other factors, since fathers are more likely to work away from home (and for more hours) than mothers.

These findings are consistent with earlier studies by Robinson & Godbey (1997), who concluded that most of the time men spent with their children was in the form of interactive activities, such as play or helping with homework, rather than what Robinson & Godbey (1997) refer to as custodial activities (i.e., cleaning and feeding, which are considered to be the mother's domain). Similarly, McBride & Mills (1993) reported that if fathers are involved with children, they are involved in play activities rather than custodial activities. The focus on non-custodial activities may be linked to gender ascribed roles that clearly define what a mother should be doing and what would be socially acceptable for a father to do.

In discussing fathers' involvement in specific activities, three kinds of father involvement emerge:

a) Fathers who do not participate in childcare (non-involved patriarch)

b) Fathers who participate only in socially sanctioned non-custodial childcare activities (partial involved yet traditional father)

c) Fathers who get involved even in the more challenging childcare (custodial) activities (fully involved egalitarian father).

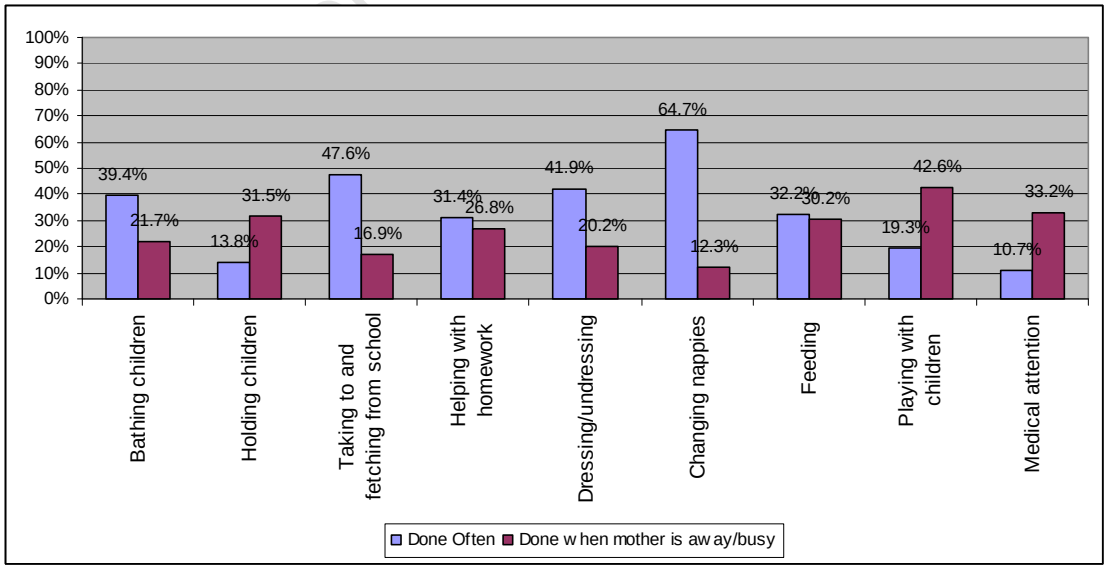
Studies in other parts of the world, for example Romano & Bruzzese (2007) on Italian fathers; Yeung et al. (2001) among American fathers; Lyn (2006) among Australian fathers; li-ching & Roopnarine (1996) among Taiwanese fathers; and Saraff & Srivastava (2010) among Indian fathers, show a much higher 'father-involvement' when compared to this current study.

It could well be that the pace of change in Ugandan society is much slower in comparison to other traditional societies like the Taiwanese and the Indian societies. It would be interesting to compare levels of access to education in the latter two societies.

Childcare activities that fathers are involved in when mothers are busy or away

Figure 9 illustrates consistency in the activities which fathers say that they do not often do, and the ones that they do when mothers are unavailable or busy.

Figure 9: Activities in which fathers do often and when mothers are unavailable or busy



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

According to Figure 9, fathers bathe, take children, take them to or from school and hold children mostly when mothers are available than when they are away. Fathers play with children and attend to children's health mostly when mothers are unavailable or busy. This is surprising because, as discussed in sections 4.3 and 4.4.3, fathers prefer interactive activities like holding and playing with children to custodial activities like changing nappies. One would expect that in the absence of mothers, fathers would not have much choice but to engage equally in all childcare activities according to need. Instead, mothers' absence doesn't seem to influence which activities fathers do or don't do. For example, fathers may change nappies in the presence of mothers or simply play with children when mothers are away. As discussed in previous Sections 4.3) and later in 4.5), fathers are more likely to engage in childcare activities because of self-motivation rather than responding to a situation of need (Deci & Ryan, 1994). Apart from emphasizing the importance of fathers' self-determination, fathers are still asserting their rights to decide what they would prefer to do whilst mothers do not have this option. Also, as discussed in section 4.3, mothers' absence doesn't leave fathers as the only care providers available at home. There may be other alternatives like members of the extended family and maids.

4.4.4. Summary of findings

- Fifty eight percent of fathers participate in childcare, but on average, fathers do not spend more than 1.4 hours a day on childcare
- There are two sets of perceptions around fathers' involvement (a) in the survey data individual fathers 70% and mothers (90%) indicate that they comfortable with the idea of fathers' involvement in childcare; however (b) according to FGD data, it is not socially acceptable, e.g. fathers would not do childcare in public or with guests around. Thus the FGD data is more in line with the actual practices.
- Most of the fathers who participate in childcare are satisfied with their level of involvement in childcare (84%)
- Ninety two percent of fathers would like to take their children for medical attention, but, in actual fact, only 33% do so
- Eighty nine percent of fathers want to play with their children but only 43% actually do so
- Fathers make definite decisions about those activities they wish to do and those they will not engage in.
- Those activities not preferred by fathers are also the ones they do not do, e.g. changing nappies, even when mothers are not around.
- From the data gained three levels of fatherhood styles emerge: (a) very traditional fathers who do not participate in childcare at all beyond material provision (42% of the fathers), b) somewhat traditional fathers who participate in selected childcare activities, in addition to material provision, but mostly in the more convenient (interactive) activities.(e.g., 42.6% of involved fathers often play with children) and c) contemporary progressive fathers who are both material and nurturant providers willing to perform unpleasant custodial activities(e.g. 20.2% of involved fathers often dress children)
- Although fathers in other post industrialized countries such as the United States spend more time in childcare than those in the study sample (Summers et al, 1999), research generally shows a divide between perceptions and actual involvement in childcare.

4.5. Fathers' motivation for involvement in childcare

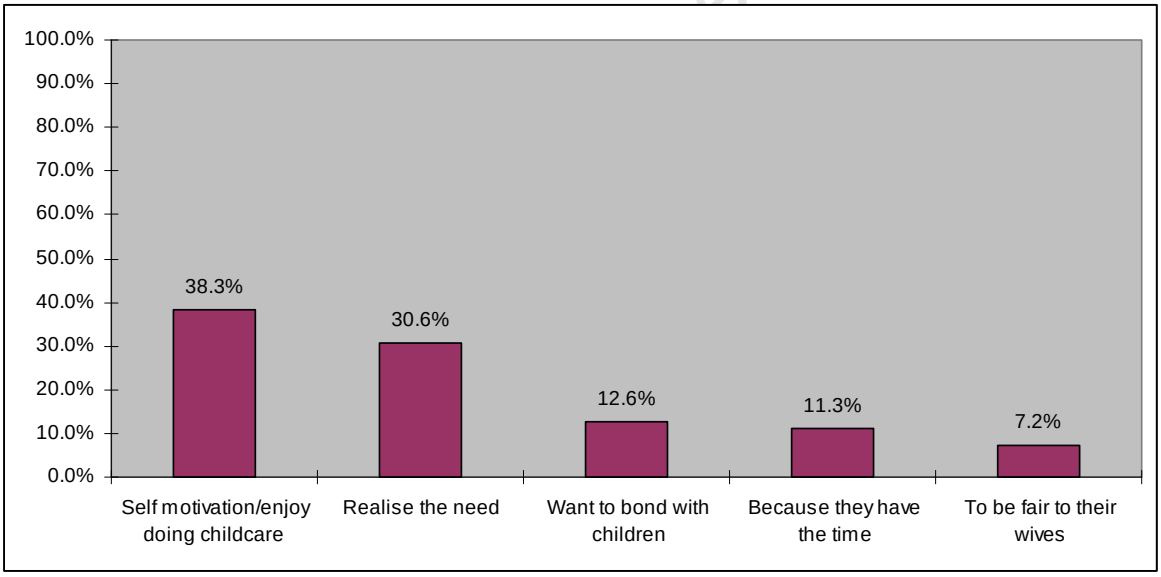
4.5.1. Introduction

Does fathers' motivation to engage in childcare mostly originate from within themselves or from external pressures? In response to study objectives one, three, and four, this section discusses the comparative strengths of selected intrinsic and extrinsic factors in influencing fathers' involvement in childcare. The discussion compares self-motivation, skills, confidence, and perception of importance and need for involvement in childcare as intrinsic factors with wives' encouragement as an extrinsic motivation factor.

4.5.2. Self-motivation

Fathers outlined some of the key factors that caused them to engage in childcare situations.

Figure 10: Motivation for fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

According to Figure 10, self-motivation, realizing the need for childcare, and the desire to bond with their children are the main reasons that fathers give for their involvement in childcare. All these are factors that can get a father involved proactively—without being asked or fearing that their wives would feel unfairly treated. Thus, most of the times when fathers are involved in childcare, they are intrinsically motivated rather than pressured to do so. According to Deci and Ryan (1991), when intrinsically motivated, one embraces the activity with a sense of personal

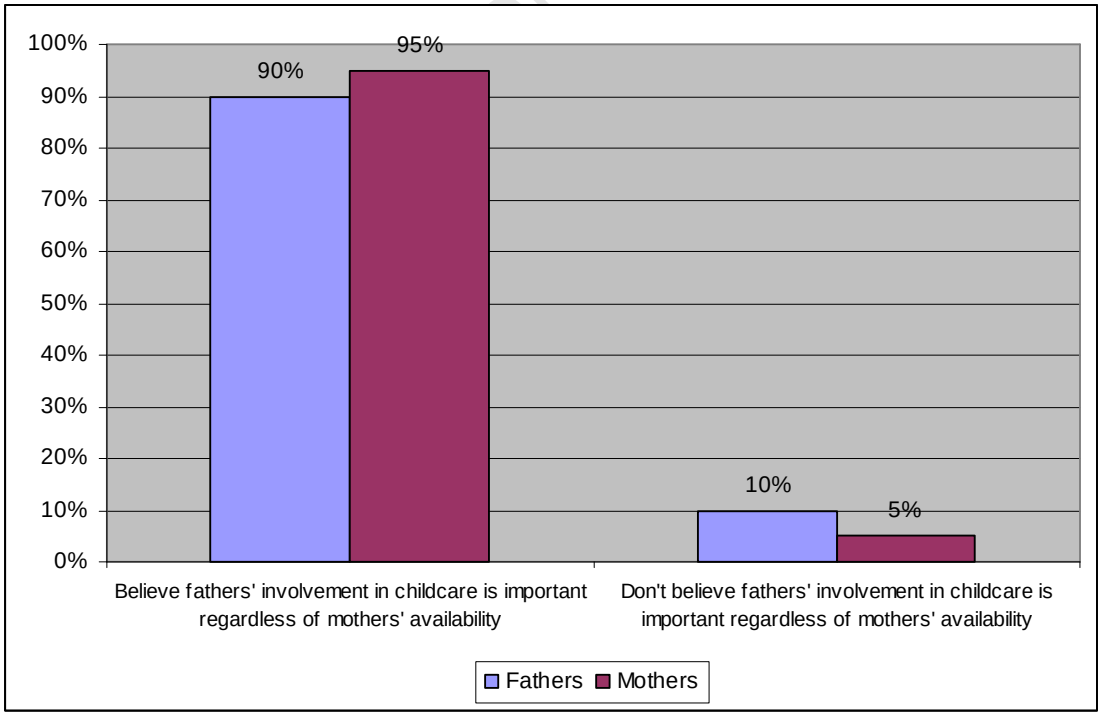
choice and commitment. On the other hand, extrinsically motivated activity is performed to prompt pleasant consequences or to avoid unpleasant ones.

However, the fact that intrinsic motivation has a stronger association with fathers' involvement in childcare does not necessarily imply that fathers are engaged because they understand fathering as an emotional, developmental experience for the children. Findings show that fathers' motivation is more related with bonding with their children and ensuring that children recognize them as fathers.

4.5.3. Perception of importance/necessity or need for involvement in childcare

Do fathers perceive that there is need and value for their involvement in childcare? If fathers perceive that there is need and value for their involvement in childcare, does this necessarily increase their involvement in childcare? The answer to the second question would depend on how fathers perceive the importance of their involvement in childcare. The Luganda term used in the survey and FGD to discuss *importance* was *omugaso;* which encompasses a range of English words, including need, necessity, value, and importance.

Figure 11: Perception of importance of fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

The survey data (Figure 11) shows that both mothers and fathers share the view that fathers' involvement in childcare is important, regardless of whether the mother is available. However, when this question is discussed more openly and deeply in the FGDs, more traditional perceptions are revealed. Fathers acknowledge there is need for their involvement in childcare. Although most fathers believe that childcare is a domain for women, many of them also acknowledge that their involvement in childcare is necessary.

> *Just as both go to work, it would be important for them to agree together how both of them should reserve some time and come back home early to check on their children and how to share childcare chores (Mother, Kampala).*

> *Some women become mothers prematurely! Or it comes by accident so she doesn't have enough care for the child. Now as the father to this child, you have to help her in order to bring up your child alive and in good health (Father, Kampala).*

These views seem to imply some egalitarian approach to childcare based on need and an appraisal of a situation (unanticipated pregnancy).

Reasons fathers give for their involvement are largely related to bonding so that they will be recognized by their children as their fathers.

> *"[It] increases the love between the child and the parent [other respondents agree]" (Father, Mpigi).*
> *You see them as if they are young but those children understand. That is why you see that most of the time when the father comes, the child doesn't care because he does not show the child care. But when he grows up seeing the father bathing him/her, also the mother bathing him/her, she washes the nappies and also the father washes the nappies. The child will love you equally, you understand that? (Father, Kampala).*

> *That's why these children are mostly attached to their mothers [other respondents agree], because he/she knows that the mother is the one who will help him/her., the mother gives him/her the bottle, the child looks at you as the father but doesn't love you, and he/she loves the mother. The child sees you as someone who just comes at home and say . . . aah . . . I see this man but…! (Father, Kampala).*

> *Because the child doesn't know you, that's why you see most of the children love house-maids very much because they are ever with them. The mother is the one who shower him/her . . . because if*

that housemaid is looking after the child very well, even though you come, the child will just look at you like this and as if he/she doesn't know you yet you are the parent. (Father, Kampala).

While the above responses show that fathers understand that their involvement in childcare is necessary in order for their children to value them as a parent, the responses do not clearly indicate that these fathers' are aware of their role in the child's psychological, emotional and intellectual development.

Fathers may not want to get too involved since their wives may manipulate them or take them for granted.

But another thing, as men there is some where you have to stop when she is around because when you get so much involved, some ladies take it for granted. She leaves it with you because you do it. (Father, Kampala).

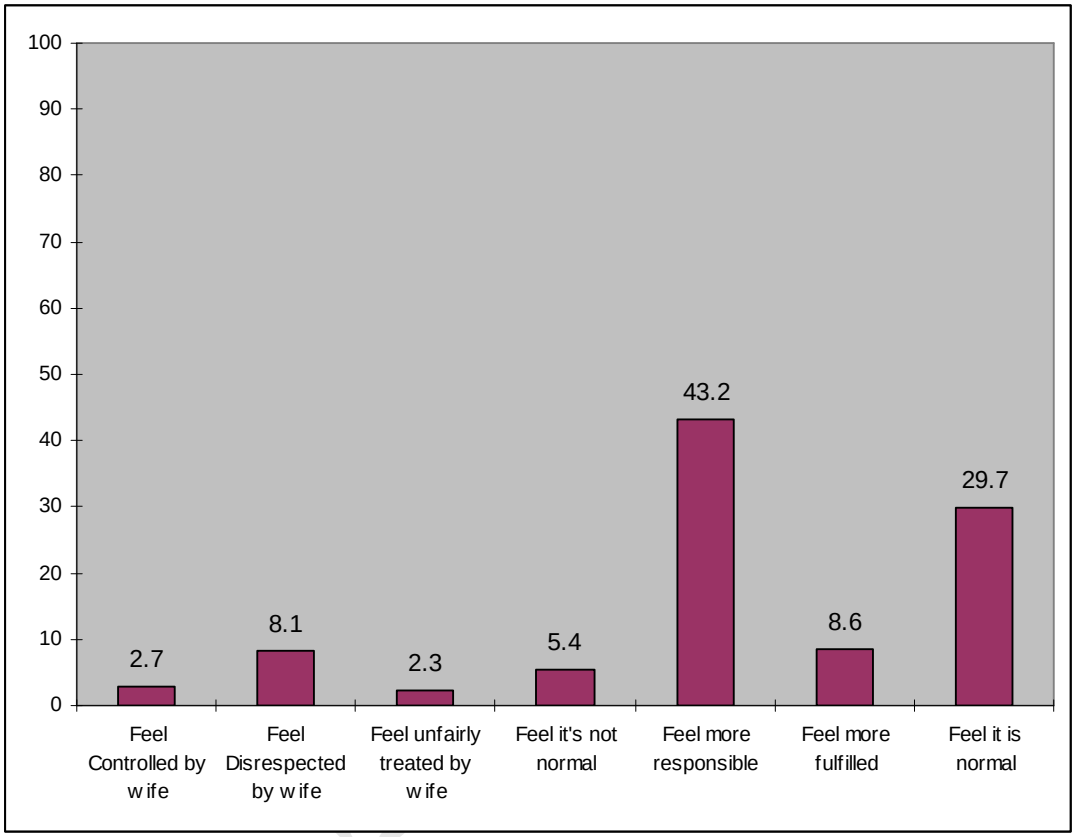
Women have this tendency—she will behave according to how you condition her. Like you can tell her . . . let me help you wash the dishes; you wash them today, even tomorrow; she will tell you wash those dishes. When a child has made pupu [stool]. You can tell her the child has defecated . . . she replies . . . aaa . . . Can't you remove it? . . . God gave us wives; they are like young children indeed, if a child gets to know that every day you bring a sweet , the day you come back without a sweet he or she feels bad . . . Dad, where is my sweet? So even the wife if she knows that you can . . . do everything. Even though people are there, she brings the nappies and puts them there and tells you: you see the child has defecated in the chair; she embarrasses you among the people (Father, Kampala).

Thus the key reason for fathers' involvement appears to be the bonding factor (Lewis & O'Brien, 1987; Lally, 1999) and not the intellectual and social development of their children (Klinger, 2000; Lopton & Barclay, 1997; Cabrera et al., 2000; Anderson & Green, 2006; Videon, 2002; Simons, 1999).

Related to the findings of this study, research by Summers et al. (1999, p. 297) among low income Americans showed that fathers and mothers understood that fathers' time with children and involvement in childcare was crucial for children's development. Fathers in this American study referred to this engagement as *being there* for their children and drew a distinction between *fathers* and *dads* on this basis: "A 'father' is someone who 'makes a baby,' but a 'dad' is someone who is 'there' for the child" (Summers et al. (1999).It seems that in the current study, Ugandan fathers'

need to be there for their children is related to the desire to bond with and to be recognized by their children.

Figure 3: How fathers feel when they do childcare work



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

The majority of responses indicate that it is 'more responsible' and 'normal' for fathers to be involved in childcare. Thus once again perceptions appear to be more positive but are not matched by actions.

Another factor that may affect fathers' involvement in childcare is the characteristics of the child.

4.5.4. The role of child characteristics

Do child characteristics influence father's perception of need and thus their involvement in childcare? The survey data shows that most (67.7%) of the fathers and most (70%) of the mothers reported that the time fathers spend with children is not on affected by the gender of the child. Similarly, most (75%) of the fathers and most (68.8%) of the mothers mentioned that fathers do

not necessarily spend more time with younger children, and 90.1% of the fathers and 92.3% of the mothers reported that fathers do not necessarily spend more time with older children.

With regard to age, an FGD participant said that:

> *Children below 6 years require a lot of time and this hinders men's involvement. When a child reaches about six and above years that is when fathers get involved with the child. If it is the boy, the father begins to groom him into a man (Mother, Mpigi).*

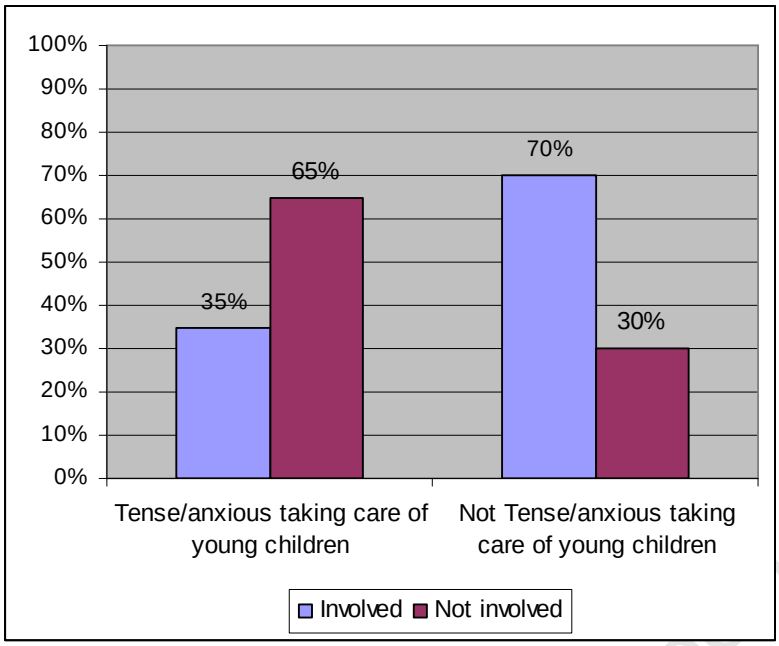
Thus, whilst the survey data reveals little difference with regards to age of child and father involvement, the qualitative data suggests that age may well play a role. This latter opinion is confirmed by other studies.

It has been argued that child characteristics such as age and gender influence paternal involvement in childcare (Doherty, Kouneski, & Erickson, 1998; Pleck, 1997; Levy-Shiff & Israelashvili, 1988). As children mature, both parents spend less time with them, but due to fathers' lower initial levels of interaction, the decline in paternal involvement is less pronounced than the decline in maternal involvement (Pleck, 1997). It has also been proposed that fathers dedicate more time to sons than to daughters (Early Childcare Research Network, 2000). Fathers' differential treatment by gender is greater in play than in care giving activities (Levy-Shiff & Israelashvili, 1988) and tends to be greater with older children (Pleck, 1997). However the survey data in this current study does not support the association between child's age and gender with fathers' involvement in childcare.

4.5.5. Fathers' self-confidence and skills

As shown in Figure 12, fathers that express confidence in childcare work (not anxious about taking care of children) are about twice as likely to participate in childcare than those who express a lack of confidence (anxious about taking care of children) ($p<0.001$). Similarly, fathers who meet their personal expectations for expertise in caring for their children (70.7%) are about three times more likely to participate in childcare than those who did not (29.3%) ($p<0.001$).

Figure 13: Confidence and fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Fathers' confidence is an important part of self-efficacy. According to Deci and Ryan (2000), *self-efficacy* is the degree to which a parent believes he/she is able to care for the child's emotional and physical needs. The findings discussed above suggest that self-efficacy has a strong and positive association with father's involvement in childcare. In so doing, the study supports the self-determination theory in explaining paternal involvement in childcare (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The theory posits that the more a father feels competent in the parenting activities in which he is involved, the more he is involved in childcare (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The perceived competence is related to more self-determined motivation for childcare activities. The more a father is self-determined, the greater the involvement he would report; and the greater the satisfaction he would derive from his performance of the father role (Deci & Ryan, 2000). In addition, research by Hudson et al. (2001) also emphasizes that parenting self-efficacy is associated with paternal involvement in childcare.

This data may reflect a perception among fathers that caring for young children sometimes requires specialized skills that perhaps mothers naturally have. Fathers are not sure they have these skills, since it is not their gender-ascribed role. It is not just about having the skills; it also believes that they have enough skills to do it the proper way. This 'doing it the proper way' is often seen as a woman's prerogative as if she has all the answers to effective childcare which the man does not have (traditional gendered childcare notion).

Thus a key factor would be whether or not mothers encourage fathers to participate or not.

4.5.6. Mothers encouraging fathers to participate in childcare

The survey data indicates that a majority of the fathers (58.6%) mentioned that their wives do not encourage them to participate in childcare (see table 16). On the other hand, 64.9% of the mothers mentioned that they do encourage their husbands to get involved in childcare. This compares with the earlier discussion on self-motivation, which shows that when fathers participate in childcare, they do so at their own initiative.

Table 16: Mothers encouraging fathers to participate in childcare

	Reported by Fathers	**Reported by mothers**
Percent of fathers that are encouraged by their wives to engage in childcare	58.6%	64.9%
Percent of fathers that are not encouraged by their wives to participate in childcare	41.4%	35.1%
Total	100%	100%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Data from the FGDs on the other hand, explains some of these survey results, offering some insights as to why mothers did not encourage the fathers to participate in childcare.

Some of the mothers mentioned the following reasons for not encouraging their husbands to participate in childcare:

"He can help easily later in life in case of a problem, but not necessarily now."
"Because he already provides for them financially and I am at home even though working"
"Culturally they are not supposed."
"Even if I am working but can't allow my husband to do so, and because he has no interest
"He is a backward man."
"Honestly I want my husband to sit at home without doing tiresome work of taking care of children."

Thus traditional roles are still dominant. Some participants felt that mothers may deliberately curtail the fathers' role to being that of the disciplinarian or she may try to set her children against the father.

Also mothers have a weakness. They do not discipline a child. They leave it to the father. So children see the father as an enemy. This also reduces a father's involvement. At the same time mothers discuss/tell the children her misunderstandings with their father often blaming the father. This also distances the father from the children (Mother, Kampala).

Yes. In the past a wife cared for her family. So when she has more money, she will sideline the husband, especially, if he is either unemployed or earns less (Mother, Kampala).

These findings are consistent with Allen & Hawkin's (1999) role theory. Allen and Hawkins (1999) argue that mothers gate keep the domain of home and family as their 'territory' and thus restrict paternal involvement in these areas. Wives are said to be more influential in involving their husbands in parenting than were husbands in involving their wives in parenting (Fagan & Marina, 2003). Walker & McGraw (2000) have observed that mothers play a key role in promoting relationships between children and fathers. Research also shows that mothers believe they have the primary responsibility for the home and childcare. Perhaps such perceptions emerge because women may appraise and define themselves by their ability to influence the domestic arena (Rutter & Schwartz, 2000). However it may not be women themselves favoring this perception but they may be succumbing to a social expectation. Mothers who work at low paying, less prestigious and unfulfilling jobs garner few psychological rewards or prospects for advancement. As a result, mothers working in the informal sector may place significant value on their roles as wives and mothers, roles in which they may feel irreplaceable and can exercise significant autonomy and power (Allen & Hawkins, 1999).

Similar findings have been revealed elsewhere. Bouchard, Lee, Asgary, & Pelletier's (2007) study of French fathers investigated the degree to which fathers' motivation for involvement with their preschool children was intrinsic or extrinsic. Their study revealed that a father's perceptions that his partner has confidence in his parenting ability were related to both feelings of competence in parenting and to his motivation, which in turn was related to his involvement and to his satisfaction in his performance of the parental role. Also, according to Fagan & Marina (2003), mothers' willingness to encourage fathers' participation in childcare had a strong influence on fathers' perceived competence and their involvement in childcare. Another study by Bonney et al. (1999) shows that women who had more liberal attitudes about the father's role in parenting tended to have husbands or partners who participated much more in childcare. Mothers who are less critical and reassuring to fathers may facilitate a greater amount of fathers' involvement in

childcare than those who are more critical or show less confidence in the fathers' ability to carry out childcare tasks (Russell, Barclay, Edgecombe, Donova, Habib, Callaghan, & Pawson, 1999).

In this study the majority of fathers feel confident in childcare activities albeit very circumscribed to non-custodial care (see Figure 13). This confidence may be due to the wife's encouragement (64.9%, table 16) and/or due to their self efficacy, self-motivation (Figure 13). Some women however may continue to "gate-keep" the child caring domain for various reasons, such as traditional beliefs. Besides mothers' encouragement, fathers' involvement in childcare may be influenced by other factors like work and marital satisfaction.

4.5.7. Summary of major findings

- Both mothers (95%) and fathers (90%) share the view that fathers' involvement in childcare is important, regardless of whether the mother is available.
- Most (67.7%) of the fathers and most (70%) of the mothers reported that the time fathers spend with children is not affected by the gender of the child
- Most fathers (68%) and mothers (70%) think that children's age doesn't influence fathers' involvement in childcare.
- Fathers who meet their personal expectations for expertise in caring for their children (70.7%) are about three times more likely to participate in childcare than those who did not (29.3%) ($p<0.001$).
- Majority of the fathers (58.6%) mentioned that their wives do not encourage them to participate in childcare. On the other hand, 64.9% of the mothers mentioned that they do encourage their husbands to get involved in childcare.
- Fathers perceive the necessity of their involvement in childcare not in the sense that it aides children's social emotional development, but in the sense that it makes them feel recognized as fathers by their children.
- There is a perception among fathers that caring for young children sometimes requires specialized skills that perhaps mothers naturally have.

4.6. Work family balance/stress

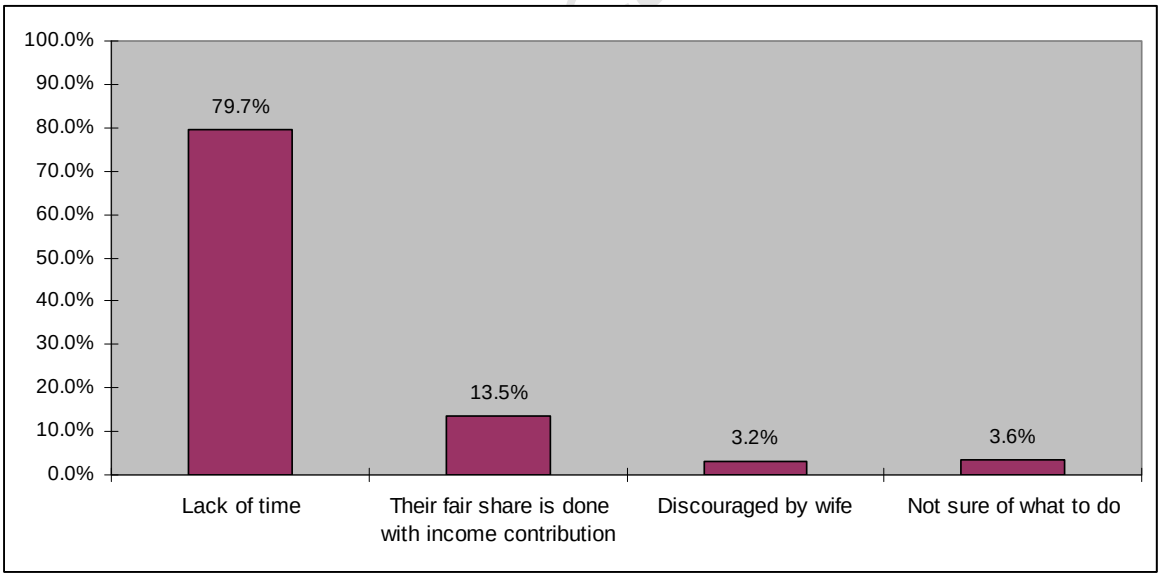
4.6.1. Introduction

Literature referred to in Chapters One and Two (Haas & Hwang, 2005; Hill et al., 2003) reveals that involvement in work limits the amount of time parents have for childcare. However, it is not clear whether father's limited time is an excuse and whether their eagerness to get involved means that they would make the time to be with their children. This section discusses the influence of work in relation to fathers' interest to participate in childcare.

4.6.2. Fathers' work/ time constraints and their involvement in childcare

Fathers' work could limit the time they are available for childcare activities. Most cultures promote the notion that fathers are breadwinners for their households. While it may be unacceptable for mothers to spend most of the time at work, it is usually expected from fathers. In the current study, fathers were asked what most explains their lack of involvement in the situations when they are not involved in childcare.

Figure 14: Reasons why fathers are not involved in childcare

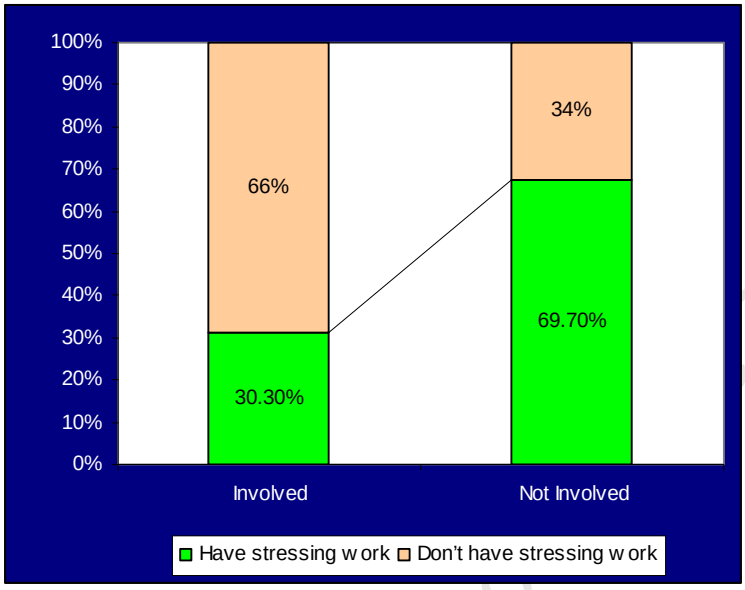


Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010).

According to Figure 14, fathers emphasize that lack of time is a major limitation to their lack of involvement in childcare more than any other factor. This lack of time may be linked to the pressure of having to find work, which limits their availability at home. In addition, stress at the workplace, may further limit fathers' involvement in childcare. Figure 15 shows that 7 in every 10 fathers who report being stressed at work also mention that they are not involved in childcare.

Similarly, 7 in every 10 fathers who report that they are not stressed at work also mention that they are involved in childcare ($P<0.05$). This observation supports research by Haas and Hwang (2005) and Hill et al. (2003) indicating that work related stress is a major hindrance to fathers' participation in childcare

Figure 15: Work stress and fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

FGD data shows that it is common for men to be busy at work at the expense of home-related activities like childcare, and this is a socially understandable/acceptable response to financial challenges.

> *I think it is poverty that causes fathers to neglect childcare because they spend a lot of time looking for money to care for the family. Sometimes it involves working far away from home, and therefore spending longer periods of time before returning home to check on the family (Father, Mpigi).*

Interestingly, respondents are aware that being too busy decreases the possibility of bonding with their children:

Men work a lot to an extent that their own children even call them kojja [uncles]. . . Some fathers come home late and find the children asleep; they leave for work so early when the children are still asleep. When will they ever be with the children? (Mother, Kampala)

According to this mother, a child may call its father *Kojja* (uncle). This is because the child may mistake his father for a visitor who visits the family once in a while. Rather than directly use their name, *Kojja* is a polite title used by children to refer to male visitors.

Some mothers suggest that fathers cannot be too busy to participate in childcare. It would appear that too little time is an excuse.

Even us mothers work and we get tired but when we return home, we don't give that as an excuse. Even fathers should do something. (Mother, Kampala)

There are two reasons fathers don't help us in childcare. First of all they spend much time with their friends drinking at the bufundas [local bars], where they get other women. He can even deceive you that he has gone on safari yet he is staying somewhere with another woman. (Mother, Kampala)

As a man, it wouldn't be good to bring your work stress at home. You should forget all the problems at work when you get home. You should not consider your fatigue when you come home. The child doesn't know that you are tired. You need to build a relationship with your child. (Father, Kampala)

These findings concur with the study by Pleck & Masciadrelli (2004), which points out that the more hours men spend at work, the less involved they are in the care of young children. However, this may not necessarily imply that reducing work time in itself would elicit more fathers' involvement childcare (Nangle et al., 2003).

As discussed in earlier sections, a host of factors such as beliefs about gender roles seem to have a stronger influence on fathers' involvement in childcare. Focus group discussion data showed that having time is relative and depends on how that father wishes to prioritize his time at home. The voice of one father from Mpigi clearly reflects a notion that one of the reasons a father may not have time for childcare is because it is not a major priority for him, as it is for his wife.

A man can be too busy to do home chores but a wife always has time. Even if she works and comes home late, she still has time to do home chores (Father FGD participant, Mpigi).

This finding may show that availability alone does not explain fathers' involvement in childcare. Thus, it is possible for fathers to have more time and still not increase their involvement in childcare if they do not believe that it is one of their priorities (Nangle et al. 2003).

4.6.3. Paternity leave and father's involvement in childcare

Both maternity and paternity leave are provided for by the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (ILO 2000:7), to which Uganda is a signatory. According to the convention:

> *With a view to creating effective equality of opportunity and treatment for men and women workers, each Member shall make it an aim of national policy to enable persons with family responsibilities who are engaged or wish to engage in employment to exercise their right to do so without being subject to discrimination and, to the extent possible, without conflict between their employment and family responsibilities. . . . All measures compatible with national conditions and possibilities shall be taken to take account of their needs in terms and conditions of employment and in social security; . . . to take account of the needs of workers with family responsibilities in community planning . . . and to develop or promote community services, public or private, such as child-care and family services and facilities* (Articles 3-5b).

Fathers who report having paternity leave at work are four times more likely to be involved in childcare (80.3%) than those who do not get paternity leave (19.7%) ($p<0.05$). This supports findings of similar studies that have examined fathers' work hours as related to men's involvement in childcare. For example, research by Pleck and Masciadrelli (2004) shows that the more hours men spend at work, the less involved they are in the care of young children. A study by Haas and Hwang (2005) confirms positive effects of leave-taking on fathers' participation in childcare. However, the earlier discussion on fathers' time clearly shows that access to paternity leave would not create a significant difference in fathers' involvement in childcare unless the father is committed to a nontraditional viewpoint and also carries out actual childcare activities.

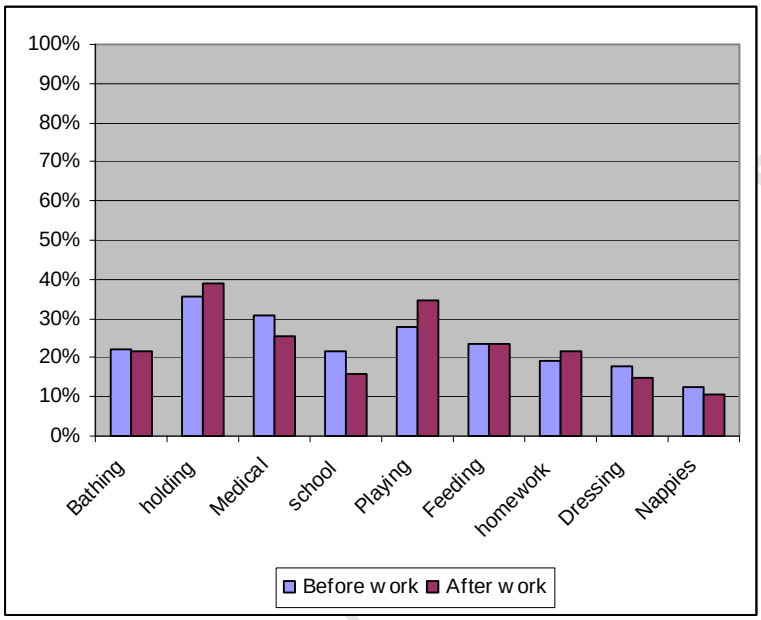
4.6.4. Work, availability and fathers' involvement: childcare during a work day

The nature of fathers' involvement during a work day shows that fathers have more time for childcare after work than before or during the work day, as discussed below.

Paternal participation in childcare activities before, during, and after work

Fifty-eight point four percent of the fathers reported that they get involved in childcare activities before going to work in the morning, while 41.6% said that they do not. This is similar to what mothers report; most mothers (51.2%) said that their husbands get involved in childcare activities before going to work in the morning. A similar proportion of the fathers (58.7%) reported getting involved in childcare activities after work. Forty-one point five percent of the mothers reported that their husbands get involved in childcare activities after work.

Figure 164: Distribution of fathers' childcare activities before and after work



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Figure 16 compares fathers' involvement in specific childcare activities before and after work, as reported by mothers. From Figure 16, it is clear that fathers are more involved in holding, playing with children and attending to their health than in changing nappies, dressing, bathing, or feeding children. It is also possible to compare the level of fathers' involvement in specific activities before and after work. For example, fathers are more likely to hold and play with children after rather than before work. On the other hand, fathers are more likely to attend to children's health, dress, or change nappies before work than after work. Similarly, fathers are more likely to take children to school than to pick them up from school. What fathers are likely to do before, during or after the work day may depend largely on the father's work priorities and the distance from the home or school. For example, some fathers may not pick children from school because children might finish school long before the father finishes his work.

Data from focus group discussions indicates that fathers are more involved in childcare after work than before work. The childcare activities are similar to those for which fathers might have preferences.

> *"In the morning when I'm leaving for work, she is still asleep, but I return from work in the evening before she has slept, and I can be with her" (Father, Kampala).*

Another father explained:

> *In the evening, my brain is settled because I have returned home from work. But in the morning... I am in a rush . . . my mind is thinking about work, and so I find it more difficult to spend time with children (Father, Kampala).*

This may suggest that fathers choose the time that is more convenient to them—when they are more relaxed and not stressed. This way, father's availability in terms of time and presence for childcare is an important influence on their involvement in childcare.

Childcare activities during work

Apart from activities done before and after work, fathers provided information concerning their involvement in childcare during work time. Most of the fathers (57.5%) expressed that they never go home to check on young children during working hours. Table 17 shows that fathers who work near home are more likely to return home to check on children than those who work far from home.

This highlights the difficulty of leaving work during the day. This difficulty in leaving employment during work hours to care for children is a practical difficulty that is found worldwide and has had to be addressed by alternative forms of childcare (Haas & Hwang, 2005). It appears that the situation is not so different in these districts of Uganda. It is clear that neither working fathers nor mothers are able to attend to childcare during the working day. However if one partner is in informal employment working closer to home (invariably it is the mother) then that parent could theoretically engage in childcare activities more readily than the other partner who may be in formal employment and/or works far away from home. Perhaps this is why 41.4% of the fathers said that they should be exempt from childcare if fathers work away from home and their wives work from home.

Table 17: Location of work place and fathers' involvement in childcare during the work day

	Work at home	Work near home	Work far from home	Total
Always leave work to check on children at home	46.1%	51.3%	2.6%	100%
Seldom leave work to check on children at home	26.9%	55.8%	17.3%	100%
Never leave work to check on children at home	35.8%	45.5%	18.7%	100%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

However, working at home or near home does not guarantee that fathers will check on children during the work day. Some 35.8% of fathers who work at home never check on children. Another 45.5% of fathers who work near home never check on children during the day. This finding shows that while work may limit fathers' availability for childcare, many other factors such as fathers' understanding of the importance for involvement in childcare are stronger influences on fathers' involvement. Also, the fact that 72.7% of the mothers believed that working away from home is not a worthwhile reason for fathers' exemption from childcare further shows that work is not a justified reason for fathers' noninvolvement in childcare. Similarly, most fathers and mothers believed that even if a husband works for more hours than the wife does, he should not be exempt from childcare (see Table 18).

Table 18: Perceptions of exemption based on employment factors

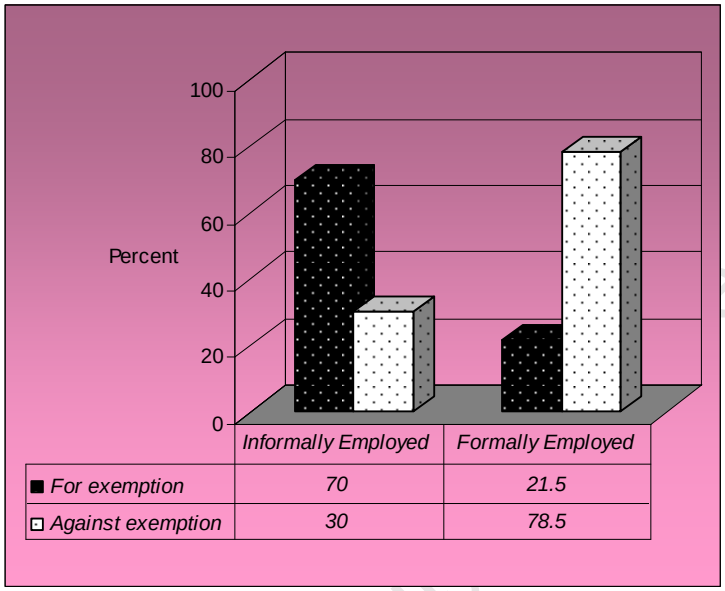
Type of exemption	Percent of fathers that disapprove of this type of exemption	Percent of fathers that approve of this type of exemption	Percent of mothers that disapprove of this type of exemption	Percent of mothers that disapprove of this type of exemption
Fathers working away from home while wives work from home	41.4%	58.6%	72.7%	27.3%
Fathers working more hours than their wives	69.8%	30.2%	67.8%	32.2%

Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

4.6.5. Form of employment and fathers' involvement in childcare

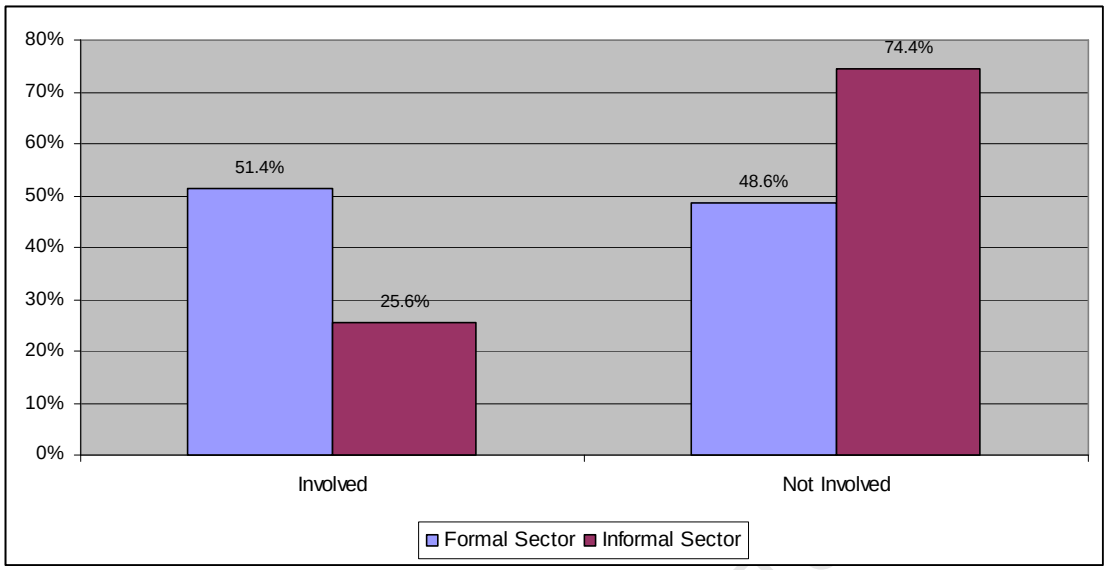
Another interesting effect of fathers' work on their involvement in childcare concerns the type of employment for fathers and mothers. Mothers who are informally employed are more likely to argue for fathers' exemption in childcare than those that are formally employed (see Figure 17). Similarly, Figure 18 shows that if a father is formally employed, he is about twice more likely to engage in childcare than if he is employed in the informal sector ($p<0.05$).

Figure 17: Mothers' employment and paternal involvement in childcare



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

Figure 18: Fathers' employment and their involvement in childcare



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010).

Clearly, formal employment has a positive association with fathers' involvement in childcare. Informal employment has a negative association with fathers' involvement in childcare. It would be expected that informally employed fathers might be more involved in child-care than their formally employed counterparts, as they would have more flexibility over their time, allowing them to balance time for paid work and child-care. On the contrary, this study reveals that formally employed fathers are more likely to participate in childcare. In this case, it may be because formal employment is linked to better education. Wives of most of the fathers employed in the formal sector (62.2%) are also formally employed. Likewise, most fathers who are informally employed (89.4%), have wives who are employed in the informal sector too. Hence, fathers in the formal sector are likely to have more egalitarian views concerning their involvement in childcare.

Education might have an important role in explaining this trend. Education has a statistically significant positive relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare. Section 5.2 demonstrates that fathers in the informal sector are less educated than those in the formal sector and are therefore less likely to be involved in childcare. In addition, most of the fathers (63%) who report involvement in childcare have attained Advanced Level Education and above (See table 19). On the other hand, most of the fathers who reported no involvement in childcare had attained Ordinary Level Education and below (55.8%) ($p<0.05$).

Table 19: Education attainment and fathers' involvement in childcare

Level of education attainment	Fathers' involvement in childcare		
	Involved	**Not involved**	**Total**
Attained A' Level and above	63%	37%	100%
Attained O'Level and below	44.2%	55.8%	100%

Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

It is likely that education increases exposure to nontraditional views about gender roles, which may have an influence on fathers' views about childcare. Hence, more educated fathers may have more contemporary, nontraditional views on childcare, while less educated fathers may have more traditional views about childcare. The association between education and fathers' involvement has been evident in other studies as well. In a United States review of socio-economic determinants for parental time spent in childcare, education has been shown to have a direct link to fathers' involvement in childcare (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). A study by Tanturri and Mencarini (2010) among Italian fathers showed that fathers that attained high school education spent more time in childcare than fathers who attained lower education.

4.6.6. Summary of major findings

- Seven in every ten fathers who report being stressed at work also mention that they are not involved in childcare. Similarly, most of the fathers (70%) who report that they are not stressed at work also mention that they are involved in childcare ($P<0.05$).
- Most fathers (79 %) report that lack of time is the main limitation to their involvement in childcare. However FGD data reveals that this may be just an excuse for not getting involved.
- Fathers who report having paternity leave at work are four times more likely to be involved in childcare (80.3%) than those who do not get paternity leave (19.7%) ($p<0.05$).
- During any working day, fathers are more likely to hold and play with children after rather than before work.
- Most fathers (57.5%) never go home to check on young children during working hours
- 41.4% of the fathers said that they should be exempt from childcare if fathers work away from home and their wives work from home.
- Most mothers (72.7%) believe that working away from home is not a good enough reason for fathers' exemption from childcare.
- Some 35.8% of fathers who work at home and 45.5% of fathers who work near home never check on children during the day.
- Formally employed fathers are twice more likely to engage in childcare than fathers working in the informal sector.
- Formally employed fathers had a higher level of education than informally employed fathers. Fathers with Advanced Level Education are almost twice more likely to be involved in childcare (63%) than their less educated counterparts (44.2%).

4.7. Marital issues and fathers' involvement in childcare

4.7.1. Introduction

This section discusses the influence of certain marital issues—including overall marital satisfaction, fairness perceptions, and differences in spousal incomes on fathers' involvement in childcare. These factors are thought to be intricately related to the marital relationship and have an important influence on fathers' involvement in childcare.

4.7.2. Marital satisfaction and fathers' involvement in childcare

There is a positive relationship between marital satisfaction and fathers' involvement in childcare. Fathers who report that they are satisfied with their marriages are almost twice as likely to report being involved in childcare (59.8%) than those with low marital satisfaction (39.2%). Similarly, fathers who are involved in childcare are four times more likely to be satisfied with their marital relationships. Most of the mothers (54.8%) who reported being satisfied with their marriages also reported that their husbands were involved in childcare. Similarly, most mothers (62.1%) who reported being unsatisfied with their marriages also reported that their husbands did not participate in childcare (p= .001).

Further, qualitative data in this study reflects that marital issues impact fathers' involvement in childcare. Some remarks from study participants in the FGDs indicate that sometimes children are unplanned; the parents may not be ready for marriage or not able to provide adequately for the family.

> *We women don't have responsibility over our lives. That is why we end up getting pregnant and producing children whom we can't care for and whose fathers refuse to provide help. Even when we know that the potential father is unable to care for them, we still accept their proposal. I think that is how God made us. We don't decide for ourselves (Mother, Mpigi).*

> *That situation is tricky. On one side every man needs a partner at some point, but again many of us have no capacity to care for wife/child. So we just take chances and involve in a relationship very well knowing we don't intend to father a child. Sometimes we are unfortunate and our partner becomes pregnant. This is how we get into that situation (Father, Kampala).*

The preceding views indicate that sometimes the couple is ill-prepared for having children or for getting married and thus the quality of the marital relationship may be in question. Richter and Morrel's (2006) South African study indicates that it is common for men and women to use their children as weapons in partnership disputes.

Another marital issue is the change in relationships with the arrival of a child and/or the attitude of the wife towards her husband. The respondents said:

> *It is natural for a woman to divide her love for the man and the child when she delivers. Men don't realize this. They expect the same attention as before the child was born. So this at times creates tension as they look at the child as the cause and so unconsciously ignore the child as a form of revenge (Mother, Mpigi).*

> *Where I get tender-loving-care is where I also give care. For instance, if I come home and am served food, and welcomed home, will be happy and I will also be interested in my wife and ultimately the children as well. If your wife doesn't like you, automatically, the children also don't like you because their mother biases them (Father, Mpigi.)*

Besides financial readiness, also emotional or psychological readiness for the fatherhood role is critical for fathers' motivation to participate in childcare.

> *Some men father children when they are not ready. A man may be told that he is responsible for a pregnancy; something which was not in his plans. He is not prepared. Nonetheless he accepts responsibility but does not have the capacity. So he struggles to care for both the mother and child, if he really is convinced the pregnancy is his. If he is not convinced he may not feel really responsible. He may accept as a strategy to avoid legal action, say, defilement charge (Father, Mpigi).*

FGD data shows that infidelity may be another factor impacting on father involvement in childcare.

> *Another cause of neglect is the behavior of women. Today a woman is in love with you; tomorrow she goes out with another man. In such a case the first man will stop supporting her believing that doing so is indirectly taking on another man's responsibilities. The second man will also refuse help to the child the woman came with. So he can buy clothes for his children and tell the wife to buy clothes for the other child (Father, Mpigi).*

However, there may also be instances of the husband being unfaithful and having to support his other children. Some men are suspicious of their wives and are not convinced that the children are theirs.

There is a belief that a child belongs to the woman; that it may not be the man's child. In fact it is believed that a man can only know his child at the death bed of his wife. That is the time when a woman reveals the true father of each child. Because of this, fathers are reluctant to invest their time/effort in childcare. Otherwise, they may be caring for another man's child. (Father, Kampala).

It is important to note that in traditional Ugandan society, polygamy is still being practiced and thus the issue of marital relationships is a much more complex issue. All the respondents in this sample were however in a monogamous relationship. Issues of trust and fidelity are thus not always openly spoken about. However fathers place a high premium on knowing that the children they are providing for are in fact their children and not someone else's children.

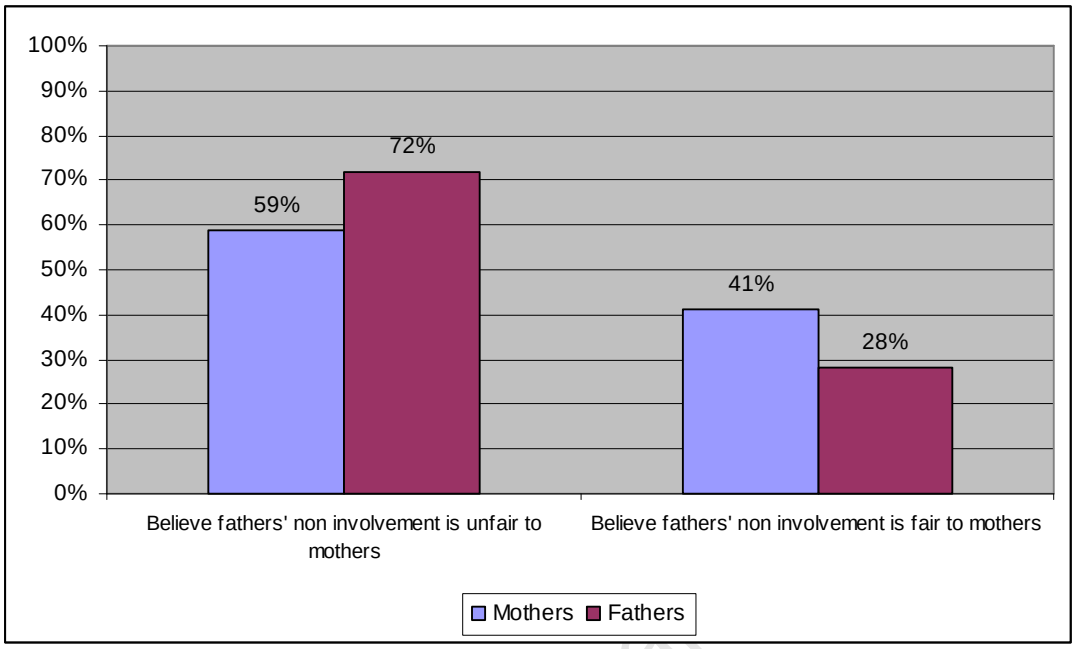
According to Allen & Hawkins (1999), positive emotional interactions with a partner may affect men's state of mind and reinforce their desire to be involved in all facets of family life. Some studies have shown that fathers who report greater marital satisfaction report more participation in childrearing (Bonney et al., 1999; Aldous et al., 1998; Kluwer et al., 1996).

Whereas paternal involvement in childcare could be a determinant of marital satisfaction, some scholars such as Blumstein & Schwartz (1983) have argued that marital satisfaction itself is a determinant of paternal involvement in childcare. Blumstein & Schwartz (1983) argue that marital satisfaction is highest for couples who have worked out an agreeable division of household labor and arrangements for resolving financial issues in the relationship. However, this does not mean that marital satisfaction requires couples to share household tasks or economic resources equally. They argue that marital satisfaction hinges on couples developing a mutually agreed upon division of household labor and financial arrangement. Hence, the effect of paternal involvement in childcare on marital satisfaction may be greater among couples with more egalitarian beliefs than among couples with more traditional beliefs on gender roles. One of the ways marital satisfaction may influence fathers' involvement in childcare is if fathers think that their wives feel unfairly treated by leaving childcare work to them.

4.7.3. Perceptions of Fairness

As shown in Figure 19, most respondents (mothers and fathers) think that it is unfair to mothers if fathers do not participate in childcare.

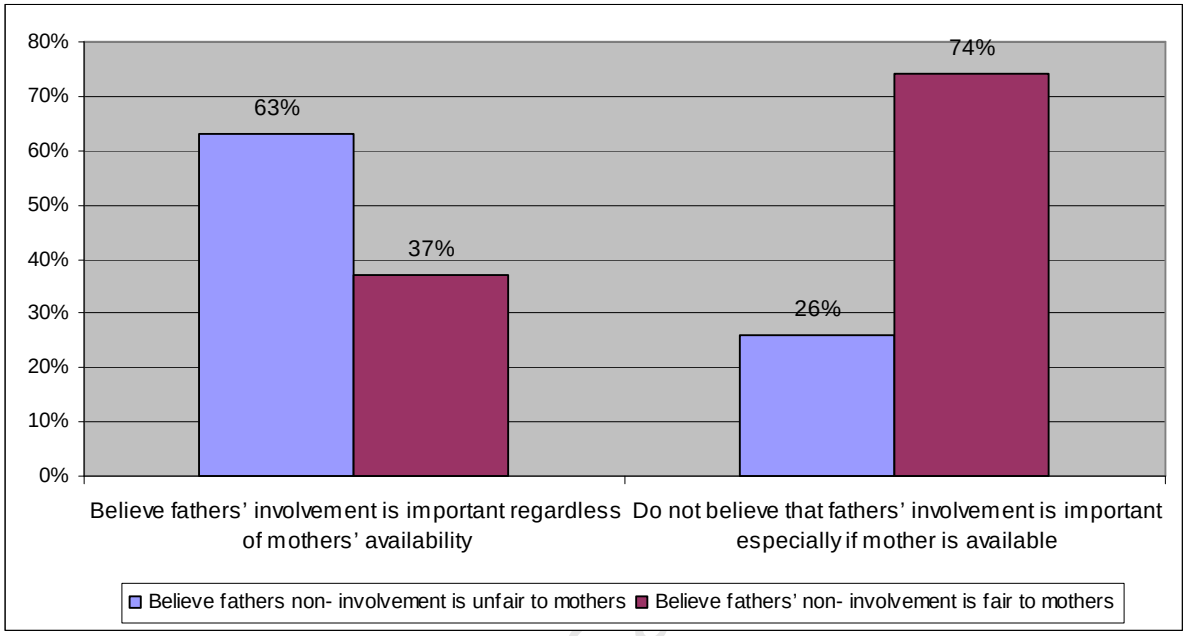
Figure 19: Perception of fairness of fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

As shown in Figure 20, perception of fairness is strongly related to perception of need for or importance/necessity of fathers' involvement in childcare (p=0.01). Fathers, who regard their involvement as important, regardless of mothers' availability, were almost twice as likely to consider their noninvolvement unfair to wives. On the other hand, fathers who do not believe in the need for their involvement were almost three times more likely to regard their noninvolvement as fair than those who did.

Figure 20: Relationship between perceptions of need/necessity for and fairness of fathers' involvement in childcare



Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

Some members of the focus groups who considered fathers' noninvolvement as unfair to their wives commented as follows:

> *We mothers carry the baby in the womb for nine months. At that time the fathers are not helping the mothers. So the fathers should also play their part by helping in childcare when the mothers give birth to the baby (Mother, Kampala).*

> *A time especially when the child has been crying and you are doing some work, it would be good if your husband helped you or help you carry the child so that you can finish your work. For example, the husband may wake up early in the morning and wants to take tea, already the child's clothes are waiting for you to be washed, at least let him put his tea in the cup if it's there so that we work together, so that we are all in time (Mother Mpigi).*

Especially when they have to balance work with domestic chores, mothers believe that it is only fair if men helped with domestic work, including childcare. Some fathers thought childrearing to be a joint venture and that both parents contribute to a stable home environment. One remarked, "In general, all the things it would be good to be involved as a man because I don't see any difficulty there" (Father, Kampala). Another said:

Two people make a . . . a home, the husband and the wife. Now, both of you have to handle together to see that what . . . the home becomes stable, that's why you see . . . the women of today do not have that care for the children. It needs you help her collectively contribute to the growth and development of the children, because there are times when she is working and for you at that time you are available. So if you are available, when you say that . . . aaa . . . all the responsibilities belong to the woman alone, she is the only one who is supposed to do it, yet you produced the child both of you (Father, Kampala).

These fairness perceptions compare with research done by Apparala et al. (2003), who indicate that if household work (including childcare) is not shared equitably, the wives will feel a sense of unfairness, and this will negatively affect their wellbeing and the quality of marital relationships. However, the survey results regarding fairness show that mothers are more pessimistic about the possibility of fathers' participation. For example, whereas 69.4% of the fathers agreed with the statement: "if childcare work is not shared equally, I would feel that my wife is unfairly treated," most mothers (54.1%) reported that they did not think their husbands find it unfair for wives to do most of the childcare work. Thus, while husbands claim that they understand the unfairness of their wives doing the bulk of childcare, wives do not believe this. The following statement by one mother depicts the frustration at male attitudes of dominance, power, and control.

"Men just feel satisfaction looking at ladies as house wives. Some men want to be 'kings' at home thus tend to leave most of the work to be done by their women. They just keep directing their wives, do this do that" (Mother, Mpigi).

Some mothers reported that there is always need for fathers' involvement, not necessarily to attain fairness, but to assist them, as expressed by a respondent in the following remark.

It is true husbands don't have to do all the small things at home. However, there are times when we really need support. For example, when I have just delivered, I would expect my husband to help me do the washing because I am still weak; whether it's a baby's nappy or my own clothes or cooking a meal for me. So they don't have to do it as a matter of routine (Mother, Mpigi).

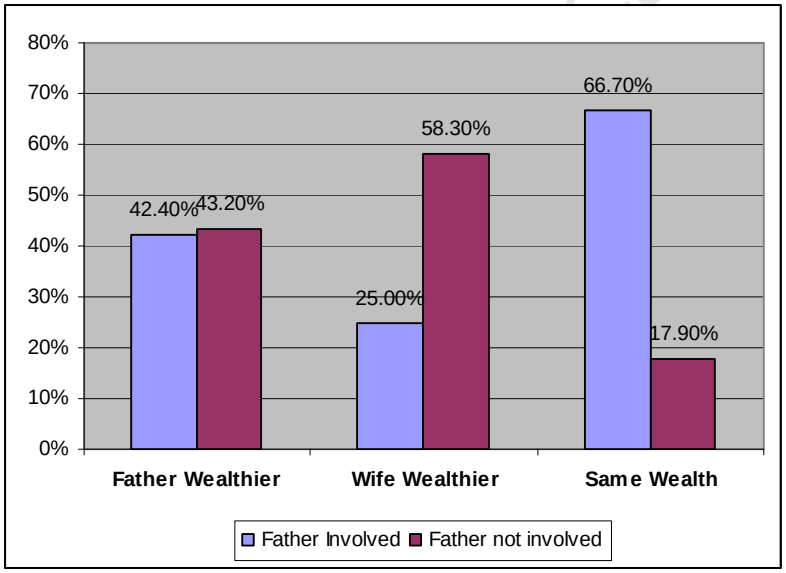
The above view may suggest that even those mothers who advocate for fathers' involvement in childcare do not seek to see them participating all the time or in every activity. Rather, they are looking for them to respond in situations of need in a caring manner. This implies that both mothers and fathers may think that under certain circumstances, fathers should be exempted from childcare. In fact, Thompson's (1991) distributive justice approach explains that if

women were to compare their husbands' household contributions to their own (between-gender), they would likely see inequality in the division of labor. Instead, Thompson (1991 & 2006) argues, women are more likely to make within-gender comparisons. They compare their husbands to other men they know, most of whom contribute very little. Therefore, the division of labor in the household appears fair. As earlier mentioned in chapter three, Hochschild's (2003) research also suggests that some wives compare their husbands to other men and eventually come to accept that their husbands' small contributions are better than those of the majority of husbands. In a related fashion, women may compare themselves with other women who are "doing it all," as a result they may have high expectations for themselves (Hochschild, 2003). Yet the perceptions of fairness are influenced by several factors.

4.7.4. Wives' income /wealth and paternal involvement in childcare

The data shows a statistically significant relationship between wives'/spouses' wealth and paternal involvement in childcare. Among the sample, 35.1% of couples earned equal amounts; 52.5% of couples had a higher-earning husband; and 12.4% had a higher-earning wife.

Figure 21: Relative wealth and paternal involvement



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

As shown in Figure 21, among couples without wealth differences, fathers are four times are more likely to be involved in childcare (p=0.001). Furthermore, fathers are twice more likely to be involved in childcare when they are wealthier than their wives than when their wives are wealthier than them. FGD responses support these findings:

How can my wife tell me prepare food or wash these clothes? No way. This is disrespectful. Such chores are the reason I married her. I can only do this when it's really necessary, for example, when she is seriously sick. Yes even if she is richer/ wealthier. The money/wealth does not make her a man in the home (Father, Mpigi).

For many women, money is usually like security. She can only use her money when the husband is very broke. For example, if he has lost his job or is bed-ridden. Otherwise, she can hardly spend it under normal circumstances. That is, women normally spend their money on themselves except for the circumstances above. It doesn't matter her level of income compared to that of the husband (Father, Mpigi).

This does not change anything. If you earn more than him, it does not make you a husband. But if I work I cannot let my children suffer. I earn more money than my husband . . . I use some of it to hire a maid to help us (Mother, Kampala).

A father in Mpigi district agrees stating,
"If a woman gets a lot of money she should employ a helper to do what she should have done as a wife but not me her husband to do it."

It wouldn't be good to emphasize wealth differences in a home. If I'm to help with childcare, I do it because I want to help, but not because I fear that my wife is wealthier or more powerful than me and that she may not give me money if I don't help with childcare. Women are comfortable when they earn less than men. Men are uncomfortable to earn less than women (Father, Kampala).

The following FGD quotes convey the impact that wives who earn more than their husbands have on their partners' behaviors:

It is about self-confidence, if the wife earns more money, the husband feels he is not powerful enough and his respect is compromised. It is natural! So his reaction is not to help the mother in home chores. By doing that, he shows the wife that I am the husband here (Mother, Kampala).

Income does influence fathers' involvement. If the father knows that his wife works (earns income) he will be reluctant even to provide because he feels the mother will meet the children's needs. He forgets that other needs can't be met with money. In fact this is a justification for them to get another wife (Mother, Mpigi).

We men covet other women. That is the reason why we don't leave financial help at home, especially, if we know that our wife can handle the financial needs at home. So we tend to direct attention to another woman who seems to give us more attention (Father, Mpigi).

Thus, resources (time and money) that could have been used to care for the children are now being given to another woman.

Altogether, these findings seem to indicate that Ugandan fathers associate their status in marriage and the family with their ability to earn more than their wives. It appears that if they earn more, their status is not threatened by participating in child-care. On the other hand, earning less than their wives makes some men too insecure to participate in childcare.

The findings of this study do not support Brines' (1994) household economics theory, which suggests that men and women allocate time to household or paid work based on maximizing overall utility or efficiency. This theory views the division of household labor as an outcome of negotiation between people who use valued resources to strike the best deal based on self-interest (Brines, 1994). Women are assumed to enter into a contract wherein they exchange household labor in return for economic support from a main breadwinner (Brines, 1994). Arguments similar to Brines' have been advanced by other studies. Heckert, Nowak, and Snyder (1998) found that the greater the wife's dependence on her husband for financial support, the lower the likelihood of marital dissolution. On the other hand, Oppenheimer (1997) reported that as women's earnings rise, they become more economically independent, with an attendant decline in desire for marriage. Within couples, this independence hypothesis suggests that as a wife's earnings rise, she will evaluate her marriage less favorably.

However, this household economics theory (Brine, 1994) has not taken into account culture and patriarchy. Thus, the findings of this study reveal a different scenario. The data shows that when husbands and wives earned an equal amount of money, fathers were three times more likely to engage in childcare than when there was a significant difference in earnings between the spouses. Interestingly, among couples in which there are differences in earnings, fathers who earned more than their wives were more likely to be involved in child-care than fathers who earned less than their wives. It seems fathers feel insecure about being involved in childcare when they earn lower incomes than their wives earn. It is also interesting to note that there are some fathers who still participate in childcare in spite of earning less income than their wives do. Similarly, among couples where fathers are wealthier than their wives, a significant proportion of them do not participate in childcare.

Ninety-five point five percent of the fathers and 94.2% of the mothers mentioned that husbands earning higher incomes than their wives would not be an adequate reason for exempting fathers from childcare activities. Surprisingly, most fathers (72.1%) and mothers (77.7%) reported that fathers should not be involved in childcare if they earn less income than their wives, (or even if their wives do not make a significant contribution to the household income (93%). It would seem from the data that total exemption of fathers from childcare is not favored and that neither the fathers nor the mothers would support this. The data suggests that involvement, even if only partial, is preferred by both groups.

4.7.5. Summary of major findings

- Fathers who report that they are satisfied with their marriages are almost twice as likely to report being involved in childcare (59.8%) than those with low marital satisfaction (39.2%).
- Fathers who are involved in childcare are four times more likely to be satisfied with their marital relationships (80.3%).
- Most mothers (62.1%) who reported being unsatisfied with their marriages also reported that their husbands did not participate in childcare (p= .001).
- Both financial and emotional/psychological readiness for the fatherhood role are critical for fathers' motivation to participate in childcare.
- Fathers who do not believe in the need for their involvement are almost three times more likely to regard their noninvolvement as fair than those who did.
- For mothers, fairness means that fathers should assist with childcare when the mothers are busy.
- Most mothers (54.1%) do not believe that their husbands find it unfair for wives to do most of the childcare work.
- Among couples without wealth differences, fathers are four times are more likely to be involved in childcare (p=0.001).
- Fathers are twice more likely to be involved in childcare when they are wealthier than their wives than when their wives are wealthier than them.
- Ninety-five point five percent of the fathers and 94.2% of the mothers mentioned that husbands earning higher incomes than their wives would not be a sufficient reason for exempting fathers from childcare activities.

4.8. Rural-urban comparisons of fathers' involvement in childcare

4.8.1. Introduction

This study intended to compare perceptions and practices in urban and rural areas; hence one half of the sample was urban (from Kampala) and the other half rural (from Mpigi). The rural-urban differences were expected because urbanization challenges traditional gender division of labor (Coltrane, 2000; Wakoko, 2003). Urbanization relates to the growth in the proportion of the population living in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). The Uganda Bureau of Statistics defines urban areas to include gazetted cities, municipalities, and town councils, including ungazetted trading centers of 1,000 persons or more (UBOS & Macro International, 2002). According to the 2002 Uganda National Population and Housing Census, only 12.0% of Uganda's population lives in urban areas (UBOS & Macro International, 2002).

Thus the questions linked to this study would be: Are rural fathers more likely to be traditional in their perceptions and practices with regard to childcare? Are urban fathers more likely to be egalitarian in their perceptions and practices with regard to childcare?

4.8.2. Perception comparisons

Rural and urban fathers' perceptions are compared in three ways:

- Perceptions of whether their involvement in childcare is ideal, necessary and fair.
- Fathers' preference for certain childcare tasks.
- Perceptions about whether fathers' work and income influence their involvement in childcare.

Perceptions of whether fathers' involvement in childcare is ideal, necessary and fair.

As shown in Table 20, perceptions of the "ideal father" are more traditional (against fathers' involvement) in rural than in urban areas. More fathers in rural than urban areas believe that childcare is not ideal for them. Also, rural fathers are more likely to report that fathers' involvement in childcare is not necessary ($P<0.05$). In addition, rural fathers are more likely to report that their noninvolvement in childcare is fair to their wives than urban fathers ($P<0.05$).

Table 20: Comparing rural and urban fathers' perceptions of their involvement in childcare

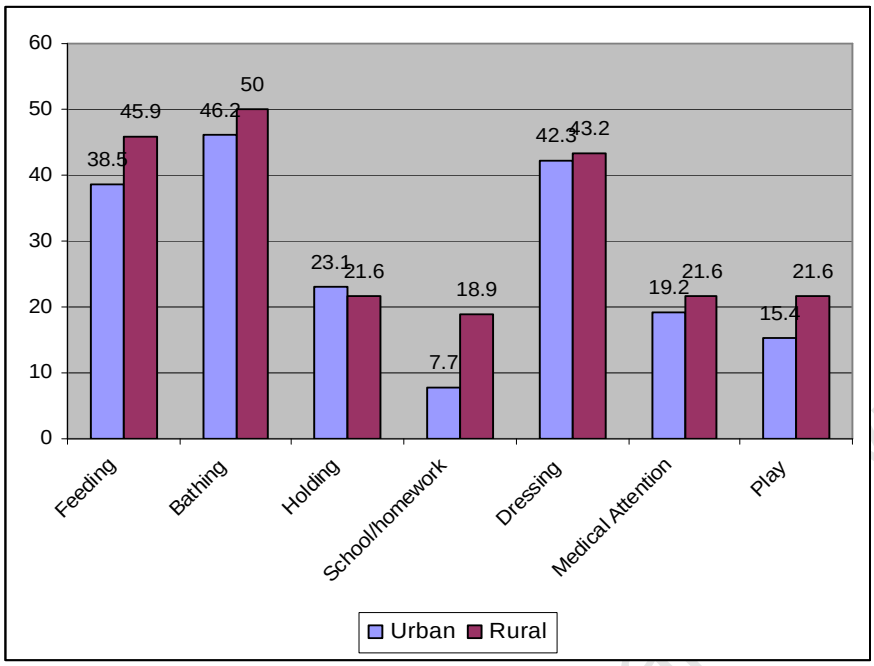
	Fathers who believe that their noninvolvement is unfair to mothers	**Fathers who believe that their noninvolvement is fair to mothers**	**Total**
Urban	63%	37%	100%
Rural	54%	46%	100%
	Fathers who believe that childcare is ideal for them	**Fathers who believe that childcare is not ideal for them**	
Urban	56%	44%	100%
Rural	44%	56%	100%
	Fathers who believe that their involvement is necessary, regardless of mothers' availability	**Fathers who don't believe that their involvement is necessary, regardless of mothers' availability**	
Urban	56%	44%	100%
Rural	44%	56%	100%

($P<0.05$) Source: Survey Data (Nkwake, 2010)

Fathers' preference for specific childcare tasks

Urban fathers express a great openness for custodial activities in comparison to rural fathers. More fathers in rural than in urban areas wish to be exempt from the four generally less preferred custodial activities of feeding, bathing, dressing children, and changing nappies ($P<0.05$) (see Figure 22). Surprisingly, rural fathers do not favor interactive activities; except for holding children.

Figure 22: Distribution of rural-urban differences in childcare activities from which fathers wish to be exempted



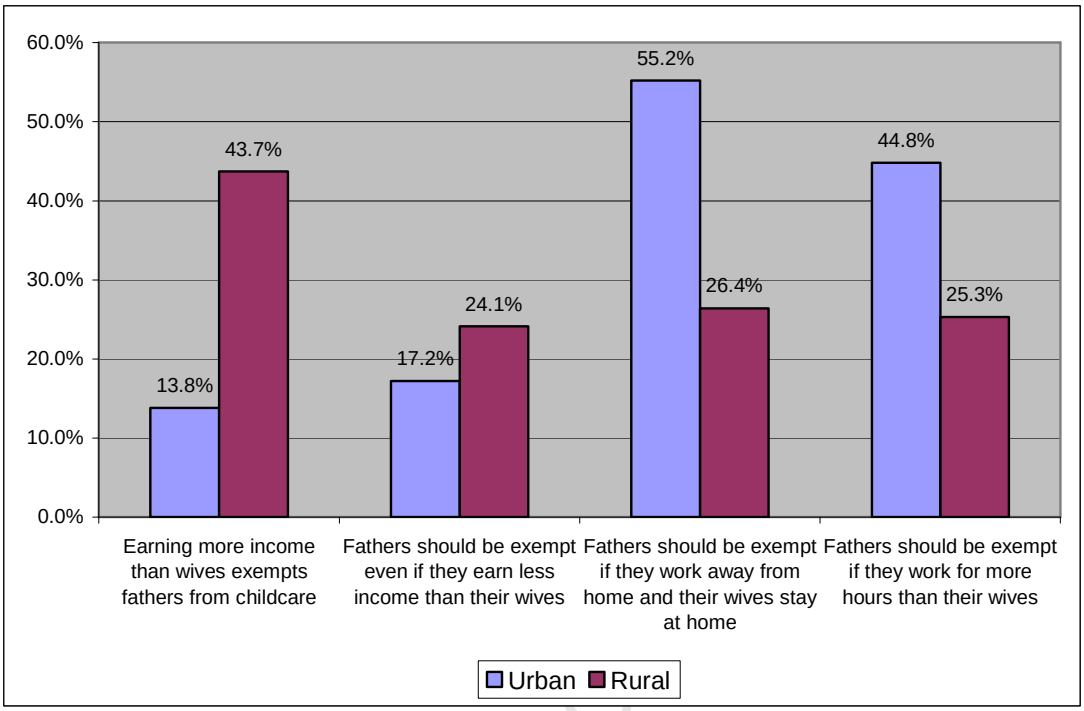
(P=0.05) Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Perceptions about whether fathers' work and income influence their involvement in childcare

As shown in figure 23 below, more fathers in rural than in urban areas express the traditional view that earning more income than their wives should exempt fathers from childcare ($P<0.05$). Also, more fathers in rural than in urban areas believe that even if they earn less income than their wives, fathers should be exempt from childcare. Thus, the belief that fathers should be exempt from childcare irrespective of relative income is more prevalent in rural than in urban areas.

It is worth noting that more fathers in urban than rural areas believe that fathers should be exempt from childcare if they work away from home and their wives work at home. In addition, more fathers in urban areas expressed the view that fathers' should be exempt from childcare if they work for more hours than their wives do (see Figure 23). This may not necessarily imply that urban fathers hold more traditional views than rural fathers. It may be because urban fathers are more likely to work away from home and for more hours than their rural counterparts.

Figure 23: Urban/Rural differences in fathers' views on reasons for fathers' exemption from childcare



(p=0.012) Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Some of the FGD data supports the survey findings; showing that fathers in urban areas were more likely to participate in childcare than their rural counterparts.

"Urban fathers do more childcare work than rural fathers due to cultural mix. They are more educated, yet in rural areas, culture is not compromised" (Father, Mpigi).

"There is a way men in the village get used that it's the woman who is supposed to dig, fetch water and collect firewood, look after the child, while men just sit there without doing anything" (Father, Kampala).

The comments of these two fathers, one from Mpigi (rural) and another from Kampala (urban), reflect that fathers are not only aware of the rural –urban differences, but also attribute them to trends of urbanization including exposure to nontraditional beliefs and practices (the respondent refers to this as 'cultural mix').

However, respondent views were not entirely the same. One father suggested that the urban/rural divide was not so clear-cut in child caring.

The reason why they say that men in towns can look after children is that they can afford to buy most items for the baby everything he or she wants . . . but . . . when it comes to care, those in the village are more caring than those in towns. Care is in two categories, those in towns use money (Father, Kampala).

This view implies that if fathers think that they don't have enough money for material provision, they could instead provide more time for childcare. According to the above respondent, such fathers are more likely to be in rural areas. However, this view is challenged by survey data which shows that rural fathers tend to prefer exemption from childcare even when they earn less income than their wives.

Atkinson's (1994) study in the rural Midwestern United States had findings similar to those discussed above-that fathers in urban areas are more likely to participate in childcare than their rural counterparts. Although there may be wide socio-economic and cultural variations between Ugandan and American fathers, it is interesting that, according to this American study, rural fathers spent less time in childcare than urban fathers, and that more rural families used relatives as caregivers than urban families, especially for young children (Atkinson, 1994). This study thus supports the argument that urbanization, whether in a Western or an African country, brings with it changes in gender roles.

4.8.3. Practice comparisons

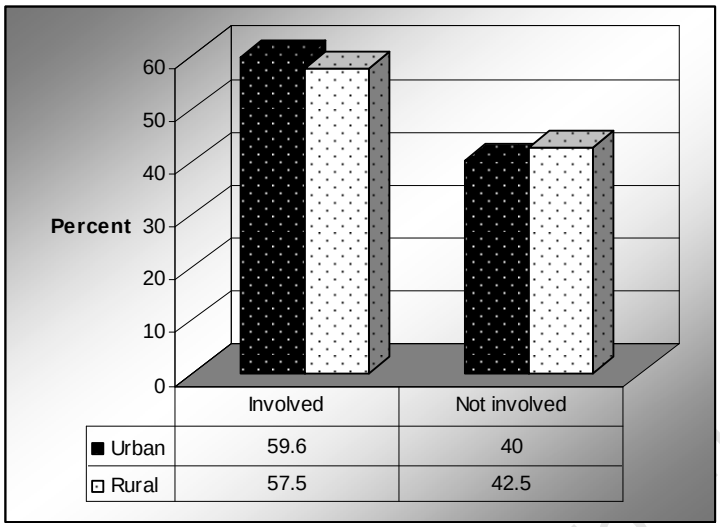
Rural and urban fathers' childcare practices are compared on basis of:

- *The percentage of fathers involved in childcare;*
- *The average time fathers spend on childcare in a day; and*
- *The percentage of fathers who report being encouraged by their spouses to participate in childcare*

Percentage of fathers involved in childcare

Urban fathers are more likely to be involved in childcare than rural fathers. Among the fathers who report involvement in childcare, 2.1% more fathers live in urban than in rural areas. Conversely, among fathers who report noninvolvement in childcare, 7.5% more fathers live in rural areas than in urban areas ($P<0.05$) (see figure 24).

Figure 24: Distribution of fathers' involvement in childcare in rural and urban areas



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Average time fathers spend on childcare in a day

Table 21 shows that on average, urban fathers spend slightly more time on childcare in a day. However, this difference is not statistically significant ($p > .05$).

Table 21: Average time fathers spend in childcare a day

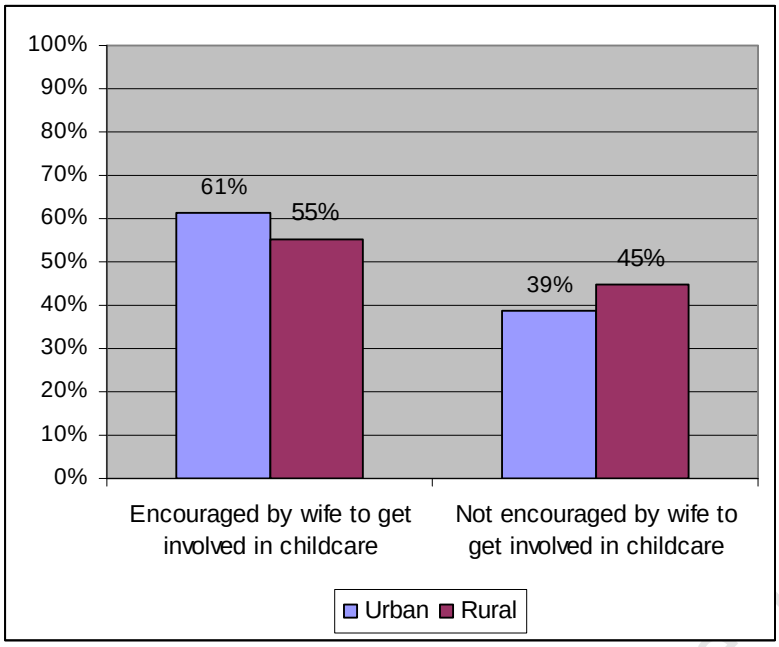
	Urban	**Rural**
Average time (in hours) spent by fathers on childcare in a day	1.53	1.34

(P >.05) Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

The percent of fathers encouraged by their spouses to participate in childcare

Figure 25 shows that slightly more fathers in the urban areas receive encouragement from their wives to get involved in childcare (61%) than in the rural areas (55%). This might indicate that the traditional perceptions and practices regarding gender roles are more prevalent in rural than in urban areas.

Figure 25: Rural urban differences in wife encouragement to fathers



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Although urban fathers receive more encouragement from their spouses and at the same time participate in childcare more than rural fathers, it does not imply encouragement by spouses necessarily increases fathers' involvement in childcare. It may depend on how the encouragement is done. Findings earlier in this section show that fathers' self-motivation is paramount. Thus, spousal encouragement needs to support fathers' self-determination and self-efficacy if it is to yield positive results (Bouchard et al., 2007).

4.8.4. How important are the rural urban differences?

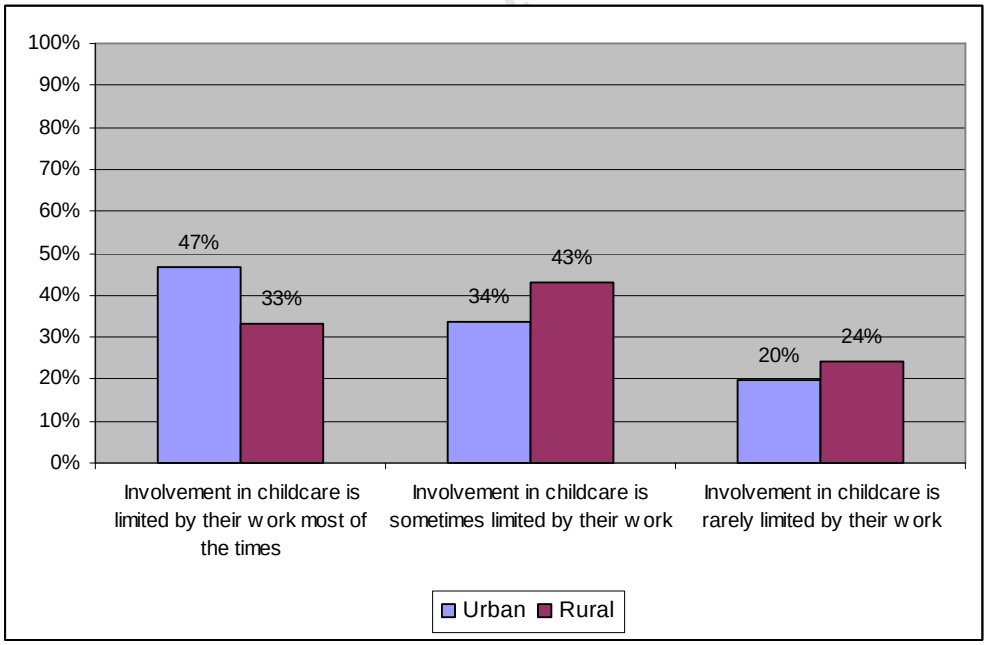
There are slight differences between urban and rural fathers' perceptions and practices regarding childcare. These differences—although minor could imply a situation of change. Thus, with more urbanization, more fathers (and mothers) may tend towards progressive perceptions and practices with regard to childcare. Although this line of interpretation supports the arguments of Coltrane (2000), it is necessary to note that urbanization in itself may not explain changes in these gender roles. Some factors, like education, employment in the informal sector, spousal encouragement, among others, have been discussed in earlier sections as having strong relationships with fathers' involvement in childcare. These factors may have a moderating effect in the urban-rural differences discussed previously. In addition, it is important to note that the overall pattern of fathers' perceptions and practices in this study is traditional. Among both urban and rural samples, the percentage of fathers who believed that they should be exempt from childcare is

greater (55%) than that of fathers who believed that they should not be exempt from childcare (45%).

4.8.5. Other factors that influence paternal involvement in childcare and their rural/urban prevalence

One of the factors that influence paternal involvement in childcare is work. Urban fathers' involvement in childcare is more likely to be limited by their work compared to rural fathers ($P<0.05$) (see Figure 26). Fathers who report that their work limited their participation in childcare live mostly in urban areas (47%). A few of them live in rural areas (33%). This finding suggests something important about the comparative characteristics of the work of fathers in urban as opposed to rural areas. As mentioned before, data shows that rural fathers are more likely to work closer to their homes than urban fathers, and rural fathers are more likely to be employed in the informal sector than urban fathers (see Section 4.5.3). Also data has indicated that fathers employed in the formal sector (most of these are urban fathers) are more likely to participate in childcare than those employed in the informal sector (see section 4.5.3).

Figure 26: Urban/rural differences in work influences on paternal involvement in childcare

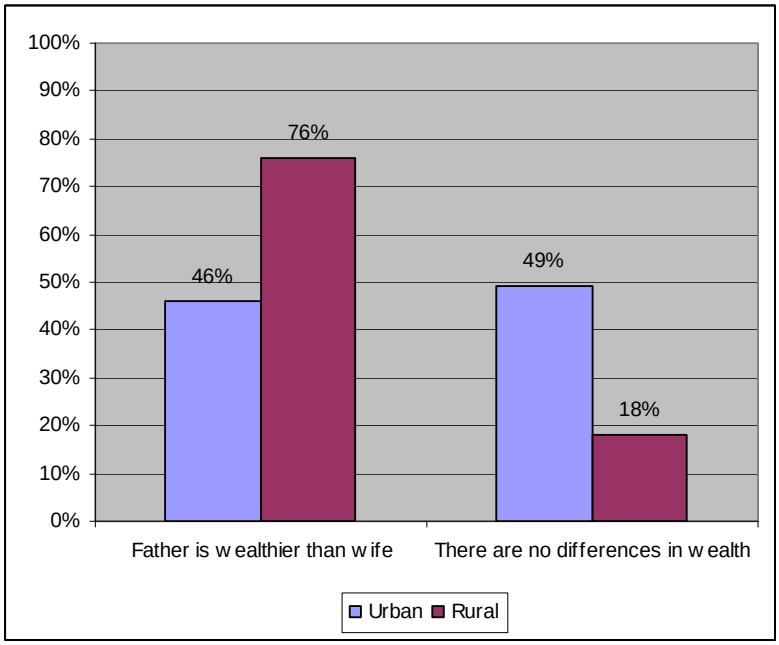


Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

These findings are consistent with arguments by Coltrane (2000) that urbanization has played a role in changing gender roles—which in this case is the greater involvement of fathers in childcare which traditionally has been ascribed to women. Since, as earlier discussed, urban fathers (and mothers) are more educated than their rural counterparts, education might have a big role to play in the rural-urban differences in childcare that have been discussed in this section.

Wealth is another important factor. Figure 27 shows the rural/urban differences in spouse wealth. The couples without significant differences in wealth are more common in urban areas (49%) than in rural areas (18%). Couples where husbands are wealthier than their wives are more common in rural (76%) than in urban areas (46%). This might be because, as discussed earlier, urban mothers are more often employed than their rural counterparts.

Figure 27: Rural urban differences in spouse wealth



Source: Survey data (Nkwake, 2010)

Data discussed earlier shows that among couples who do not have significant differences in wealth, fathers are more likely to participate in childcare than among couples where there are significant differences in wealth. Rural couples are more likely to have income differences than urban couples. Also, fathers are more likely to participate in childcare when they are wealthier than their wives then when their wives are wealthier than them. This is in contrast to Brine's (1994) theory, which suggests that fathers who are wealthier than their wives are less likely to

participate in childcare than those whose wives are wealthier than them. There are wealthier fathers in rural areas (76%) than in urban areas (46%). As such, according to Brine's theory (1994) one would expect more paternal involvement in rural areas, which is not so. This is probably because most of the factors that favor paternal involvement in childcare such as education and formal employment are more prevalent among urban than rural fathers (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). Also culture and traditional beliefs may have a stronger impact on rural than urban households.

4.8.6. Summary of major findings

- Urban fathers were 12% more likely to express the belief that childcare is ideal for fathers, and rural fathers were 13% more likely to express the belief that childcare is not ideal for fathers ($P < 0.05$)
- Urban fathers are 12% more likely to express that fathers' involvement is necessary ($P<0.05$)
- Urban fathers are 9% more likely to report that their noninvolvement in childcare was unfair to their wives than rural fathers ($P<0.05$)
- More fathers in rural than in urban areas wish to be exempt from the four generally less preferred activities of feeding, bathing, dressing children, and changing nappies ($P<0.05$).
- Thirty per cent more fathers in rural areas than in urban areas expressed the view that earning more income than their wives should exempt fathers from childcare ($P<0.05$).
- Twenty nine per cent more fathers in urban than rural areas expressed the view that fathers should be exempt from childcare if they work away from home and their wives work at home.
- Twenty percent more fathers in rural areas than in urban areas expressed the view that fathers should be exempt from childcare if they earn less income than their wives do.
- Fathers in the urban areas (61%) reported that they receive encouragement from their wives to get involved in childcare than in the rural areas (55%).
- Fathers employed in the formal sector (most of these are urban fathers) are more likely to participate in childcare than those employed in the informal sector
- The couples without significant differences in wealth are more common in urban areas (49%) than in rural areas (18%). Couples where husbands are wealthier than their wives are more common in rural (76%) than in urban areas (46%).

The following chapter (five) gives an overview of all the main findings and presents the conclusions drawn from them. Furthermore, the key assumptions are critically assessed in light of these conclusions. Recommendations are also presented.

CHAPTER FIVE: MAIN FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, ASSUMPTIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. Introduction

As earlier stated, this study was undertaken to examine childcare practices and perceptions amongst employed Ugandan males and their working partners and to ascertain the factors that influence fathers' involvement in childcare in the Kampala and Mpigi districts. In Chapters One, Two, Three, and Four, an introduction to the study is given, literature is reviewed, the methodology of the study is described, and findings and interpretations are discussed.

This chapter will present the main conclusions that emanate from the major findings (Chapter Four). These major findings relate to certain objectives and these objectives will be clearly identified before each set of conclusions are presented. Once the conclusions are drawn, various assumptions/hypotheses (see Chapter one) linked to the objectives will be discussed in the light of the conclusions drawn from the findings. In this way, various assumptions can be confirmed or negated. Furthermore, recommendations will be made based on the main conclusions of this study. Finally a discussion about the meanings of these findings, their significance for child rearing practices, parent skills training, and education about gender stereotypes, the importance of fathers in early childhood development, future research and the significance of this research for the Ugandan context will be presented.

5.1. Perceptions of the "ideal father" in relation to fathers' involvement in childcare (Section 4.3):

Objectives addressed:

The findings on this theme pertained to the first objective:

- *To identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners about paternal involvement in childcare*

Summary of Findings

- Most fathers (74.4 %) and mothers (87.8 %) believe that fathers who engage in childcare are well brought up.
- Involvement in childcare makes most fathers feel responsible (43.2%). Very few fathers report feeling unfairly treated (2.3%); or disrespected by their wives (8.1%).
- Some fathers are willing to participate in childcare because it helps them bond with their children.

- Fathers wouldn't like to be bothered with childcare especially if the mothers or maids are available.
- Although cultural and social expectations do not favor fathers' involvement in childcare, some respondents (especially mothers) believe that fathers should be able to withstand these pressures and get involved in childcare.

Major conclusions

- Fathers are comfortable with the idea of involvement in childcare on grounds that it reinforces their image and position as responsible heads of households and strengthens their recognition by children.
- For some fathers, it doesn't matter who meets the child's needs-it could be caregivers such as maids, mothers or other family members. It should not have to be the fathers' central role to partake in unpleasant activities like changing nappies.
- What fathers fear is not childcare per se, but other people's perception of their involvement. Fathers wouldn't like to be portrayed as being weaker than their wives.

Key assumption(s) that underpinned this theme

- It was assumed that fathers' perceptions regarding what constitutes a good father may be influenced by a Western developmental model of fathers playing a more active role in their child's care. The findings of this study do not confirm this assumption. Although fathers understand that a good or 'ideal' father should participate in childcare, they do not demonstrate an understanding that their involvement could benefit the children's emotional development.

5.2. Comparing perceptions and practices (Section 4.4)

Objectives addressed:

These findings pertained to the first and second objectives:

- *To identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners about paternal involvement in childcare.*
- *To describe the nature and range of childcare activities undertaken by those working fathers whose wives are involved in employment in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*

Summary of findings

- Fifty eight percent of the fathers participate in childcare, but on average, fathers do not spend more than 1.4 hours a day on childcare

- Most of the fathers who participate in childcare are satisfied with their level of involvement in childcare (84%)
- Ninety two percent of the fathers would like to take their children for medical attention, but, in actual fact, only 33% do so.
- Eighty nine percent of the fathers want to play with their children but only 43% actually do so.

Major conclusions

- There are two sets of contradictory perceptions around fathers' involvement. Firstly, individual fathers (70%) and mothers (90%) are comfortable with the idea of fathers' involvement in childcare and secondly; according to FGD data, fathers' involvement in childcare is not socially acceptable. Actual childcare practices of fathers are in keeping with the perceptions that childcare by fathers is not socially acceptable. At the same time, some fathers report that they are not happy with their lack of involvement in childcare. Thus there is some ambiguity in the findings.
- Most fathers do the activities they prefer to do (except picking up children from school, for which they are often limited by work) and choose not to do unpleasant activities like changing nappies. One of the issues that limit fathers' involvement in childcare is the perception that wives may manipulate them, or wives and neighbors may disrespect them.
- From the data, three levels of fatherhood emerge (a) very traditional fatherhood, where fathers do not participate in childcare at all beyond material provision (42% of the fathers); (b) somewhat traditional fatherhood, where fathers participate in childcare beyond material provision but mostly in the more convenient (interactive) activities like play (42.6%); and (c) contemporary fatherhood, where fathers are willing to participate in custodial activities such as changing nappies (20.2%). Research by Summers et al (1999) confirms that there is a discrepancy between perceptions and actual practices. Nevertheless, fathers in more industrialized societies do spend more time in childcare than evidenced by this study sample.

Key assumption (s) that underpinned this theme

- At the beginning of the study, there was an assumption that fathers would play a more active role in childcare because of the increased involvement of mothers in paid employment and the limited availability of substitute child minders. This would also link with the notion of being good fathers. Findings of this study however point to a discrepancy between what fathers say and what fathers actually do. Seventy percent of the fathers report that fathers should be involved in childcare; 58% actually participate in

childcare sometimes and only 30% report involvement in any childcare activity on a daily basis.

5.3. Motivation for fathers' involvement in childcare (Section 4.5)

Objectives addressed by this theme:

These findings pertain to the third and fourth objectives:

- *To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*
- *To determine the factors that hinder fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda*

Summary of findings

- Both mothers (95%) and fathers (90%) share the view that fathers' involvement in childcare is important, regardless of whether the mother is available.
- Most (67.7%) of the fathers and most (70%) of the mothers reported that the time fathers spend with children is not affected by the gender of the child.
- Most (75%) of the fathers and most (68.8%) of the mothers mentioned that fathers do not necessarily spend more time with younger children, and 90.1% of the fathers and 92.3% of the mothers reported that fathers do not necessarily spend more time with older children.
- Fathers who meet their personal expectations for expertise in caring for their children are about three times more likely to participate in childcare (70.7%) than those who feel incompetent (29.3%) ($p<0.001$).
- The majority of the fathers (58.6%) mentioned that their wives do not encourage them to participate in childcare. On the other hand, 64.9% of the mothers mentioned that they do encourage their husbands to get involved in childcare.
- Fathers perceive the necessity of their involvement in childcare not in the sense that it aides children's social emotional development, but in the sense that it makes them feel recognized as fathers by their children.

Major conclusions

- Intrinsic motivation is more positively related with fathers' involvement in childcare than external pressure.
- Fathers perceive the necessity of their involvement in childcare not in the sense that it aids children's social emotional development, but in the sense that it makes them feel recognized as fathers by their children.

- Although mothers would like their husbands to participate in childcare, they are not motivated to solicit for this help. In fact, some mothers may be reluctant about fathers' involvement in childcare because they derive affirmation from being the major childcare providers.
- Self-determination and self-confidence have a positive relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare.
- There is a perception among fathers that caring for young children sometimes requires specialized skills that perhaps mothers naturally have. Fathers are not sure they have these skills, since it is not their gender-ascribed role.

Key assumption (s) that underpinned this theme

- On basis of the Identity theory (Stryker & Serape, 1994; Fox & Bruce, 2001; Saraff & Srivastava; 2008), it was expected that fathers' confidence in their competence to perform childcare roles would encourage their involvement in childcare. Similarly, it was expected that fathers would be more willing to participate in childcare if they perceived the need themselves than if they were pressured to do so. As discussed in section 5.3 above, the study findings confirm these assumptions.

5.4. Work family balance/stress (Section 4.6)

Objectives addressed by this theme:

These findings pertain to the third objective:

- *To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*

Summary of major findings

- Seven in every ten fathers who report being stressed at work also mention that they are not involved in childcare. Similarly, seven in every ten fathers who report that they are not stressed at work also mention that they are involved in childcare ($P<0.05$).
- Most fathers (79%) report that lack of time is the main limitation to their involvement in childcare.
- Fathers' involvement may not be limited by lack of time alone; attitude matters: "A man can be too busy to do home chores but a wife always has time …" (Father in Mpigi).
- Fathers who report having paternity leave at work are four times more likely to be involved in childcare (80.3%) than those who do not get paternity leave (19.7%) ($p<0.05$).
- Most fathers (57.5%) never go home to check on young children during working hours

- Forty one point four percent of the fathers said that they should be exempt from childcare if fathers work away from home and their wives work from home.
- Most mothers (72.7%) believe that working away from home is not a worthwhile reason for fathers' exemption from childcare.
- Many fathers (35.8%) who work at home and 45.5% of fathers who work near home never check on children during the day.
- Formally employed fathers are three times more likely to engage in childcare than their counterparts in the informal sector ($p<0.05$).
- Informally employed fathers were four times more likely to argue for their exemption from childcare than their formally employed counterparts ($P<0.05$).
- Fathers with Advanced Level Education are almost twice more likely to be involved in childcare than their less educated counterparts.

Major conclusions

- Most fathers feel that their work does not allow them to check on children during the day, especially if they work away from home.
- Interestingly, there is a striking difference between the attitudes of formally employed fathers who are willing to engage in childcare in comparison to their informally employed counterparts.
- Fathers with better education are more likely to be involved in childcare than their less educated counterparts. Thus, education is a key factor in determining fathers' involvement in childcare.

Key assumption (s) that underpinned this theme:

- Having reviewed work-family research (e.g. Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004; Haas and Hwang, 2005; Hill et al. 2003), it was expected that the more time fathers spent at work, the less involved they would be in the care of young children. This assumption is not entirely confirmed by the current study. As discussed in section 4.5. fathers' willingness to participate in childcare may be a more important determinant of their involvement than availability. In this study, fathers who work for fewer hours, closer to their homes and with more flexibility in their work schedules (informal sector) are less involved in childcare.

5.5. Marital issues and fathers' involvement in childcare (Section 4.7)

Objectives addressed by this theme:

These findings pertain to the first, third and fourth objectives, respectively**:**

- *To identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners about paternal involvement in childcare.*
- *To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*
- *To determine the factors that hinder fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda*

Summary of major findings

- Fathers who report that they are satisfied with their marriages are twice more likely to report being involved in childcare (59.8%) than those with low marital satisfaction (39.2%).
- Fathers who are involved in childcare are four times more likely to be satisfied with their marital relationships (80.3%).
- Most mothers (62.1%) who reported being unsatisfied with their marriages also reported that their husbands did not participate in childcare (p= .001).
- Fathers' participation in childcare is a form of their expression of love for their wives
- Both financial and emotional/psychological readiness for the fatherhood role is critical for fathers' motivation to participate in childcare
- Fathers who do not believe in the need for their involvement are almost three times more likely to regard their noninvolvement as fair than those who believe that their involvement is necessary.
- Some mothers believe that carrying a pregnancy for nine months counts a great deal for their contribution to a child's care, and thus fathers should be more inclined to make their contribution as well.
- For mothers, fairness means that fathers should come in to help with childcare at those points when mothers are busy or not available.
- Most mothers (54.1%) do not believe that their husbands find it unfair for wives to do most of the childcare work.
- Among couples without wealth differences, fathers are four times more likely to be involved in childcare (p=0.001).
- Fathers are twice more likely to be involved in childcare when they are wealthier than their wives than when their wives are wealthier than them.
- Ninety-five point five percent of the fathers and 94.2% of the mothers mention that husbands earning higher incomes than their wives would not be an adequate reason for exempting fathers from childcare activities.

Major conclusions

- Fathers' involvement in childcare is sometimes a way for fathers to maintain marital harmony, by making their wives feel fairly treated. On the other hand, fathers' involvement in itself is influenced by the quality of the marital relationship. Thus, fathers may help out with childcare as an expression of love for their spouses and children.
- Mothers want their husbands to be responsive and supportive in certain situations of need rather than share the load equally.
- Wealth differences have a strong relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare. Fathers who are wealthier than their wives have more confidence to do childcare work—knowing that their wives are not likely to disrespect them. Where mothers are wealthier than their spouses, fathers' involvement is limited because fathers may feel that their power is being undermined.

Assumption(s) that underpinned this theme

- On basis of the household economic (Brines, 1994) and exchange resource theories (Lamb & Haddad, 1992), it was expected that among couples where wives are wealthier than their spouses, fathers would be more likely to participate in childcare. As discussed before, the study findings are contrary to this expectation largely due to gender and power issues, which are culturally framed.

5.6. Rural urban comparisons of fathers' involvement in childcare (Section 4.8)

Objectives addressed by this theme

The findings from this theme cut across the four study objectives, as earlier stated, these were:

- *To identify the perceptions of working fathers and their working partners about paternal involvement in childcare.*
- *To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*
- *To determine the factors that encourage fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*
- *To determine the factors that hinder fathers' involvement in childcare in Kampala and Mpigi Districts in Uganda.*

Summary of major findings

- Urban fathers (56%) are more likely than rural fathers (44%) to express the belief that childcare is ideal for fathers ($P < 0.05$).

- Urban fathers (56%) are more likely than rural fathers (44%) to express the belief that fathers' involvement is necessary ($P<0.05$).
- Urban fathers (63%) are more likely than rural fathers (54%) to report that their noninvolvement in childcare was unfair to their wives ($P<0.05$).
- More fathers in rural areas (43.7%) than in urban areas (13.8%) expressed the view that earning more income than their wives should exempt fathers from childcare ($P<0.05$).
- More fathers in urban (55.2%) than rural (26.4%) areas expressed the view that fathers should be exempt from childcare if they work away from home and their wives work at home.
- More fathers in rural areas (24.1%) than in urban areas (17.2%) expressed the view that fathers should be exempt from childcare even if they earn less income than their wives do.
- Fathers in the urban areas (61%) reported that they receive encouragement from their wives to get involved in childcare more than fathers in the rural areas (55%).
- Fathers employed in the formal sector (most of these are urban fathers) are more likely to participate in childcare than those employed in the informal sector.
- The couples without significant differences in wealth are more common in urban areas (49%) than in rural areas (18%). Couples where husbands are wealthier than their wives are more common in rural (76%) than in urban areas (46%).

Summary of major conclusions

- There are slight differences in urban and rural fathers' perceptions and practices regarding childcare. However, the urban and rural differences in themselves do not explain fathers' involvement in childcare. It appears that education and formal employment are more important influences on fathers' involvement. It is because the more educated tend to occupy more formal employment which is mostly found in urban areas. Exposure to higher education as well as the impact of urban culture and greater accessibility to all forms of media may accelerate changing gender roles.

Key assumption (s) that underpinned this theme

- It was expected that since there is more modernization in urban areas, in the form of access to education and exposure to other cultures, fathers in urban areas would be more involved in childcare than their rural counterparts. This assumption is confirmed by the findings.

5.7. Recommendations

- As findings have shown, most fathers' don't understand the necessity and value of their participation in childcare (section 4.3). Fathers' participation in childcare is still minimal (see section 4.4) and it is inversely related to spouses' wealth (Section 4.7). It is possible that fathers feel too insecure to participate in childcare because it challenges their power (sections 4.3 and 4.7). There is therefore a need for the government's Ministry of Gender and Social Development, and civil society organizations devoted to gender and development to engage in community education targeting perceptions relating to power and gender division of labor and helping fathers and mothers understand the developmental role that both parents play in the lives of their children.
- Study findings show that mothers' wealth as well as mothers' work may be a source of insecurity for fathers. In this study, mother's employment has been cited as a source of marital tensions in some households (see section 4.7). At the same time, mothers' employment contributes towards household necessities especially in the face of increasing costs of living (World Bank, 2002a). However, women may themselves want to work in order to further careers or to empower themselves. Thus facilitating debates with young parents to talk through these issues may be a way forward.
- Education has a direct and positive relationship with fathers' involvement in childcare (see section 4.6). There is need to increase educational enrollment for both men and women. The Ministry of Education should mainstream gender issues in the education curricula already at primary school level. Whilst this could be more easily implemented in urban areas, other strategies are needed in rural areas where traditional practices abound.
- The study identifies that although paternal involvement in childcare may be limited by work stress, increasing fathers' time off work may not necessarily increase their involvement in childcare (See section 4.6). Resistance to childcare by fathers would appear to be linked to a host of issues not only gender stereotyping but more specifically to masculinity, ascribed roles, power balances, marital satisfaction and educational forces. A multi-pronged approach needs to be adopted.
- In this regard, it is important that employers, especially in the informal sector, and in the formal sector, provide paternity leave for fathers and the accompanying education as to how fathers could effectively engage in child caring.
- Further, there is a relationship between fathers' confidence and their motivation to get involved in childcare (see section 4.5). Fathers that think they are not competent enough to carry out childcare tasks like changing children's nappies, bathing, or feeding children are more unlikely to participate in childcare than those that feel more confident. This shows

that fathers need encouragement and mentoring by mothers. Yet this study shows that most of the mothers do not encourage fathers to participate in childcare. There is need for educational programs targeting fathers' mastery of childcare skills and empowering mothers to play a mentoring role.

- Hence, there is a great need for community development actors and advocates for women's empowerment to conduct community education and awareness among men and women in communities on the need to redefine the meaning of fathers' involvement in childcare. Both parents are needed for the sound psychological and emotional well-being of the children. It is recommended that any advocacy for change in childcare policy or any future research study on this theme should take into account the complexity of cultural beliefs and practices.
- It is also recommended that the best of traditional childrearing practices be integrated with the more progressive approaches and vice versa. Each child should understand the basic norms of their culture and the intrinsic values should be mediated within the kinship systems that do exist.
- The findings of this study should be published a family journal, since they have implications for parenting, child rearing, marital and family harmony that cut across all cultures.

5.9. Recommendations for Future Research

While the current study gathered information on respondent characteristics such as occupation and education levels and examined fathers' willingness to engage in childcare in varying situations , it did not gather information on households' absolute income levels as well as the trends in these income levels. Future research should examine changes in income levels and unemployment and how these impact on childcare.

Although the current study gathered data on marital satisfaction, it did not explore issues of social marital equality, such as the extent to which wives participate in decision making and the extent to which they experience marital abuse of various forms and how this varies with differences in income. These issues are closely related to marital satisfaction. Future research should trace the relationship between social equality and paternal participation in childcare. The findings of this study could give impetus to further policy research in the area of child rearing amongst Ugandans.

In conclusion, the role of fathers in childcare is increasingly recognized, and despite the traditional gender division of labor, there are positive perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare among some parents. This study found that although both fathers and mothers have

expectations that fathers should be involved in childcare, cultural factors continue to influence behavior and perceptions regarding paternal involvement in childcare. Thus strategies need to be found that could bring about a greater cultural awareness of the need for both parents to play a role in the material, physical, emotional, psychological, social and developmental well-being of their children. This study reveals a crucial gap in fathers' understanding of their role in child development. Given that the early years of a child's life are a critical phase of personality development (Witter, 2002) and that fathers' involvement has positive effects on child development (Anderson & Green, 2006; Klinger, 2000), widespread education is needed about the child's developmental tasks and how fathers could play a role in the child's developmental needs. Gender roles are still largely traditionally defined. Thus, education could play a large role in shifting attitudes. The media (TV, radio, newspapers) could be one means of conscientizing fathers about their role in the upbringing of their children.

5.9. Postscript: the future of childcare in Uganda

The problem that inspired the researcher to undertake this study was the apparent lack of fathers' participation in childcare in Uganda, despite the increasing involvement of the mothers in employment. Although women are increasingly involved in formal and informal employment, they may continue to bear all the domestic responsibilities, including childcare. This dual responsibility weighs heavily on women and may affect the quality of childcare. The findings discussed in this study show that there are some strategies that may increase fathers' involvement in childcare but much more needs to be done at a national level to raise consciousness in this regard.

The findings reveal that the notion of a 'childcare gap' may have been the researcher's assumption which in actual fact was not empirically proven in this study. If there is an 'unwritten law' that child caring belongs in the mother's domain then the fact that mothers are now working only means that they themselves have to address whatever 'gaps' arise. Fathers may still believe that they are exempted from the full responsibility. Thus very little difference in fathers' behavior might occur even though they may see the 'fairness' of sharing some tasks.

The notion of a 'childcare gap' needs to be explored as to who considers it to be a gap and how this so-called gap is in actual fact being addressed in a variety of ways.
When mothers work then younger siblings are left in the care of older children or in the care of extended family members or where financially possible child minders are employed or children sent to childcare facilities. The fact that the mother is not available for the child during part of the day does not mean that father's automatically feel that they should try and fill that space. Working wives need to re-define their relationships with their working husbands (and vice versa) and this could prove pivotal in how new arrangements for child caring could be re-negotiated. However, the meaning and value of quality child caring just needs to be understood by both parents.

As Lally (1999) has warned, increased fathers' involvement can be rewarding but it should not be romanticized. There is a need to understand the costs related to greater paternal involvement, including the likelihood of marital friction, boredom with tedious daily chores, and social isolation from disapproving friends and relatives. Fathers, their wives and society at large still consider men the major bread winners, despite women entering paid employment. Overall paternal involvement in childcare seems to be higher in Western countries than in Uganda. However, in the West, there are more childcare facilities with trained personnel to offer quality childcare if both parents are employed.

5.10: Concluding statement

The state needs to professionalize and improve the quality of the childcare industry. As Sempangi (1999) argues, in the past, childcare in Uganda has mostly depended on cheaply available nannies. But with more children being enrolled in school through the universal access to education policies, nannies are less available. Also, it has been pointed out that the quality of care provided by nannies and day care centers is wanting (Mulindwa & Ntozi, 2004). The extended family has previously played a key role in childcare (Najjuma, 1999). However, extended family structures are not so common in urban areas (Wakoko, 2003). Increasingly, nannies and daycare centers may have to play a major childcare role for working couples. According to Arnold (2002), quality childcare requires knowledge (such as the developmental milestones and cues in child development.) and skills (such as consistency and responsiveness). Such competencies require professional training. Yet child carers are rarely trained. Therefore the state needs to set up standards for childcare and provide professional training for childcare providers.

Fathers' involvement in childcare is necessary for child development (Anderson & Green, 2006; Klinger, 2000), marital harmony (Russell et al., 1999), and it is an indication of changing gender roles (Floyd, 2002; Marsinglio et al, 2000). Fathers' involvement in childcare is but a microcosm of the wider gender division of labor. Education systems need to be tailored to challenge negative and unfair social expectations that subordinate women. This study shows that fathers' education has a strong influence on their involvement in childcare. It has also been documented in Uganda's social history that the education that was introduced by missionaries in the 19th century has henceforth played a major role in questioning the previous cultural practices (Najjuma, 1999; Sekamwa, 1999). With this potential for influence, education could be proactively used to inculcate fair and progressive perceptions of gender roles which are at the same time respectful of cultural values. Mainstreaming gender in the education curricula could target the unfair cultural norms while preserving the fair and positive ones.

On the other hand, it is worth observing that working mothers are also denied a chance to bond and to nurture their children. It is therefore necessary that employers put in place childcare policies that would allow breastfeeding mothers to carry their children to work and have nurseries that take care of the children. This may increase the women's productivity and lessen their concerns about their children's well-being.

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APPENDIX 1,

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR FATHERS

(To be administered by a trained interviewer)

Introduction (read to respondent)

Dear Sir, I would like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. The study serves academic purposes, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development) of the University of Cape Town. The information you provide will not be used to identify you as an individual. Your honest responses are therefore much appreciated. Thank you.

Filter Questions (Note: these questions are NOT applicable if an interview has already been done with a spouse in this household)

First of all, please let me know about the following:

1	Do you have a partner / wife or any such person with whom you are staying?	Yes	1
		No	2 (go to next household)
2	Do you have a child you live with who is under six years (whether biological child or not)?	Yes	1
		No	2 (Go to next household)
3	If yes, are both of you involved in any form of activity intended to generate income?	Yes	1
		No	2 (Go to next household)

Background information

		Response codes	Circle appropriate code
BG1	Please indicate your age in complete years		
BG2	What is your occupation?	Formal sector (see definition categories)	1
		Informal sector (see definition categories)	2

BG3	What is the location of your workplace?	At home (where you live most of the time)	1
		Away but near (Within One hour to the work place)	2
		Far from home (More than one our to the work place)	3
BG4	On average, how many hours do you work in a day?		
BG5	Please indicate the highest level of education you have completed	Below Primary School Level	1
		Primary School Level	2
		Ordinary Level	3
		High school Certificate	4
		Diploma	5
		Bachelors degree	6
		Post Graduate	7
BG6	How many years of education have you completed?		

BG7	What is your religious inclination?	Muslim	1
		Roman Catholic	2
		Anglican	3
		Pentecostal	4
		Advent	5
		No religious inclination	6
		Other	7
BG8	How would you classify your location of residence?	Urban area	1
		Peri urban area	2
		Rural area	3

About your family life

FL1	How many children do you have?		
FL2	What is the age of your youngest child?		
FL3	What is the sex of your youngest child?	Male	1

		Female	2
FL5	How would you categorize your wife's /partner's employment	Formal	1
		Informal	2
FL6	Do you take paternity leave at work?	Yes	1
		No	2 (SKIP TO FL8)
FL7	If yes in FL6, for how long (Number of days in a year) ……		
FL8	How many spouses do you have?		
FL9	For how long have you lived with your partner (if more than one partner, compute average)		
FL10	How would you rate your overall level of satisfaction with your marriage?	Very satisfied	1
		Moderately satisfied	2
		Slightly satisfied	3
		Dissatisfied	4
		Very Dissatisfied	5

About your involvement in childcare chores

PC1	Do you get involved in any childcare before you go to work in the morning e.g. at 8:00am?	Yes	1
		No	2
PC2	If yes, what childcare activity (ies) are you involved in? (circle all that apply)	Bathing children	1
		Holding children	2
		Taking to and fetching from school	3
		Helping with homework	4
		Changing Nappies	5
		Feeding	6
		Playing with children	7
		Medical attention	8
		Dressing/undressing	9
		Other (specify)	10
PC3	Are you involved in any childcare when you return home e.g. after 5:00 pm?	Yes	1
		No	2 (SKIP TO PC5)

PC4	If yes, what childcare activity (ies) are you involved in after work? (circle all that apply)	Bathing children	1
		Holding children	2
		Taking to and fetching from school	3
		Helping with homework	4
		Changing nappies	5
		Feeding	6
		Playing with children	7
		Medical attention	8
		Dressing/undressing	9
		Other (specify)	10
PC5	If no or yes, please explain why		
PC6	Do you sometimes come home to check on young children during working hours?	Always	1
		Seldom	2
		Never	3
PC7	According to your answer above, please explain why		

PC8	Please indicate if the following statement are true or not true regarding how you spend time with young children (tick where applicable)	True	Not true
A	Spend equal time with all of them no matter their gender or sex		
B	Spend more time with younger (less than 3 years) children		
C	Spend more time with older (above 3 years) children		
D	Spend more time with my daughter(s)		
E	Spend more time with my sons		
F	Spend no time with children		
G	Other		

PC9	Please estimate the amount of time in hours that you spend on the following activities (chores) in a day	Estimated Average amount (in hours a day)
	Activity	

A	Bathing children	
B	Holding children	
C	Taking to and fetching from school	
D	Helping with homework	
E	Dressing/undressing	
F	Changing nappies	
G	Feeding	
H	Playing with children	
G	Medical attention	
H	Other (specify)	

PC9i	Please estimate the average total amount of time in hours that you spend on childcare activities in a day……..

PC10	Please indicate your level of involvement in the following activities (Tick where appropriate)				
	Level of involvement	Every day	When the mother(you) is busy or away	Once in a while	Never
A	Bathing children				
B	Holding children				
C	Taking to and fetching from school				
D	Helping with homework				
E	Dressing/undressing				
F	Changing nappies				
G	Feeding				
H	Playing with children				
G	Medical attention				
H	Other (specify)				

PC11	How much do you agree with the following statement? Childcare should be left for mothers and fathers shouldn't be	I strongly agree	1
		I agree	2
		I disagree	3

	involved'	I strongly disagree	4

PC12	For each of the activities below, indicate your view about whether fathers should be involved in them?				
	Your view	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree
a	Bathing children				
b	Holding children				
c	Taking to and fetching from school				
d	Helping with homework				
e	Dressing/undressing				
f	Changing nappies				
g	Feeding				
h	Playing with children				
g	Medical attention				
h	Other (specify)				

PC13	What is your view of fathers who (engage in childcare) baby seat their children?	Traditionally, they are not well brought up	1
		They are well brought up	2
		They are inferior	3
		It is a virtue	4
		Other (specify)	5
PC14	Doe your wife/partner encourages or supports you in participating in childcare (baby-sitting children)?	Yes	
		No	
PC15	Please explain your response above		

PC16	To what extent does each of the following statements reflect your opinion about father's involvement in childcare:				
	Opinion statement	(1) I Strongly agree	(2) I Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) I Strongly disagree

A	if childcare (work) is not shared equally, my wife will feel unfairly treated				
B	'If childcare work is not shared equally, I would feel that my wife is unfairly treated'				
C	'Father don't necessarily have to participate in childcare activities, especially if the mother is available to give the care'				
D	'Young children need fathers' care even if the mother is available to give the care'				

PC17	Do you think fathers should be exempt from childcare (chores)?	Yes, from all	1
		Yes from some of them	2
		No	3

PC18	If you think fathers should be exempt from some childcare activities (chores), which ones should they be? (multiple response)	Feeding children	1
		Bathing children	2
		Holding children	3
		Taking to school/helping with homework	4
		Dressing	5
		Medical attention	6
		Playing with children	7
		Others (Please specify……..	8

PC19	According to you, how should an ideal man be involved in childcare?	He should participate entirely/all the times	1
		He should participate partially/sometimes	2
		He shouldn't participate/rarely or never	3
PC20	What do you think is your wife's view of how an ideal father should be involved in childcare?	He should participate entirely/all the times	1
		He should participate partially/sometimes	2
		He shouldn't participate/rarely or never	3
PC21	How often does your wife encourage you to get involved in childcare (work)?	Always	1
		Sometimes	2
		Rarely	3
PC22	Most of the time you are involved in childcare (work), who initiates it?	My self	1
		My wife	2
		The situation of my child's need	3

		My child her/him self	4
PC23	Which of these statements most explains your involvement?	I enjoy doing it	1
		I feel I need to do it	2
		I want to bond with my child	3
		It is unfair when I don't	4
		I have the time to do it	5
PC24	Most times when you don't, what best explains your lack of involvement?	I don't have the time	1
		I already have fairly contributed to the child's and household's wellbeing through my income	2
		My wife discourages me	3
		I'm not sure I know what to do	4
PC25	What is your opinion about fathers' work and their involvement in childcare?		
	Fathers should be exempt from childcare work: (multiple response)	If they earn more income than their wives	1
		If they work and their wives stay at home	2
		If they work for more hours than their wives	3
		If their wives income is less than their husbands'	4
		Even if they earn less income than their wives	5
		If their wives' incomes do not support the household much	6
		If their wives' incomes support the households much	7
PC26	How often does your work/employment limit your involvement in childcare?	Most of the times	1
		Some times	2
		Rarely	3
PC27	Tell me about your job satisfaction?	It is high	1
		It is moderate	2
		It is low	3
		My job is stressful	4
		My job is not stressful	5

PC28	How does your involvement in childcare (chores) affect the way you feel about your self?	I feel controlled by my wife	1
		I feel disrespected by my wife	2
		I feel unfairly treated	3
		I feel it is not normal	4

		I feel more responsible	5
		I feel more fulfilled	6
		I feel it is normal	7
PC29	How satisfied are you with the extent with which you get involved in childcare chores	Very satisfied	1
		Fairly Satisfied	2
		Fairly unsatisfied	3
		Very unsatisfied	4

PC30	To what extent do you identify with the following statements?				
	Statement	(1) I Strongly agree	(2) I Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) I Strongly disagree
A	Having to take care of a young child makes me tense and anxious				
B	Having to take care of a young child doesn't make me tense or anxious				
C	I meet my own personal expectations for expertise in caring for my child				
D	I don't meet my own personal expectations for expertise in caring for my child				
E	After work, I come home too tired to help with childcare even though I would like to do so				
F	I often spend more time with childcare such that my work time is reduced				

PC31	Please comment on your wife's income	It is less than mine	1
		It is more than mine	2
		It is used more for her personal needs than household needs	3
		It is used more for household needs than her personal needs	4
		She works for more hours than I do	5
		She works for fewer hours than I do	6
PC32	How would you compare your wealth with that of your wife?	I'm wealthier than my wife	1
		My wife is wealthier than me	2
		We share our wealth, hence none is wealthier than the other	3

Thank you very much

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MOTHERS (To be administered by a trained interviewer)

Introduction (read to respondent)

Dear Madam, I would like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. The study serves absolutely academic purposes, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Social Development) of the University of Cape Town. The information you provide will not be used to identify you as an individual. Your honest responses are therefore much appreciated. Thank you.

Filter Questions (Note: these questions are NOT applicable if an interview has already been done with a spouse in this household)

First of all, please let me know about the following:

1	Do you have a partner / husband or any such person with whom you are staying?	Yes	1
		No	2 (go to next household)
2	Do you have a child you live with who is under six years (whether biological child or not)?	Yes	1
		No	2(go to next household)
3	If yes, are both of you involved in any form of activity intended to generate income?	Yes	1
		No	2 (Go to next household)

Background information

		Response codes	Circle appropriate code
BG1	Please indicate your age in complete years		
BG2	What is your occupation?	Formal sector (see definition categories)	1

		Informal sector (see definition categories)	2
BG3	What is the location of your workplace?	At home (where you live most of the time)	1
		Away but near (Within One hour to the work place)	2
		Far from home (More than one our to the work place)	3
BG4	On average, how many hours do you work in a day?		
BG5	How many years of education have you completed?		
BG6	Please indicate the highest level of education you have completed	Below Primary School Level	1
		Primary School Level	2
		Ordinary Level	3
		High school Certificate	4
		Diploma	5
		Bachelors degree	6
		Post Graduate	7
BG7	What is your religious inclination?	Muslim	1
		Roman Catholic	2
		Anglican	3
		Pentecostal	4
		Advent	5
		No religious inclination	6
		Other	7
BG8	How would you classify your location of residence?	Urban area	1
		Peri urban area	2
		Rural area	3

About your family life

FL1	How many children do you have?		
FL2	What is the age of your youngest child?		
FL3	What is the sex of your youngest child?	Male	1
		Female	2
FL5	How would you categorize your wife's /partner's employment	Formal	1
		Informal	2
FL6	Do you take maternity leave at work?	Yes	1
		No	2 (SKIP TO FL8)
FL7	If yes in FL6, for how long (Number of days in a year) ……		
FL8	How many spouses does your husband have?		
FL9	For how long have you lived with your partner		
FL10	How would you rate your overall level of satisfaction with your marriage?	Very satisfied	1
		Moderately satisfied	2
		Slightly satisfied	3
		Dissatisfied	4
		Very Dissatisfied	5

About your partner's involvement in childcare chores

PC1	Does your partner get involved in any childcare before you go to work in the morning e.g. at 8:00am?	Yes	1
		No	2
PC2	If yes, what childcare (housework) activity (ies) is he often involved in? (circle all that apply)	Bathing children	1
		Holding children	2
		Taking to and fetching from school	3
		Helping with homework	4

		Changing Nappies	5
		Feeding	6
		Playing with children	7
		Medical attention	8
		Dressing/undressing	9
		Other (specify)	10
PC3	Does your partner get involved in any childcare activities (housework) when you return home e.g. after 5:00 pm?	Yes	1
		No	2 (SKIP TO PC5)
PC4	If yes, what childcare (housework) activity (ies) is he involved in after work? (circle all that apply)	Bathing children	1
		Holding children	2
		Taking to and fetching from school	3
		Helping with homework	4
		Changing nappies	5
		Feeding	6
		Playing with children	7
		Medical attention	8
		Dressing/undressing	9
		Other (specify)	10
PC5	Why do you think he does or doesn't get involved?		
PC6	Does your partner sometimes come home to check on young children during working hours?	Always	1
		Seldom	2
		Never	3
PC7	According to your answer above, please mention what you think could be the reason why		

PC8	Please indicate if the following statement are true or not true regarding how your partner spends time with young children	True	Not true

	(tick where applicable)		
A	Spends equal time with all of them no matter their gender or sex		
B	Spends more time with younger (less than 3 years) children		
C	Spends more time with older (above 3 years) children		
D	Spends more time with my daughter(s)		
E	Spends more time with my sons		
F	Spends no time with children		
G	Other		

PC9	Please estimate the amount of time in hours that your partner spends on the following activities (chores) in a day	Estimated Average amount (in hours a day)
	Chore	
A	Bathing children	
B	Holding children	
C	Taking to and fetching from school	
D	Helping with homework	
E	Dressing/undressing	
F	Changing nappies	
G	Feeding	
H	Playing with children	
G	Medical attention	
H	Other (specify)	

PC9i	Please estimate the average total amount of time in hours that your partner spends on childcare activities in a day……..

PC10	Please indicate your partner's level of involvement in the following activities (Tick where appropriate)				
	Level of involvement	Every day	When the mother(you) is busy or away	Once in a while	Never

A	Bathing children				
B	Holding children				
C	Taking to and fetching from school				
D	Helping with homework				
E	Dressing/undressing				
F	Changing nappies				
G	Feeding				
H	Playing with children				
G	Medical attention				
H	Other (specify)				

PC11	How much do you agree with the following statement? '(Baby sitting) Childcare should be left for mothers and fathers shouldn't be involved'	I strongly agree	1
		I agree	2
		I disagree	3
		I strongly disagree	4

PC12	For each of the activities below, indicate your view about whether fathers should be involved in them?				
	Your view	(1) I Strongly agree	(2) I Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) I Strongly disagree
a	Bathing children				
b	Holding children				
c	Taking to and fetching from school				
d	Helping with homework				
e	Dressing/undressing				
f	Changing nappies				
g	Feeding				
h	Playing with children				
g	Medical attention				
h	Other (specify)				

PC13	What is your view of fathers who baby seat their children?	Traditionally, they are not well brought up	1
		They are well brought up	2
		They are inferior	3
		It is a virtue	4
		Other (specify)	5
PC14	Do you encourage or support your partner/husband in participating in baby-sitting children?	Yes	
		No	
PC15	Please explain your response above		

PC16	To what extent does each of the following statements reflect your opinion about father's involvement in childcare:				
	Opinion statement	(1) I Strongly agree	(2) I Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) I Strongly disagree
A	if childcare work is not shared equally, I as a wife would feel unfairly treated				
B	'If childcare work is not shared equally, I would feel that my husband would feel that I'm unfairly treated'				
C	'Father don't necessarily have to participate in childcare activities, especially if the mother is available to give the care'				
D	'Young children need fathers' care even if the mother is available to give the care'				

PC17	Do you think fathers should be exempt from childcare chores?	Yes, from all	1
		Yes from some of them	2
		No	3

PC18	If you think fathers should be exempt from some childcare chores, which ones should they be? (multiple response)	Feeding children	1
		Bathing children	2
		Holding children	3
		Taking to school/helping with homework	4
		Dressing	5
		Medical attention	6
		Playing with children	7
		Others (Please specify……..	8

PC19	According to you, how should an ideal man be involved in childcare?	He should participate entirely/all the times	1
		He should participate partially/sometimes	2
		He shouldn't participate/rarely or never	3
PC20	What do you think is your husband's view of how an ideal father should be involved in childcare?	He should participate entirely/all the times	1
		He should participate partially/sometimes	2
		He shouldn't participate/rarely or never	3
PC21	How often do you encourage your spouse to get involved in childcare work?	Always	1
		Sometimes	2
		Rarely	3
PC22	Most of the time your spouse is involved in childcare work, who initiates it?	Him self	1
		Myself, the wife	2
		The situation of my child's need	3
		The child her/him self	4
PC23	Which of these statements most explains your husband's involvement?	He enjoys doing it	1
		He feels he needs to do it	2
		He wants to bond with our child	3
		It is unfair when he doesn't	4
		He has the time to do it	5
PC24	Most times when partner is not involved in childcare, what best explains his lack of involvement?	He doesn't have the time	1
		He as already fairly contributed to the child's and household's wellbeing through his income	2
		I, the wife, wouldn't like him to do it	3
		He doesn't know what or how to do it	4
PC25	What is your opinion about fathers' work and their involvement in childcare?		
	Fathers should be exempt from childcare work: (multiple response)	If they earn more income than their wives	1
		If they work and their wives stay at home	2

		If they work for more hours than their wives	3
		If their wives income is less than their husbands'	4
		Even if they earn less income than their wives	5
		If their wives' incomes do not support the household much	6
		If their wives' incomes support the households much	7
PC26	How often does your partner's work/employment limit his involvement in childcare?	Most of the times	1
		Some times	2
		Rarely	3
PC27	Tell me about your partner's job satisfaction?	It is high	1
		It is moderate	2
		It is low	3
		My job is stressful	4
		My job is not stressful	5

PC28	How does your husband's involvement in childcare chores affect the way he feels about him self?	He feels controlled by his wife	1
		He feels disrespected by his wife	2
		He feels unfairly treated	3
		He feels it is not normal	4
		He feels more responsible	5
		He feels more fulfilled	6
		He feels it is normal	7
PC29	How satisfied is your husband with the extent with which he gets involved in childcare chores?	Very satisfied	1
		Fairly Satisfied	2
		Fairly unsatisfied	3
		Very unsatisfied	4

PC30	To what extent do you identify with the following statements?				
	Statement	(1) I Strongly agree	(2) I Agree	(3) I Disagree	(4) I Strongly disagree
A	Having to take care of a young child makes my husband tense and anxious				

B	Having to take care of a young child doesn't make my husband tense or anxious				
C	He meets his own personal expectations for expertise in caring for the child				
D	He doesn't meet his own personal expectations for expertise in caring for the child				
E	After work, my husband comes home too tired to help with childcare even though he would like to do so				
F	my husband often spends more time with childcare such that his work time is reduced				

PC31	Please comment on your husband's income	It is less than mine	1
		It is more than mine	2
		It is used more for his personal needs than household needs	3
		It is used more for household needs than his personal needs	4
		He works for more hours than I do	5
		He works for fewer hours than I do	6
PC32	How would you compare your wealth with that of your husband?	I'm wealthier than my husband	1
		My husband is wealthier than me	2
		We share our wealth, hence none is wealthier than the other	3

Thank you very much

APPENDIX 3

GUIDE TO FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION FOR WORKING HUSBANDS/ WORKING WIVES

1. What factors encourage father's involvement in childcare?
2. What factors hinder fathers' involvement in childcare?
3. How might child age, gender and placement influence fathers' involvement?
4. How might number of spouses influence fathers' involvement?
5. How might fathers' work influence fathers' involvement?
6. Who is the ideal man? Would the ideal man involve in childcare? Which activities would he or would he not get involved in?
7. Who is an ideal woman? And would an ideal woman let the husband get involved in childcare?
8. How might religion influence fathers' involvement?
9. How might marital satisfaction influence fathers' involvement?
10. How might wife's income influence fathers' involvement? Should husbands who earn less than their wives be involved in childcare more than those who earn more?