

SPOUSAL WEALTH AND FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDCARE IN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

The redistribution of household work is considered essential for effectively empowering women. This study examines the extent to which fathers' evaluation of their wealth in relation to their wives' influences fathers' willingness to participate in childcare, a domain traditionally gender ascribed to wives. Data were gathered from a mothers' survey and a fathers' survey, each with a sample of 200, conducted in a rural and an urban district in Uganda in 2008. The study compares mean scores for perception and practice indices across three wealth categories: "wife is wealthier than husband," "husband is wealthier than wife," and "shared or equal wealth." Data show that fathers are more likely to engage in childcare when husbands and wives share or have equal wealth than when there are wealth differences between spouses. The results suggest that policy should focus on raising women's economic endowment as well as public education that encourages progressive perceptions of gender roles.

KEYWORDS

Spousal wealth, fathers' involvement, women's empowerment

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INTRODUCTION

Most societies around the world uphold some form of gender division of labor. Housework, which includes childcare, food preparation, and domestic cleaning, is a gender role traditionally ascribed to women. In contrast, men's place is largely understood to be in the wage-employment sector and not at home. This division of labor is constantly changing, with more women entering the wage-employment sector (Helen O'Connell 1994; E. Jeffrey Hill, Alan J. Hawkins, Yvonne Matinson, and Maria Ferris 2003; UNFPA 2005; Linda Anderson and Steve Green 2006). 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

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employment (Hill et al. 2003). This has implications for the quality of domestic care – including childcare.

While unpaid care work is "essential for people's well-being, the reproduction of the labor force, and social cohesion more broadly" (UN Women 2013a: 27), it is excluded from official national accounts, such as labor force surveys (LFSs), on the grounds that inclusion would be "too complicated technically, would upset existing time series and would produce estimates that are difficult to interpret" (Debbie Butler 2007: 2). It is also considered as a "natural" activity for women, which implies that the work requires little skill or effort, has intrinsically lesser value, and is more basic than "productive" work (Gender and Development 2013). Similarly, this unpaid domestic and care work is not sufficiently supported with appropriate policy measures (Buttler 2007; UN Women 2013b). It is widely agreed that the redistribution of the responsibility for care work is essential for women's empowerment (UN Women 2013b), and it must start with examining the dynamics that accentuate and reinforce the asymmetrical gender division of labor in the domestic space.

This contribution discusses data collected in a study on fathers' involvement in childcare in Uganda and examines the relationship between spousal wealth and fathers' involvement in childcare. The term "wealth" as used in this contribution includes both income and assets. Specifically, the study examines the extent to which fathers' evaluation of their wealth in relation to that of their wives influences fathers' willingness to participate in childcare, a gender role traditionally ascribed to women. Fathers' perceptions and practices are compared across three wealth categories: "wife is wealthier than husband," "husband is wealthier than wife," and "shared or equal wealth." Since redistribution of household work has to do with changing traditional gender roles, this study provides insights into the factors that influence this transition.

THEORIES ON SPOUSAL RESOURCE EXCHANGE

There are several theories that attempt to explain why and when fathers may cross role boundaries and become involved in childcare – a domain that, in most societies, is traditionally ascribed to women. Some of these theories explicitly refer to how resources (including economic resources or wealth) are shared between spouses; some theories have implicit connotations to the influence of resource exchange; and in several others, the potential influence of interspouse resource exchange on fathers' involvement in childcare is neither mentioned nor alluded to.

Among studies that do not feature the influence of resource exchange, the implication is not to undermine the role of resource exchange, but rather to highlight the importance of other factors. Examples include: Lamb's Model (Michael E. Lamb, Joseph H. Pleck, Eric L. Charnov, and

James A. Levine 1987), identity theory (Sheldon Stryker and Richard T. Serpe 1994; Thomas R. Rane and Brent A. McBride 2000), self-determination theory (Edward L. Deci and Richard M. Ryan 2000; Rob Palkovitz 2002), and role theory (Rane and McBride 2000). While these theories do not directly reference spousal resources, indirect linkages can be traced because social roles are linked to resources. In most societies, men are traditionally assigned income-based (productive) and women are assigned nonincome-based (reproductive) gender roles. This division implies a resource asymmetry between spouses that is based on social roles. Other theories focus more directly and explicitly on resources exchanged between spouses. These are discussed in more detail below, as they offer more insights on the importance of spousal wealth on fathers' involvement in childcare.

The resource theory of social exchange posits that whenever two or more people interact, there is an exchange of "commodities," and on the basis of this exchange (or its outcomes), individuals are either satisfied or dissatisfied with the encounter (Edna B. Foa and Uriel G. Foa 2002). Foa and Foa define "resource" as anything that can be transmitted from one person to another and outline six resource categories: love, status, information, money, goods, and service (2012: 16). The love resource has to do with the expression of "affectionate regard, warmth, or comfort." The status resource involves an "evaluative judgment that conveys prestige, regard, or esteem." The information resource comprises "advice, opinions, instruction, or enlightenment but excludes those behaviors that could be classed as love or status." Monetary resources refer to "any coin, currency, or token that has some standard unit of exchange value." Goods are "tangible products, objects, or materials" (16). The service resource pertains to "activities that affect the body or belongings of a person and that often constitute labor for another" (Kjell Tornblom and Ali Kazemi 2012: 34).

Jan E. Stets and Alicia D. Cast distinguish between personal, interpersonal, and structural resources: personal resources are what motivates individuals to behave in ways that are "efficacious and that either maintain or enhance the self" (2007: 34). Interpersonal resources are "those processes that validate and support the self, the other and the interaction" (34). Structural resources are "those conditions that afford individual's greater influence and power in society" (34). According to this theory, the value attached to some resources, such as love, depends on who is giving (particularly), even though the value attached to money may not change so much with the relationship between the giver and recipient (universalistic). Also, resources can be exchanged in concrete (involving tangible activities or objects) or in symbolic (involving figurative behaviors) ways.

Applying the resource theory of social exchange to marital unions Lawrence Lam and Tony Haddad (1992) suggest that the nature of married

couples' family role dynamics is centered on the continual exchange of rewards and gratifications. The theory assumes that household members use their resources to bargain for lower involvement in household tasks and to be or be seen as fair to their spouses. Hence, fathers would be compelled, on fairness grounds, to engage more in childcare as their spouses' wealth and economic contribution to the household increases.

Fairness evaluations

If household chores are not shared equitably between a couple, spouses may feel a sense of unfairness, which will negatively affect their well-being and the quality of their marital relationship (Scott Coltrane 2000; Malathi L. Apparala, Alan Reifman, and Joyce Munich 2003). However, fairness can be perceived in different ways, and some views may only reinforce a traditional division of gender roles. According to Christena E. Nippert-Eng (1996), the way spouses perceive fairness depends on their beliefs of men's and women's expected roles. Thus, if the husband is mainly expected to undertake wage work, and the wife is mainly expected to perform housework (which includes childcare), each partner should seek to perform well in his or her territory or responsibility/role. Joan E. Twigg, Julia McQuillan, and Myra Marx Ferree (1999) argue that performing one's core role is the first form of fairness and harmony among a couple. This implies that among couples with more traditional perceptions of gender roles, fathers' involvement in childcare may be perceived as unfair, especially if these fathers are the main breadwinners.

In line with traditional perceptions of fairness, Renzo Carriero (2009) attempts to explain the "overburdened and satisfied women" paradox and suggests, on the basis of Linda Thompson's (1991) distributive justice, that women's sense of entitlement may be undermined if they make within – as opposed to between – gender comparisons. When women compare their spouses' household contributions to their own contributions (between gender), they are likely to see inequality in the division of labor. However, when women compare their husbands to other men they know, a comparison they are more likely to make, they tend to find that many of these men contribute very little. In this way, the division of labor in the household appears fair. Arlie Russell Hochschild (2003) also suggests that 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 terms, "supermomms" who have jobs as well as care for their children. Such women may have high expectations for themselves (2003: 130).

Julie Brines' household economics theory

Julie Brines' (1994) household economics theory 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). Similar to the resource exchange theory, Brines' theory implies that among couples where wives' wealth or economic contribution to the household is similar to or greater than their husbands, the gender division of labor should be egalitarian. In line with Brines' theory, D. Alex Hecker, Thomas C. Nowak, and Kay A. Snyder (1998) found that the greater the wife's dependence on her husband for financial support, the lower the likelihood of marital dissolution. Similarly, Valerie Kincade 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 have a more critical evaluation of fairness in her marriage.

Household bargaining

Some studies have shown that women with more resources than their husbands have more decision-making power even in the presence of cultural norms that favor the dominance of men (Allison Mackinnon and Susan Magarey 1993; Nina Lijla 1996). Studies in some middle-income countries have shown that egalitarian decision making is associated with increased resources (Olivera Buric and Anđjelka Zecević 1967; G. N. Ramu 1987). Ramu's study in India showed that women who brought more resources such as income and education into the marriage possessed more decision-making power. A recent Uganda Demographic and Health survey showed that more than half of currently married employed women (53 percent) who earn cash make independent decisions about how to spend their earnings (Uganda Bureau of Statistics [UBOS] and ICF International Inc. 2012).

Other studies show that besides having more resources, the absence of male household heads, for example, in cases where they had migrated to urban areas, provided more decision-making power to women (Cherub Amwi-Nsiah 1993). However, women's decision-making power may not necessarily translate into father's involvement in childcare. For example, Ramu's study (1987) shows that economic resources may provide women with more authority, but this does not enable them to negotiate substantial changes in the allocation of domestic chores. Also, while studies show that

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men's increased resources may be accompanied by egalitarian decision making, it is also argued that an increase in men's wages may lead to an adjustment of household time allocation in which men work more in the market and less on household activities. This allocation, in turn, implies that women work more on household activities (Suman Ghosh and Ravi Kanbur 2008). According to the bargaining theory, household decision making is quite complex – it is not the resource differences that necessarily determine decision-making power; rather, it is the nature of bargaining among spouses, which is influenced by resource differences, as well as a rational contemplation of options and goals (Nobunga Oti 1992; Theodore C. Bergstrom 1995; Cheryl R. Doss 1996; Shelly Lundberg and Robert A. Pollak 1996). Depending on the family's goals (which are largely determined by social norms), this bargaining could simply reinforce a traditional gender division of labor.

Maternal gatekeeping

Mothers may restrict fathers' involvement in domestic work by controlling access to or "gatekeeping" the domain of home and family (Sarah M. Allen and Alan J. Hawkins 1999). Some researchers have argued that mothers who work at low-paying, less prestigious, and unfulfilling jobs obtain few psychological rewards or little affirmation. As a result, these women may place considerable value on their roles as wives and mothers. This emphasis generates the need to feel irreplaceable and leads some women to exercise significant autonomy and power over the domestic domain (Allen and Hawkins 1999).

While mothers may limit fathers' involvement as a means of confirming their position in the home, it could also be that they do not trust fathers' competence to carry out childcare tasks. In Jay Fagan and Marina Barnett's (2003) study, competence was indirectly and directly linked to the amount of fathers' involvement with children. Gatekeeping mediated the relationship between fathers' competence and involvement and was causally linked to the amount of fathers' involvement. Jennifer F. Bonney, Michelle L. Kelley, and Ronald F. Levant (1999) argue that fathers are unlikely to participate in their children's care without the support of their wives. In their study, women who had more supportive attitudes about the father's role in parenting tended to have partners who participated more in childcare. Mothers who are less critical and more reassuring to fathers may yield fathers' greater involvement in childcare than mothers who are more critical or show less confidence in 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 that are either encouraged or discouraged by wives to perform domestic tasks do not significantly differ in the amount of time spent on various chores, the quality and efficiency

of service, and orientation toward domestic labor. Other social structures reinforce the traditional gender division of labor. For example, a study by John B. Casterline, Lindy Williams, and Peter McDonald (1986) on age differences between spouses in developing countries suggests that spouses' 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.

Among the key themes emerging from the above theoretical review is fairness. While fairness evaluations are subjective and influenced by a range of factors including employment, gender, education, and cultural beliefs, among others, they are a crucial dimension of perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare. Some couples look at fairness not in terms of fathers trying to do work traditionally assigned to mothers, but in terms of either spouse doing their gender-ascribed role satisfactorily. Also, mothers sometimes may not consider fathers' noninvolvement in childcare as unfair if they see other husbands behaving the same way or even worse. In the same vein, fathers' noninvolvement may be considered unfair when mothers make economic contributions to the household.

METHODS

Data for this contribution were collected in 2008 as part of a study on fathers' involvement in childcare in Uganda. The study objectives included examining the nature and range of fathers' involvement in childcare activities (including feeding, holding, bathing, healthcare, playing with, changing nappies, 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' paid work and educational background; the characteristics of mothers' paid work and educational background; time spent in employment; income earned; work-related benefits; mothers' and fathers' perceptions of paternal involvement in childcare; and the influence of these perceptions on the time fathers spent in directly caring for their children. Various aspects of this study – perceptions, magnitude, and factors that favor or hinder fathers' involvement in childcare – have been discussed in previous publications (Apollo M. Nkwake 2009a, 2009b, 2013). The data discussed in this study specifically focus on the likelihood that fathers may transcend social role boundaries and engage in childcare based on their assessment of the wives' economic endowment or wealth. As shown later, this finding has important implications for policies devised for women's economic empowerment.

Data collection

The study used both 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 districts, Uganda) and 200 mothers (100 in Kampala and 100 in Mpigi districts) were interviewed using questionnaires. Respondents were interviewed at their homes. Some of these were respondents who were married to each other, but many others were interviewed when their spouse was absent. Therefore the two datasets, mothers and fathers, are not linked and are each analyzed separately.

The qualitative component of the study comprised fourteen Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with an average of six to seven participants (seven FGDs in Kampala and seven in Mpigi). These qualitative data were analyzed for themes and associated categories and the patterns that emerged were triangulated with statistical data. Respondents had to meet certain criteria. Only fathers with children below 6 years of age and their working wives or partners who were the mothers of these children, in Kampala and Mpigi were included in the sample. Moreover, the study only considered women and men who were part of heterosexual partnerships.

The Kampala and Mpigi districts were selected from central Uganda on the basis of their levels of urbanization, to enable comparison of findings in urban and rural areas. Kampala is the most urbanized district in central Uganda and in Uganda in general, with its entire population living in urban areas (UBOS and Macro International Inc. 2007). 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 and Macro International Inc. 2007). The comparison was further aided by the fact that the two districts are from the same region, providing for a broad similarity of cultural beliefs, although practices may vary. Moreover, the two districts, being in the central region, are predominantly occupied by the same cultural group, the Buganda.

Buganda is the kingdom of the Baganda people, the largest of the traditional kingdoms in Uganda. The three million Baganda (the singular form is Muganda and is often referred to simply by the root word and adjective, Ganda) make up the largest Ugandan ethnic group, although they represent only about 16.7 percent of the population (UBOS and Macro International Inc. 2007). The Baganda are organized into clans, which is a key feature of their culture (Lloyd A. Fallers 1959). 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 they are 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 [BUCADEF] 2012). Along the lines of patriarchy, women are traditionally responsible for the reproductive roles while men are in charge of the productive and community leadership roles.

In the study, employment was defined as income-generating work that engages individuals at or away from their homes for at least five hours (more than half a day) in a workday and at least three workdays (more than half a week) in 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 substantiate a substantial amount of time that would otherwise be used for childcare. Employment was defined to include formal and informal employment.

MEASURES

Fathers' involvement in childcare is the dependent variable and is measured by four indices. There are two perception indices – fathers' and mothers' perception of fatherhood index (see Table 1). These indices are reliable with Cronbach's alpha coefficients greater than .90. The lowest possible score on both perception indices is 25, and the highest possible score on both indices is 100.

There are two practice indices constructed with ten practice variables outlined in Table 2. These are: "fatherhood practice index – fathers' survey" and "fatherhood practice index – mothers' survey." Both are reliable with Cronbach's alpha coefficients greater than 0.8. The lowest possible score on both indices is 0 and the highest possible score of 100.

The main independent variable is perceptions of wealth differences among spouses. These perceptions are measured in both mothers' and fathers' surveys in three categories:

- wife is wealthier than husband,
- husband is wealthier than wife, and
- shared or equal wealth.

FINDINGS

Participants' background characteristics

As mentioned earlier, this study obtained samples of mothers and fathers from rural and urban areas. Overall, 45 percent of the fathers lived in rural areas compared to 55 percent that lived in urban areas. Among the mothers' sample, 48.3 percent lived in rural areas while 51.7 percent lived in urban areas (Table 3). Participants' occupation, workplace location, educational attainment, religious affiliation, spouses' employment, and

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Table 1 Components for fatherhood perception indices

Components for the fatherhood perception index (fathers' survey)		Components for the mothers' perception of fatherhood index (mothers' survey)	
How much do you agree with the following statement? "Babysitting should be left for mothers, and fathers shouldn't be involved."	(Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)	How much do you agree with the following statement? "Babysitting should be left for mothers, and fathers shouldn't be involved" (Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)	
For each of the activities below, indicate your view about whether fathers should be involved in them.		For each of the activities below, indicate your view about whether fathers should be involved in them.	
Bathing children	(Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)	Bathing children	(Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)
Holding children		Holding children	
Taking to and fetching from school		Taking to and fetching from school	
Helping with homework		Helping with homework	
Changing nappies		Changing nappies	
Feeding		Feeding	
Playing with children		Playing with children	
Medical attention		Medical attention	
Dressing/undressing		Dressing/undressing	

access to paternity or maternity leave at work are discussed below, and comparisons are made for rural and urban fathers.

Participants' employment

Employment was categorized as formal or informal. The formal sector was defined to include government departments and private enterprises that are officially registered with more than ten employees (Charles Ochi 2006). Thus, enterprises that are not officially registered and employ less than ten staff were considered to be part of the informal sector. According to Robert Ikye-Olongo and Dennis Ocholla (2004), such enterprises work in very difficult conditions and their practitioners use a lot of effort to produce goods and services. The data show that participants' employment has a strong relationship with their location (rural-urban), as well as gender (mother-father). There were more fathers employed in the informal than the formal sector (see Table 3). In the formal sector there were

Table 2 Components for fatherhood practice indices

Components for the fatherhood practice index (fathers' survey)		Components for the fatherhood practice index (mothers' survey)	
Do you get involved in any childcare when you return home?		Does your partner get involved in any childcare when he returns home?	
If yes, what childcare activity(ies) are you involved in after work? (Circle all that apply)		If yes, what childcare activity(ies) is he involved in after work? (Circle all that apply)	
Bathing children		Bathing children	
Holding children		Holding children	
Taking to and fetching from school		Taking to and fetching from school	
Helping with homework		Helping with homework	
Changing nappies		Changing nappies	
Feeding		Feeding	
Playing with children		Playing with children	
Medical attention		Medical attention	
Dressing/undressing		Dressing/undressing	

Table 3 Percent distribution of participant employment

Participants' employment			
<i>Fathers</i>			
Rural (43%, <i>n</i> = 100)		Urban (53%, <i>n</i> = 122)	Total (100%, <i>n</i> = 222)
Formal sector (40.5%)	18.9% (17)	81.1% (73)	100% (90)
Informal sector (39.5%)	62.9% (83)	37.1% (49)	100% (132)
<i>Mothers</i>			
Rural (48.3%, <i>n</i> = 117)		Urban (51.7%, <i>n</i> = 125)	Total (100%, <i>n</i> = 242)
Formal sector (31.4%)	11.8% (9)	88.2% (67)	100% (76)
Informal sector (68.6%)	65.1% (108)	34.9% (58)	100% (166)
<i>Fathers' survey</i>			
Rural (100)		Urban (122)	Total (222)
Formal employment (31.5%)	10% (7)	90% (63)	100% (70)
Informal employment (68.5%)	61.2% (93)	38.8% (59)	100% (152)

more urban than rural fathers. In the informal sector, there were more rural than urban fathers. The majority of mothers were employed in the informal sector, while 31.4 percent were employed in the formal sector. The majority of formally employed mothers lived in urban areas, whereas a small percentage lived in rural areas. Most of the informally employed

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mothers lived in rural areas, compared to 34.9 percent who lived in urban areas (see Table 3).

In addition, fathers were asked to indicate in which of the sectors their wives were employed. The majority of fathers reported that their wives were employed in the informal sector. Similarly, most of the formally employed spouses lived in urban areas, and the majority of informally employed spouses lived in rural areas (See Table 3).

Participants' paid work location

The majority of fathers (84.7 percent) worked far from home. Rural fathers were more likely (72.5 percent) to work at or near home than their urban counterparts (27.5 percent – not shown in the table). Urban fathers were more likely to work far from home (76.5 percent) than their rural counterparts. The majority of mothers (90.5 percent) worked at or near home. Contrary to the distribution of fathers' workplace location, the percent of mothers that work at or near home does not differ substantially between rural and urban areas. However, there are still more urban than rural dwellers among the mothers that work far from home.

Participants' educational attainment

As shown in Table 4, there are generally low levels of educational attainment. Most respondents had completed Ordinary Level exams (undertaken around the age of 16) or below. Few had gone beyond to high school. The participants' educational attainment appears to be influenced by their location. Most of the fathers who had attended high school or above lived in urban areas (76.5 percent). Among mothers who had attended high school or above, 94 percent lived in urban areas.

Religious affiliation

The study collected information regarding respondents' religious affiliations because religion may assign different roles to men and women. Consequently, religion is likely to influence mothers' and fathers' attitudes and practices regarding childcare. As shown in Table 5, most of the fathers (71.6 percent) and mothers (76.9 percent) in the sample were Christian. The rest were either Muslim or individuals who did not state a religious affiliation. Of the Muslim fathers, 57.6 percent lived in rural areas, whereas 42.4 percent lived in urban areas. Also, slightly more Christian fathers lived in urban than rural areas. Similarly, most of the Muslim mothers (61.1 percent) lived in rural areas, and there were slightly more Christian mothers in urban than rural areas. There were only five individuals who did not state a religious affiliation.

Table 4 Percent distribution of participants' educational attainment

Fathers	Rural (45%, n = 100)	Urban (35%, n = 122)	Total (100%, n = 222)
Ordinary level and below (84.7%)	48.9% (92)	51.1% (96)	100% (188)
High school and above (15.3%)	23.5% (8)	76.5% (26)	100% (34)
Mothers	Rural (48.3%, n = 117)	Urban (31.7%, n = 123)	Total (100%, n = 242)
Ordinary level and below (72.3%)	64.6% (113)	35.4% (62)	100% (175)
High school and above (27.7%)	6% (4)	94% (63)	100% (67)

Table 5 Percent distribution of participants' religious affiliation

Fathers	Rural (45%, n = 100)	Urban (35%, n = 122)	Total (100%, n = 222)
Muslim (26.6%)	57.6% (34)	42.4% (25)	100% (59)
Christians (71.6%)	41.5% (66)	58.5% (93)	100% (159)
No religious affiliation (1.8%)	0% (0)	100% (4)	100% (4)
Mothers	Rural (48.7%, n = 116)	Urban (31.3%, n = 122)	Total (100%, n = 238)
Muslim (22.7%)	61.1% (33)	38.9% (21)	100% (54)
Christians (76.9%)	45.4% (83)	54.6% (100)	100% (183)
No religious affiliation (0.4%)	0% (0)	100% (1)	100% (1)

Access to paternity leave

Having access to leave from work increases the time available for childcare. Legislation in Uganda does not require paternity leave, although some international organizations provide paternity leave of five days in their human resource policies. Most of the fathers (70.3 percent) reported that they do not take paternity leave (not shown in the table). Fathers who took paternity leave were most likely to live in urban areas (65.2 percent).

PERCEPTIONS OF WEALTH DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SPOUSES

This study seeks to answer the question: is a father who perceives that his wife is wealthier than him more or less likely to be involved in childcare, a

Table 6 Percent distribution of perceived wealth differences among spouses

	Fathers' survey		Mothers' survey	
	Rural	Urban	Total	
Wife is wealthier than husband (5.4%)	50% (6)	50% (6)	100% (12)	
Husband is wealthier than wife (59.5%)	57.6% (76)	42.4% (56)	100% (132)	
Shared or equal wealth (35.1%)	23.1% (18)	76.9% (60)	100% (78)	
Wife is wealthier than husband (12.4%)	33.3% (10)	66.7% (20)	100% (30)	
Husband is wealthier than wife (52.5%)	70.9% (90)	29.1% (37)	100% (127)	
Shared or equal wealth (35.1%)	20% (17)	80% (68)	100% (85)	

gender role traditionally ascribed to women? Table 6 shows the distribution of spouses' wealth in the categories of "wife is wealthier than husband," "husband is wealthier than wife," and "shared wealth or equal wealth," all stratified by rural or urban location. The "shared wealth" condition is what Doss describes as "pooled income" or "common pot" (1996: 1397).

There is an equal proportion of couples with shared wealth or equal wealth in both the mothers' and fathers' surveys. The fathers' survey reports a smaller percentage of wealthier wives than the mothers' survey. Similarly, the mothers' survey reports a smaller percentage of wealthier fathers than the fathers' survey. Thus, individuals' own descriptions of their wealth are more favorable than descriptions by others. Within the mothers' survey, most of the wealthier wives live in urban areas. The sample of wealthier wives in the fathers' survey is very small and exhibits no urban rural differences. Within the mothers' survey, the majority of wealthier fathers live in rural areas (70.9 percent). The same pattern is exhibited in the fathers' survey data except the proportion of wealthier fathers in rural areas (57.6 percent) is not as large in the fathers' survey as it is in the mothers' survey (70.9 percent). In both surveys, majority of couples that share wealth or have no wealth differences live in urban areas. The data show that the more nontraditional conditions of spouse wealth — mothers being wealthier and couples sharing wealth or having no wealth differences — are both more prevalent in urban than rural areas. In fact, further analysis shows that there is a greater proportion of educational attainment at "high school and above" level among couples with shared or equal wealth (20.5 percent) than in couples with wealth differences (12.5 percent). Also, couples with shared or equal wealth are more likely to be in formal employment (61.5 percent) than couples with wealth differences (21.5). These variables are both more prevalent in urban than rural areas.

PERCEIVED SPOUSAL WEALTH DIFFERENCES AND FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDCARE

Fathers' involvement in childcare is the dependent variable. In each of the mothers' and fathers' survey, fathers' involvement in childcare is measured with two indices: perception and practice indices. The highest possible score on both indices is 100. The lowest possible score on the perception index is 25 because perceptions variables were Likert scales with four points each. The lowest possible score on the practice index is 0 because practice variables were binary.

Perception comparisons

Figures 1 and 2 present the mean perception index scores for fathers' participation in childcare according to three perceived wealth categories: "husband is wealthier than wife," "wife is wealthier than husband," and "shared or equal wealth (neither spouse is wealthier)." (The "unequal/unshared wealth (either spouse is wealthier)" category presents the average of "husband is wealthier" and "wife is wealthier" results for ease of comparison with the shared or equal wealth category.) The three *t*-tests reported in Figures 1 and 2 compare mean index scores of three dichotomous perceived wealth categories (that is, husband is

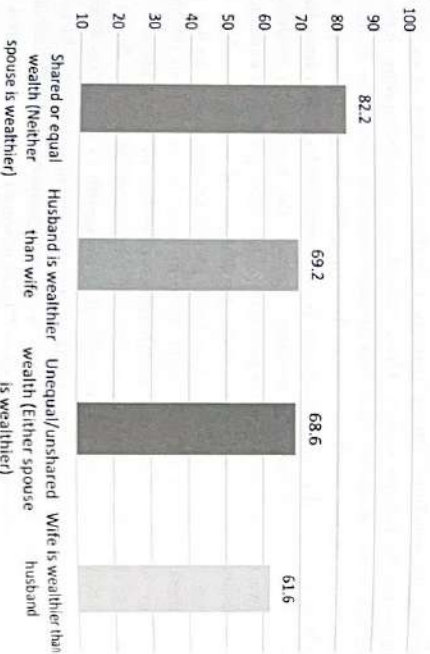


Figure 1 Childcare perception index: Fathers' survey
Notes: $t = 4.5$ ($DF = 219$); "shared or equal wealth" (SD): 14.2; "husband is wealthier than wife" (SD): 16.7; "unequal/unshared wealth" (SD): 16.8; "wife is wealthier than husband" (SD): 16.7 (minimum score: 25; maximum score: 100; mean: 73.4; SD : 17.2). The *t*-tests are statistically significant at the 1% level.

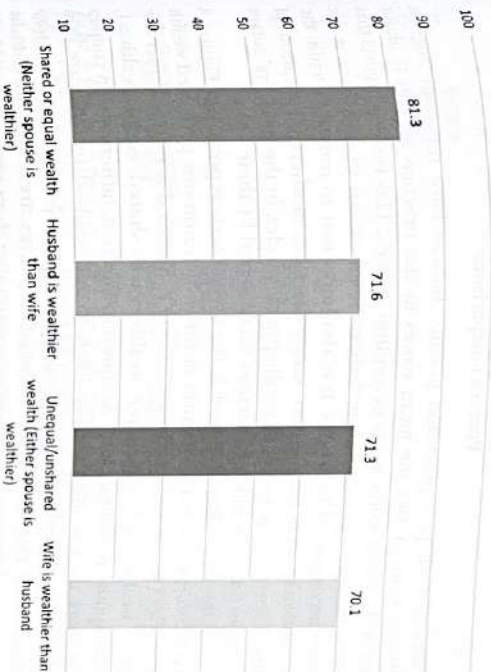


Figure 2 Childcare perception index: Mothers' survey
Notes: $t = 5.469$ ($DF = 240$); "shared or equal wealth" (SD): 14.6; "husband is wealthier than wife" (SD): 12.9; "unequal/unshared wealth" (SD): 13; "wife is wealthier than husband" (SD): 13.6 (minimum score: 25; maximum: 100; mean: 74.8; SD : 14.4). The *t*-tests are statistically significant at the 1% level.

wealthier = 1, husband is not wealthier = 0; wife is wealthier = 1, wife is not wealthier = 0; shared/equal wealth = 1, either spouse is wealthier = 0). As shown in Figure 1, fathers within couples that shared wealth or had no wealth differences were more likely to have a favorable perception of their involvements in childcare than fathers in all other wealth conditions. Also, fathers who perceive themselves to be wealthier than their wives are more likely to have a favorable perception of their involvement in childcare than those who think their wives are wealthier. According to the mothers' survey (Figure 2), mothers within couples that share wealth are also more likely to favor fathers' involvement in childcare than those within couples with wealth differences. There is only a slight mean difference in the "husband wealthier than wife" scores and "wife wealthier than husband" scores. This difference is much less than the one in the fathers' survey by 7.6 percentage points. It may imply that the negative relationship between the "wife wealthier than husband" condition and perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare exist among both fathers and mothers but is higher among the fathers. This result confirms the traditional set up of gender roles, as well as showing that fathers are more comfortable with the traditional set up because it is more favorable to them.

Practice comparisons

Although both perception and practice indices have the same highest possible score of 100, the mean scores in the practice indices is about half of the mean scores in the perception indices. This result suggests that having favorable perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare is not always accompanied by actions. It is also important to note that while the perception index in the mothers' survey describes mothers' perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare, the practice index in the mothers' survey describes fathers' childcare practices (as observed by their wives).

As in the case of Figures 1 and 2, the three *t*-tests reported in Figures 3 and 4 compare mean index scores of three dichotomous perceived wealth categories (that is, husband is wealthier = 1, husband is not wealthier = 0, wife is wealthier = 1, wife is not wealthier = 0; shared/equal wealth = 1, either spouse is wealthier = 0). As shown in Figure 3, fathers within couples that share their wealth are more likely to get involved in childcare than fathers within couples that have wealth differences. Moreover, fathers who perceive that they are wealthier than their wives are more likely to be involved in childcare than fathers who think that their wives are wealthier. Within the mothers' survey, fathers within couples with shared wealth are more likely to get involved in childcare than their counterparts within couples with wealth differences (Figure 4). There is a small mean difference

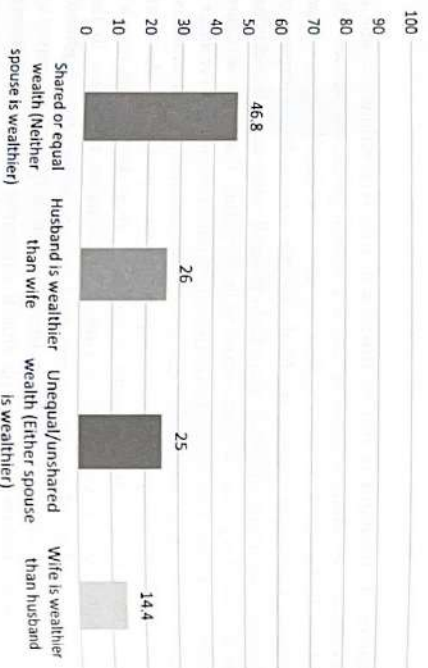


Figure 3 Childcare practice index: Fathers' survey

Notes: $t = 3.4$ ($DF = 176$); "shared or equal wealth" (SD): 35; "husband is wealthier than wife" (SD): 30.2; "unequal/unshared wealth" (SD): 29.7; "wife is wealthier than husband" (SD): 23 (minimum score: 0; maximum: 100; mean: 40; SD : 33.4). The *t*-tests are statistically significant at the 1% level.

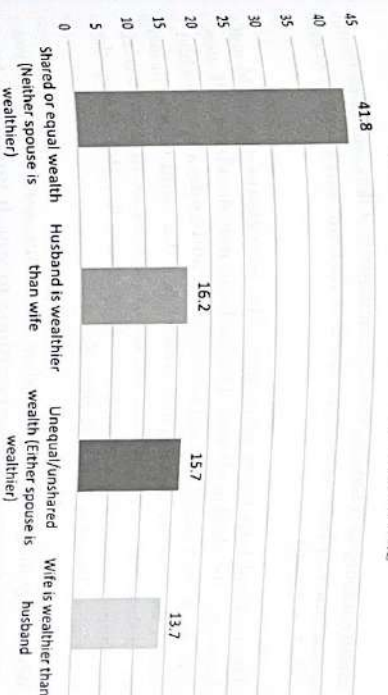


Figure 4 Childcare practice index: Mothers' survey

Notes: $t = 6.369$ ($DF = 212$); "shared or equal wealth" (SD): 34.8; "husband is wealthier than wife" (SD): 25.6; "unequal/unshared wealth" (SD): 24.7; "wife is wealthier than husband" (SD): 21 (minimum score: 0; maximum: 100; mean: 25; SD : 31.3). The *t*-tests are statistically significant at the 1% level.

between the "husband is wealthier than wife" and the "wife is wealthier than husband" conditions. Similar to the case with perceptions, this difference is higher within the fathers' survey. The condition of fathers being wealthier than their wives is a predictor of fathers' involvement in childcare in both surveys, but it is a more important predictor among fathers. As mentioned earlier, these data confirm the traditional gender division of labor in Uganda, but they indicate that fathers appear to affirm this division more than mothers do, likely because it is more favorable to fathers than to mothers.

Data from FGDs confirm that both mothers and fathers generally hold traditional beliefs about gender roles. These beliefs place fathers/husbands/men in the breadwinner position and women/wives/mothers in the care domain. All personal information that would allow the identification of any person(s) described in this article has been removed. As interviewees related:

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, Mpingi)

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; 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 [go out of the home], 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 the child to be clean. As long as husband has left everything prepared and available and has given her the money, this [division of labor] 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 my husband and I are both making money and sharing the responsibilities. (Mother, Mpigi)

The help must come from the man so that it is 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, or a nappy, he has to provide all those things because you would not bathe the child if he/she does not have Vaseline, a dress, a nappy, and so on. (Father, Kampala)

The preceding views of both mothers and fathers surveyed emphasize that the father's role remains largely one of being the provider of material goods and not the actual caretaker. William Marsiglio, Randall D. Day, and Michael E. Lamb (2000) and Mark T. Morman and Kory Floyd (2002) have argued that fatherhood norms are culturally derived. Moreover, Ralph LaRosa and Donald C. Reizes' (1993) symbolic interaction theory posits that social expectations can put pressure on fathers to behave in certain ways even when those ways 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. Simon 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 the man gives the orders in the house. Research on gender roles in South Africa by Cheryl Walker (1995) and Linda Richter and Robert Morrell (2006) shows that 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, two decades later, Anjula Saraff and Harish C. Srivastava's (2008) study on India depicts a more egalitarian view of the "ideal father,"

as one who balances both the material provider and nurturing roles. This finding could be indicative of a shift in norms occurring in traditional societies.

The traditional gender division of labor in Uganda may explain the differences in perception and practice between the "husband is wealthier than wife" and "wife is wealthier than husband" conditions. However, does it explain why couples with shared wealth exhibit fathers' considerably greater involvement in childcare than couples where wealth is not shared or is unequal between spouses? It may if we consider that the condition of shared wealth is a deviation from traditional patterns in Uganda where men owned or controlled most or all of the household resources, which sometimes included their wives. Emerging and progressive new norms dictate that household resources do not belong to either individual but are considered the collective property of both spouses. This perception may exist even where spouses earn different amounts of income or contribute different amounts of assets to the household. The condition represents a more progressive attitude that lends itself to a fairer and more egalitarian distribution of household chores such as childcare.

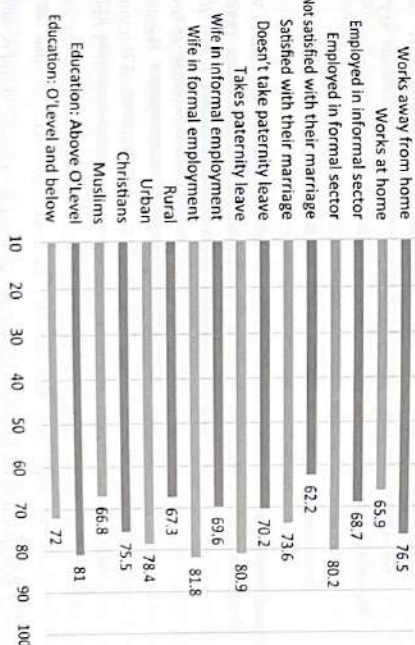


Figure 5 Perception index means scores by socioeconomic groups: Fathers' survey
 Note: "Educational attainment" ($t = 2.9$, $DF = 219$); "Religion" ($t = 3.4$, $DF = 215$); "Location" ($t = 5.1$, $DF = 219$); "Spouse's employment" ($t = 5.2$, $DF = 215$); "Paternity leave" ($t = 4.4$, $DF = 219$); "Satisfaction with marriage" ($t = 1.5$, $DF = 219$); Fathers' sector of employment ($t = 5.1$, $DF = 219$); "Location of workplace" ($t = 4.2$, $DF = 185$). The t -tests are statistically significant at the 1% level, except for "Satisfaction with marriage," which is not statistically significant at conventional levels.

Other sociodemographic variables

It is interesting to assess the extent to which variables other than perceived wealth compare in predicting fathers' involvement in childcare. Figure 5 summarizes the difference in means tests (*t*-statistics) on independent samples perception index mean comparisons in the fathers' survey. The figure shows that education, religion, location (urban/rural), wife's employment, access to paternity leave, marital satisfaction, fathers' employment (formal/informal sector), and workplace location all have significant relationships with fathers' perceptions of their involvement in childcare. Of these sociodemographic variables, fathers' employment, wives' employment, rural-urban location, and religion appear to have the strongest relationships with fathers' perceptions of their involvement in childcare with mean differences of around 20 percentage points between subgroups. These same variables are important predictors of mothers' perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare except there are smaller mean differences among subgroups (see Figure 6). Thus, these variables

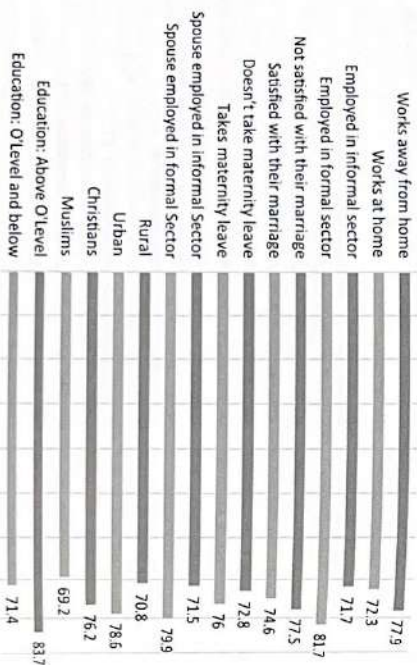


Figure 6 Perception index means scores by socioeconomic groups: Mothers' survey
 Note: "Educational attainment" ($t = 6.436$, $DF = 240$); "Religion" ($t = 3.291$, $DF = 235$); "Location" ($t = 4.350$, $DF = 240$); "Spouse's employment" ($t = 4.68$, $DF = 240$); "Maternity leave" ($t = 1.811$, $DF = 218$); "Satisfaction with marriage" ($t = 8.925$, $DF = 240$); "Mother's sector of employment" ($t = 5.310$, $DF = 240$); "Location of workplace" ($t = 3.071$, $DF = 240$). The *t*-tests are statistically significant at the 1% level, except for "Maternity leave," which is significant at the 10% level, and "Satisfaction with marriage," which is not statistically significant at the conventional levels.

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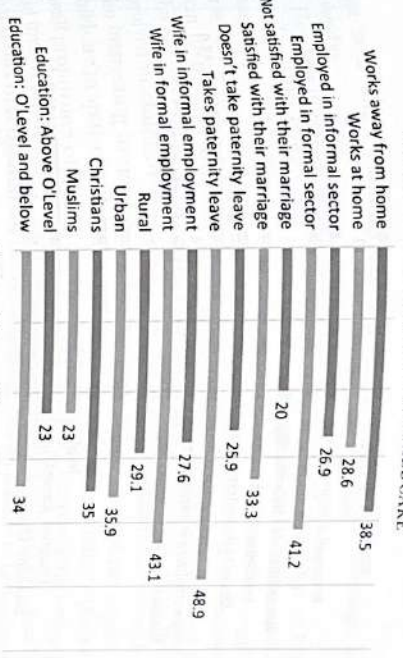


Figure 7 Childcare practice index means scores by socioeconomic group (fathers)
 Note: Minimum score: 0; maximum: 100; mean: 40; SD: 33.4; "Educational attainment" ($t = 2.1$, $DF = 54$); "Religion" ($t = 2.1$, $DF = 172$); "Location" ($t = 1.3$, $DF = 176$); "Spouse's employment" ($t = 2.9$, $DF = 107$); "Paternity leave" ($t = 4.3$, $DF = 176$); "Satisfaction with marriage" ($t = 7.9$, $DF = 176$); "Fathers' sector of employment" ($t = 2.9$, $DF = 176$); "Location of workplace" ($t = 1.7$, $DF = 147$). The statistical significance levels for *t*-tests are as follows: "Spouse's employment," and "Paternity leave" are significant at the 1% level; "Educational attainment," "Religion," "Fathers' sector of employment," and "Location of workplace" are significant at the 5% level; "Location" and "Satisfaction with marriage" are not significant at the conventional levels.

are more important in predicting fathers' than mothers' perceptions of fathers' involvement in childcare.

When it comes to practices, all of the sociodemographic variables have significant relationships with fathers' involvement in childcare. However, fathers' employment, spouses' employment, and access to paternity leave are more correlated with fathers' involvement and have mean differences of about 15 percentage points between subgroups (see Figure 7). The data show that rural-urban location and religion are more important for predicting perceptions than they are for predicting practices. Access to paternity leave predicts practices more than it predicts perceptions. Fathers' and spouses' employment are strong predictors of both perceptions and practices regarding fathers' involvement in childcare. Within the mothers' survey (Figure 8), the employment (formal/informal) of fathers and their spouses is a major predictor of fathers' involvement in childcare; however, marital satisfaction, mother's education, and access to maternity leave and even more important predictors of fathers' involvement in childcare. It is quite intriguing that mothers' rating of their

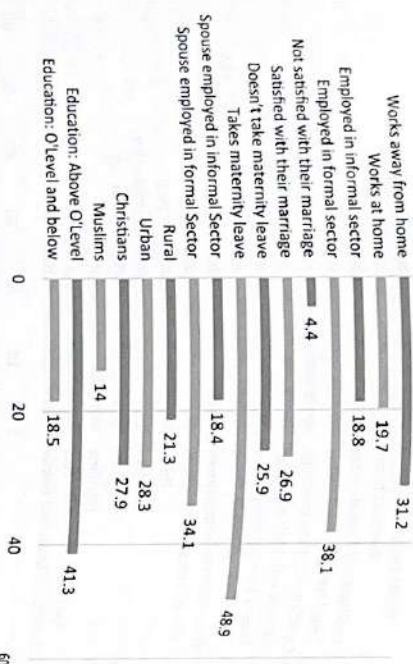


Figure 8 Childcare practice index means scores by socioeconomic groups (mothers)

Notes: Minimum score: 0; maximum: 100; mean: 25; SD: 31.3; "Educational attainment" ($t = 4.451$, $DF = 86.3$); "Religion" ($t = 2.993$, $DF = 78.1$); "Location" ($t = 1.619$, $DF = 212$); "Spouse's employment" ($t = 3.630$, $DF = 169$); "Maternity leave" ($t = 1.312$, $DF = 205$); "Satisfaction with marriage" ($t = 6.347$, $DF = 474$); "Mother's sector of employment" ($t = 3.992$, $DF = 100$); "Location of workplace" ($t = 2.679$, $DF = 191$). The statistical significance levels for t -tests are as follows: "Educational attainment," "Religion," "Spouse's employment," "Satisfaction with marriage," and "Mother's sector of employment" are significant at the 1% level; "Location of workplace" is significant at the 5% level; "Location" and "Maternity leave" are not significant at the conventional levels.

marital satisfaction has a very strong correlation with their reporting on husbands' involvement 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. Brines' 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. Women are assumed to enter into a contract wherein they exchange household labor in return for economic support from a main breadwinner (Brines 1994). Other studies have advanced arguments similar to Brines' work. 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

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that as a wife's earnings rise, she might evaluate her marriage less favorably.

The data in this study show that when husbands and wives share or have equal wealth, fathers are more likely to engage in childcare than when there are wealth differences between spouses. Interestingly, among couples in which there are differences in wealth, fathers who are more endowed than their wives are more likely to be involved in childcare than fathers who are less endowed. It seems that fathers may feel insecure about being involved in childcare when they earn lower incomes than their wives. It is also interesting to note that there are some fathers who still participate in childcare in spite of being less endowed than their wives. Similarly, there is a small proportion of fathers that are more endowed than their wives who are not involved in childcare. These findings are consistent with previous research that shows that egalitarian decision making (which is likely to be associated with an egalitarian household division of labor) is associated with increased resources (Burić and Zecević 1967; Ramu 1987; Mackinnon and Magarey 1993; Lijla 1996; UBOS and ICF International Inc. 2012). The findings also underline the fact that despite indications of egalitarian gender roles—such as education, urban location, and absence of wealth differences—traditional cultural norms continue to have an influence on the gender division of labor.

CONCLUSION

This study measured perceptions of spousal wealth differences and how these perceptions related to fathers' involvement in childcare. The data show that when fathers' evaluation is that they are wealthier than their wives, they are more motivated to participate in childcare than when they think their wives are wealthier. An even stronger predictor of fathers' involvement in childcare is the condition where couples perceive that they have shared or equal wealth. Studies show that intrahousehold resource ownership and control is much more complex than it is discussed here. For example, studies on household economics show that even when households have a significant amount of shared resources, members do not necessarily make the same financial decisions or have the same preferences (Doss 1996). Also, studies on land ownership, which is a crucial form of wealth in Uganda, show that even where couples own land jointly, in most cases, wives' names are not included on the land titles, and husbands have more decision-making power over those assets (Cheryl Doss, Ruth Meinzen-Dick, and Allan Bomhang 2014). These complexities notwithstanding, this analysis focused on the extent to which fathers' evaluations of their wealth in comparison to that of their wives may influence their involvement in childcare, a gender role traditionally ascribed to women. The perception that wealth is shared and that neither spouse owns more resources appears

egalitarian and deviant from traditional gender patterns in Uganda. It is not surprising that fathers within those couples were more likely to be involved in childcare, and mothers within such couples were more supportive of fathers' involvement in childcare. It is also interesting to find that such couples are more likely to live in urban than rural areas; more involved in formal than informal employment; and more likely to have attained higher levels of education.

These findings have important implications for policies focused on empowering women economically. What these data show is that raising women's assets and incomes needs to be accompanied with broader community education campaigns that encourage progressive and egalitarian perceptions of gender roles.

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