

**Unpaid care work and social norms:
Gender, generation and change in northern Uganda**

*Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy*

by

Lucia Rost

Magdalen College

Department of International Development

University of Oxford



Table of contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
List of tables	iv
List of figures	vi
List of abbreviations	vii
1 Introduction: Time use, social norms and social change	1
1.1 Time use, the division of labour and unpaid care work	4
1.2 Social norms, gender and generation	22
1.3 Social change and northern Uganda	29
1.4 Conceptual framework	34
2 Case study and methodology	41
2.1 Northern Uganda	41
2.2 Data collection	52
2.3 Data analysis	65
2.4 Reflections	76
2.5 Conclusion	83
3 Time use and social norms	85
3.1 Time use	85
3.2 Care work norms	105
3.3 Related norms and ideologies	114
3.4 Conclusion	131
4 To comply or to deviate? Agency, awareness and advantage	134
4.1 Agency	135
4.2 Awareness	151
4.3 Advantage	176
4.4 Conclusion	201
5 Continuity and change in care work norms	205
5.1 Social drivers of change	206
5.2 Reinforcement of care work norms	214
5.3 Scope for change in care work norms	226
5.4 Relaxation of care work norms	248
5.5 Conclusion	250
6 Conclusion and discussion	252
6.1 Methodological implications	252

6.2	Theoretical implications	254
6.3	Policy implications.....	259
6.4	Further research.....	262
	List of references.....	266
	Appendices	296

Abstract

There has been increasing interest in understanding care responsibilities in developing countries but there remains limited evidence on determinants of gendered participation in care. This thesis proposes social norms as an explanation for gender- and age-based differences in the time devoted to unpaid care work – including caring for people and domestic work. It investigates how social norms exert influence at different levels, why they are complied with and how they are contested and changing.

The research setting is northern Uganda, where researchers have observed socio-cultural changes resulting from a civil war, the rise of formal education, the increasing involvement of development agencies and new cultural and technological influences. I collected mixed-methods data from adults and children in this region between 2014 and 2019.

Building on theories of social norms, gender and childhood, this thesis argues that social norms dictate that females are supposed to do more unpaid care work than males, and boys more than men. I focus on three factors that shape whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, prevailing care-related norms. Individuals are more likely to deviate from these norms if (1) they are able to choose to deviate (agency); (2) they are aware of alternative options (awareness); and (3) if deviating is beneficial for them (advantage).

Some factors are reinforcing care-related norms in northern Uganda. However, shifts in agency, awareness and advantage suggest there is scope for change. It appears that care-related norms are changing subtly rather than radically. Whether these norms and the division of unpaid care work transform more fundamentally in the future will depend on the development of the region and remains to be explored in further research.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof Douglas Gollin and Dr Gina Crivello, for their invaluable support. You provided important guidance, feedback and suggestions and supported me emotionally over the last years. Thanks for your encouragement and kindness.

I am also grateful for the insightful feedback from my examiners, Prof Deborah Levison and Dr Els Lecoutere, and from Prof Cheryl Doss, Prof Jo Boyden and Dr Imane Chaara.

For the DPhil, I received support from the German Academic Foundation and the UK Economic and Social Research Council, for which I am very grateful.

My DPhil builds on data collected together with Oxfam's WE-Care team in Oxford and Uganda. In particular, I would like to thank Thalia Kidder, Andrea Azevedo, Amber Parkes, Imogen Davies, Anam Parvez Butt, Dr Leyla Karimli, Dr Emma Samman, Dr Katie Bates, Joselyn Bigiwar, Maude Mugisha and the Greenstar International team.

I also wish to thank my brilliant research assistants in Uganda, in particular Ataro Juliet, Simon Olonya Peter, Kenneth Kidega, Brian Opoka, Brad Olula, Jimmy and Brenda. I am grateful to all the enumerators, facilitators, mobilisers and local leaders who collected data or helped us identify research participants. Thanks also to my lovely host family in Uganda, who made me feel at home and looked after me. Betty, Doris, Teddy and Abang, I miss you.

I also want to thank my family in the UK and Germany. Jasper, you simply are the best. Thanks for providing useful feedback, listening to me rambling on and on about the DPhil structure, giving me time to work and being there for me.

Thanks to Leanne and Elliot, my two little monkeys, for your giggles and love, for adding lots of random characters to my DPhil when I was not looking, drawing on my notes, asking for cuddles and bringing various toys or household items to my desk to assist me.

Thanks to my mother-in-law, Jeannette, who looked after the children with so much love and patience and always cheered me up in my tea breaks. I couldn't have done it without you. Thanks also to my mother, Chris, for looking after the little ones and for always being there for me on the other end of the phone.

I am also grateful to all the others who helped with childcare or provided emotional support, in particular, Martin, Jan, Gabrielle, Willi, Nicole, Emil, Henri, Rosanna, Sophia, Ingrid, Christoph, Jule, Gabbie, Ditte, Fay and the Scallywags Nursery team.

Last but certainly not least, I express my gratitude to all the research participants in Uganda, who generously shared their time and thoughts to support me with my studies (as they always said). Thank you for making me feel welcome, for answering my questions and for teaching me so many things.

List of tables

Table 1: Methods	52
Table 2: Survey data collection	56
Table 3: Adults' time-use measurement.....	69
Table 4: Children's time-use measurement	70
Table 5: Vignettes about the division of labour	72
Table 6: Vignettes about high and low expectations.....	73
Table 7: Control variables	74
Table 8: Descriptive statistics of control variables.....	75
Table 9: Adults' unpaid care work hours (per day), participation rates	86
Table 10: Children's unpaid care work hours (per day), participation rates	87
Table 11: Adults' market-oriented work hours (per day), participation rates.....	92
Table 12: Children's market-oriented work hours (per day), participation rates.....	93
Table 13: Adults' non-work hours (per day), participation rates.....	94
Table 14: Children's non-work hours (per day), participation rates.....	95
Table 15: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs in other men's approval of male care.....	109
Table 16: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs in others' approval of male care.....	109
Table 17: Association between women's beliefs in others' approval of male care and children's care hours (per day)	110
Table 18: Association between children's care hours (per day) and beliefs in others' approval of male care.....	111
Table 19: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs about other men's care	112
Table 20: Descriptive statistics of vignettes.....	113
Table 21: Ranking of activities from most to least skilled.....	119
Table 22: Association between men's perception of care as skilled and men's care hours (per day).....	120
Table 23: Association between bride price payment and men's care hours (per day)	129
Table 24: Association between the number of children under four and adults' care hours (per day).....	130
Table 25: Association between the number of children under four and girls' care hours (per day)	131
Table 26: Association between men's decision making and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs.....	138
Table 27: Association between women's decision making and adults' care hours (per day)/beliefs	142

Table 28: Association between women's decision making in specific areas and adults' care hours (per day)	143
Table 29: Association between children's decision making and children's beliefs	144
Table 30: Association between children's income and children's time use (per day)	146
Table 31: Association between women's control over income and women's care hours (per day)/beliefs/decision making	147
Table 32: Association between men's care and sons' care hours (per day)	165
Table 33: Association between men's reports of their fathers' care and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs	166
Table 34: Association between parents' and children's desired future division of labour	167
Table 35: Association between men's learning of care and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs	170
Table 36: Association between men's training participation and adults' time use (per day)	172
Table 37: Association between men's education and men's beliefs	174
Table 38: Association between men's acceptance of mocking and men's time use (per day) ...	179
Table 39: Association between adults' acceptance of criticising women and adults' time use (per day).....	183
Table 40: Association between adults' acceptance of criticising women and adults' beliefs	184
Table 41: Association between adults' acceptance of beating women and adults' time use (per day).....	185
Table 42: Association between adults' acceptance of beating women and adults' beliefs	186
Table 43: Association between children's leisure hours (per day) and children's decision making	189
Table 44: Association between children feeling overworked and children's happiness	194
Table 45: Association between women's injury and women's beliefs	196
Table 46: Association between children's care hours and education hours (per day)	197
Table 47: Association between household wealth and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs	218
Table 48: Association between owning a bicycle and men's water collection hours (per day) ..	242
Table 49: Difference between approval of and beliefs in others' approval of male care.....	244
Table 50: Difference between parents' and children's beliefs related to male care.....	245

List of figures

Figure 1: Dynamic framework for social norms change.....	31
Figure 2: Ecological framework.....	39
Figure 3: Drawing of a home.....	50
Figure 4: Map of Uganda and Lamwo district.....	51
Figure 5: Drawings of childcare.....	90
Figure 6: Drawing of fetching water with other children.....	91
Figure 7: Work throughout the life course	100
Figure 8: Drawing of life-course activities.....	101
Figure 9: Drawings of daily activities.....	103
Figure 10: Drawing of fetching water over the life course	107
Figure 11: Drawing of a family	118
Figure 12: Drawings of cooking and washing clothes	122
Figure 13: Drawings of digging and animal rearing.....	125
Figure 14: Drawings of girls' play activities.....	154
Figure 15: Drawings of boys' play activities	155
Figure 16: Perceptions of tasks that men/women are naturally better at	159
Figure 17: Drawing of a boy cooking.....	181
Figure 18: Drawing of a girl carrying water.....	193
Figure 19: Women's harm related to unpaid care work.....	195
Figure 20: Drawing of parents fighting	220
Figure 21: Drawings of fetching water and sweeping.....	241
Figure 22: Triple-A framework	259

List of abbreviations

CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
CUREC	Central University Research Ethics Committee
DHS	Demographic and Health Surveys
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDI	Gender-Related Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
HCS	Household Care Survey
HSFM	Holy Spirit Forces Movement
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
IDP	Internally Displaced People
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LC	Local Councillor
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LPM	Linear Probability Models
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
MICS	Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda
RCA	Rapid Care Analysis
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIGI	Social Institutions and Gender Index
SNA	System of National Accounts
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

US	United States
USD	United States Dollar
WE-Care	Women’s Economic Empowerment and Care
WORUDET	Women and Rural Development Network

1 Introduction: Time use, social norms and social change

Unpaid care work – which includes caring for people and domestic work – is part of all our lives (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014). Taking care of people, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes – all these activities are essential for personal wellbeing and for maintaining society (Razavi, 2007). Unpaid care work is at the heart of human livelihoods and thus underpins all development processes. But it is often primarily done by women and older children – in the case of the latter, especially girls (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014). Unequal distributions of unpaid care work can have implications for health, wellbeing, time for training and employment of those who provide care, and they can perpetuate women's unequal status in society (Folbre, 2006).

Normative explanations for the gender division of labour have become more prominent, arguing that performing certain tasks can be an expression of socially constructed notions of femininity and masculinity (Twiggs et al., 1999). Some have investigated the role of social norms in shaping the division of unpaid care work (Himmelweit, 2006). But there remains limited knowledge on how social norms influence unpaid care work divisions, how they are negotiated between genders and generations, and how they change over time.

Over the last decades, rapid economic, social and technological change has created new opportunities worldwide, with particular effects on time-use patterns (Pells & Woodhead, 2014). Today's care realities are different from those a generation ago due to changes in women's labour market engagement, girls' education, migration, urbanisation, changes to family structures (Samman, Presler-Marshall & Jones, 2016) and technological innovations (Shelton & John, 1996).

In northern Uganda, political, economic and socio-cultural changes have affected gender norms and roles. Social change has been driven most tangibly by a civil war that ended in 2008, the rise of formal education and the increasing involvement of development agencies (e.g. El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005). In this context, patterns of time use and care work norms are part of a constellation of changes that reflect tensions between 'tradition' and 'modernisation' (Vorhölter, 2014).

This thesis takes an intergenerational, mixed-methods approach to understanding the relationship of gendered time use – especially with regards to unpaid care work – and social

norms in the context of social change in northern Uganda. Data from adults and children were collected between 2014 and 2019 using a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods.

The research builds on my MPhil thesis¹, which looked at intra-household decision making on the allocation of unpaid care work between husbands and wives in northern Uganda. The MPhil thesis explored how work outside of the household and control over income shaped women's ability to negotiate responsibilities for unpaid care work. Social norms emerged as an important factor in shaping decision-making processes and the division of labour, and some people told me that these norms were shifting. The MPhil thesis did not include children, but I observed that children spent a significant amount of time on unpaid care work and that social norms were formed at a young age. For the DPhil, I decided to have a stronger focus on intergenerational relations, and to explore social norms and change related to unpaid care work in more depth.

This thesis investigates four related questions:

1. How is unpaid care work distributed between women, men, boys and girls?
2. What social norms and related ideologies shape the division of unpaid care work?
3. What factors shape whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, social norms related to unpaid care work?
4. Are social norms around unpaid care work changing?

These questions are explored in six chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction: Time use, social norms and social change: This introductory chapter sets the stage for the research questions by reviewing the relevant literature on time use, unpaid care work, social norms and social change, and by presenting the conceptual framework.

Chapter 2: Case study and methodology: In this chapter, I provide an overview of the historical and socio-economic context of northern Uganda, and I describe the data collection methods,

¹ My MPhil thesis was entitled 'Sharing the caring: A mixed-methods approach to intra-household decision making on care and domestic work in Northern Uganda.' It showed that women's economic activities and control over income were negatively correlated with their time spent on unpaid care work but not with their husbands' involvement in unpaid care work. The thesis proposed that social norms can help explain these findings, as they can shape women's preferences not to bargain for a redistribution of unpaid care work.

including surveys, interviews, focus groups, participant observations, spot phone calls, observations and feedback activities. I also reflect on issues of identity, power and ethics.

Chapter 3: Time use and social norms: This chapter explores the research questions, ‘How is unpaid care work distributed between women, men, boys and girls?’ and ‘What social norms and related ideologies shape the division of unpaid care work?’ First, I provide an overview of time-use data, showing that women and girls spend more time on unpaid care work than boys and men, and that gender differences become more pronounced in adolescence and early adulthood. Then, I argue that social norms shape these gendered patterns of time use. I show that norms around unpaid care work are related to, reinforced by and expressed through other norms and ideologies about power, the body, material objects, separate spheres and marriage.

Chapter 4: To comply or to deviate? Agency, awareness and advantage: This chapter investigates the question, ‘What factors shape whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, social norms related to unpaid care work?’ I argue that whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, care-related norms depends on three closely related factors. Individuals are most likely to challenge care work norms if (1) they can define their goals and act upon them (agency); (2) if they are aware of alternative behaviours (awareness); and (3) if the benefits associated with non-compliance outweigh the costs (advantage).

Chapter 5: Continuity and change in care work norms: In this chapter, I explore the question, ‘Are social norms around unpaid care work changing?’ In northern Ugandan, the war, the rise of formal education, ‘western’ influence, policies and interventions have created tensions between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’, and gender norms and the division of labour are debated within these tensions. I argue that, even though some forces reinforce gender inequalities, changes in agency, awareness and advantage create scope for change in care-related norms. There is no evidence of radical change but through day-to-day adjustments, care work norms seem to be relaxing and bending.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and discussion: The final chapter pulls the findings from the previous chapters together to propose a multi-level, intergenerational framework for understanding forces maintaining and relaxing care-related norms. I discuss the implications of this framework

for research and policymaking. I also propose some methodological implications and make suggestions for further research.

To summarise, this thesis investigates how social norms related to unpaid care work exert influence, how they are formed at different levels and how they are contested and changing in northern Uganda. I start with an overview of the relevant literature on time use, social norms and social change.

1.1 Time use, the division of labour and unpaid care work

The gender division of labour is one of the oldest and most common ways of distributing tasks in a society and it has been discussed extensively in different fields of study (Ryle, 2012). In this section, I present definitions and debates, empirical findings and theories related to time use and the division of labour.

1.1.1 Definitions and debates

Over the last decades, different concepts have been used to describe the work carried out for household and community members without pay, such as 'domestic work', 'reproductive work', 'housework', 'family work', 'women's work' and 'unpaid care work'.

Domestic labour debate

In the 1950s and 1960s, the social sciences mainly ignored housework and domestic caring work. Feminism in the late 1960s and 1970s challenged this complacency (Gardiner, 1993). In the domestic labour debate, two political and theoretical currents came together: the women's movement that framed women's unpaid work as a source of oppression, and the theoretical critique of orthodox Marxism that used the Marxist concept of exploitation to understand domestic labour (Gardiner et al., 2000). Households were perceived as composed of a ruling class (husband) and a subordinate class (housewives). Domestic labour was considered to be a requirement of capitalism and should, therefore, be abolished (Gardiner, 1993).

The debate focussed attention on previously unaddressed issues and established the household as a unit of production, not just consumption (Gardiner, 2000). It questioned ideas of women's domestic labour being 'natural' or a 'personal choice' and challenged the assumption that

women's position was an efficient specialisation (England & Budig, 1998). But the debate has been criticised for viewing domestic work as purely exploitative, which meant that the value of that work was not recognised (Esquivel, 2013).

Social reproduction

The focus soon shifted to conceptualise women's work as necessary for the existing and future labour force. Rather than aiming to abolish domestic work, it was seen as crucial for social reproduction. For example, Benería, Berik and Floro (1979) define reproductive work as 'all tasks related to the satisfaction of the household's basic needs...the maintenance activities required to produce labour power on a daily basis' (p. 211). Women's responsibility for reproduction reinforces their subordinate economic positions and disadvantages them in the labour market. As reproductive work is performed in the private sphere and outside of the money exchanges, it is often invisible to standard measures of the economy (Esquivel, 2013).

Accounting for 'unremunerated work' and the 'care economy'

Linked to the 'invisibility' of women's work, feminists started campaigning for measuring and valuing 'unremunerated work'. Rather than focussing on the work dimension ('domestic labour') or the benefits for production ('reproductive work'), the term 'unremunerated work' was used to indicate what such work was not, i.e. remunerated (Esquivel, 2013). The Accounting for Women's Work Project advocated incorporating the value of women's work in macroeconomic modelling and aggregate measures of economic activity, especially the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Elson, 2000).

Related to this debate, the concept of the 'care economy' emerged out of a critique of traditional microeconomic and macroeconomic theory (Folbre, 2014). It captures the idea that unpaid household work produces value. Assigning a price to that work can determine a monetary value for the care economy that can be compared to the value of the paid economy measured by the GDP (Esquivel, 2013).

To date, unpaid household and care work remains undervalued in economic terms as it is not generally included in GDP calculations. A study estimates that between 2015 and 2025, including women's unpaid household work would add between United States Dollar (USD) 12 trillion and

28 trillion to the current measure of global GDP (Samman et al., 2016). Until 2013, only some unpaid work was included in the System of National Accounts (SNA), such as fuel or water collection and unpaid farm or enterprise work. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) 2013 resolution for measuring work in the SNA includes unpaid caring and household work as a form of own-use production work. However, this new framework for measuring work still needs to be implemented (Benería et al., 2016).

The Beijing Platform for Action

The Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 called on countries to conduct regular time-use surveys to measure women's unremunerated work. It asked states to 'recognise and make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy, including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors' (UN Women, 1995, p. 91). The Beijing Platform for Action contributed to making women's work more visible. Subsequent time-use surveys have shed light on the gender differences in house and care work. However, recognition in itself did not necessarily lead to a redistribution of women's work (Esquivel, 2013).

From labour to care

Since 2000, the focus has shifted from labour to care. Gardiner (2000) argues that this shift has occurred because the physical labour of domestic work has decreased in the developed world as a result of the increasing availability of new technologies and equipment. Himmelweit (2000), in her book 'From Labour to Care', argues that the economic concept of 'work' fails to value the personal and relational aspect of caring. Rather than focussing on the negative aspects of care (e.g. the stress, restrictions for those who provide it), this approach emphasises the positive sides of care (i.e. the benefits for those who receive and provide it). Care is different from the definition of 'reproductive work' in that it focusses on relationships and individual benefits rather than on the production of the workforce.

A shift from labour to care also meant that, rather than being seen as 'dependents', women came to be seen as those who care for dependents. For example, Daly and Lewis (2000) define care work 'as the activities and relations involved in meeting the physical and emotional

requirements of dependent adults and children' (p. 285). Care work is relational – taking place within caring relationships between caregivers and care receivers (Jochimsen, 2003) and motivational – e.g. motives for care include love, affection, duty and responsibility. But care work can also have a resource dimension or a financial component (Esquivel, 2013). Some argue that the personal and relational aspects of care make it different from market and other types of unpaid work. For this reason, Benería et al. (2016) suggest making a distinction between 'care services', a type of work, and 'caring motives', which are intrinsic to the worker.

Some have advanced the notion of care into political and moral theories. Gilligan (1982) developed an 'ethic of care' – a distinct female capacity for empathy, sensitivity and contextual judgement, which is motivated by relationships, responsibilities and the desire to care. Tronto (1993) later defined care as a political project, using a broad definition of 'care' as 'everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible' (p. 103).

The focus on care has been criticised for hiding the 'social pressures on women to provide care, as well as the risks of self-exploitation and economic insecurity to which unpaid carers are frequently exposed' (Razavi, 2007, p. 16). A too-narrow focus on the emotional and motivational content of care might disregard the costs for those providing care and related gender and income inequalities (ibid.).

Unpaid care work

To reconcile these debates, the term 'unpaid care work' has increasingly been used, and this is the term I use in this thesis. Folbre (2014) defines 'unpaid care work' as 'the provision of services for family and community members outside of the market' (p. 135). The definition builds on the concepts of 'unremunerated work', 'care' and 'domestic labour' discussed above:

- **Unpaid:** It is 'unpaid' because it arises out of social obligations and is not included in the markets of exchange (Esquivel, 2013).
- **Care:** It is 'care' because it serves people's wellbeing. It has a relational and nurturing aspect with benefits for both the caregiver and care receiver (Samman et al., 2016).

- **Work:** It is 'work' because it requires time and energy and involves costs for those who provide it (Esquivel, 2013).

The definition of 'unpaid care work' includes a variety of direct and indirect care activities to better understand 'the intertwined nature of these tasks that shape women's lives' (Chopra & Zambelli, 2017, p. 6). 'Unpaid care work' includes the following unpaid activities:

- **Direct care of persons**, usually for dependent adults and children (Folbre, 2006), but also for people who would be able to care for themselves (Esplen, 2009). It also includes emotional support (Samman et al., 2016) and 'passive care' or supervision, i.e. when carers need to remain close to the person being cared for in case they require assistance (Esplen, 2009).
- **Domestic work**, including household maintenance activities, like cleaning, cooking and preparing clothes. This can be understood as a form of 'indirect care' (Folbre, 2006).
- **Ancillary activities of collecting fuel and water**, which have been included in the System of National Accounts and are in theory (but not often in practice, see Budlender, 2008), beginning to enter GDP calculations (Razavi, 2007).
- **Community care activities**, i.e. activities provided to households that are not immediate kinships, such as friends, neighbours and distant family (Esquivel, 2013).

'Unpaid care work' is different from:

- **Self-care**, which usually occurs outside of care relationships (Esquivel, 2013).
- **Paid care work**, e.g. work of doctors, nurses and other health professionals, teachers, therapists, nannies and domestic workers.
- **Unpaid work**, which can involve production for the market, for instance, unpaid work in family businesses (Esquivel, 2013).
- **Subsistence production**, which according to the SNA involves 'the production or collection of material goods, such as food for own consumption, or collection of water and wood, but explicitly excludes domestic services' (Folbre, 2013, p. 135).
- **Production of assets or inputs for personal use**, e.g. building a house. 'Unpaid care work' focusses on routine – ongoing, non-discretionary and time consuming – rather

than intermittent tasks – more flexible, less frequent tasks (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

As it is not immediately clear that ‘unpaid care work’ includes domestic and household maintenance work (e.g. cleaning, washing clothes, fetching water), sometimes the terms ‘unpaid care and domestic work’ or ‘UCDW’ are used instead of ‘unpaid care work’, for example, in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) (UN, 2015). But to avoid long terms and acronyms, I use the term ‘unpaid care work’ in this thesis.

I use ‘unpaid care work’ together with the concepts of ‘market-oriented work’ and ‘non-work’. My definition of ‘market-oriented work’ includes employment and related activities (e.g. in corporations, government and non-profit institutions, household enterprise to produce goods and services) and production of goods for own final use (e.g. agriculture, fishing, mining, making goods) (UN Statistics Division, 2016). Water and fuel collection is not included in my definition of ‘market-oriented work’, as it is included as a form of unpaid care work. My definition of ‘market-oriented work’ is similar to the commonly used term ‘productive work’. However, I decided not to use ‘productive work’ to avoid framing unpaid care work as ‘not productive’.

My definition of ‘non-work’ includes learning – ‘homework, formal education, courses’ – as well as socialising and communication, religious practice, cultural events, leisure, mass media and sports practices, resting, self-care, sleep, hygiene, eating, drinking and receiving personal health/medical care from others (UN Statistics Division, 2016).

1.1.2 Time-use studies

Interest in how people spend their time has increased in the last decades, especially since the Beijing Platform for Action. But most time-use studies are quantitative, focus on adults, and have been conducted in the global North.

Adults’ time use

Research on adults’ time use emerged in Europe and the United States (US) in the middle of the 20th century as a result of increasing interest in living conditions of the working class (Bevans, 1913). The EUROSTAT time-use project started in 1996 and has made efforts to harmonise

European time-use measurement (Pentland, 1999). Since the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, time-use surveys have also been increasingly conducted in developing countries. Time-use studies are now used by a variety of disciplines, including economics, business administration, sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, gerontology, medicine and urban planning (ibid.).

Time-use data from across the globe have consistently shown that women do more unpaid care work than men. Since the late 1970s, women's labour force participation has increased worldwide (e.g. Olivetti, 2006), which is sometimes referred to as the 'feminisation of labour' (Benería et al., 2016). Some research suggests that women's labour force participation has decreased women's time spent on unpaid care work (Esplen, 2009), for example, showing that women's paid work hours are negatively associated with their domestic work time (e.g. Demo & Acock, 1993; Newman, 2001; Olivetti, 2006; Shelton & John, 1996).

Some studies also show that men have taken over more of 'women's work'. Samman et al. (2016) find that from 1970, the ratio of the time spent on childcare by women relative to men fell worldwide – for instance, by 25% in Norway, 28% in the Netherlands and 37% in the United Kingdom (UK). For the US, research suggests that, as a result of women's increasing participation in the labour market from the 1960s, the concept of the 'involved father' has emerged, which has led to more equal distributions of childcare (Monna & Gauthier, 2008).

However, time-use studies from across the world continue to show that women spend more time on unpaid care work than men (e.g. Zambelli, Roelen, Hossain, Chopra & Musoke, 2017). Even though women have increasingly taken over more 'breadwinning' responsibilities, care responsibilities are less likely to be shared (Kabeer 2007; Veerle, 2011). For example, Samman et al. (2016) find that in 53 developing countries, 'for every additional 10% increase in the share of women in the labour market relative to men, the ratio of female to male time on unpaid care falls about 8%' (p. 20). Panel time-use data from 23 countries shows that between 1997 and 2012, the gender gap in time spent in unpaid care declined by only seven minutes (ILO, 2018). OECD research (Ferrant, Pesando & Nowacka, 2014) suggests that worldwide, women spend two to ten times more time on unpaid care work than men. A 2010 United Nations (UN) report also finds that in all regions of the world, women spend at least twice as much time on unpaid care work than men (UN, 2010). This is confirmed by other studies for OECD countries (e.g.

OECD, 2016), the US (e.g. Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010) and developing countries (e.g. Budlender, 2008).

That women who work outside of the house continue to shoulder the majority of unpaid care work means that they have a 'double day' or a 'second shift' (Folbre, 1986; Kabeer, 2007; Veerle, 2011). This contributes to women experiencing high levels of 'time poverty' – referring to the fact that some individuals do not have enough time for rest and leisure after taking into account the time spent working (Blackden & Wodon, 2006). Empirical studies suggest that women tend to be more 'time poor' and to have higher total workloads than men (ibid.). For example, a 2010 UN report (UN, 2010) shows that in all regions of the world, women's total work burden is higher than for men.

Children's time use

Following the International Year of the Child in 1979 and the formulation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1989, there has been an increasing policy and academic interest in the lived experiences of children and youth (e.g. Jones & Chant, 2009; Vogler, Morrow & Woodhead, 2009). In the past 20 years, research on children's time use has increased, mainly in the developed but also in the developing world (Vogler, Morrow & Woodhead, 2009). From the 1970s to the 1990s, children's time use was primarily measured by asking parents about their children's contribution. However, it has increasingly been recognised that asking children for their perspectives is essential, as these can differ from those of adults (Punch, 2001b).

Much of the literature on children's time use has focussed on child labour, which has gained much policy and public attention (Edmonds, 2007). By signing the ILO's Convention 138 (1973) on 'Minimum Age for Admission to Employment', 135 countries committed to pursuing a national policy to abolish child labour.² Some have criticised the ILO's approach for ignoring local realities and complexities of children's work (Morrow & Vennam, 2010) and for excluding children from the production of value (White, 1999). Global approaches to child labour have also

² The ILO convention holds that children should not engage in wage work while they are still in compulsory schooling or if they are below 15 years old, with the exception of light work that is allowed from the age of 12 (ILO, 2002).

been criticised for a lack of acknowledgement of children's unpaid contributions to the household, especially through unpaid care work (Edmonds, 2007).

Generally, unpaid care work has received less attention even though children across the world are more likely to spend time on it than on paid work. Drawing on Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), Edmonds (2007) shows that work outside of the household is the least prevalent (23%) and domestic work (65%) the most prevalent type of work for children in the majority of countries. Most studies before 1990 focussed on children's unpaid care work as part of socialisation. Nieuwenhuys (1996) argues that this is especially the case for girls' unpaid care work, which is minimised as 'playing house' or 'informal education'. The studies that investigate children's unpaid care work generally find that girls do more unpaid care work than boys (e.g. DeGraff, Levison & Dungumaro, 2017; Samman et al., 2016). Using data from MICS and Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), UNICEF (2016b) estimate that worldwide, 5- to 14-year-old girls spend around 160 million more hours on household chores daily than boys.

1.1.3 Why research unpaid care work?

Research on unpaid care work can highlight the benefits of care and the costs for those who provide it. This is particularly relevant in the context of a worldwide 'care crisis' and an increasing policy interest in reducing and redistributing unpaid care work.

Benefits of care

Research on unpaid care work can shed light on the societal benefits of care, which are sometimes 'invisible' to individuals and in public debates. Unpaid care work is usually less recognised and less monetarily and physically visible than 'men's work' (England, 2005). Rather than being 'labour', unpaid care work is often perceived as an act of 'love' offering intrinsic rewards (England, 2005). The less physical effort a care task involves the less likely it is to be seen as work (Himmelweit, 2000). Unpaid care work is undervalued in economic terms, as it is not included in GDP calculations (see section 1.1.1). Even if care work is paid, it is often undervalued and underpaid (Coffey et al., 2020).³

³ Related to the low value of care, household chores are increasingly passed on to women from lower class and status, often from a different country, as captured in the concept of 'global care chains' (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2004; Yeates, 2004).

Research on unpaid care work can challenge these assumptions by highlighting the value of care. It can show that care is essential for personal wellbeing and for maintaining society at large (Razavi, 2007). Unpaid care work underpins all development processes, sustains our standard of living and our relationships with families and communities (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014). It builds intellectual, physical and emotional capabilities of care recipients that benefit themselves and others (England, 2005). For example, bringing up children as responsible, trustworthy and friendly adults can contribute to building peaceful societies, human capital and employment skills (England, 2005; Folbre & Nelson, 2000).

Unpaid care work can be considered a 'public good', involving 'externalities' that create benefits for people who do not bear the costs (Budlender, 2004). It can be understood as a 'free transfer' or a 'subsidy to the public sphere' (Esquivel, 2013). Similar to other public goods (Varian, 2010), it is difficult to exclude people from the benefits of unpaid care work. Often, husbands, the state or society at large are incentivised to 'free-ride' on care – to let women (and children) pay the costs (Folbre & Nelson, 2000). Mellor (2000) argues that it is not women who are dependents – as often assumed – but men who are dependent on women's care.

Costs of heavy and unequal care

This relates to the second reason why research on unpaid care work is important, i.e. because inequalities in care provisions involve costs. Unpaid care work is not always 'lovely', even if it is performed 'out of love' (Elson, 2005). If unpaid care work is not distributed equally, it can be costly for those providing it, usually women and children.

First, heavy unpaid care workloads can have negative consequences for the wellbeing and health of care providers (Esplen, 2009). Impacts can be physical, such as headaches, backaches and physical exhaustion or the risk of infection for those caring for people with infectious diseases (Akintola, 2006). Impacts can also be emotional and psychological, for example, high levels of stress or feelings of guilt and anxiety, especially for those caring for ill people (Esplen, 2009).

Second, care responsibilities can prevent women, and especially children, from participating in education and training (Woodroffe & Donald, 2014). Many studies have shown that heavy care workloads for children can negatively affect their school attendance and performance (e.g.

Edmonds, 2007). Girls, in particular, have been found to drop out of school to help with domestic activities or to care for siblings. For Uganda, Datzberger (2018) finds that parents often keep their children at home to help with unpaid care work. Children with heavy care workloads who attend school often have limited time for studying and leisure (Esplen, 2009). Children's unpaid care work can thus reduce the benefits children gain from attending schools, such as social capital, personal development and better job prospects (Edmonds, 2007).

Third, unpaid care work can affect women's participation, performance and remuneration in the labour force. Because of care responsibilities, women, especially those with small children, are often unable to take up paid work (Esplen, 2009). If women work for pay, their care responsibility might decrease efficiency. Udry (1996) finds, for instance, that in Burkina Faso, women's farming activities were constrained by household obligations.

Care responsibilities can also restrict the types of paid work that women can take up because of their limited time and because they have to remain near those requiring care (Esplen, 2009). For example, a woman can take a young child to sell produce at the market but usually not to a formal workplace. This may mean that women's work tends to be restricted to low-paid, low-status, part-time, home-based, sub-contracted, unregistered and insecure work. This type of work is more likely to have poor working conditions, no compensation for sickness and no maternity leave (Esplen, 2009). Taking up such work can also have negative long-term implications in terms of reduced superannuation contributions and retirement incomes in countries where those benefits are available (Ferrant et al., 2014). The struggle for women to reconcile care and paid work might also lead to 'occupational downgrading', where women do paid work below their skill levels and accept poorer conditions (Hegewisch & Gornick, 2011).

Related to the points above, care responsibilities can explain gender pay gaps. For instance, a cross-country analysis indicates that in countries where women spend a large amount of time on unpaid care, the gender gap in hourly wages is higher (Ferrant et al., 2014). The term 'motherhood pay penalty' is often used to describe women's income loss because of caring for children. Grimshaw and Rubery (2015) suggest that the wage penalty equates to about 6% per child; it is universal, but it tends to be larger in developing countries than in developed ones. They find that much of the penalty is driven by mothers being underrepresented in paid work and overrepresented in low-paying occupations.

Fourth, care obligations can limit women's political participation and activities in the public sphere, such as opportunities to enter debates about social policy, stand as representatives or even exercise one's right to vote. For example, some studies suggest that struggles to reconcile political life and care responsibilities was a reason for some women in politics to resign (Evertzen, 2001). People with care responsibilities might also be less likely to engage in development processes, such as poverty assessments, budget processes and service delivery processes. This can mean that in some contexts, women's (and children's) specific priorities are overlooked (Esplen, 2009).

Fifth, care responsibilities can also expose women and children to risks of assault and violence. If women do not earn as much as their partners because of their care responsibilities, they might find it difficult to leave abusive partners. Walking long distances to fetch water or fuel can also expose women and girls to risks of harassment or sexual assault (Esplen, 2009). For example, Bizzarri (2009) finds that many incidents of rape in eastern Uganda occurred when women fetched firewood.

Sixth, inequality in the distribution of unpaid care work can perpetuate gender-unequal power relations (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014). Through reducing opportunities for education, paid work and political participation and exposing women and girls to risks of assault and violence, care responsibilities can negatively affect decision-making power and agency (Esplen, 2009).

Given these negative consequences of unequal care, some have argued for framing inequality in unpaid care work as a human rights violation. High caring duties can, for instance, violate the right to leisure, work and social security (Sepúlveda Carmona, 2013). Unpaid care work can also undermine basic human rights and dignity when it is not adequately recognised, respected and supported (Esplen, 2009). The impacts of an unequal distribution of unpaid care work discussed above can also negatively affect poverty reduction and economic growth (Woodroffe & Donald, 2014).

Care crisis

Research on unpaid care work is especially relevant today in the context of a worldwide 'care crisis' – referring to a situation of increasing unmet need for care (Coffey et al., 2020; Esplen,

2009). The 'care crisis' affects those in need of care. For example, Samman et al. (2016) find that across 53 developing countries, some 35.5 million children under five, especially those from poorer backgrounds, were without adult supervision for at least an hour in a given week. Older people who are unable to rely on family structures or state support are also often left with little access to care (Esplen, 2009).

The 'care crisis' can also put pressure on those who jump in to fill the care gaps, often grandparents and older children (Samman et al., 2016). For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, where an estimated 15.1 million children have lost one or both parents (UN, 2015), grandparents often care for their grandchildren (Samuels, Samman, Hunt, Rost & Plank, 2018).

Several forces are contributing to the 'care crisis'. First, globally, older people are making up an increasing share of the total population, linked to successes in health and reduction in fertility rates (Coffey et al., 2020). Even though some old people make significant contributions in terms of paid and unpaid work (Samuels et al., 2018), the elderly often require care, especially towards the end of life.

Second, the global HIV/AIDS pandemic is intensifying the need for care. People infected by HIV require care and, at the same time, are often unable to fulfil their roles as carers for dependents, especially children (Esplen, 2009). Since health systems are often under-resourced, the responsibility for meeting primary health care needs has largely fallen back on household and community members, mostly women (especially older women) and girls (ibid.).

Third, changes in family structures are contributing to 'care crises' in some contexts. Extended families are becoming less common; in 2018, nuclear families account for the highest share of the world's working-age population, namely 44% (ILO, 2018) and older people are increasingly living alone (Samuels et al., 2018). Less support from family members can lead to inadequate care provision for those needing care and to increasing pressures on women and older children to fill care gaps (Samman et al., 2016). Even though this tends to be less relevant for low-income rural settings, some evidence suggests that extended family structures are becoming less common in northern Uganda (e.g. Oosterom, 2011).

Another factor contributing to the 'care crisis' is climate change, which is increasingly putting pressure on women and children carrying out domestic tasks, for example, leading to water, fuel and food shortages (Coffey et al., 2020; Samman et al., 2016). In most countries, there has been little improvement in the provision of state-subsidised care services (Esplen, 2009). The 'care crisis' calls for more attention to unpaid care work in research and policymaking.

Policy interest

Some argue that unpaid care work has largely been ignored in policymaking. For example, the main measures of women's capabilities – the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) – have been criticised for not including indices on unpaid care work (Folbre, 2006). Reasons for why unpaid care work has been marginal in policymaking might be that it is considered secondary to more 'important' development issues or that it is associated with local culture and the private sphere (Esplen, 2009). A lack of power has also meant that both women's and children's perspectives have historically been overlooked (Levison, 2000). Social norms that see men as providers and women as carers have also been identified as an important factor 'keeping care off the agenda' (Samman et al., 2016).

However, in recent years, many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international bodies have worked on pushing care onto the development agenda – including the UN, ILO, World Bank, Oxfam, Promundo, ActionAid, MenEngage and CARE International (Samman et al., 2016). The 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 2013 adopted a new resolution to recognise unpaid care as one of five types of work (ibid.). The 2009 Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) – the UN's principal body on issues of gender equality – chose 'the equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men' as its theme and argued that it was a 'new global gender policy priority' (p. 46). The UN's 2013 Special Rapporteur Report 'Extreme Poverty and Human Rights' argued that unequal care responsibilities are a barrier to gender equality and a violation of women's human rights (Sepúlveda Carmona, 2013).

In Africa, some recent policies have also given attention to unpaid care work, such as the African Union Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2018-2028) and the East Africa Community Gender Policy (2018) (Mugehera & Parkes, 2020). The Sustainable

Development Goals (UN, 2015) include a target on unpaid care work (5.4) under goal five ('achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls'):

Recognise and value unpaid care work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate

It has also been recognised that addressing inequality in unpaid care work can contribute to achieving other development goals, such as SDG one ('end poverty in all its forms'); SDG three ('ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages') or SDG eight ('promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all') (see, for instance, Mugehera & Parkes, 2020).

Some have proposed that unpaid care work should be a cross-cutting development issue which should be accounted for in all development interventions and sectors (Esplen, 2009). Esquivel (2014) calls for a 'transformative approach' to care, which means 'radically changing care provision' rather than implementing 'timid remedial measures', like helping women to reduce 'their' unpaid care work.

The 'care diamond' developed by Razavi (2007) has been used to emphasise that unpaid care work needs to be addressed at four different levels: state, market, society and household (Esquivel, 2013). The 'Triple R framework' is often used together with the 'care diamond'. It proposes to (1) *Recognise* care at policy, community and household level; (2) *Reduce* difficult unpaid care work, for example, through time- and labour-saving technology and services or infrastructure projects; and to (3) *Redistribute* the responsibility, costs and work of care provision from women to men, employers, the state and civil society (Karimli, Samman, Rost & Kidder, 2016). Oxfam together with ActionAid and the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) added a fourth 'R': improve *Representation* of carers in decision making, so they can be involved in policies that shape their lives (Karimli et al., 2016). Given this increased policy interest in unpaid care work, there is a need for research that highlights inequalities in unpaid care work and explores determinants of such inequalities.

1.1.4 Theories explaining the division of labour

Over the last decades, several theories have been developed to understand the gender division of labour (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

Rational perspective

This theory is also sometimes referred to as the ‘economic exchange hypothesis’ or the ‘economic dependence model’ (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). The theory assumes that men and women are rational actors dividing responsibilities to optimise the wellbeing of their family (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). Because men hold an advantage in the paid labour market, they specialise in paid work and women in unpaid work (Becker, 1998). Men’s greater earning potential makes it ‘economically rational’ for women to undertake most of the unpaid work (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). However, this perspective does not account for preferences and arrangements that are not economically driven and for contextual factors that might shape the division of labour.

Time availability perspective

The time availability perspective holds that the time each partner spends on work outside of the home influences their time spent on housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

Individuals who spend more time on paid work have less time available to spend on housework (Artis & Pavalko, 2003). The ‘breadwinner trap’ argument suggests that because women, particularly mothers, work fewer paid hours than men, they have more time for unpaid care work. Caring for children means that women stay at home, which is the reason why they spend more time on cooking, cleaning and other domestic tasks (Gardiner et al., 2000).

Empirical studies have shown that women’s time spent working for pay is negatively associated with time spent on housework (Artis & Pavalko, 2003; Cunningham, 2007; Knudsen & Waerness, 2007; Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010) and more time spent on housework by her partner (Cunningham, 2007; Kroska, 2004). But as shown in section 1.1.2, some studies suggest that even if women work outside of the house they still tend to do more housework than their husbands (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

Relative resource perspective

The relative resource perspective holds that a partner's external resources, such as income and education, grant decision making or bargaining power (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). This perspective relates to collective bargaining models, assuming that there are several decision makers with different preferences in the household, who reach decisions based on their relative bargaining power (e.g. Alderman, Chiappori, Haddad, Hoddinott & Kanbur, 1995; Manser & Brown, 1980; McElroy & Horney, 1981). Bargaining power is determined by the strength of an individual's 'fall-back position' or 'threat point', which refers to their outside options determining how well-off individuals would be if cooperation in the household failed (Agarwal, 1997).

An important assumption of the relative resource perspective is that most people want to avoid housework, which means that partners with more bargaining power bargain their way out of housework (Knudsen & Waerness, 2007). For example, research has shown that women's relative earnings (Cunningham, 2007) and smaller gender gaps in education (Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer & Robinson, 2000) are associated with more hours of housework for men.

However, this theory has been criticised by some, showing that increased bargaining power does not necessarily translate in reduced time spent on housework (e.g. Bittman, England, Sayer, Folbre & Matheson, 2003). The theory cannot explain why some women who earn more than their husbands still do most housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

Macro-level perspective

The macro-level perspective – increasingly supported since the 2000s – suggests that structural and cultural forces shape the way individuals divide housework (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Using the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM),⁴ results from studies based on 22 (Fuwa, 2004) and 34 countries (Knudsen and Wærness, 2008) show that more gender-egalitarian societies (e.g. Canada, Sweden, the US) tend to divide housework more equally than those living in less gender-egalitarian societies (e.g. Chile, Italy, Japan). Ferrant et al. (2014) find

⁴ The GEM is based on the percentages of parliamentary seats occupied by women, the percentage of female administrators and managers, the proportion of female professional and technical workers, and women's share of earned income, in comparison with that of men (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

a positive association between gender differences in unpaid care work hours and a country's score in the Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI). Hook (2006) suggests that not only married but also single men spend more time doing household tasks in countries where women's employment is more common, which suggests that men's engagement in housework is related to societal shifts.

Researchers have also investigated the way political context influences the division of labour. Geist (2005) finds, for example, that it is less common for couples to share housework in conservative welfare state regimes that support traditional gender roles (e.g. Japan, Italy, Austria) than in social-democratic regimes that actively advocate gender equity (e.g. Sweden, Norway). Further, social policies and initiatives in areas such as work regulation, work-family balance and gender equality can influence the gendered allocation of labour. Fuwa and Cohen (2007) find, for instance, that in countries with more generous parental leave policies (e.g. Slovakia), couples tend to share household work more equally than couples in countries with less generous parental leave (e.g. Chile).

Normative perspective

Normative explanations for the gender division of labour have become more prominent, suggesting that performing certain tasks can be an expression of socially constructed notions of femininity and masculinity (Twiggs et al., 1999). For instance, OECD research (Ferrant et al., 2014) suggests that the unequal distribution of caring responsibilities is linked to discriminatory social institutions and stereotypes on gender roles. What children spend their time on has also been found to be closely linked to values, institutions and power relations at household and community level (Vogler et al., 2009).

I focus on normative explanations – combined with insights from the relative resource and macro-level perspective – to understand the division of unpaid care work between women, men, boys and girls in northern Uganda.

This section established a definition of unpaid care work – including direct care of persons and domestic work. It showed that, across the world, women and girls tend to do more unpaid care work than men and boys, which can negatively affect their health, paid work, education, political

participation and position in society. The section summarised some key theories for understanding the division of labour, including the normative perspective that is further conceptualised in the next section.

1.2 Social norms, gender and generation

To understand social norms related to the household division of unpaid care work, this thesis builds on theories on social norms, gender and generation.

1.2.1 Social norms

Even though the influence of social norms on behaviour has been known for a long time, only recently has there been rapid growth in the scientific literature on social norms in general and gender norms in particular (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019). Broadly speaking, social norms theory – mainly developed in the fields of social psychology, public health and behavioural economics – aims to understand why social expectations influence people’s behaviour (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

Social norms theory was first developed in the field of public health to understand alcohol consumption among American college students (Perkins & Berkowitz, 1986). Perkins and Berkowitz (1986) found, for instance, that drinking behaviour was influenced by the degree of consistency between the individual's own attitude and their perception of the campus norm regarding drinking. Later, social norms theory was also used to understand other health issues, such as eating habits, smoking, drug use, exercise, seat belt use, drunk driving, safer sex practices, and organ donation (Chung & Rimal, 2016).

Social psychology further advanced social norms theory. The four most cited theories on social norms in the field of social psychology (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a) are (1) Theory of Reasoned Action (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975); (2) Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004); (3) Focus Theory of Normative Conduct (Cialdini, Kallgren & Reno, 1991); and (4) Theory of Normative Social Behaviour (Rimal & Real, 2005). All of these theories emphasise the important role that social norms play in shaping behaviour; but they also acknowledge that other factors work together with social norms influence behaviour – including attitudes and control beliefs (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975), ‘in-group’ or ‘out-group identity’ (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), the context

determining the salience of norms (Cialdini et al., 1991) and behavioural, individual and contextual factors (Rimal & Real, 2005). Broadly speaking, social psychology has provided different theories for understanding how social norms, together with other forces, influence behaviour.

In economics, scholars have investigated how norms influence market behaviour, rational decision making (e.g. Akerlof, 1976), or a fair division of resources (Paternotte & Grose, 2013). Norms have been viewed as providing rules to guide behaviour, which can lead to efficiency gains (Bicchieri, 2006). Norms enable coordination because they encourage acting beyond self-interest and help people identify an appropriate cause of action (Voss, 2001). Grounded in game theory, social convention theory – first proposed by Mackie (1996) to explain female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C) in Africa – suggests that sanctions and benefits associated with behaviour underpin social norms.

Recently, the ‘norms as beliefs school of thought’ – mainly grounded in social psychology and economics – has become more prominent (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2018a). Cialdini et al. (1991) have been the most influential in developing this perspective. They distinguish between two types of norms: (1) beliefs about what others do (descriptive norms) and (2) beliefs about what others approve and disapprove (injunctive norms). Bicchieri’s (2017, p. 35) definition of social norms builds on this distinction and has been used in recent international development work (e.g. UNICEF, Oxfam):

A social norm is a rule of behaviour such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people in their reference network conform to it and that (b) most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it.

The definition is based on three concepts: (1) empirical expectations are beliefs about what other people do; (2) normative expectations are beliefs about what other people think we should do; and (3) a conditional preference is an individual’s disposition to act that is influenced by empirical and normative expectations.

Social norms are, thus, very closely linked to beliefs about what other people do and think. These influential ‘others’ are often referred to as a ‘reference network’ – individuals who matter to us when we make decisions (Bicchieri, 2017). Usually, reference networks are local but they can also include people who are not in near proximity (ibid.). A reference network can span

different levels (Mackie, Moneti, Shakya & Denny, 2012; Marcus & Harper, 2014), including society level (e.g. civil society organisations, markets, labour markets, governance institutions, schools, religious institutions, laws, policies, media, historical events), community level (e.g. neighbours, friends, local leaders, teachers or NGO workers) and household/family level (spouses, children, parents, other relatives).

Social norms are related to, but distinct from other concepts:

- **Ideologies**, which are part of ‘more extensive worldviews about how societies should be organised, themselves often reflecting particular religious or cultural traditions’ (Marcus & Harper, 2014, p. 28). In contrast to social norms, ideologies are not related to expectations of others’ behaviour and views (Bicchieri, 2017).
- **Moral norms** regulate the behaviours that society considers to be most important. In contrast to social norms, people commit to moral norms irrespective of their expectations of others’ behaviour and views (Bicchieri, 2017).
- **Values** refer to the standards defining what groups considers good, desirable, right or important (Ritzer, 2012, p. 150). Values are closely related to moral norms.
- **Social customs** are patterns of behaviour such that individuals (unconditionally) prefer to conform to it because it meets their needs. It is distinct from a social norm, as expecting other people to behave in a similar way does not influence one’s behaviour (Bicchieri, 2017).
- **Conventions or descriptive norms** are patterns of behaviour that we prefer to engage in because we believe that others follow them. In contrast to social norms, conventions do not rely on normative expectations (Bicchieri, 2017).
- **Personal normative beliefs** are beliefs about what I or others should do. These beliefs are ‘personal’, not ‘social’. The link between personal normative beliefs and behaviour is not necessarily strong (Bicchieri, 2017).
- **Attitudes** are evaluative dispositions towards some object person or behaviour, i.e. something someone believes, likes, dislikes, or approves or disapproves of. The concept is similar to personal normative beliefs but broader. Attitudes might influence behaviour, but not necessarily (Bicchieri, 2017).

In this thesis, I rely on the social norms literature described above, particularly on Bicchieri's (2017) definition of social norms. I also explore how social norms relate to other factors – such as ideologies, values and cultural practices – and I build on social convention theory (Mackie, 1996), looking at the costs and benefits associated with norms. Social norms theory has been criticised for paying too little attention to power and to the construction of identity. Gender theory can help address these issues (Ashburn, Costenbader, Igras, Prizadeh & Homan, 2016).

1.2.2 Gender

Gender theory spans different disciplines but draws primarily on insights from sociology and anthropology (Marcus & Harper, 2014). An important insight from gender theory is that gender is socially constructed. A social constructionist lens means that humans make and re-make the world through social interactions and relationships (Lundgren et al., 2018). Maleness and femaleness are not biologically determined but emerge out of cultural definitions of sex-appropriate behaviour and characteristics (Ampofo, 2001).

West and Zimmerman's (1987) seminal piece 'doing gender' has become the dominant paradigm for the sociological study of gender. They coined the idea that gender is constituted, exhibited and portrayed through the everyday performance of the roles assigned to sex categories: 'Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine "natures"' (p. 126). Gender is created by individuals in social situations; it is not a simple property of individuals but 'an integral dynamic of social orders' (p. 147).

Butler (1990) built on this idea describing gender as a 'performance', a 'stylised repetition of acts' rather than a stable category. She uses the term 'performativity' to explain how gender is enacted through everyday interactions. Butler rejects the very idea that 'women' can be understood as a concrete category. She conceptualises gendered subjectivity as a fluid identity and argues that an individual is never exclusively 'male' or 'female'.

Through day-to-day interactions, gender becomes an integral part of our identity and preferences (e.g. Nussbaum, 2001). To analyse how gender becomes deeply embedded in our perceptions of who we are and who we want to be, some scholars (e.g. Kabeer, 2002) have used

Bourdieu's (1972) concept of 'doxa' – the 'universe of the undiscussed' (this is further discussed in section 4.2). Gender roles and relations are often taken for granted and perceived to be 'natural', which makes them more resistant to change.

Another key contribution of gender theory is a focus on the relationship between power and gender. The term patriarchy is often used to refer to the dominance of men over women, but also over oppressed men (Vijan, 2002). Gender maintains social organisation, stratification and power of different groups (Ashburn et al., 2016). Gender norms are reinforced and sustained by people in power. It is difficult to convince the powerful to give up their power (Kandirikirira, 2002). However, as discussed in section 4.1, power can also be used to challenge gender systems (Lundgren et al., 2018).

Further, gender theory has extensively discussed masculinity – referring to the different ways manhood is socially constructed (Senath, 2011). The concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' first developed by Connell (1987) refers to the currently honoured way of being a man, which is specific to the context, time and location (John, Stoebe, Ritter, Edmeades & Balvin, 2017). There are many kinds of masculinities, but only one masculinity is hegemonic. 'Hegemonic masculinity' requires 'all men to position themselves in relation to it', but most men do not live up to the model of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). 'Hegemonic masculinity' spans different levels, such as families, workplaces, educational institutions and media. Hegemony does not usually mean violence but rather 'ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions and persuasion' (p. 832).

Connell (1987) uses the term 'patriarchal dividend' to refer to the honour and prestige and more material dividends men accrue in a patriarchal system. But since patriarchal systems are intertwined with other hierarchical relations (e.g. class, race, nation, region, generation, sexual orientation), not all men receive the same share of the patriarchal dividend (Appelrouth & Desfor Edles, 2011). Hence, the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' emphasises that not being a man in general but certain ways of being a man are associated with dominance and power and are valued more than others. Even though the concept has been criticised for ambiguity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) and a lack of emphasis on the role of power in gender relations (Ryle, 2012), it has been highly influential.

Schippers (2007) extends the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' to include 'hegemonic femininity' consisting of the 'characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that by doing so guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women' (p. 94).

This thesis builds on these gender theories, looking at how social norms related to unpaid care work are constructed through interactions, become internalised or part of 'doxa' and at how they relate to power relations and ideals of hegemonic masculinity and femininity. But I follow others, acknowledging that gender is not the only system of difference (Harris, 2012). Gender intersects with other identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation (Ryle, 2012). Kandirikirira (2002) argues that social norms analysis should examine power dynamics between men and women but also within these groups. Age has been identified as a crucial identity category that shapes an individual's experience of gender.

1.2.3 Age and generation

Age shapes the experience of gender and social norms. Research from different countries suggests that gender norms tend to be less fixed in early childhood but become more important in late childhood and early adulthood (Crivello & Revollo, 2018). In some contexts, age is more important in shaping roles than gender. This is especially the case for Africa (Mbah, 2019) where many societies follow a strong 'seniority system' – referring to a hierarchical system in which those in junior positions are unable to achieve full social status in their own right (Harris, 2012). A focus on intergenerational differences thus highlights that children experience norms and gender differently from adults. This relates to Wyn and White's (1997) 'horizontal perspective' on social life, referring to a shared generational location.

But children also share similarities with adults, and not all children experience norms in the same way (Huijsmans, George, Gigengack & Evers, 2014). This relates to Wyn and White's (1997) 'vertical perspective' on social life, highlighting that 'the experiences, interests and perspectives of young people are integrally related to those of other people who share their social location' (p. 97).

Scholars have increasingly emphasised that a relational approach is useful for understanding intergenerational differences, similarities and relations (Huijsmans et al., 2014). A relational approach sees household relationships as interdependent and reciprocal (e.g. Morrow, 1996; Punch, 2001b). Both adults and children depend on other household members for different things at different times; as Crivello and Revollo (2018) note: 'We are all vulnerable in our dependence, but not in the same way, nor at the same time.' (p. 151). Thompson (2014) uses the concept of 'temporal vulnerability' to describe the generational dependencies that exist between past, present and future generations.

Applying a relational lens to unpaid care work helps to see that children receive care but also engage in activities that are essential for the livelihood of their families (Nieuwenhuys, 1994). Research has increasingly shown that, rather than being 'passive' and 'non-productive', many children make important contributions to the household (e.g. Morrow, 1996). Some scholars use the concept 'intergenerational contract' to understand how care and support flow between generations; parents look after children and expect their children to look after them in old age. But in reality, the mutuality of care begins much earlier with care flowing 'within generations as well as between them', for example, children often provide material, emotional and practical support to their siblings (Crivello & Revollo, 2018, p. 149).

A focus on the interdependence of family members can account for children's agency. Mayall (2001) uses the concept of a 'continuously re-negotiated contract' to show that interdependencies between parents and children are negotiated and renegotiated over time and space and in particular social and cultural contexts. Children and adults depend on each other, but they can assert autonomy and pursue their self-interests. Children may have preferences that may be different from those of adults (Levison, 2000).

Over the past thirty years, the New Sociology of Childhood has evolved in different disciplines. It emerged as a critique of developmental psychology for theorising child development as a series of universal sequential stages through which relatively passive children progress towards adulthood (James & Prout, 1997). The New Sociology of Childhood saw childhood as a social construction and emphasised children's agency in their development and social worlds. The perspective has challenged assumptions that children are vulnerable and passive, which reflects

an idealised vision of modern western childhood, defined as a time of innocence, free from responsibilities (Zelizer, 1985).

This thesis builds on these approaches. I acknowledge age as an important identity intersecting with gender, and I conceptualise household relations and the division of unpaid care work as 'relational' and 'interdependent' (e.g. Punch, 2001a). Even though children's agency may be constrained, children, as well as adults, can use their agency to challenge systems, including norms. This leads me to the last theoretical building block of my analysis, namely theories of social norms change.

1.3 Social change and northern Uganda

This thesis applies theories of social norms change to the northern Ugandan context.

1.3.1 Social norms change

It has increasingly been recognised that social norms change is 'complex, messy and non-linear' (Watson, 2014, p. 6; see also Boyden, Crivello & Morrow, 2015). Over the last decades, rapid economic, social and technological change has created new opportunities worldwide, with particular effects on time-use patterns (Pells & Woodhead, 2014). Today's care realities are different from those a generation ago due to changes in women's labour market engagement, girls' education, migration, urbanisation, changes to family structures (Samman et al., 2016) and technological innovations (Shelton & John, 1996).

Some of these modernising influences might positively affect gender equality and the division of labour while others might pose new risks (Boyden, Crivello & Morrow, 2015). Some scholars find that drivers of change have 'dialectical effects' on gender norms, i.e. positive and negative impacts and unintended consequences (Marcus & Harper, 2014; Watson, 2014).

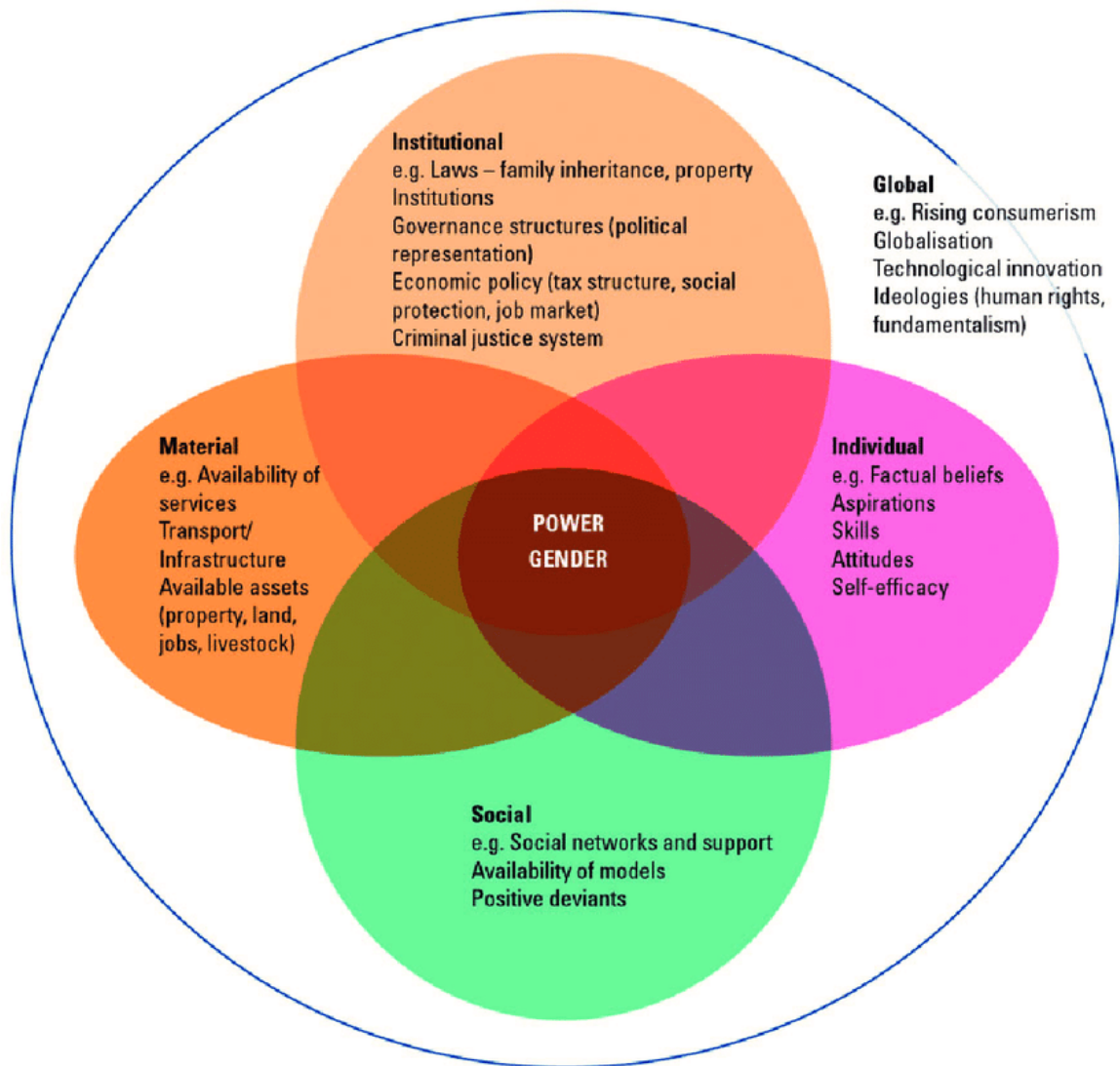
Some have suggested distinguishing between different degrees of change in social norms (see Chapter 5). For example, Munoz Boudet, Petesch, Turk and Tumala (2012) argue that 'radical change' in gendered social norms is rare, while in some contexts, norms are 'relaxing' and 'bending'.

Theories on social norms change often take an ecological approach, building on Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory, which describes how different levels influence human development. Bronfenbrenner argued that human development is shaped by the microsystem (i.e. the immediate environment, such as home, school, peer group), the mesosystem (i.e. the interrelation between different microsystems), the exosystem (i.e. contexts that have important indirect influences on their development), and the macrosystem (i.e. resources, lifestyles, opportunity structures and patterns of social interchange) (Tudge, Mokrova, Hatfield & Karnik, 2009).

Even though Bronfenbrenner's focus is on human development, the ecological framework has been used to understand a variety of phenomena, including social norms (Tudge et al., 2009). An ecological approach to social norms helps to account for the multiple layers that norms operate on and can help explain how norms change (Ashburn et al., 2016).

Recently, Cislighi and Heise (2019) proposed a dynamic framework for social change based on the ecological framework. They argue that behaviour is influenced by factors in the individual, social, material, institutional and global domain (see Figure 1). Social norms operate at the intersections of the different domains. These intersections also represent opportunities to disrupt, develop or transform outcomes.

Figure 1: Dynamic framework for social norms change



Source: Cislaghi and Heise, 2019

Pulerwitz et al. (2019) adapted Cislaghi and Heise's (2019) framework, by focussing on gender norms related to health outcomes, in particular. Also based on the ecological framework, Lundgren et al. (2018) developed a model that incorporates different factors influencing whether adolescents adhere to patriarchal or alternative norms related to sexual and reproductive health in northern Uganda. The factors include, for instance, internal assets, socialisation processes, capital, costs and structural forces. Applying an ecological framework means that for social norms to shift, change must happen at different levels simultaneously (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

1.3.2 Northern Uganda

This thesis explores social norms change in northern Uganda, which has been uprooted by a long civil war between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Ugandan army (see Chapter 2 for an historical overview). There are four key reasons why this setting is interesting for studying unpaid care work, social norms and change.

First, there is limited evidence on unpaid care work and social norms in a developing country context. Most time-use studies are from industrialised countries, and research on time use in non-industrialised countries is less established (Cleaver, 2002). Household-level studies on unpaid care work in developing countries have mainly focussed on care for ill people, especially HIV care (e.g. Urdang, 2006). Most empirical research on social norms also comes from high-income countries, the most famous case being the study of alcohol and drugs in US universities. In low- and middle-income countries, social norms theory has mostly been used to understand sexual and reproductive health and Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) (Cislaghi & Heise, 2019), while the literature on care-related social norms in developing countries is less established.

Second, some (e.g. Razavi, 2007; Serrano, 2012) have argued that research on unpaid care work in the sub-Saharan context is particularly relevant. Poverty, high levels of disease and limited public services and infrastructure can increase the need for unpaid care work (ibid.). For example, women and girls in sub-Saharan Africa are not only more likely to be affected by HIV/AIDS but are also estimated to provide 70-90% of HIV/AIDS care (Fälth & Blackden, 2009). Some argue that, like in other parts of the world (see section 1.1.3), unpaid care work will further grow in sub-Saharan Africa because of an increase in the population over 60 years of age (Razavi, 2007). But evidence on time use in general, and unpaid care work in particular, remains limited in sub-Saharan Africa (Mugehera & Parkes, 2020).

Third, the amount of unpaid care work being undertaken is likely to be particularly high in post-conflict settings due to a breakdown of social structures and infrastructure, declining agricultural productivity, food insecurity and more people in need of care (Byrne, 1996). Unpaid care work is high in northern Uganda because the war destroyed livelihoods and infrastructure and has increased poverty (e.g. Oosterom, 2011). For example, 'heavy workload' was the main aspect

that women did not like about their gender in a qualitative study in the region (Kasande, 2012). Even though gender has increasingly been studied in the literature on conflict and development (Bouta, Frerks & Bannon, 2015), not much attention has been given to unpaid care work and related social norms in a conflict setting.

Lastly, post-conflict settings are interesting for studying social norms change, as gender- and age-based roles are often debated in post-conflict settings. Women often take on new roles during wars, and NGOs frequently address gender equality and children's rights in protective camps and post-conflict reconstruction (Pankhurst, 2008). For instance, research from Afghanistan, Liberia, Sudan, the West Bank and Gaza finds that conflict weakens some norms and structures, opening up space for women to exercise more authority in their households and gain more economic independence (Petesch, 2013). However, the same study concludes that more research is needed to explore changes in gender roles during and after conflict.

In northern Uganda, there seems to be a 'feeling of change' related to the civil war but also to other developments, such as economic and technological change and the rise of formal education (see Chapter 5). Some studies find that changes in gender norms are resisted, especially by men who are increasingly unable to fulfil their roles as providers (Dolan, 2002). Other studies suggest that women have gained more power as their economic activities have expanded (Nibbe, 2015; Vorhölter, 2014) and as they have been exposed to NGO training sessions on gender equality (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). Towards the end of the war, El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) argued that ideas of Acholi culture and gender have not changed, but have become harder to put into practice. Some studies have investigated gender roles in northern Uganda (e.g. Bukuluki, Kisuule, Makerere, Schei & Sundby, 2013; El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005; Oosterom, 2011), but none have focussed on unpaid care work and related norms.

This thesis aims to fill this gap by looking at care-related norms in northern Uganda. It reassesses El-Bushra and Sahl's study (2005) on change in gender ideologies about a decade after the end of the war. For the analysis on change, I build on the literature on the 'dialectical effects' of modernising influences on gender norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014), on a distinction between radical change and relaxation (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) and the ecological approach (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2019). In the next section, I use the literature described so far to develop the conceptual framework.

1.4 Conceptual framework

To explore the household division of unpaid care work in northern Uganda I rely on the theories described above. In particular, I approach my research questions through three conceptual perspectives.

1.4.1 Normative perspective

I take a normative approach to understand the household distribution of unpaid care work. With 'unpaid care work' I refer to caring for people and domestic work that contributes to the provision of services for family and community members outside of the market (Folbre, 2014). I rely on Bicchieri's (2017) definition of a social norm as a pattern of behaviour 'such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe that (a) most people in their reference network conform to it and that (b) most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it' (p. 35).

The social norms I am focussing on are those that shape how unpaid care work is distributed between household members. Some scholars (e.g. Himmelweit, 2006) have used the term 'caring norms' to refer to social norms around care work. I build on this concept but include the word 'work' in my definition to emphasise that 'care' is not only 'love' but also 'labour' (Folbre & Nelson, 2000). I use the term 'care work norms' to refer to social norms that define responsibility for unpaid care work. Care work norms have a gender dimension as they define gender-based social roles (Keleher & Franklin, 2008). They are closely inter-related to the concept of gender roles, which divide responsibilities based on gender (Marcus & Harper, 2014). But in addition to gender, care work norms intersect with other types of identity, especially age, as carrying out unpaid care work tends to be more acceptable for younger boys than for older boys and men.

Building on the literature described above (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2018a), I explore how care work norms are embedded in, and find expression through, a large web of related beliefs and practices. I perceive care work norms as closely related to, and reinforced by, ideologies – 'more extensive worldviews about how societies should be organised' (Marcus & Harper, 2014, p. 28).

I apply a social constructionist lens, looking at how care work norms are constantly enacted, reproduced and negotiated through individuals' interactions with their social environments within power relations (Lundgren et al., 2018). A social constructionist approach means acknowledging that caring and domestic work varies among cultures (Tronto, 1993) and that care relationships are socially constructed (Esquivel, 2013). It also means to understand the gendered meanings that individuals derive from the performance of unpaid care work (Erickson, 2005).

When exploring why norms are complied with or challenged, I build on the literature on gender and power, looking at how power relations reinforce care work norms and how agency can be used to transform norms and the division of unpaid care work. I also employ Bourdieu's (1972) concept of 'doxa' – the 'universe of the undiscussed' – to analyse how care work norms become part of an individual's identity and preferences, and I build on social convention theory (e.g. Mackie, 1996), looking at the costs and benefits associated with care work norms.

In the analysis of change in care work norms, I explore the 'dialectical effects' of modernising influences on care work norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014) and propose that norms are 'relaxing' and 'bending' rather than 'radically changing' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). I also build on the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1987), looking at how ideals of masculinity reinforce care work norms.

A normative perspective can make a contribution to the literature on social norms and unpaid care work. Recently, there has been increasing policy interest in social norms because of the role that norms can play in underpinning practices that are seen as 'problematic'. Development organisations have also realised that projects are likely to be less successful if they do not consider normative environments (Marcus & Harper, 2014). But research on social norms in international development has been fairly limited and there remains confusion about what norms are and how they shape behaviour (Ashburn et al., 2016). There also remains limited understanding on how and when social norms change (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

Research on gender norms has mainly focussed on women's employment or sexual and reproductive health, while less has been written about participation in unpaid care work (Ashburn et al., 2016; Edlund & Öun, 2016). Marcus (2018), in her review of studies on unpaid

care work (14 projects in more than 50 countries), concludes that little remains known about how norms – especially those related to masculinity – contribute to the division of labour. This thesis aims to fill these gaps with an in-depth case study of care-related social norms in northern Uganda.

1.4.2 Life-course perspective

Building on data from adults and children, this thesis applies a life-course perspective. It acknowledges that social norms and unpaid care work might be experienced differently throughout the life cycle (Crivello & Revollo, 2018) and that historical events place individuals in different historical worlds (Elder, 1994). Looking at the ‘horizontal perspective’ on social life (Wyn & White, 1997), I unpack differences between adults and children, but I also explore the ‘vertical perspective’, acknowledging similarities of adults and children who share the same social location.

An important aspect of a life-course perspective is understanding the notion of interdependent lives (Elder, 1994). I take a relational approach, looking at how people from different age groups relate and depend on each other (e.g. Crivello & Revollo, 2018). I perceive children’s and adults’ lives as being entangled in complex processes of construction and reconstruction, the making and remaking of society (Vorhölter, 2014). This thesis explores how mutuality begins early in life, looking at children’s contributions to their households and the livelihoods of their families (Crivello & Revollo, 2018; Nieuwenhuys, 1994).

I follow the child-centred approach, studying children in their own right and not as unfinished, incompetent, vulnerable and passive (Crivello & Revollo, 2018). This approach emphasises the diversity of childhoods, acknowledges children as informants in research about their lives, and moves beyond psychologically-based models that construct childhood as a period of socialisation (Morrow & Vennam, 2010). Even though, in some parts of this thesis, the focus is on adults, I attempt to integrate children’s views and perspectives in the analysis.

Defining childhood, youth and adulthood is highly subjective and context-specific, depending on identity categories (Vorhölter, 2014) and socio-economic contexts (Montgomery, 2009). Age is more ‘social’ than ‘chronological’; it is not ‘natural or fixed’, but ‘constituted in interaction’ (Laz,

1998). Similar to Harris (2012), I find that, in northern Uganda, whether someone was considered a 'child' or an 'adult' depended on experience, living circumstances and self-presentation. Acknowledging the arbitrary nature of age categories, I look at age as a spectrum from childhood to old age. I use the terms 'boys', 'girls' and 'children' to refer to young unmarried people, usually living in their parents' or relatives' households. I use 'women', 'men' and 'adults' to refer to older people who usually have their own households, often with a partner and children. For some aspects of the analysis, I use the following age groups based on other research (Vorhölter, 2014) and findings in the field: 0 to 8 'young child'; 8 to 12 'older child'; 13 to 18 'teenager'; 19 to 21 'young adult'.

A life-course approach is meaningful for several reasons. First, young people present a large proportion of people in Africa and Uganda, and their voices need to be included in research.⁵ Including children in research on unpaid care work also helps to understand how children's provision of care and domestic work can negatively impact their wellbeing and development (Camilletti, Banati & Cook, 2018). Considering how children themselves experience and use their time is also important to overcome adults' ignorance of children's time that can serve as a justification for adults' control over children's time (Ennew, 1994).

A life-course perspective can also help to deconstruct gender identities (Cleaver, 2002). It can shed light on how social norms become part of everyday life and identity since norms are usually believed to be learned (Hirschfeld, 2002) and children become familiarised with work and related norms during childhood (Crivello, 2017).

Societal changes often become visible by looking at children's lives (Montgomery, 2009). A life-course perspective can help to explore how children's unpaid care work changes in response to changing underlying conditions (Camilletti et al., 2018). Adopting a 'child lens' can illuminate the drivers of the (unequal) allocation of care responsibilities across generations and genders (ibid.).

Including children in research on unpaid care work has also been identified as a gap in the literature. Most time-use studies are either on children or adults. The literature on adults' unpaid care work usually only refers to children as 'care receivers' and often in the context of

⁵As of 2016, 78% of the Ugandan population were under 30 (UBOS, 2016) and 49% were under 15 years (Gijsberts et al., 2018). The country's population growth rate of 3.2% is one of the highest in the world (Datzberger, 2018).

advocating for public childcare (Fontana & Elson, 2014). There is little recognition of children's agency within care relations, and children are commonly included in the category of 'dependents', together with the elderly, the sick and those individuals with disabilities (e.g. Crivello & Revollo, 2018). If children's work is considered, children are often framed as a homogenous group helping their parents, which ignores the value of children's work (Punch, 2001b). 'Women' and 'girls' also tend to be grouped in a single category with limited efforts to understand women's versus girls' needs, vulnerabilities and aspirations (Camilletti et al., 2018).

Within the literature on children's time use, the focus has usually been on paid work and school attendance. Much less attention has been given to household work (Ritchie, Lloyd & Grant, 2008). Studies have shown that omitting domestic work can create a misleading picture for the analysis of the determinants of child work (Edmonds, 2007). A recent review by UNICEF (2016a) concludes that more research is needed on children's engagement in unpaid care work and on how children negotiate the expectations and responsibilities of care within their networks.

There are also only a few studies on social norms that include children and adults. Most social norms change frameworks do not take an intergenerational approach, even though studying young people can provide important insights into processes of change and modernisation (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014). Most literature on care-related norms has focussed on adults, and there is a lack of understanding of how children's work is shaped by social attitudes and norms (Edmonds, 2007). Marcus (2018) in her review of studies on unpaid care work finds that there is little known about how norms affect gendered activity through the life cycle.

This thesis contributes to the literature by showing that children are active 'co-participants in the care, welfare and constructions of family life', both giving and receiving care (Crivello & Revollo, 2018, p. 145). A relational analysis helps to overcome a focus on young people as a separate category and an exclusion of the young in development literature and practice (Huijsmans et al., 2014).

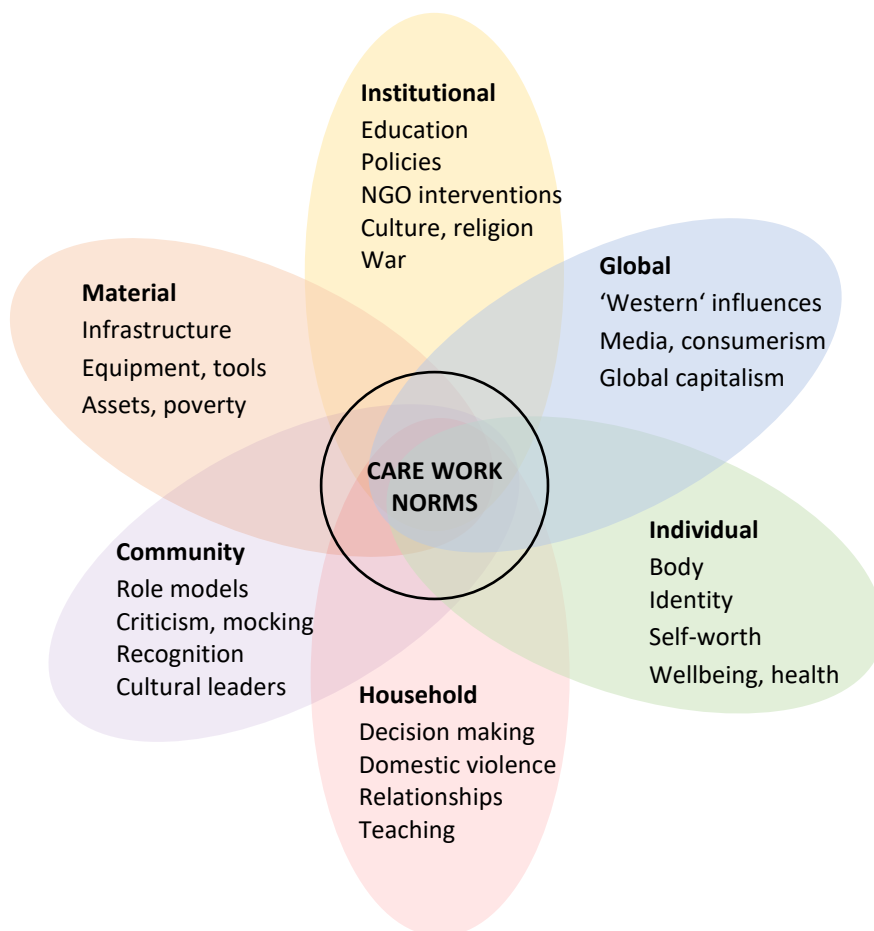
1.4.3 Ecological perspective

Lastly, this thesis takes an ecological approach, looking at how multiple factors at different levels define, sustain or undermine care work norms. Social norms (e.g. Cislaghi & Heise, 2018b) and

gender (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004) are ‘multi-layered’ and operate on different levels. This means that to understand care work norms, I explore multi-level components and the processes by which these components maintain or change the system (ibid.).

Building on the work of Cislighi and Heise (2019) and incorporating factors from other theories (e.g. Lundgren et al., 2018; Pulerwitz et al., 2019), I examine how care work norms are enacted, produced and negotiated at different levels, and how factors at multiple levels maintain, challenge or shift care work norms. Figure 2 presents my ecological framework, which is based on Cislighi and Heise (2019), as discussed in section 1.3.1. I chose to separate what Cislighi and Heise (2019) call the ‘social level’ into ‘household level’ and ‘community level’, as I found those two levels to have distinct influences on care work norms. The graphic lists the key factors that I found shape care work norms, all of which are discussed in different parts of this thesis.

Figure 2: Ecological framework



It has been recognised that there is a need for theories that integrate different drivers of social norms and show the causal pathways and feedback mechanisms between them (Ashburn et al., 2016). This thesis aims to contribute to other ecological frameworks of social norms with a focus on unpaid care work and a detailed mixed-methods case study. As far as I am aware, no ecological framework has yet been developed for understanding care-related norms.

This chapter presented debates and theories relating to unpaid care work and social norms. Based on the literature, I developed a conceptual framework for understanding unpaid care work and related norms in northern Uganda. The following chapters investigate how social norms shape the division of unpaid care work and whether they are changing (normative perspective). I pay attention to adults, children and their interdependence (life-course perspective), and I explore the influence of a variety of factors at different levels (ecological perspective). But before starting the analysis, I describe the case study and research methodology.

2 Case study and methodology

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the northern Ugandan research setting, the data collection and analysis. Between 2014 and 2019, a variety of data collection methods were used – including surveys, interviews, focus groups, participant observations, spot phone calls and feedback activities. I conclude that the mixed-methods approach was very useful for understanding time use and related social norms.

2.1 Northern Uganda

This section briefly describes the historical, socio-economic, cultural and geographical context of the research setting, the rural post-conflict Acholi region in northern Uganda.

2.1.1 Historical context

There are different accounts of Ugandan and Acholi history (Vorhölter, 2014). I rely on ethnographic studies and some of my findings to present a brief Acholi history with a focus on gender- and age-based roles and relations.

Pre-colonial period

Ethnographic research proposes that the Acholi are an offshoot of the Luo who migrated from Southern Sudan to the Acholi region between the 15th and 17th century (Atkinson, 1989; Nzita & Mbaga-Niwampa, 1997). Atkinson (1989) argues that Acholi collective identity formed from the early 18th century when drought and other processes forced groups to intermingle. Women were traditionally seen as subordinate to men, who were expected to demonstrate prowess in war or hunt, to have many children and wives, and to control them (Harris, 2012). But some research suggests that, historically, Acholi society attributed women with important economic and social responsibilities, especially regarding household and family relations (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018; Harris, 2012).

Colonialism

The Acholi region was first explored by English men in the 1850s (Finnström, 2008). Colonialism under British administration started in 1877 in the kingdom of Buganda. The Acholi region soon

became colonised to extract ivory and to 'civilise' the people. At the start of colonialism, Acholiland was divided in more than 60 chiefdoms, ruled by chiefs of aristocratic descent ('kal'). Under colonial administration, traditional chiefs were dismissed and new chiefs – mostly commoners that collaborated with the colonial administration – were put in place to collect taxes and organise communal labour (ibid.). The recruitment of Acholis in the civil service contributed to the emergence of an educated Acholi elite (Vorhölter, 2014). Colonial administration also introduced the monetisation of the economy and cotton as a cash crop (ibid.).

As part of the colonial project, Catholic missionaries promoted Christian ideas that were followed not without reflection. After being baptised with Christian names, missionaries often sent bright Acholi students to higher education, which gave the Christian church the name 'reading house' ('ot kwan') and priests the name 'teachers' ('lupwony') (Finnström, 2008). Missionaries reinforced divisions along educational lines (Vorhölter, 2014) and introduced new moral standards – including those related to gender relations (Kwesiga, 2018).

Colonialism disrupted local power structures. For example, elders lost some powers, while young men got new opportunities (Vorhölter, 2014). In terms of gender relations, research suggests that in East Africa, colonialism created violent anti-colonial masculinities (Mbah, 2019) and eroded the material basis for women's relative autonomy (Kandiyoti, 1988). Changes in the economic structure forced some northern Ugandan men to migrate for work to southern Uganda so they were not able to fulfil their 'traditionally male' roles at home. Many men felt incapacitated through being subordinated to colonial rules and because they were perceived as backwards in comparison to the South (Vorhölter, 2014). Women gained new opportunities, such as growing cash crops (Harris, 2012). But some have argued that colonialism established separate spheres among women and men (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018) and decreased women's power regarding household affairs (Harris, 2012).

There is widespread consensus in the literature that the policies under the British Protectorate fuelled ethnic, religious and regional divisions. Colonial rulers preferred to cooperate with the Bantu in Uganda's centre and south-west and recruited the northern people in the Acholi region mainly as labourers or for the military (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005). Prejudices against Acholis

emerged, describing Acholis as 'backwards', 'primitive' (Dolan, 2002), 'uncivilised', 'irrational', 'dangerous' (Vorhölter, 2014) and a 'fighting race' (Finnström, 2008).

Post-colonial power struggles

In 1962, Uganda became an independent state. Milton Obote became the first president in 1963 (Vorhölter, 2014). Obote was a Lango – a northern group with a history of rivalry but also cooperation with the Acholi. He was known to be in favour of the northern tribes (Finnström, 2008). His government was overthrown in 1971 by Idi Amin – an army officer from the West Nile region. Amin preferred to recruit people from the West Nile into the secret police and armed forces. He soon began to suppress the Acholis and Langi, who made up the largest percentage of Obote's army (Vorhölter, 2014). He ordered mass killings of Acholi army personnel, intellectuals and politicians. Many Acholis fled the country (Finnström, 2008).

When Obote got back to power in 1980, Acholi soldiers committed violence against West Nilers in the Acholi region. Yoweri Museveni, from south-western Uganda, soon started a guerrilla war against Obote (Vorhölter, 2014). Two Acholis from the army – Brigadier Bazilio Olara Okeela and General Tito Okello Lutwar – seized power in 1985 and Tito Okello became the first Acholi president. However, in 1986, he was overthrown by Museveni, after only a year in power (Finnström, 2008). Museveni has been president ever since.

Resistance in the north

When Museveni came into power, many soldiers fled north. They found it difficult to reintegrate into rural Acholi life after years of war, and many joined rebel groups. Across Uganda, 27 rebel groups were formed to resist the government. The rebel groups grew as Museveni's army became more violent. Thousands of suspected rebels were taken into detention, where they were tortured. In the north, cattle were looted and people in the villages were raped, abused and killed (Finnström, 2008).

One rebel movement was the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) that later became the Holy Spirit Forces Movement (HSFM), led by Auma Alice Lakwena. The movement was initially formed as a non-violent movement, mainly concerned with healing and ritual cleansing. But when members of the movement were shot by the army it turned into a military organisation (Finnström, 2008).

The movement had a gender equality focus; women fought along with men and the belief was that the spirit had chosen a woman leader to end oppression and subordination of women in Africa. Later, the movement became less gender equal, with women taking on more traditional roles. In 1987, the movement was defeated and Alice fled to Kenya. Her father Severino Lukoya started a similar movement but was soon defeated too (ibid.).

Joseph Kony – an alleged second cousin to Alice – started the Lord Resistance Army (LRA). Alice's father, Lukoya, was under his command, so Lukoya's soldiers joined the LRA when he was defeated. The LRA was supported by the Sudanese government in Khartoum in return for fighting with the Sudanese army against the south Sudanese rebels. The LRA claimed that they wanted to establish a new moral order distinct from the violent postcolonial history of Uganda. The LRA opposed the Acholi cosmological order and killed people who practised ancestral worship or destroyed their shrines (ibid.).

The war between the LRA and the Ugandan army

In 1987, a war started between the Uganda People's Defence Forces (Ugandan army) led by Museveni and the LRA. Finnström (2008) applies the concept of 'dirty wars' to the Acholi war, calling it one of 'those bizarre African wars that really cannot be comprehended' (p. 105). Over the years, the LRA took on a 'violent logic'. Finnström (2008) describes a vicious cycle: the more violence the rebels committed against the population, the more the government was blamed for its failure to protect and provide for its citizens, which in turn made the LRA manifesto more appealing.

The LRA committed large-scale atrocities, such as killing, rape, burning houses and maiming, and it abducted many children to serve as fighters or servants (Bukuluki et al., 2013; Oosterom, 2011). The government also committed similar crimes against the Acholi population, including killing, rape, burning houses and forcefully recruiting children as young as ten years into local defence forces (Finnström, 2008). An older man (#119), who I interviewed in my research (see section 2.2.2 for details on interview), explained how civilians were attacked by the LRA and the army: 'During the war, the rebels attacked the village and later on the government soldiers came to kill people again in the same village.'

In 2002, the army launched a large military offensive called 'Iron Fist', resulting in cuts in social sectors. The LRA suffered from the offensive but Finnström (2008) claims that non-combatants suffered more. Non-combatants were often accused of being rebels by the army and of being army collaborators by the rebels.

According to Finnström (2008), the war was a 'global war even if fought on local grounds' (p. 9). After 9/11, the LRA was included on the global terrorist group list. Museveni claimed that the LRA was trained by Al-Qaida, and even the rebels themselves took on the discourse of being international terrorists. International policies, such as economic liberalisation and structural adjustments, have promoted conditions conducive to the war in Uganda. Some argued that Uganda resembled a 'war with peace' model: while southern Uganda emerged as a showpiece for western donors to highlight successes in combating gender inequality, HIV/AIDS rates, and continuing economic growth, northern Uganda lagged behind in terms of development and attempts to tackle discrimination for women (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018).

Displacement

In 1996, after ten years of fighting, the government started a new military strategy. This strategy included placing people into 'protected villages' – trading centres, camps and villages with nearby military camps – and stopping agricultural production to cut rebels off from their food supply. Some people went voluntarily, others were forced. In 2003, 90% of the Acholi population – over 1.5 million people – were displaced (NRC, 2005). Camps were presented as protecting Acholis, but many Acholis felt more at risk in the camps (Nibbe, 2015). The government imposed strict rules, such as controlling food resources and imposing evening and night curfews. When people tried to go back to their homes to collect food or water they were often beaten. In the camps, cultural and social agency diminished, and people exercised little or no control over their own lives (Finnström, 2008).

Museveni introduced a five-point program for camps, including primary schools, water, sanitation hygiene, health care, food distribution, tractors for large-scale farming and military protection, but in most camps, this policy was inadequately implemented (Finnström, 2008). People in the camps suffered from abuse by the military, overcrowding and limited access to agricultural production, which increased hunger and malnutrition (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005).

Because of close proximity, diseases spread quickly (Nibbe, 2015). Every week, more than 1000 people died in the camps, mainly because of curable diseases and malnutrition and 11% because of direct violence (Finnström, 2008). Rebels often targeted the camps. My respondents told me that life in the camp was difficult because of a lack of space, insufficient food and water, and diseases. Many people also mentioned idleness and inactivity. For example, a woman (#040) described life in the camps with the following words: 'You cook, you sit and stay.'

Throughout the war, there were large amounts of humanitarian aid that affected local realities. In the 2000s, northern Uganda was among the regions in the world with most humanitarian organisations (Vorhölter, 2014). In the camps, international organisations claimed to be neutral, but were closely connected with the government and thus complicit in the 'social torture' of people in the camps (Dolan, 2002). International humanitarian organisations have been criticised for knowing little about the context and for dehumanising people in the camps by calling them 'IDP' (Internally Displaced People) (Finnström, 2008). As humanitarian organisations trained people to cope with the situation in the camps, people felt that they were maintaining the status quo (Dolan, 2002).

As discussed in more detail in Chapter 5, life in the camps shaped gender relations. While men were unable to meet their roles as providers and protectors – for example, to control land and cattle or to pay bride price for marriage (Bukuluki et al., 2013) – women often took over the traditionally male role of providing for the family, as they could earn an income through brewing beer or engaging in small businesses (El-Bushra, 2003). Many development agencies conducted training sessions on gender equality in the camps. Oosterom (2011) finds that these training sessions further increased men's feelings of having 'lost their masculinity' and that such frustration might have found expression in domestic violence and alcohol consumption.

Post-conflict

In 2006 – after almost 20 years of fighting – peace talks in Juba resulted in the LRA withdrawing to neighbouring countries. People from the camps started moving home or to 'satellite camps' closer to their original places of living (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005). Since then, several reconstruction plans have been initiated by the government and international donors (Gelsdorf

et al., 2012). For example, the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for northern Uganda (PRDP) aims to end poverty and to improve living standards in the region (Senath, 2011).

But some have questioned the term 'post-conflict'; as an informant in Finnström's (2008) study said, 'The silence of guns does not mean peace' (p. 12). When people started moving out of the camps there were increasing incidents of banditry (Finnström, 2008) and conflicts over land (Harris, 2012). The war has left the population traumatised. Northern Uganda has a very high rate of mentally ill people, who often face discrimination and require a lot of care (Lenhart & Reynolds Whyte, 2016). The loss of land and family members and psychological trauma have made rebuilding difficult (Mehus, Wieling, Achan & Oloya, 2018).

Reintegration of rebels was not an easy process, as they were judged by community members. Male former rebels were sometimes forced to join the army. Female former rebels often had an especially difficult time reintegrating (Finnström, 2008). Former child soldiers suffered from trauma and serious medical conditions. Girls often faced social rejection because of rape and forced sexual relations, and they often suffered from complications arising from sexually transmitted diseases (Amnesty International, 1997).

To conclude, the historical overview showed that the life of Acholis has been uprooted through colonialism and post-colonial conflicts, in particular through the long war and displacement. I touched upon how historical events influenced gender roles and norms. Chapter 5 provides more details on current developments in the region and on how different drivers of change influence care-related norms.

2.1.2 Social, economic and cultural context

Most people living in the Acholi region belong to the ethnic group 'Acholis' and speak Acholi, a western Nilotic language classified as Luo (Vorhölter, 2014). Acholis often combine Acholi spiritual beliefs with Christian teaching introduced by missionaries (Harlacher, 2009). Christianity has been argued to have provided Acholis with a way to deal with post-war trauma and to develop a new sense of community and identity (Durick, 2013; Finnström, 2008; Harlacher, 2009).

Acholis have historically been organised in clans ruled by a head ('muku'). Clans formed part of chiefdoms (collections of clans) ruled by a king ('rwot'). The king was the ritual and political authority, being responsible for agricultural production and rainmaking. He mediated between individuals, households and villages to achieve social cohesions (Vorhölter, 2014). Even though these structures still exist, nowadays, local councillors at village, sub-county and district level – introduced by Museveni during the war – are increasingly becoming important for the socio-political organisation (Finnström, 2008) (as further discussed in Chapter 5).

The smallest unit of Acholi social organisation is called 'ot' (meaning 'household'), which is usually composed of husband, wife and children, and can be monogamous or polygamous. 'Dogola' (meaning 'family') is a collection of two or more related households directed by a family head (Vorhölter, 2014). The household serves both social and economic purposes; it provides for the family (Atkinson, 1989) and has traditionally been the main site for raising children (Vorhölter, 2014).

The Marriage Act of 1904 asks for marriage to be monogamous but the Customary Marriage Decree of 1972 allows for polygamous marriage (FAO, 2020). Traditionally, a man could increase his status by taking several wives or through inheritance of wives from his father or brothers (Vorhölter, 2014). In polygamous families, each wife had her own field, granaries and hut with private belongings (Girling, 1960). Even though I came across some few polygamous and extended family households in my research, most households lived in nuclear family structures with a husband, a wife and children.

Customary marriages are still common and usually involve bride price payment from the husband's to the wife's family (see section 3.3.5). If a woman under a customary marriage wants to divorce she will have to pay back the bride price. A woman can only apply for divorce if her husband is adulterous, abandons her or commits other specified acts; while it is enough for a man to accuse his wife of adultery. Customary practices also include widow inheritance, requiring women to marry a male relative of her late husband (FAO, 2020).

The majority of Ugandans have either no formal education or only some primary education. According to 2016 DHS data, 19% of females and 13% of males aged six and older have never had any formal education (UBOS, 2018). In northern Uganda, differences in educational

attainment are high, as the LRA destroyed schools and disrupted education for many thousands of students (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). But, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4, people value education highly and work hard to be able to send their children to school.

According to UNDP (2020) data, in Uganda, 67% of women and 71% of men aged 15 and older participate in the labour force. The majority of them (71%) work in agriculture. For about 2000 years, people in the region have engaged in farming, often combined with tending small livestock (Atkinson, 1989). Crops that are most frequently grown are millet, maize, sweet potatoes, sorghum, cassava, peas, beans, sesame, groundnuts and squash. Even those who have another job tend to grow at least some food in a kitchen garden and to keep some animals. The very large majority of my research participants were engaged in agriculture.

Poverty rates in Uganda in general, and in the Acholi region in particular, are high, and many Ugandans live under poor conditions (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). For example, it is estimated that 61% of Ugandans have no access to safe water and 75% of Ugandans do not have access to improved sanitation facilities (Datzberger, 2018). The very large majority of my respondents lived in grass-thatched houses, sometimes combined with a small brick-built building. Most people had about three to four huts on their compound: one for cooking, one for adults and younger children to sleep in and one for older boys (and if available one for older girls).

Compounds usually also included a small storage unit – granary – to keep grains in, a kitchen garden, some trees and a pit latrine. Chickens, and sometimes goats, sheep or cows, usually roamed freely around the compound. Figure 3 presents a 12-year-old boy's drawing of his home (see section 2.2.3 for details on the methodology). The drawing is representative of a home in the research setting.

Figure 3: Drawing of a home



Notes: Drawing by a 12-year-old boy of his home; I added some explanations based on his description of the drawing

The majority of research participants did not have access to electricity, but some people owned solar-powered lights. Almost no one had access to water on the compound. People collected water in jerry cans from government-provided boreholes, which tended to be up to an hour's walk away. They washed clothes by hand in plastic basins. The large majority of survey participants cooked with firewood, which they collected in nearby bushland. Some people owned a firewood efficient stove⁶ or charcoal stove. According to national census data, 40% of households in the Lamwo region live at least five kilometre away from public health facilities (UBOS, 2017).

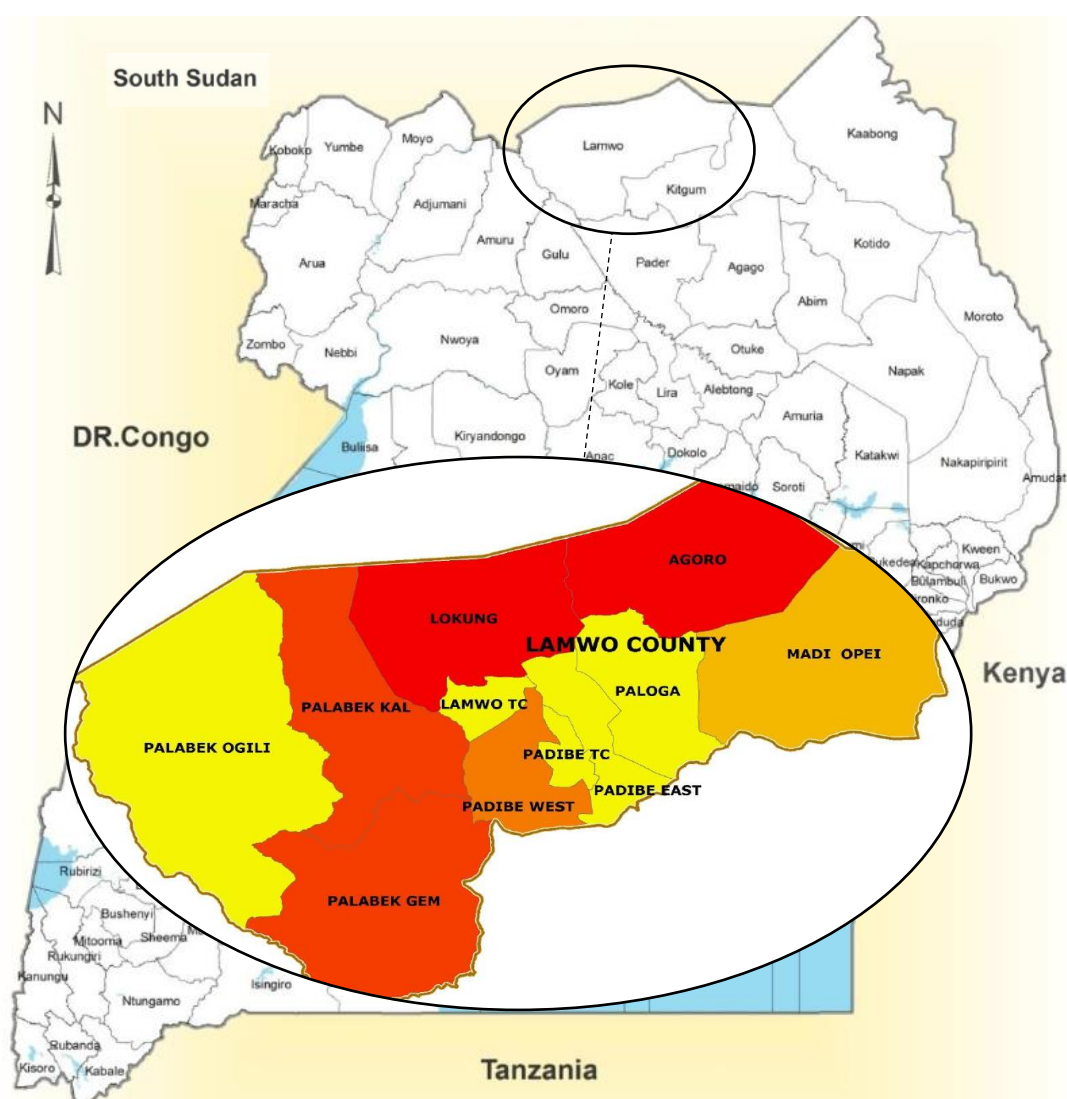
2.1.3 Geographic context

The Acholi region largely comprises wooded savannah, with scattered trees, bushes and grass. It has a harsh climate, with a long dry season and frequently late or unreliable rain (Atkinson, 1989). In my research, respondents said that changing climate – mostly 'not enough rain' and 'too much sun' – was affecting their harvest and leading to food insecurity.

⁶ This stove keeps the heat inside a box-shaped construction out of bricks and mud, which means that it requires less firewood. Some firewood-efficient stoves lead the fumes through a hole outside of the hut.

The Acholi region along the border of South Sudan includes seven districts and covers about eleven thousand square miles. The research was conducted in the Lamwo district in six rural sub-counties – Padibe East, Padibe West, Lokung, Palabek Ogili, Palabek Kal and Palabek Gem. Some semi-structured interviews and participant observation took place in a semi-urban village in Kitgum district (see Appendix 8 for a list of villages). Lamwo district has a population of about 164,600 (Odoch et al., 2015).⁷ Figure 4 provides a map of Uganda and of the Lamwo district.

Figure 4: Map of Uganda and Lamwo district



Source: UBOS, 2017

⁷ Lokung (population of 20,000); Palabek Ogili (population of 9,000); Padibe East (population of 13,000); Palabek Kal (population of 13,000); Palabek Gem (population of 13,000); Padibe West (population of 12,000) (UBOS, 2014).

2.2 Data collection

I collected mixed-methods data between 2014 and 2019 in all seasons and most months of the year. Taking a mixed-methods approach can help to triangulate findings and to minimise the weaknesses and maximise the strengths of both approaches (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Quantitative household surveys provided a more representative framework based on a larger sample (White, 2002). Semi-structured interviews, focus groups and participant observation improved the understanding of the quantitative findings and generated a richer picture of the complexity of social reality and the framework in which people interpreted their thoughts, feelings and actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Shaffer, 2012).

Table 1 summarises the different methods, periods of data collection and sample sizes.

Table 1: Methods

Method	Data collection period	Sample
Household Care Survey 1	September-October 2014	946 adults (husbands and wives)
Household Care Survey 2	November-December 2015	738 adults (husbands and wives)
Children's survey	November-December 2015	527 children (boys and girls)
Social norms survey	May-June 2017	348 adults (women and men)
Semi-structured interviews	July-September 2014; May-June 2017	124 interviews (53 women, 52 men, 5 boys, 14 girls)
Spot phone calls	June-July 2017; September-October 2017; March 2018	4 families, 34 household members (adults and children), 42 calls, 91 interviews
Focus Group Discussions	August 2014; May 2017	12 focus groups, about 190 participants (about 20 girls, 20 boys, 75 men, 75 women)
Participant observation	July-September 2014; May-June 2017	11 families (at least one day per family)
Feedback activities	May-June 2019	23 interviews (adults); 12 phone calls with local leaders; one-hour radio show (7 call-ins)

I followed an 'integrative mixed-methods design approach'. This approach is based on the concept of 'qualitative-quantitative parallelism', which means that quantitative and qualitative data are considered at the same time in different research stages, including study development; evidence gathering; processing; data analysis; interpretation and integration (Castro et al., 2010). The 'integrative mixed-methods design approach' is similar to the 'concurrent mixed-

methods triangulation approach', referring to a process where qualitative and quantitative data are collected concurrently to triangulate findings and explore relationships (see Creswell et al., 2003).

2.2.1 Surveys

Four quantitative surveys helped to understand relationships between different factors based on a more representative sample. The 2014 and 2015 Household Care Surveys (HCS) with adults were collected together with Oxfam's Women's Economic Empowerment and Care (WE-Care) programme. The WE-Care programme aims to develop research and strategies to address women's heavy and unequal unpaid care work (Oxfam, 2020). As part of the WE-Care programme, data on unpaid care work was collected in several countries, including Uganda. First as an intern and then as a research consultant, I was actively involved in drafting the survey questionnaires. I created the very first version of the questionnaire, gathered ideas through a literature review and changed and added several questions. I also facilitated the survey data collection in Uganda.

The 2014 Household Care Survey asked questions on time use and related factors, such as social norms, time- and labour-saving equipment, infrastructure and household characteristics (see Appendix 1). The 2015 Household Care Survey was an improved version of the 2014 questionnaire with better questions on social norms, decision making and wellbeing (see Appendix 1). Both questionnaires were slightly longer for women than for men.

To fully involve children in the research and make sure that they could speak themselves about their time use rather than asking their parents (Ben-Arieh & Ofir, 2002), I conducted a shorter and child-appropriate survey in 2015. Children were interviewed at the same time as their parents were being interviewed by the Household Care Survey. The children's survey asked about time use, paid work, asset ownership, school, decision making, wellbeing and social norms (see Appendix 2).

Since norms appeared to be central to the division of unpaid care work, in 2017, I carried out another independent, small-scale social norms survey with improved questions on social norms

and questions on points that had emerged from the other rounds of data collection (see Appendix 3).

When designing the questionnaires for all surveys, I made sure that questions were stated clearly, as short as possible, mutually exclusive, relevant and appropriate (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). To mitigate order and context effects, I ensured that the ordering of the questions and the overall tone did not beg for answers (Neuman, 2011). For the survey with children, I made sure that questions were age appropriate, for example, by using several visual aids.

All surveys were coordinated by selected local consultants and myself (with the exception of the 2017 survey that I managed on my own). For the Oxfam surveys, Oxfam staff and I selected consultants through applications and an interview. For the children's survey, I selected a consultant who had worked with me as an interpreter. Together, we selected enumerators based on their educational qualifications, data collection experience, knowledge of the local context and language, and performance in an interview.

For all surveys, we used stratified random sampling (see Appendix 4 for more details on the sampling strategies). In 2014, we divided parishes into two groups, 'low socio-economic development' and 'high socio-economic development'. We selected an equal number of parishes randomly from each category. Villages and respondents were selected randomly from a list of villages and household registrars. For each sampled household, husband and wife were interviewed. In case the household had more than one wife, one of the wives was selected randomly.

The 2015 survey had the aim of interviewing the same households as in 2014⁸, but in practice, only 124 of the 473 households were interviewed again. Some couples had split up, remarried or moved away; others worked in the field, attended a collective village harvesting event, were at a graduation party, or had gone to the market. To select additional households, we followed the same procedure as in 2014. We also used the 2014 reserve sampling lists, i.e. lists of households

⁸ The idea was to assess whether interventions had improved care work provisions. Based on the 2014 survey findings, Oxfam and a local partner organisation called Women and Rural Development Network (WORUDET) designed and implemented 'care strategies' in two of the surveyed sub-counties. These activities included discussions on unpaid care work at community gatherings; training 'role model families' or cultural leaders to raise awareness about unpaid care work; community theatre performances, a community radio show and training sessions on the construction of energy saving stoves.

that were sampled in the same way as the main households only to be interviewed if the sampled households were unavailable. We interviewed husband and wife of each sampled household.

The children's survey interviewed the oldest girl and boy aged 8 to 18 (if available), of the families that were interviewed in the 2015 Oxfam survey. For the 2017 social norms survey, parishes were selected following the same procedure as for the Oxfam survey. Villages were selected randomly from a list of villages, and respondents were selected through the random walk methodology (see Appendix 4).

In all rounds of data collection, we trained enumerators on the questions, the rationale of the questionnaire, how to collect data, and research ethics. We also used the training sessions to make further adjustments to the questionnaires based on enumerators' comments. All surveys were piloted in a community close to the study communities. In addition, the 2015 survey was also tested with an Acholi community in Kampala. We usually discussed results from the piloting in the group and individually with enumerators. Based on the piloting, we addressed challenges and made adjustments to the questionnaires.

For most surveys, we used paper questionnaires. But for the 2015 survey with adults, we collected data with mobile phones using the software SurveyCTO. The local consultant and I participated in two training sessions on information and communication technology (ICT) enabled data collection. Generally, enumerators found the software easy to use and mobile data collection made the data entering and cleaning process easier.

We translated the questionnaires into the local language (with the help of local consultants or a professional translator). The translations were further improved during training sessions with enumerators. However, in all rounds of data collection, enumerators preferred to use the English version of the questionnaire with an Acholi copy as a guide. Enumerators said that using the Acholi questionnaire would make data collection more time-consuming and difficult, as Acholi was an oral language that they were not used to reading. To mitigate the potential bias of asking questions differently, we practised translating the questions and asked enumerators to use the Acholi translation as a guide. For the consent script and vignettes, enumerators were instructed to read out the Acholi text.

Each round of data collection took between one to two weeks. A similar amount of data was collected on each weekday. During the data collection, we continuously monitored enumerators and discussed challenges/concerns on a daily basis. Supervisors, consultants and I checked the questionnaires in the field and/or in the evening, and asked enumerators to correct mistakes by going back to the households. Table 2 provides more details on the different rounds of survey data collection.

Table 2: Survey data collection

Survey	Team	Training	Piloting	Data collection	Interview length
Household Care Survey 1	3 consultants 2 supervisors 22 enumerators	2.5 days	1 day 48 households	6 days	30-60 min.
Household Care Survey 2	2 consultants 8 enumerators	2.5 days	1 day 10 households	13 days	30-60 min.
Children's survey	1 consultant 5 enumerators	3.5 days	1 day 20 children	12 days	30-40 min.
Social norms survey	3 enumerators	1 day	1 day 18 adults	8 days	10-20 min.

In all rounds of survey data collection, there were some unforeseen challenges in the field, including heavy rains, a flat tire, illness of enumerators, an enumerator being attacked by a wild dog, delayed funding, enumerators being unhappy with the payment and a consultant leaving unexpectedly. Interviews were also sometimes interrupted because of domestic pressures (babies and children needing attention), phone calls, a cultural ceremony, and, in one instance, a snake. Respondents to the Oxfam surveys sometimes expressed boredom as completion of the surveys took a long time.

The survey tools only collected data on one primary and one secondary activity (plus supervision) for each hour of the day (see section 2.3.2), which meant that some activities were not accounted for (i.e. people are likely to engage in more than two activities in any given hour). The surveys did not account for the purpose of and feelings associated with different activities, which has been identified as important dimensions of time use (Connelly & Kongar, 2017). Critics have also noted that time-use studies do not consider the effort and intensity of work, suggesting that if these were taken into account, gender differences in work would not be as strong.

Generally, I found that collecting more survey data from men would have been useful. Except for the social norms survey, women were asked more questions than men, which meant that I was unable to compare some data from women with that from men. For example, there were no questions on men's wellbeing, health problems related to caring, income and decision making.

Further, the survey tools did not include measures on social change or drivers of change (e.g. experience in the war, opinions on western influences), which meant that the analysis of change had to rely on perceptions reported in the qualitative data collection. Even though data was collected over a five-year period and in different seasons, I do not have rigorous panel data from the same participants over a period of time.

But despite these constraints, I found the surveys very useful for getting a more representative sample of time-use patterns and for looking at how these relate to different factors. Time-use surveys can be a powerful tool for understanding a wide variety of social, psychological and economic issues (Ben-Arieh & Ofir, 2002), including the gendered division of labour (Esquivel, 2013). The questionnaires were generally well received by community members, especially the shorter social norms survey and children's survey.

2.2.2 Interviews

Interviews can help address the gaps of the quantitative methodologies. I approached interviews from a grounded theory perspective, generating theory from the data in order to fit the empirical situation and to remain close to the interviewees (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The interviews were semi-structured to decrease hierarchical relationships and to get deeper responses. I kept a certain formality but still led interviews like 'natural' conversations (Hermanowicz, 2002). I carried with me an outline with interview questions that I adapted regularly, but I usually did not look much at the document during interviews. Taking notes of keywords helped me to formulate spontaneous follow-up questions.

The broad topical stages for interviews with adults were (1) introduction (2) time use (3) perceptions and norms, and (4) changes in gender roles and influencing factors (see Appendix 6). Sometimes, I summarised what respondents had said, and asked if I had understood them

correctly. I also asked respondents to explain aspects that seemed obvious to them, especially regarding norms (Hermanowicz, 2002). 'Why?' was my most frequently used question. I tape-recorded all the interviews except for two situations when respondents preferred not to be recorded. For each interview, I took notes of the setting, interruptions, body language, impressions and other thoughts.

For the research with children, I followed Punch's (2002) suggestion and combined research methods commonly used for adult participants with techniques considered to be more suitable for children. While I relied more on games and exercises in focus groups, I followed a similar approach as for interviews with adults when interviewing children. In addition to the questions mentioned above, I also asked children questions about their school enrolment, paid work and what they wanted to do in the future (see Appendix 6).

I worked with three interpreters in 2014 (two men, one woman) and three different interpreters (two men, one woman) in 2017, since the interpreters I had worked with in 2014 were not available in 2017. They were all in their mid-twenties, well-educated, fluent in English and Acholi, had experience with data collection and NGO work on gender issues. I trained the interpreters to be informed about the research topic, confidentiality and their role as 'key informant' (Edwards, 1998). I also provided written guidelines on their role, oral consent and the main interview questions. Generally, respondents seemed to respond well to both female and male interpreters. But when interviewing children, I mainly worked with a female interpreter, as I noticed that children responded best to her.

I usually selected households by approaching people in selected villages randomly. None of the interviewees participated in the survey or focus group data collection, but some took part in participant observation and spot phone calls. If possible, I interviewed different members of the same family. The large majority of interviews took place in rural settings. To understand the differences between semi-urban and rural settings, I also carried out 22 interviews in the village where I stayed, which was closer to Kitgum. Sometimes, I interviewed people that other respondents referred to in the interview (for example, for their unusual division of labour). I also purposefully selected a few local leaders or NGO workers. In 2017, I returned to 14 households that I had interviewed in 2014 to understand changes and new developments.

The average interview lasted for about 30 minutes, ranging from 4 to 95 minutes. I interviewed 67 females and 57 males. Acknowledging the effect of lifecycles on unpaid care work, I interviewed respondents between 8 and 90 years old. But the majority of respondents were aged 25 to 45. Almost all respondents were farmers but some were engaged in non-farm-related, small-scale income-generating activities. I also interviewed three cultural leaders, five local government officials, three village leaders, two NGO workers and eight teachers.

Even though I tried my best to establish rapport with children and to make the interviews less intimidating and more fun, children were often shy and did not talk much. Similar to other studies (e.g. Mmari et al., 2017), I found visual exercises and activities that involved greater engagement used in the focus groups more useful for engaging young participants.

Nevertheless, overall, the interviews were very useful for understanding care-related social norms, personal perspectives and locally relevant factors that might influence care responsibilities. Interviews with adults went very well, as adults were usually open and talkative.

2.2.3 Focus Group Discussions

I conducted focus group discussions to observe interactions and group dynamics and to use participatory exercises. The four focus groups in 2014 were conducted in collaboration with Oxfam. Two local consultants and four facilitators helped to organise the discussions. I planned the location, composition and logistics of the exercises, helped to adjust the 'global' tools to the local context and trained the facilitators. The villages were selected purposely to increase the variety of responses. Local leaders helped us to select respondents randomly (who had not participated in other research methods). The discussions involved 20 participants per group and took place in different venues, such as a primary school, a hotel and outside on the ground. We conducted some focus groups with 'ordinary' people – mainly middle-aged men and women and a few youths and elderly – and some with leaders of political, cultural, religious and women's groups.

The focus groups were based on Oxfam's Rapid Care Analysis (RCA) methodology (Kidder & Pionetti, 2013). They were relatively structured and involved several exercises and visual aids. For example, we asked participants to write down who they cared for on a daily, weekly and

monthly basis in different circles. We also asked them to fill in a one-day recall and carried out matrix exercises on time use, age, seasonality and the war (see Appendix 7). During the focus groups, I remained in the background, mainly observing and taking notes, but I also coordinated the smooth running of the exercises and sometimes added questions.

The 2017 focus groups were independent of Oxfam. They were less formal and all took place outside. My research assistants and I selected villages randomly using a list of villages. Local leaders of the selected villages helped us to mobilise participants⁹. We conducted two focus groups with between 20 and 50 adult participants each. There was a gender balance and age ranged from the early twenties to late seventies. A male research assistant led the discussions based on a set of questions I had prepared, and a female assistant helped him and translated for me. I was able to join the discussion and ask several follow-up questions. The fact that a male facilitator led the discussions may have discouraged women from speaking up. However, given that the other research assistant and I were female, we felt that a gender balance was maintained; women were generally open to express their thoughts in the discussions.

In the 2017 focus groups, we mainly asked open-ended questions on time use, age, gender, decision making, social norms and social change. In one group, I presented findings from the quantitative data analysis and asked what participants thought about the findings. I also carried out two exercises from the RCA toolkit: a seasonal calendar asking participants to select the most difficult months for different activities, and an 'age exercise' that involved assigning dots to indicate how much time people spent on different care activities across the life course. I also conducted two small focus groups about seasonal differences in work, with four randomly selected adult participants each (see Appendix 7).

Out of the four focus groups with children, two were with children aged 8 to 12 and two with children aged 13 to 18. Each group had about eight children. One of the older groups was with children who were not enrolled in school. I mainly worked with a female interpreter, who translated my questions and led the discussions. We used 'child-friendly' methods, such as

⁹ Relying on local leaders may have biased the sample (and results), and may have reinforced power hierarchies between respondents and researchers. Keeping this in mind, we decided to involve local leaders for three main reasons. First, we involved local leaders to avoid complications and tensions, as it is generally expected that local authorities are informed of research initiatives. Second, local leaders knew the communities very well, which helped us to identify respondents. Third, local leaders helped us to build trust with respondents and to inform them about the results of the research.

games and drawings, which have been found to be useful for research with children, especially in situations where children lack confidence at communicating directly with unfamiliar adults (Punch, 2002). We usually started with a 'draw your week' exercise followed by a 'bucket game'. This activity meant that children assigned 24 beads representing 24 hours of the previous day to different activity buckets. Since girls and boys had differently coloured beads, we were able to encourage a discussion on gender differences in time use (see Appendix 7).

I am using the findings from the 2014 focus groups with caution as they were carried out with Oxfam's agenda of developing interventions. Respondents might have expressed views that they thought would encourage Oxfam's support. I generally preferred the more informal setting in 2017 to the structured discussions in 2014. Discussions were livelier and participants seemed interested and passionate. The discussions were also shorter and we did not spend much time on explaining the exercises.

Even though children were sometimes a bit shy to speak up, I felt that the focus groups worked well. In particular, the drawing exercises and bucket game helped to encourage children to express their views. The focus groups helped me observe interactions, group dynamics, relationships and the importance of reference groups in defining norms (Shaffer, 2012). I found it especially interesting to observe group reactions to statements on gender roles.

2.2.4 Participant observation

To get a better understanding of what people do (especially children) and how household members interact, I conducted participant observation with six families in 2014 and with five families in 2017. With the help of my interpreters and my host family, I randomly selected the families. Usually, people were very open and welcoming about my participation. I spent at least one day per family, usually, from around nine or ten in the morning until about six in the evening. I also continued to informally spend time with the families who lived in the same village as me.

I followed different household members in their daily activities. Some of the activities I engaged in were weeding, harvesting, taking goats for grazing, cooking, grinding, cleaning, doing the dishes, fetching water, splitting firewood, going to the market, going to a hairdresser, buying

school books, playing with the children, eating, and chatting with neighbours and family members. I participated as a 'collaborator' (Kawulich, 2005) while observing the allocation of tasks, related attitudes, feelings and interactions between household members.

I had enough understanding of the local language to have basic conversations, and we often communicated using a mix of body language, Acholi and English. If I felt comfortable, I took notes while with the families; otherwise, I took notes immediately after returning home, in the evening. I recorded what I observed (e.g. activities, interactions, living conditions, gender divisions), what I heard (e.g. people talking about gendered songs or types of work), how I felt (e.g. when cooking, fetching water, weeding) and how people reacted to my presence (e.g. laughing, telling their neighbours about me).

In addition to these formal visits, I noted daily observations, especially when spending time with my host family and interpreters, but also while sitting in the car or walking around the area. Noting these observations helped to structure my impressions and thoughts. I also visited different places and social settings to better understand the themes that emerged from the research. For example, since many respondents talked about the importance of education, I visited a nursery school, a primary school and a secondary school. Other places I visited to explore emerging themes were local government offices, a church, rural and urban medical centres, beauty parlours, markets, an auction and a basketball court.

During participant observation, participants most likely changed their usual behaviour in my presence, especially when talking to me. But I felt that, most of the time, participants carried out the tasks they would have done if I had not been there, most likely because they had to work to sustain their families.

Participant observation was very valuable to familiarise myself with the setting, language and people. It also helped to better understand the data gathered from other sources and to capture non-verbal communication and local meanings (Bernard, 2006). Observations have been found to be particularly useful for studying time use (Floro, 1995). Rather than asking people what activities they engaged in, I was able to observe and participate in these activities. Participant observation proved especially useful in relation to children's time use as it showed me the 'quick tasks' that children did – such as getting a chair, changing siblings' clothes – that were not

recorded in other time-use measurements. I was also able to observe how children combined play, learning and work.

2.2.5 Spot phone calls and visits

To triangulate the findings, to understand seasonal differences, and to produce an in-depth picture of some families' divisions of work, I carried out spot phone calls (see Rost, 2020). I developed this method together with my supervisors. The method was an adaptation of the spot visit time-use measurement approach where households are visited at random times of the day, their activities are observed (Vogler et al., 2009), recorded systematically, and later coded and quantified (Nickols & Ayieko, 1996). But rather than visiting, I called participants on their phones.

Together with my research assistants, we identified four families to participate in the calls. Each family owned a mobile phone and seemed suitable for the research (e.g. children in the household and representative for their area). I interviewed or conducted participant observation with all the selected families before the start of the calls.

We called participants over the period of one year in the three main seasons: (1) June (planting season); (2) September (weeding season); and (3) March (harvesting/selling season). Before each set of calls, my research assistant visited the families and reminded them of the spot phone calls (and especially of the need to charge their phones). During the visits in September and January, she also carried out participant observation, sitting in the background for at least one hour and taking notes of what household members did. During the visit in March, she conducted four life story interviews with participants. For both, participant observation and interviews, she followed my written guidelines and instructions.

After the visits, we called participants every day for one week at different times of the day (we covered most times of the day). We did not inform participants when we would call next. During each call, we spoke to all available household members above seven years. We always asked the following questions: 'What are you doing at the moment?', 'How long have you been doing it?', and 'What else have you done today?' We also sometimes asked about decision making and feelings related to activities. When household members were not available we enquired about

what they were doing. During the first call of each month, we also asked whether anything had changed, compared to the previous call. We always left space for participants to raise concerns or ask questions.

For most of the calls, I was on the line together with my research assistant, who translated the conversations. I recorded the interviews and typed them afterwards. If this was not possible (mainly because of mobile connection), my research assistant conducted the calls independently, noted the responses and sent me the transcribed interviews.

Even though I did not manage to reach each family every day (generally because of battery and network issues), I still got a reasonable number of interviews with different household members, including children. The spot phone calls provided an insight into the lives of some families over a long period of time. I already knew the families and got to know them better through the calls. Having a more personal relationship helped to talk openly, and I noticed that participants started telling me about new developments or concerns without me asking.

Calling in different seasons showed differences in seasonal work, but also how changes and shocks affect different household members (e.g. accident, illness, work loss, seasonal migration). Calling at random times of the day was also useful, as I reached respondents while they engaged in activities that they might not have reported in an interview. For example, I called several men while they were sitting under a tree or chatting to friends.

But spot phone calls also seemed better at capturing men's unpaid care work that might be under-reported in other methods because of social norms. Sometimes, I 'caught' men while doing unpaid care work. For example, a man (#159) said, 'I am just seated.' But when I asked, 'Are you just sitting or doing anything else at the same time?' he replied: 'I am shelling simsim [sesame].' Similarly, a man (#157) first did not list any unpaid care work as part of his activities that day, but when I asked where his one-year-old daughter was, he said that he was taking care of her: 'I bathed the child; I also went to the market, bought something and prepared food [for her].'

2.2.6 Feedback activities

During the fieldwork, respondents often asked me to inform them about the research findings. This is why I decided to provide feedback to the communities in 2019. I summarised the key research findings in a flyer. My research assistant talked to some research participants and local leaders, gave them the flyer and discussed the findings. She asked them a set of questions I had prepared, such as 'What do you think about these findings?', 'What do you find most interesting?', 'Is anything surprising or unexpected?', and 'How do the findings relate to your own experience?' She noted responses and translated and transcribed them. She also told participants to pass on the information to others and informed them about a radio programme.

We discussed the research findings during a one-hour radio programme that took place on the local radio channel, Mighty Fire, between seven and eight in the evening. The discussion was led by a local community development officer, a radio moderator, my research assistant and myself (over Skype). Listeners were able to comment and ask questions through phone calls.

It would have been better if I had been able to travel to Uganda for the feedback activities. But generally, I felt that the activities went very well. People were happy to receive feedback. Some said that this was the first time they had been informed about the findings of research in their area. Some local leaders said that they wanted to use the flyer to discuss unpaid care work with community members. The activities were also useful to follow up on the key research participants and to observe changes in their lives (e.g. death and birth of household members, a new business). The activities helped to validate the findings and gave insights into what aspects of the research different participants could relate to the most.

2.3 Data analysis

For the analysis, I moved back and forth between the quantitative data, the qualitative data and the literature. For example, if I found a certain factor influencing unpaid care work hours in the quantitative data, I explored this factor in more depth using the qualitative data.

2.3.1 Qualitative data analysis

To analyse the qualitative data, I followed a grounded theory approach to allow concepts to emerge from the data inductively (Lundgren et al., 2018). I followed the steps of (1) documentation; (2) organisation; (3) connection; and (4) representation (Schutt, 2011). First, I transcribed interviews, focus groups, observations, field notes and spot phone call data. Then, I entered all the data into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo.

Next, I coded the data. Based on my research questions and the literature, I used some predefined codes (e.g. women's time use, perceptions about unpaid care work), but I added many additional codes while going through the data. I sorted the codes into themed folders (e.g. time use, social change). I also added demographic information to the data (e.g. age, gender, profession) and connected family members.

Then, I analysed the data for the different themes. I started with easier themes (e.g. time use) and worked my way up to more complicated themes (e.g. changes in gender roles). I conducted searches for specific terms or sub-themes. To better understand family dynamics, I analysed data for families as a whole. I also looked for unusual cases and variances in views among participants with different characteristics.

To improve internal and external validity, I followed guidelines on rigorous qualitative research (see Lewis & Ritchie, 2003). For internal validation, I derived hypotheses from one part of the data and tested them with another part. I also explored deviant cases, for example, paying attention to those families that divided unpaid care work differently than most others. For external validation, I used method triangulation (comparing data from quantitative and qualitative methods), triangulation of sources (comparing data from different qualitative methods); and theory triangulation (looking at data from different theoretical perspectives, e.g. gender theory, social norms theory). I also used the 'respondent validation approach', taking research evidence back to the research participants and asking for feedback (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003).

When presenting the findings, I often use the exact wording to remain closer to respondents. For the same reason, I use the 'emic' rather than 'etic' approach, focussing on how phenomena

are perceived and interpreted rather than on 'scientific classification' of concepts (Grenier, 1998) and grounding the analysis in the 'lived realities' of people (Lundgren et al., 2018). For example, the problematic terms 'development', 'culture' and 'traditions' are used as expressed by Ugandans in interviews.

I am aware of postcolonial researchers' critique of western conceptualisation of gender that fails to account for context-specific gender subordination. In the research, I aim not to portray women as 'poor, dependent, passive, oppressed, tradition-bound victims' (Mohanty, 1988) but to acknowledge that African women are reflective agents in pursuit of their own life projects (Cornwall, 2006).

I recognise that the categories of 'men' versus 'women', and 'boys' versus 'girls' rest on assumptions that their characteristics are uniform and universal (Lorber, 2000). When possible, I try to unpack intersectional differences between these categories (e.g. in terms of wealth, education, job). However, the majority of research participants were relatively similar in their background. All interviewees were from the Acholi ethnic group, physically able to work and poor; most respondents lived in rural areas, were farmers and/or sold farm produce at local markets, and had little education. When quoting research participants, a number is provided in brackets (e.g. #001), which can be used to retrieve more information on the data collection tool and the research participants, using the table in Appendix 10. For each research participant, the table lists the research tool used, date, location, sex, age range, urban/rural location, education and profession/leadership (if applicable). I report age ranges for children, young adults (18-22) and older adults (above 60) in the text.

2.3.2 Quantitative data analysis

For the quantitative data analysis, I followed three steps: (1) data entry and preparation; (2) variable construction; and (3) data analysis.

Data entry and preparation

The 2014 Household Care Survey and 2015 children's survey data were entered by local research assistants in Uganda using the software Epidata. Local consultants and I closely supervised the data entry process. I entered the social norms survey data manually into excel. As the 2015

Household Care Survey data was collected with mobile phones, I simply downloaded the data from SurveyCTO.

I imported all the data sets separately into the quantitative data analysis software Stata and cleaned them. To look at family relations, I merged responses for husbands, wives and children from the same households. However, some responses of children could not be merged with those of their parents, which meant that the merged data set had fewer responses. For this reason, I conducted some of the analysis with the adults' and the children's data sets separately.

I worked with six different data sets: (1) adults' survey 2014; (2) adults' survey 2015; (3) children's survey 2015; (4) adults' and children's survey 2015 combined; (5) adults' survey 2014 and 2015 combined; and (6) adults' survey 2017. But for most of the analysis, I relied on the separate 2015 survey data from adults and children. Throughout this thesis, if not otherwise stated, the term 'survey' refers to the 2015 survey data.

Variable construction

I created a variety of dependent, independent and control variables.

Time-use variables

Accurately measuring people's time use is difficult, especially since unpaid care work is often under-reported in conventional time-use measures. Under-reporting arises because people may not view unpaid care work as 'work' and because they often perform it at the same time as other activities (e.g. Floro, 1995). A diary is the only survey instrument that makes it possible to collect information on simultaneous activities (Esquivel, 2013). Diaries usually ask participants what they did for fixed time slots (e.g. 15, 30 or 60 minutes). Stylised diaries provide predefined activity codes.

The Household Care Survey questionnaires with adults used stylised 24-hour activity diaries with one-hour slots. Respondents were asked what they did during each hour of the day, and enumerators assigned relevant activity codes. To make sure that activities – especially unpaid care work – were not undercounted, we added a question to ask for a simultaneous activity for each hour of the day. Further, as the literature (e.g. Floro, 1995) shows that supervision of

children or dependent adults is often not captured in time-use measurements, we added two questions on responsibility for looking after children and dependent adults (see Table 3).

Table 3: Adults' time-use measurement

1	2	3	4
What were you doing yesterday from [TIME]? See codes below	What else were you doing at the same time? 0 = Nothing else See codes below	Were you responsible for looking after a child (<18 years) during that hour? 0 = No 1 = Yes 2 = There is no child in my household	Were you responsible for looking after a dependent adult during that hour? 0 = No 1 = Yes 2 = There is no dependent adult in my household
04am – 05am	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _
05am – 06am	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _
...			

The activity codes were based on other time-use studies (e.g. Budlender, 2008), but were adapted to the local context. Based on the literature (see section 1.1.1), discussions in the field and my qualitative research, I classified the following activities as unpaid care work: food and drink preparation (including shopping, grinding, pounding), cleaning, fuel collection, water collection, childcare, dependent adult care, and care of disabled and community members. I created the following main unpaid care work indicators¹⁰ for men and women:

- **Primary care hours:** number of hours a day that respondents had spent on unpaid care work as a primary activity the day before the interview (based on question 1)
- **Simultaneous care hours:** number of hours a day that respondents had spent on unpaid care work as either a secondary or supervision activity the day before the interview (based on questions 2,3,4)
- **Any care hours:** number of hours a day that respondents had spent on unpaid care work as either a primary or a secondary or a supervision activity the day before the interview (based on questions 1,2,3,4)

I created variables showing the differences between women's and men's unpaid care hours ('Gender difference primary care hours'; 'Gender difference simultaneous care hours'; and

¹⁰ To avoid long descriptions under tables, the key variables described in this section will not be defined again under each analysis table.

‘Gender difference any care hours’). I also created separate variables for the time women and men had spent on specific unpaid care work activities (e.g. cooking, cleaning and childcare) as a primary activity. Further, I created indicators for the primary time adults had spent on sleep, leisure (including leisure, self-care, doing nothing), education and market-oriented work (including agricultural activities, income-generating work).

The measure of children’s time use was adapted from a Young Lives (2009) questionnaire. Children were asked how many hours they had spent on different activities the day before the interview (see Table 4). To help them estimate the hours, they were asked to assign 24 beans representing 24 hours of the previous day to different activity images. We used generic activity images for the piloting, but since children misunderstood some of the images, we drafted the version in Appendix 2 together with children and adults in the field.¹¹ To capture simultaneous time use, we asked, ‘Whilst you were doing your other activities, did you supervise younger children yesterday?’ and if the answer was ‘yes’: ‘How many hours did you supervise children for?’

Table 4: Children’s time-use measurement

I want you to tell me how much time you spent on the following activities yesterday:	
Sleep	_ _
Work for family business (e.g. farm work, cattle herding, shepherding, piecework or handicrafts done at home)	_ _
Activities for pay or for money for someone not in the household	_ _
At school (including play time)	_ _
Studying at home/extra tuition outside the home	_ _
Meal preparation (including shopping and doing the dishes)	_ _
Fuel or water collection	_ _
Cleaning the house or compound AND washing clothes	_ _
Caring for younger children	_ _
Caring for adults (e.g. ill household members)	_ _
Leisure (playing, sports, seeing friends)/personal care/doing nothing	_ _
Other activities, specify: _____	_ _

¹¹ For example, some children thought that the frying pan (representing cooking) was a water tab; that the moon and stars (representing sleeping) symbolised Muslim religious activities; that the mother holding a child (representing childcare) meant playing with dolls or that the wheelchair (representing elderly care) stood for riding a bicycle. Interestingly, the only generic symbols that children could relate to were those representing school and studying.

I created three indicators for children's unpaid care work:

- **Primary care:** numbers of hours children had spent on unpaid care work the day before the interview
- **Supervision:** takes the value 'one' if children said that they had supervised children while doing other activities the day before the interview
- **Supervision hours:** number of hours children had spent supervising children the day before the interview

As for adults, I also created variables for children's primary time spent on different care activities and for their time spent on 'market-oriented work' and 'non-work'. The social norms survey with adults used the same time-use methodology and indicators as for children (without the beans and activity images).

Social norms variables

To measure social norms in the 2015 surveys with adults and children, I used vignettes – stories about imaginary characters in specific scenarios followed by questions about reactions to the stories (Ashburn et al., 2016). Vignettes have increasingly been recommended to generate information about social norms in an unthreatening and impersonal way. The 2015 questionnaires included three vignettes (see Table 5), describing: (1) a couple sharing unpaid care work and market-oriented work equally; (2) a couple where the woman does unpaid care work and the man market-oriented work; and (3) a couple where the woman does most market-oriented and unpaid care work. The vignettes were based on the qualitative findings and discussions with local research assistants. For each vignette, respondents were asked (1) whether they approved with the different division of labour and (2) whether they thought community members approved of it.

Table 5: Vignettes about the division of labour

1	Ever since we got together, my husband John and I have shared responsibilities. We get up around the same time, prepare breakfast, clean the house and help the children. We work on our farm together. When we come home from the field, he carries the vegetables and I carry some firewood. We both go and fetch water whenever we need it. I take the lead on cooking but my husband helps me chopping vegetables and cleaning the kitchen and compound
2	My husband Brian works as a carpenter, he leaves the house early and comes back in the evening. After preparing breakfast for my family, I work in the field in the mornings. I return to prepare lunch for my children. I fetch water and firewood, make sure the house and compound are clean. When my husband comes back from work he is very tired. I bring him water to wash his hands and serve him food. I do the dishes and prepare the beds for all of us.
3	I do a lot of work. I work on the farm and do all the housework, bathing the children, collecting water and fuel, cleaning, cooking, making sure the house is okay. My husband Michael does some agricultural work and some casual labour. He often meets up with friends to chat or relax. Usually, he does not help me with my work. But sometimes he might get water or cook if I am sick or not at home.

Notes: These are the vignettes for women; the vignettes for men were presented from the perspective of men (e.g. 'Ever since we got together, my wife Sarah and I have shared responsibilities'). The vignettes for children were presented from a neutral perspective (e.g. 'Ever since they got together, Sarah and John have shared responsibilities')

In the analysis, I focussed mainly on the first vignettes, which I found the most informative. I use the following variables:

- **Approval of male care:** takes the value 'one' if respondents approved or strongly approved of vignette one
- **Beliefs in others' approval of male care:** takes the value 'one' if respondents believed that community members approved or strongly approved of vignette one

In the 2017 social norms survey, respondents were asked questions to measure the three dimensions of Bicchieri's (2017) definition of social norms (see Chapter 1). To contrast beliefs about others with personal views, I added a fourth question on personal normative beliefs:

1. **Empirical expectations:** Out of five men in your village we interviewed, how many do you think said that they spent at least an hour on caring for people and domestic work yesterday?
2. **Normative expectations:** Out of five men in your village we interviewed, how many do you think said that men should do caring for people and domestic work?
3. **Conditional preference:** If nobody were to know that you/your husband did caring for people and domestic work, would you do it/would you want him to do it more?

4. **Personal normative beliefs:** Do you think men in your village should do caring for people and domestic work?

I created continuous variables for question one and two and dummy variables for questions three and four (0=no; 1=yes).

To measure conditional preferences, enumerators also randomly read out one of the four vignettes (presented in Table 6¹²) to assess the impact of expectations on behaviour. After reading the vignette, they asked, 'Given what Simon has learned, how likely is Simon to do unpaid care work?' and 'Given what Doris has learned, how likely is Doris to want Simon to do unpaid care work?'

Table 6: Vignettes about high and low expectations

	Low normative expectations	High normative expectations
Low empirical expectations	Simon and Doris live together in a nearby village. In the past, no men in their village used to do caring for people and domestic work. Simon and Doris have learned that FEW MEN in their village now do caring for people and domestic work, and at the same time, FEW PEOPLE say that men should do caring for people and domestic work.	Simon and Doris live together in a nearby village. In the past, no men in their village used to do caring for people and domestic work. Simon and Doris have learned that FEW MEN in their village now do caring for people and domestic work, but at the same time ALMOST ALL say that men should do caring for people and domestic work
High empirical expectation	Simon and Doris live together in a nearby village. In the past, no men in their village used to do caring for people and domestic work Simon and Doris have learned that ALMOST ALL MEN in their village now do caring for people and domestic work, but at the same time, FEW PEOPLE say that men should do caring for people and domestic work.	Simon and Doris live together in a nearby village. In the past, no men in their village used to do caring for people and domestic work. Simon and Doris have learned that ALMOST ALL MEN in their village now do caring for people and domestic work, and at the same time, ALMOST ALL say that men should do caring for people and domestic work.

As norms cannot be observed directly, they are often equated with behaviour (Cancian, 1975). Even though equating behaviour and social norms has been criticised, behaviour can be an indication of normative influence. When exploring what shapes whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms, I interpret the following situations as an indication that care work norms are contested: (1) women and girls do less unpaid care work; (2) men do more unpaid care work; (3) women have asked husbands to help them with unpaid care

¹² Please note the implicit assumption underlying the vignettes that total hours in care work remain constant.

work; (4) respondents approve of sharing unpaid care work equally; and (5) respondents believe that community members approve of sharing unpaid care work equally.

Control variables

Table 7 lists the control variables used in the analysis.

Table 7: Control variables

Category	Variables ¹³
Family characteristics	Number of children under four years
	Dummy variables for five wealth index categories based on questions on asset ownership
Characteristics of women	Dummy variables for women's age groups (18-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, above 60)
	Dummy variables for women's highest level of education (none or pre-school, primary, above primary)
Characteristics of men	Dummy variables for men's age groups (18-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, above 60)
	Dummy variables for men's highest level of education (none or pre-school, primary, above primary)
Characteristics of children	Age in years
	Whether the child is enrolled in school or has recently finished exams
	Whether the child has engaged in work to get money or things for themselves and their family in the last month

In the 2015 survey, 63% (234, N=36) of households had at least one child under four years living with them. Women's average age was 35.27 (SD=12.51, MIN=18, MAX=80, N=369). Men's average age was 40.95 (SD=14.00, MIN=20, MAX=87, N=369). Children's average age was 12.13 years (SD=2.95, MIN=8, MAX=18, N=537). Descriptive statistics for the other control variables are presented in Table 8.

¹³ The 2017 survey does not have data on household wealth. In addition to these controls, the 2017 survey also controls for whether the respondent is married or living with a partner (96%, 332, N=346).

Table 8: Descriptive statistics of control variables

	Frequency (%)	N	Frequency (%)	N
	Women		Men	
None or pre-school	87 (24.72%)	352	18 (5.10%)*	353
Primary	234 (66.48%)	352	213 (60.34%)*	353
Above primary	31 (8.81%)	352	122 (34.56%)*	353
	Girls		Boys	
Attending school	234 (91.76%)	255	238 (87.50%)	272
Engaged in paid work	66 (25.88%)	255	82 (30.37%)	270

Notes: 2015 adults' and children's survey; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means

Data analysis and empirical methodology

To look at associations between time-use variables and other factors, I used Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) multiple regression analysis when the dependent variable was continuous, and Linear Probability Models (LPM)¹⁴ when the dependent variable was binary.

The OLS and LPM models may be written:

$$C_{dj} = \alpha + \beta_1 X_{ij} + \beta_2 X_{wj} + \beta_3 X_{mj} + \beta_4 X_{cj} + \beta_5 X_{tj} + \varepsilon_j$$

Where the following indicators are used for family j:

C_{dj} =dependent variable of interest

X_{ij} =vector of the independent variable of interest¹⁵

X_{wj} =set of controls for women's characteristics

X_{mj} =set of controls for men's characteristics

X_{cj} =set of controls for children's characteristics

X_{tj} =set of controls for family characteristics

$\beta_1 \beta_2 \beta_3 \beta_4 \beta_5$ =partial regression coefficients

¹⁴ I used LPM, rather than Logit or Probit, because the functional form assumptions embedded in Logit and Probit are quite strong. The Linear Probability Model assumes a linear relationship between the probability of success/failure and the independent variables. This means that the marginal effect of each independent variable is constant. One short-coming of the model is that a unit variation of the independent variable will always lead to the same variation of the probability of success, irrespective of the initial value of the variable. Furthermore, LPM might have problems of heteroscedasticity. Lastly, the model only accounts for expected probability of success/failure within the interval from zero to one (Charra, 2014).

¹⁵ See Appendix 9 for a correlation matrix of the explanatory variables.

ε_j =random error term

The models might face endogeneity issues. First, they can suffer from omitted variables bias, as certain factors might explain both the independent and dependent variables. To mitigate this problem, I controlled for factors that were identified as relevant by the literature. To reduce bias in standard errors, I used robust standard errors. The correlations here may be difficult to interpret as causal because of selection bias (e.g. the women/men/children who engaged in certain behaviour might be atypical) and simultaneity (e.g. social norms and unpaid care work might influence each other). Given these issues, and the relatively small sample sizes, I view my regression results as descriptive correlations rather than relying on these analyses to make causal claims. I use the regression analysis to look at patterns of time use and other variables, painting a picture of potential relationships. The regressions tables in the thesis aim to contextualise the qualitative findings. They should not be interpreted as stand-alone findings, but as supporting the qualitative findings by showing that what I find in the focus groups and interviews is consistent with what I observe in the larger sample. For these reasons, I also prefer not to put much emphasis on interpreting the magnitude of coefficients. My goal in the regression analysis is to query whether the qualitative observations are borne out by statistically significant relationships in the quantitative data. Because the underlying relationships are not causal, and because I am more interested in the sign of the coefficient than the magnitude, I have tended to avoid any direct discussion of the magnitude of the coefficients.

2.4 Reflections

Throughout the different stages of the research, I reflected on constraints, my identity and research ethics.

2.4.1 Identity

My research questions, approaches and methodologies are products of interactions between personal attributes and current discourses. I am speaking from a feminist interpretive community that defines my epistemological, ontological and methodological premises and assumptions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). It is through my personal lens as a western, female, educated researcher that I selected participants, asked questions and interpreted findings.

Being an 'outsider' made it easier to get access, as people were generally interested in talking to foreigners. But my outsider identity also meant that I had limited knowledge of the local context. While in Uganda, I generally felt more like a 'knowledge seeker' than a 'knowledge generator' (Vorhölter, 2014). Despite close relationships with my host family and friends, and despite continuous efforts to learn the local language, I never managed to fully immerse myself in the Acholi way of life. I certainly only gained a temporal and partial insight.

Sometimes, it was difficult to separate the research from the personal. During my time in Uganda, the distinction between 'field' and 'home' became blurry as I lived with a family and continuously observed aspects relevant to my research at home.

During the DPhil, I had two children, which meant that I got to experience unpaid care work and related social norms (in England) on a very personal level. Having children highlighted the complexity of measuring time use and encouraged me to explore the subjective and context-specific experience of time use. For example, I noticed that the same care activity (e.g. breastfeeding) could feel at certain moments like leisure, and at other times like a chore. I was also able to personally feel what the literature refers to as the 'love' versus 'labour' debate. My experience encouraged me to explore what childcare meant for individuals in Uganda and to better understand the costs and benefits associated with providing care. To remain aware of these biases, I kept notes about my personal thoughts and experiences with unpaid care work.

Throughout the research, I continuously reflected on my identity and underlying assumptions, such as certain cultural conceptions of time, work intensity and the value of different types of work. For example, I made a conscious effort not to overlook men's unpaid care work due to assumptions of women being carers (Cleaver, 2002). I was careful not to stereotype Ugandan life and culture as opposed to my own. Rather than treating women, men, girls and boys as homogenous groups, I paid attention to individual characteristics and differences.

2.4.2 Power

Feminists face a problem of an 'outsider's situation' since those who do feminist research tend to be in a position of power (Tronto, 1993). Historical power hierarchies are inherent in western research in Africa (Mohanty, 1988). My personal attributes created distances and power

structures. Although I introduced myself as an independent researcher, some respondents seemed to perceive me as an NGO worker coming to 'teach them'. For example, although I only asked neutrally about activities of different household members, a man (#109) said, 'If you leave, I will sit down the children and tell them to share work.' Such views made me feel very uncomfortable. I also often noted in my field notes feeling insecure talking about my research to men, as I wanted to avoid the impression that I was criticising them or their culture.

I tried to decrease hierarchies as much as possible while accepting that some power relations and related assumptions would remain. For example, I learned the local language, dressed similarly, lived in modest conditions in a village and carried out daily chores (e.g. cooking with firewood, washing clothes by hand) like local women.

I am particularly aware of power hierarchies in research with children, whose lives are usually controlled and limited by adults (Punch, 2002). I acknowledge that it is difficult for me, as an adult, to understand the world from a child's point of view (ibid.). I tried to reduce power hierarchies through informal play and conversations, body language and jokes. I always sat down as soon as possible to reduce differences in height.

I am aware that researching 'powerless social groups', such as women and children, requires special efforts to avoid oppressive methods (Graeber, 2007). In interviews, I attempted not to impose my definitions and ideas on participants. For example, I barely used the term 'unpaid care work' but rather referred to specific activities respondents mentioned themselves, such as 'cooking' or 'bathing children'. I avoided any judgment, keeping a friendly and interested voice even when I did not agree with interviewees. I treated respondents as active agents and encouraged them to lead the conversations.

2.4.3 Collaboration with Oxfam

My affiliation with Oxfam might have further reinforced the above-described power dynamics and might have shaped the research findings, especially the data collected together with Oxfam. Oxfam seemed to be well known and recognised in the area. Respondents told me that Oxfam was known for 'handing out jerry cans during the war'. Producing social knowledge from within international organisations is generally problematic because power relations define research

objectives and desirable outcomes (Toye & Toye, 2005). Preconceived ideas and expectations of Oxfam might have encouraged respondents to give socially desirable answers. The collaboration shaped my approach and limited my freedom to decide what questions to include in the questionnaires.

But because I was actively involved in designing and implementing the questionnaires, I had some flexibility to adjust them to my research interests. The collaboration with Oxfam helped me in terms of getting large-scale survey data, contacts and support in the field. I was also able to continue to influence Oxfam's research methodology and approach based on my research findings. For example, Oxfam integrated the time-use measurement from my survey with children into their generic version of the Household Care Survey, which has so far been implemented in seven countries. To define my interest as distinct from Oxfam's agenda, it helped to conduct separate research. When collecting data independently, I did not mention my affiliation with Oxfam.

2.4.4 Ethics

Throughout the research process, my priority was always to protect the physical, social and psychological wellbeing of the participants. My research was approved by the Oxford University Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) and the Gulu University Research Ethics Committee in Uganda. I also received an official research permit from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology.

Participant anonymity was strictly maintained. I secured the physical notes and audio recordings, and I changed respondents' names when quoting them in the thesis. I trained enumerators on the importance of privacy and confidentiality and ensured that interviews were conducted in privacy. Finding a private space was usually not a problem but women sometimes had their babies and toddlers with them during interviews.

Power relations between me/interpreters/enumerators and respondents might have encouraged participants to give consent. But I made sure that consent was as 'informed' as possible within the structural limitations (Bell & Miller, 2002). For the qualitative methods, I followed an oral consent script (see Appendix 5). In 2017, the Ethics Committee at Gulu

University requested that I ask respondents to sign a consent form. I followed this approach only if respondents were literate and did not seem uncomfortable with signing the form.

Alternatively, I recorded oral consent. For the interviews with children, I obtained consent from their parents/guardians and from children themselves. During interviews, I created space to renegotiate consent, for example, changing topics when I noticed that respondents felt uncomfortable or asking them whether they wanted to stop. When respondents told me to take less time or when I saw that they were in a hurry, I cut interviews short.

For the surveys, I included consent scripts that explained the purpose of the research, voluntary participation, privacy and confidentiality, and I provided respondents with an opportunity to ask questions (see Appendix 1, 2 and 3). I trained enumerators on how to obtain ongoing consent. Especially during interviews with children, enumerators looked out for signs that might indicate that children no longer consented to the interview, such as 'say no', 'show no', 'non-response', 'pulling away' and 'ignoring'.

I paid special attention to research ethics when doing research with children. I carefully recruited enumerators/interpreters by gathering information about their suitability to working with children through phone calls with previous employers. I shared with enumerators international guidelines on ethical research with children and discussed consent, power dynamics, confidentiality, the potential harm of the research and the concept of 'duty of care', i.e. under what circumstances to intervene. Enumerators were instructed never to be alone with a child, i.e. out of sight of other people. I developed a safeguarding plan that outlined steps in case of child abuse, and I asked enumerators/interpreters to sign an ethics agreement.¹⁶

Generally, my research assistants and I felt that the research did not have any negative effects on participants. Ethical challenges were immediately addressed. For example, some respondents in the 2015 survey turned to enumerators for advice, asking for HIV medication, help with constructing water sources, maternity services or fuel-saving techniques. Some women also asked for advice on getting their husbands to do more work and on reporting them to local authorities. This created a dilemma: on the one hand, giving advice would have reinforced power imbalances, but on the other hand, enumerators had a 'duty of care', and 'benefits' for

¹⁶ In this agreement, enumerators confirmed that they did not have any criminal conviction and would adhere to the ethical standards and safeguarding plan discussed during the training session.

participants was one of our key research values (UNICEF, 2013). We decided to equip enumerators with a list of phone numbers of social support organisations so that they could refer participants to these organisations.

Another ethical dilemma I faced was whether or not to compensate participants for their participation. In 2014 and 2015, I did not compensate respondents for their participation (except for participant observation), mainly to avoid bias and additional hierarchical structures. But enumerators and I felt uncomfortable taking up participants' time without compensation, especially since many respondents were very poor.

In 2017, I discussed these concerns with my research assistants, who suggested compensating research participants with some small household items (e.g. soap, oil, maize flour, sugar, school notebooks). The number of items varied based on how many household members I interviewed and what activities they participated in (e.g. more items for participant observation or spot phone calls). We decided not to compensate participants in the social norms survey, as it only took ten minutes and was carried out by enumerators; moreover, this could have raised participants' expectations to be compensated for future survey participation.

Participants were very thankful for the support, and I felt more comfortable taking some of their time. However, this approach was not perfect either. I felt uncomfortable driving around in a car full of household items, and I did not like people seeing me getting items out of the boot. Once, a man who had participated in the survey complained to us that he had not received compensation while those who had participated in semi-structured interviews had been compensated. Perhaps, the best approach would have been something in between the two approaches I tried: providing something very small (e.g. a few spoons of sugar or salt) to all research participants.

2.4.5 Challenges

In addition to these ethical dilemmas and the constraints of the different methods described in section 2.2, four further challenges stood out. First, as touched upon above, the research is likely to have suffered from social desirability bias – respondents might have expressed what they thought the researcher wanted to hear – which is a common phenomenon in research on social

norms (Ashburn et al., 2016). Some enumerators said that men who had attended training on gender issues were especially likely to answer the questions according to what they thought enumerators wanted to hear. It was also noted that some children might have said that they were not engaged in paid work, as they expected enumerators to provide them with work opportunities. Respondents might also have given socially desirable answers due to expectations of support related to my identity as a foreigner. We tried to mitigate this issue by appearing neutral in title and instructions and emphasising privacy and confidentiality (Bicchieri, 2017).

Second, there is a risk that men's unpaid care work might have been under-reported, which is often the case in time-use studies (e.g. Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Related to the issue of social desirability bias, time-use measures have been criticised for being subject to error since respondents tend to under-report activities that are considered less 'important' or 'appropriate' (Budlender, 2008). As unpaid care work was generally considered less appropriate for men, men might have under-reported their participation in it.

Men's unpaid care work might also not have been sufficiently addressed in the survey tools. For example, research suggests that time-use surveys classify men's activities – such as visiting relatives, attending social events, looking for work – as 'resting' (Whitehead, 1999). We had long discussions with local researchers about what type of unpaid care work men did. Three 'male' care activities came up:

- **Community work** (e.g. constructing boreholes, slashing the roads), which we included as a category in the questionnaire and in the definition of unpaid care work.
- **Giving money** (e.g. for school fees, food, health care) was considered the main care activity for men, but we decided not to include it in our definition of unpaid care work, mainly because giving money only takes a couple of seconds and generating money was classified as market-oriented work.
- **Constructing/repairing:** the time-use measurement included category for repairing/construction. Unfortunately, it was not clear whether this type of work was paid or unpaid. Since interviews found more men engaging in construction/repairing for pay than at home, construction was included as market-oriented work. This might mean that men's care work was undercounted. However, some studies have shown that even

if intermittent tasks are included, such as household repairs or car maintenance, women still carry out the bulk of household work (Lachance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010).

These discussions relate to the third challenge, namely categorising activities. I found that assigning categories (e.g. 'unpaid care work', 'market-oriented work') was sometimes arbitrary and blurred local realities. In particular, the distinction between market-oriented work and unpaid care work was not straightforward, especially for the case of subsistence farming and animal rearing. For example, it seemed arbitrary counting 'buying food' as unpaid care work and 'harvesting food for home consumption' as market-oriented work. To solve this dilemma, we decided to define farming activities as market-oriented work, while picking food for immediate consumption (e.g. leaves from the kitchen garden) as part of 'food shopping', thus unpaid care work.

Except for participant observations, the methods were also unable to capture how highly intertwined activities were. Other research (e.g. Katz, 2004) and my findings from participant observation showed that, especially for children but also for adults, activities can be work, socialising and learning, all at the same time. Related to this point, the same activity might also be experienced and categorised differently under different circumstances. For example, respondents might have reported looking after children as 'childcare' when children misbehaved and as 'leisure' when they had a harmonious time together. In the analysis, I reflect on these constraints and difficulties.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of the northern Ugandan context and the quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis methods. I discussed the challenges and successes of the different methods, and I reflected on issues of identity, power and ethics. In Chapter 6, I discuss the methodological contributions of my research.

At this point, I want to conclude the chapter by arguing that a mixed-methods approach can make a significant contribution to research on time use and social norms. Collecting both quantitative and qualitative data helped to triangulate findings and to address the shortcomings of each approach. For example, the surveys helped to provide averages and to establish

relationships between different factors, which none of the other methods were able to do. Interviews were useful for exploring feelings and perceived change, something that the surveys did not address. Focus groups and creative methods helped to encourage children to express their views, who were shy in individual interviews. Participant observation was the only method that was able to understand how activities were intertwined and experienced differently in different circumstances. Lastly, spot phone calls helped to capture activities, such as 'sitting' or men's unpaid care work that might have been under-reported in other methods.

The longitudinal approach was useful to understand normative change (Ashburn et al., 2016), to explore seasonal differences in time use, and to follow individuals over a longer period of time. In total, about 2900 people participated in my research, and I am very thankful to all of them. The research participants made me feel welcome, and they generously shared their time and thoughts with me. In the following chapters, I present their stories, views and ideas, starting with an overview of time-use patterns and how they relate to social norms.

3 Time use and social norms

Scholars have increasingly recognised the role of social norms in shaping the gender division of labour (Twiggs et al., 1999). Norms determine who needs caring for, who is responsible for caring and how (Della Giusta, Hashimzade & Jewell, 2019). Social norms often dictate that women are expected to care and to feel fulfilled in doing so (ibid.). For instance, a review of 14 studies in more than 50 countries finds that norms assign the bulk of domestic duties to women (Marcus, 2018). At the same time, social norms across the world contribute to men's resistance to more active involvement in care and domestic tasks (Peacock, 2003). Although many studies have acknowledged the importance of norms, few have drawn a quantitative connection between social norms and unpaid care work hours (Ashburn et al., 2016).

Aiming to fill this gap, this chapter investigates the relationship of time use and social norms in northern Uganda. First, I provide descriptive evidence from the new data sets that were collected in conjunction with my thesis research. Second, I define care work norms (social norms about unpaid care work) and investigate how they shape the division of unpaid care work. Third, I show that these norms are embedded in, and closely connected to, ideologies and other norms reinforcing associations between care and femininity. I conclude that social norms are an important determinant of the household division of unpaid care work in northern Uganda.

3.1 Time use

In this section, I describe time-use patterns of women, men, boys and girls. I also investigate how time-use patterns vary across the year and the life course.

3.1.1 Time-use patterns

Rather than looking at a specific activity or a cluster of activities, it is important to understand the whole spectrum of time use (Ben-Arieh & Ofir, 2002). I report time-use findings for four broad categories: (1) unpaid care work; (2) market-oriented work; (3) non-work; and (4) total work (see Chapter 1 for definitions of these categories). As discussed in Chapter 2, some activities are not easily classified or may overlap with other activities. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to understand how individuals divide their time between unpaid care work and other activities and to have a way of distinguishing them.

Unpaid care work

Similar to other research in Uganda (Madina et al., 2018; OECD, 2015), all my methods suggest that women spend more time on unpaid care work than men, and girls more than boys. The quantitative survey¹⁷ shows that women spent strongly significantly¹⁸ more time on unpaid care work than men; women spent, on average, 4.11 hours on unpaid care work as a primary activity the day before the interview (SD=2.64, MIN=0, MAX=15, N=369), compared to men who spent, on average, 1.15 hours on primary unpaid care work (SD=1.68, MIN=0, MAX=10, N=369).¹⁹ Table 9 lists participation rates for different care activities; it shows that almost twice as many women (95%) as men (51%) had engaged in a care activity as a primary activity the day before the interview.

Table 9: Adults' unpaid care work hours (per day), participation rates

	Women					Men				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
Fuel	55 (15%)	1.26	0.99	1	8	33 (9%)	1.76	2.18	1	10
Water	217 (59%)	1.46	0.78	1	7	26 (7%)	1.08*	0.27	1	2
Food	306 (83%)	2.12	1.21	1	8	24 (6%)	1.29**	0.69	1	4
Cleaning	127 (34%)	1.15	0.44	1	4	96 (26%)	1.13	0.36	1	3
Clothes	57 (15%)	1.35	0.69	1	4	10 (3%)	1.40	0.52	1	2
Adult care	4 (1%)	7.00	6.33	1	15	6 (2%)	3.17	2.14	1	6
Community	0 (0%)	0.00	0.00	0	0	4 (1%)	3.50	3.11	1	8
Childcare	97 (26%)	1.45	0.94	1	7	73 (20%)	1.86	1.49	1	10
TOTAL	351 (95%)	4.33	2.54	1	15	190 (51%)	2.23***	1.75	1	10

*Notes: 2015 adults' survey; data for 'primary care'; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means*

As described in Chapter 1, children in developing countries in general and Uganda in particular (OECD, 2015) have been found to spend significant amounts of time on unpaid care work, especially girls (e.g. Edmonds, 2007). Table 10 shows that the large majority of both boys and

¹⁷ As explained in Chapter 2, if not otherwise stated, 'survey' refers to the 2015 survey.

¹⁸ When I use the word 'significant' to describe differences, I am implicitly referring to differences that are statistically significant at the 5% level in a t-test. I use the term 'marginally significant' to refer to statistical significance at the 10% level and the term 'strongly significant' for difference at the 1% level.

¹⁹ The 2014 survey finds similar results: on average, 5.01 hours (SD=2.74, MIN=0, MAX=13, N=432) of primary unpaid care work for women and 1.28 hours (SD=2.24, MIN=0, MAX=11, N=423) for men. The 2017 social norms survey also confirms that women spent strongly significantly more time on unpaid care work – on average, 7.01 hours (SD=2.46, MIN=0, MAX=15, N=174) – than men, who spent 4.07 hours on unpaid care work (SD=2.46, MIN=0, MAX=11, N=174).

girls in my research setting had engaged in unpaid care work the day before the interview; but girls spent strongly significantly more time on unpaid care work than boys, about two hours more a day.²⁰

Table 10: Children's unpaid care work hours (per day), participation rates

	Girls					Boys				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
Food	217 (85%)	2.39	1.43	1	8	145 (54%)	1.81***	1.16	1	6
Fuel/water	237 (93%)	2.15	1.34	1	9	225 (83%)	2.08	1.34	1	8
Clean/wash	217 (85%)	1.67	0.94	1	6	243 (90%)	1.72	0.94	1	6
Childcare	148 (59%)	2.02	1.21	1	7	122 (45%)	1.76*	1.29	1	9
Adult care	45 (18%)	1.87	1.43	1	7	37 (14%)	1.89	1.03	1	5
TOTAL	255 (97%)	6.95	3.18	2	16	270 (99%)	5.30***	2.72	1	15

*Notes: 2015 children's survey; N=271 for boys and N=255 for girls; age 8 to 18; data for 'primary care'; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means*

The finding that both boys and girls spent a significant proportion of their day engaged in unpaid care work – about five to seven hours – is consistent with other studies suggesting that, rather than only being 'receivers of care', children are active 'co-participants' in unpaid care work (UNICEF, 2016a).

Differences between unpaid care work activities

It is important to differentiate between different activities (e.g. Welsh, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 1, my definition of unpaid care work includes caring for people and domestic work; I find that gender differences in time use were weaker for the former – caring for people – and stronger for the latter – domestic work.

Gender differences were especially strong for cooking. In the survey, cooking was the activity that women reported spending the most time on (about two hours) and that they were most likely to engage in (83%). But only 6% of men said that they had cooked the day before the interview. Grinding grains or nuts on a grinding stone was particularly gendered; only 1% (4, N=369) of men said that they had engaged in grinding the day before the interview, compared

²⁰ The 2014 survey confirms that mothers said that their daughters spent significantly more time on all care activities than boys (with the exception of community care).

to 21% (76, N=369) of women. The survey with children shows that cooking was also the activity that girls spent the most time on (about two hours a day), and that, on average, boys spent strongly significantly less time on cooking than girls.

Women and girls were also more likely than men and boys to engage in water collection, fuel collection and washing clothes. But gender differences for these activities were less strong than for cooking. I find that cleaning was the unpaid care work activity that men and boys were most likely to engage in. In the survey, 26% of men and 90% of boys said that they had spent at least an hour on cleaning the day before the interview. Interviews and participant observations showed that men and boys were more likely to clean the compound, and women and girls to clean inside the house. Section 3.3 argues that the fact that cleaning outside requires a bigger broom than cleaning inside may be an explanation for this finding.

Similar to other studies (e.g. Zambelli et al., 2017), I find that gender differences were less strong for activities that involved caring for persons. There were no significant gender differences in the care of adult dependents and community members. Women (M=11.50, SD=8.72, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369) spent strongly significantly more time on child supervision than men (M=5.42, SD=6.94, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369).

But men reported significantly more time on teaching children as a primary activity (M=0.13, SD=0.66, MIN=0, MAX=10, N=369) than women (M=0.04, SD=0.23, MIN=0, MAX=2, N=369). Even though the average daily time spent on teaching is very small (8 minutes for men and 2 minutes for women), the finding may relate to literature suggesting that men spend more time on caring for children than on domestic work activities because they get more enjoyment out of it. For example, Connelly and Kimmel (2015) find that fathers in the US reported higher happiness and meaningfulness scores for childcare than for other unpaid care work activities. Similarly, research from different countries has shown that fathers spend more time on more rewarding childcare activities, such as playing and teaching, while mothers spend more time on personal childcare activities such as bathing and feeding (Monna & Gauthier, 2008). But the findings could also be a result of perceptions of activities; fathers might perceive their time with children as 'teaching' while mothers might perceive it as 'supervision'.

Simultaneous unpaid care work

The survey shows that women spent strongly significantly more time on unpaid care work as a secondary activity, i.e. an activity carried out at the same time as a primary activity – on average, 2.94 hours a day (SD=2.65, MIN=0, MAX=16, N=369), compared to men who reported spending 0.60 hours on simultaneous care (SD=1.33, MIN=0, MAX=16, N=369).²¹

This also meant that women spent strongly significantly more time than men on multi-tasking care – doing at least two care activities at the same time – on average, 4.53 hours for women (SD=3.45, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369) and 1.50 hours for men (SD=2.66, MIN=0, MAX=18, N=369).

As discussed in section 2.3.2, ‘any care’ refers to the time spent on care work as either a primary activity or a secondary activity or a supervision activity (i.e. supervising children or dependent adults). Combining time spent on care work for these three categories shows that women spent most of their time awake doing at least one care activity; women, on average, spent 13.06 hours a day (SD=7.53, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369) and men 6.01 hours a day (SD=6.86, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369) on ‘any unpaid care work’. This difference is strongly significant. Multitasking and work intensity can be understood as a form of time poverty. Doing two activities at the same time can make the task less enjoyable, less productive and more stressful (Connelly & Kongar, 2017).

During participant observation, I observed women engaging in simultaneous and multi-tasking care, such as looking after children while preparing food. Quick care activities were often performed between more time-consuming care activities, such as washing the baby between frying groundnuts and grinding, or sweeping the kitchen hut between washing and boiling leaves. During focus groups, many women breastfed and some women prepared greens for dinner. But most women did not mention simultaneous care in interviews. For example, a woman (#029) who was breastfeeding during the interview said she did not usually do several things at the same time: ‘No, I plan accordingly, I do this, go to the next.’

Childcare was particularly often carried out simultaneously with other activities. Even though 63% (234, N=369) of women had at least one child under four years living with them, childcare

²¹ This is confirmed by the 2014 data showing that women, on average, spent 2.43 hours (SD=3.92, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=432) on secondary care, compared to men’s reported 0.21 hours (SD=0.74, MIN=0, MAX=8, N=432).

was not often reported as a primary activity. Only 26% of women and 30% of men said they had spent at least an hour on childcare as a primary activity – on average only one to two hours a day (see Table 9). In interviews, childcare activities were also not often mentioned. Some women (and almost no men) listed bathing or taking children to the hospital or school, but no one mentioned playing, carrying or feeding children. However, when asked specifically whether they had supervised children while doing something else, women reported spending 11.50 hours (SD=8.72, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369) and men 5.42 hours on child supervision (SD=6.94, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=369). This difference is strongly significant. During participant observation, I observed all women supervising children while doing other work. For example, a woman (#130) kept saying ‘sorry baby’ while weeding to calm her crying baby on the back and then sat down in the field to breastfeed.

Similar to adults, girls and boys only reported about one to two hours of childcare as their primary activity – girls marginally significantly more than boys (see Table 10: Children’s unpaid care work hours (per day), participation rates. In interviews, children did not usually mention childcare activities without being asked. Of all the focus group participants, only two older girls drew looking after babies as one of their daily activities (see Figure 5). Both girls drew themselves doing something else at the same time: going to the market (left) and cooking (right).

Figure 5: Drawings of childcare



Notes: Drawings by a 16-year-old girl (first) and an 18-year-old girl (second)

However, when asked specifically about child supervision, boys in the survey reported 4.8 hours (SD=7.89; MIN=0, MAX=24, N=15) and girls 5.1 hours (SD=8.15, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=33). When asked about childcare in interviews, girls and boys also usually said that they looked after one-

to three-year-old siblings, which included bathing, carrying, feeding, teaching, playing, singing, stopping them from crying, carrying babies to their mothers, and cooking and washing clothes for them.

Unpaid care work, learning and leisure

Studies (e.g. Katz, 2004) have highlighted that care activities can have a social aspect and can be combined with leisure, play or learning under some circumstances. Briggs (2014) coined the term 'playwork' to convey the point that play and work are closely connected. I observed women chatting and laughing with friends while undertaking work, such as cooking, wedding or selling products at a local market. Especially for children, play/leisure, learning and unpaid care work were closely intertwined. For example, in a focus group (#143), children (13-18) said that 'there is time in the middle between doing an activity to play or to chat with a friend.'

This was particularly the case for fetching water. For example, a woman (#045) explained that, as a child, she 'liked fetching water because I liked playing on my way to the borehole. I tended to meet my friends and kept playing.' Children also often drew other children when drawing themselves fetching water (see Figure 6 for an example).

Figure 6: Drawing of fetching water with other children



Notes: Drawing by a 13-year-old girl

The following extract from my participant observation field notes (#123) at a borehole at around seven o'clock in the evening clearly shows that collecting water involved leisure and learning:

There are about 15 children at the borehole, mostly girls, no adults, about five teenage girls; they chat and giggle...three small girls, around six to eight years, are waiting together on the other side. A boy [four years] and a boy [six years] are jumping around,

doing cartwheels, and chasing a child who came to collect water. Their sister [17 years] tells the four-year-old boy off several times; she says, 'I will beat you.' There are so many children at the borehole, even some who don't seem to be collecting water. Two teenage girls stand a bit further back; one has her arms crossed and looks a bit upset; the other one puts a hand on her shoulder; she seems to comfort her. Most teenage girls carry 20l of water in each hand.

The extract shows how fetching water was hard work (20l in each hand), but also involved games (cartwheels, chasing), support (comforting a friend) and socialising with friends (chatting), as well as learning from other children (boy told off by his sister).

Market-oriented work

The survey shows that men, on average, spent about an hour a day more on market-oriented work (M=6.23, SD=3.91, MIN=0, MAX=17, N=369) than women (M=5.62, SD=3.31, MIN=0, MAX=16, N=369), including farming, tending to livestock and income-generating activities.²² This difference is significant. But as Table 11 shows, about the same proportion of women and men (87%) had engaged in market-oriented work the day before the interview.

Table 11: Adults' market-oriented work hours (per day), participation rates

	Women					Men				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
Farming	306 (83%)	6.11	2.66	1	15	267 (72%)	6.16	2.86	1	14
Livestock	18 (5%)	1.11	0.32	1	2	115 (31%)	2.81**	2.25	1	11
Income	39 (11%)	4.56	3.67	1	17	75 (20%)	4.63	3.51	1	15
TOTAL	325 (88%)	6.36	2.70	1	17	319 (86%)	7.26***	3.11	1	16

*Notes: 2015 adults' survey; data for primary time spent on market-oriented work; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means; 'livestock' includes tending livestock and fishing; 'income' refers to any other income-generating activity*

As Table 12 shows, slightly more boys (65%) than girls (54%) engaged in market-oriented work, but they spent about the same amount of time on it.

²² The 2014 and 2017 also find that men spent strongly significantly more time on market-oriented work than women.

Table 12: Children's market-oriented work hours (per day), participation rates

	Girls					Boys				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
Family	137 (54%)	4.19	1.97	1	8	172 (63%)	4.05	1.98	1	9
Paid work	13 (5%)	2.84	1.63	1	6	21 (8%)	2.54	1.43	1	5
TOTAL	138 (54%)	4.42	2.07	1	10	176 (65%)	4.26	2.02	1	10

Notes: 2015 children's survey; N=271 for boys and N=255 for girls; age 8 to 18; data for primary time spent on market-oriented work; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; the means are not statistically significant; 'family' includes work for family business and farm work

Farming was the primary source of income for my research participants. The majority of men (95%, 316, N=369) and women (85%, 287, N=369) selected farming as the market-oriented work they had mainly been involved in over the last six months. The survey suggests that more women (83%) than men (72%) reported time on farming the day before the interview). This was confirmed by the other methods. For example, in a focus group (#138), a woman said, 'If you're planting and it hasn't turned out well, the man doesn't know because he does not go to the garden to check.' The survey does not find a difference between boys' and girls' time spent on family business/farm work. But interviews and focus groups suggest a wider range of farming activities for girls – digging, planting, weeding, harvesting and drying produce – than for boys – mainly digging.

Animal rearing, hunting and fishing seemed to be more gendered than farming. Table 11 shows that 31% of men, but only 5% of women reported spending time on animal rearing and fishing. In interviews, almost no women, but many men said that they took care of animals; some also mentioned fishing and hunting. Qualitative findings also show that boys were more likely to take care of animals than girls. For example, a boy (8-12) in a focus group (#140) said, 'Boys rear animals while girls remain in the house doing the household work.'

Table 11 also shows that more men (20%) than women (11%) reported spending time on non-agricultural income-generating activities. In interviews, men reported teaching, casual building work, producing/selling products (e.g. shoes, animal skins, tools, beehives and alcohol), working as a policeman, petrol station assistant, motorbike taxi driver, butcher, carpenter, tailor, and working in other people's gardens. Women's reported income-generating activities mostly consisted of retail trading (e.g. charcoal, chicken, brewery, firewood), but also working in other

people's gardens. Several women reported paid care work, such as washing clothes for money, and two women worked as caregivers in a nursery. Like other studies (e.g. Esplen, 2009), this shows that the gender division of labour outside of the household reflects the gender division of labour inside the household: while some women reported paid care work, no men did.

As shown in Table 12, only 5% of girls and 8% of boys reported income-generating work the day before the interview, but 30% (82, N=270) of boys and 26% (66, N=255) of girls said that they had done some work for which they had been paid cash compensation in the last 12 months, mainly working in other people's gardens (79%, 116; N=147). In interviews and participant observation, I came across children who sold products at a market and collected bamboo for sale.

Non-work

I find that men and boys spent strongly significantly more time on 'non-work', which includes education, sleep and leisure, than women and girls. Table 13 and

Table 14 present means and participation rates for adults' and children's time spent on 'non-work'.

Table 13: Adults' non-work hours (per day), participation rates

	Women					Men				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
Education	6 (2%)	9.50	5.51	2	19	13 (4%)	6.69	5.09	1	21
Sleep	369(100%)	9.85	2.02	2	21	369(100%)	9.38***	2.23	2	18
Leisure	358 (97%)	3.77	2.26	1	16	363 (98%)	5.66***	3.24	1	24
TOTAL	369(100%)	13.67	2.70	5	24	369(100%)	15.16***	3.32	4	24

*Notes: 2015 survey; data for primary time spent on non-work; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means; 'leisure' includes leisure and self-care activities; 'education' includes education and training sessions*

Table 14: Children's non-work hours (per day), participation rates

	Girls					Boys				
	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX	N	M	SD	MIN	MAX
At school	101 (40%)	6.92	1.81	1	11	112 (41%)	6.75	1.86	2	11
Studying	42 (16%)	1.80	0.91	1	4	59 (22%)	1.68	1.22	1	8
Sleep	255(100%)	8.94	1.32	5	14	271(100%)	8.93	1.48	4	18
Leisure	236 (93%)	2.85	1.63	1	10	264 (97%)	3.86***	2.17	1	15
TOTAL	255(100%)	14.62	3.70	7	22	271(100%)	15.85***	3.69	8	24

Notes: 2015 survey; N=271 for boys and N=255 for girls; age 8 to 18; data for primary time spent on non-work; participation rates reported in brackets behind N; * $p < 0.1$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$ differences between means

In contrast to other studies suggesting that women (Esplen, 2009) and girls (e.g. Admassie, 2003) tend to have less time for education than men and boys, I find no statistically significant gender differences in time for education. As shown in Table 13, very few women (2%) and men (4%) reported time spent on education or training the day before the interview. There were also no significant gender differences for children's time spent on education.²³ In most focus groups and interviews, children agreed that girls and boys spent the same amount of time at school, but some said that girls had less time for studying at home because they 'had to go to the garden' or 'were always in the kitchen.'

The survey finds that, compared to women, men spent strongly significantly less time sleeping. But men spent strongly significantly more time – about two hours more – on leisure and self-care than women.²⁴ In interviews, only a few women mentioned leisure/self-care activities – mainly resting, showering and tooth brushing. But most men said that they 'rested', 'relaxed', 'sat' or 'did nothing'. Some men also said that they napped, waited for food, ate, showered, brushed their teeth, went to the health centre, chatted with family or listened to the radio. Only four of the women who participated in the semi-structured interviews mentioned eating as one of their daily activities, compared to 15 men. This might be the case because men

²³ As shown in Chapter 2, 90% of children were enrolled in school or had recently finished their exams. The low participation rate in education can be explained by the fact that, at the time of the survey, some children had already started their vacation.

²⁴ The 2014 and 2017 also find that men spent significantly more time on sleeping and leisure than women.

were usually served their food and took longer to eat, while women served food, supervised children and started cleaning/doing the dishes during dinner.

Quite a few men also said that they went to the 'centre' – usually a few shops and bars by the roadside – where they engaged in leisure activities, such as chatting with friends, watching films, playing video games or card games, betting, opium smoking, 'looking for another wife' and drinking alcohol. For example, a man in a focus group (#139) said, 'For me, I go to drink and leave the work to the woman' and another man added, 'I drink to relax my mind when I am from the garden work.'

The children's survey finds no significant gender difference for sleep, but boys spent strongly significantly more time on leisure than girls – about an hour a day more. This was confirmed by focus groups and interviews. For example, a boy (8-12) in a focus group (#140) said, 'Boys go for leisure; girls remain at home for cooking, fetching water, cleaning compound and others.' The leisure/self-care activities that girls and boys reported most often were washing, brushing teeth, praying and going to church. Some children, especially younger ones, listed play as a daily activity, including arts (e.g. drawing in the sand), building (e.g. constructing piles of sand), physical activities (e.g. football, skipping, throwing stones) and role-playing (e.g. playing cooking).²⁵

Total work

Findings from all research methods show that women did more total work than men and children, and girls more than boys and men. Like Bain, Ransom and Halimatusa'diyah (2018), I observed high levels of time poverty among Ugandan women. Combining unpaid care work and market-oriented work, women spent, on average, 9.72 hours (SD=2.95, MIN=0, MAX=17, N=369) and men 7.42 hours (SD=3.77, MIN=0, MAX=16, N=369) a day on work as a primary activity, which is strongly significantly different.²⁶ In interviews and focus groups, most respondents confirmed that women worked more than men. The following two answers to the question 'What do you do on a usual day?' are representative of other answers to this question and shed light on gender differences:

²⁵ Chapter 4 discusses gender differences in play.

²⁶ The 2014 and 2017 surveys also find that women spent significantly more time on total work than men.

Woman (#025): 'I sweep the house, collect the utensils, put them on the dryer. Then, I make some food for the children, collect water. Then, I go to the garden, I weed, or clear the garden or do some planting. When I come back, I prepare food for family members. Then, I go back to the garden.'

Man (#089): 'I wake up in the morning, go to the garden to dig. If I come back before the children I take the cattle or goats for grazing. If the children are early they do that. Then, I wait for food. After eating, I just sit because there is nothing for me to do anymore. I maybe go to the centre to see friends, to drink, to relax.'

The survey suggests that girls spent, on average, strongly significantly more hours on total work ($M=9.34$, $SD=3.72$, $MIN=2$, $MAX=17$, $N=255$) than boys ($M=8.01$, $SD=3.70$, $MIN=0$, $MAX=16$, $N=271$), but the gender gap was not as large as for adults. In interviews, girls and boys also usually said that girls worked more than boys. For example, a 13 to 18-year-old girl (#001) explained, 'Boys wake up, they sweep the compound, but for us, we should wash the utensils, fetch water, wash clothes.' Like Reynolds (1991) for rural Zimbabwe, I also find that girls report spending more time on total work than men.

This sub-section showed that time-use patterns in northern Uganda are highly gendered, especially for adults. But gender differences are stronger for some activities (e.g. cooking, tending livestock, leisure) than for others (e.g. cleaning, farming, education, sleep). The next sub-section explores how seasonality shapes time use.

3.1.2 Seasonality

Seasonal differences are important determinants of time use, especially in rural areas. For example, Abebe (2007) shows for the Gedeo in southern Ethiopia that children's work patterns are structured around the seasons of the agricultural work calendar. As part of my research, quantitative and qualitative data were collected in all seasons and most months of the year (see Table 1). I find that time-use patterns are sensitive to seasonality – especially farming activities – but that total unpaid care work hours and gender differences in time use are more or less constant throughout the year. For example, as shown in section 3.1.1, the 2014 survey (conducted in September/October), the 2015 survey (conducted in November/December) and the 2017 survey (conducted in May/June) all find that women spent significantly more time on unpaid care work than men. I identified four main ways through which seasonality affected unpaid care work.

First, farming activities can influence how much time is available for unpaid care work.

Respondents generally said that unpaid care work was the easiest in the dry period (January to March) when there was not much farming work to be done – just preparing produce for sale and selling it. They said that unpaid care work was the most difficult in the cultivation period from April to August, when high farming workloads – digging, ploughing, preparing gardens, planting, weeding – meant that there was less time for washing clothes or looking after children and the elderly. Spot phone calls also showed that participants more often mentioned farming than unpaid care activities in June/July, compared to September/October and March.

Second, seasonal weather conditions and related food shortages shape the amount of time and effort needed to carry out unpaid care work. For example, fetching water was said to be most difficult in the dry season from January to March because boreholes broke or dried up and people had to walk further to fetch water. During spot phone calls in the dry season, children and women told me that the nearby boreholes were broken and that it now took one to three hours to collect water. A shortage of food from April to August was also said to make cooking, looking after children and the elderly difficult. The rainy season from August to November/December was especially difficult for fetching firewood and cleaning because of heavy rains, bushy grass and wet compounds.

Third, school holidays influence how much time children and parents spend on unpaid care work. The longest school holidays are in December for about eight weeks. Similar to other research in northern Uganda (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014), I find that children work more in the school holidays, which reduces parents' workloads. For example, 8 to 12-year-old children in a focus group (#140) said that their work was most difficult during the school holidays. Women in a focus group (#139) told me that caring for children was hardest for them during term time, for example, a woman explained, 'Children will be at school so there are no babysitters.'

Fourth, seasonality seemed to affect gender relations, which can shape women's ability to negotiate care responsibilities. I find that the easiest period in terms of farming – January to March – was said to be the worst period in terms of gender relations. During this period, money was usually available, which was said to lead to alcohol consumption and arguments about what to spend the money on; both of these increased the risk of domestic violence. Respondents

explained that violence reduced in the cultivation period (April to August) because men were relying on their wives' labour, as expressed by the following quotes:

During the cultivation period, men feel afraid to disturb their women because they know that if you disturb the woman, she will go away to her home. He cannot weed, he cannot do the work alone, and they need the simsim [sesame harvest] (woman, #042).

January, February, March, there is tension in the household because there is food available and also money available. From April, May, June, July, there is no money, there is no food. c because of the shortage of money and food, people work together (woman, #138).

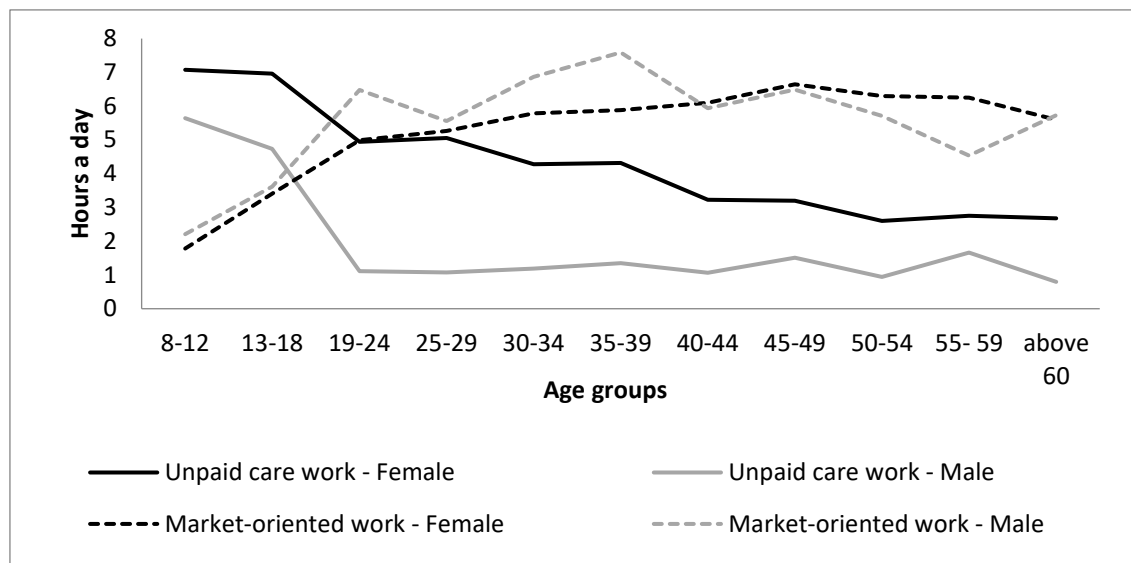
Hence, for all seasons of the year, some unpaid care work activities were said to be more difficult and some to be less difficult because of farming, weather conditions, school holidays and disagreements between spouses. For example, in the rainy season cleaning may take more time but fetching water less time, compared to the dry season. This can explain why the overall amount of unpaid care work and gender differences in care remain relatively constant throughout the year. Taking a more long-term perspective, I now explore how unpaid care work varies over the life course.

3.1.3 Life course

As touched upon in section 3.1.1, age and life cycle stage are an important determinant of the division of labour.²⁷ Figure 7 shows that for most age groups, females reported more unpaid care work and males more market-oriented work, but that the gender differences for market-oriented work tend to be smaller than for unpaid care work. The graph also shows that gender differences are largest in early adulthood.

²⁷ I also explored the relationship of time use and intersectional identity categories other than age (e.g. wealth, religiosity, education, profession), but I did not find much variation. This is potentially the case because dividing the sample into smaller groups means losing sample size and therefore statistical power. This might mean that I am under-powered to pick up modest differences across other categories.

Figure 7: Work throughout the life course



Notes: Based on the 2015 data from children (age groups 8 to 12 and 13 to 18) and adults (other age groups); different measurements were used to measure adults' and children's time use (see Chapter 2)

0 to 8 years

Up to about two years of age, children were usually breastfed and carried on their mothers' or siblings' back. From two to four, children were not expected to work, but usually got introduced to some easy tasks, such as washing plates or collecting small amounts of water or firewood. For example, during participant observation (#130), a two-year-old boy carried a small piece of firewood, copying his older siblings who brought firewood to the kitchen hut.

Respondents told me that from four to five years, children did not need anyone looking after them anymore and started contributing to the household. However, children at that age usually did not yet engage in farming. For example, a boy (13-18) in a focus group (#143) explained:

For garden work, you cannot take the small, small children that they should go dig and weed. Their work will begin from home, just washing plates and cups from there. As they grow, they will start learning how to dig from home.

As this quote suggests, usually, children's first contributions were unpaid care work activities, especially doing the dishes, sweeping the compound and fetching water from the age of four to five. When children were asked to draw their activities throughout the life course, they usually first drew themselves lying on the floor, then sitting, crawling, standing and then cleaning or fetching water (see Figure 8 for an example).

Figure 8: Drawing of life-course activities



Notes: Drawing by a 12-year-old girl; she explained her drawing with the following words: 'They carry me; I crawl; I start to sit; I start to stand; I fetch water; I carry 10l; then 20l.'

Like Reynolds (1991) who finds that in rural Zimbabwe, girls under 10 spend 56 percent of their time taking care of younger children, I find that looking after younger siblings was a key task for this age group. Younger children, from the age of one to two, usually had an older sibling who was assigned to be their primary carer (Girling, 1960), most likely the older sibling closest in age. Even though boys also cared for younger siblings, I found that they only took on the role of the 'main babysitter' if no girl of the right age was available. For example, in one family, the first-born, 17-year-old girl had looked after her 14-year-old sister and her 13-year-old brother because her sister was too young to look after the brother. The 14-year-old girl – not the 13-year-old boy – had then looked after their 11-year-old sister who later became the primary carer for her 8-year-old sister. The 8-year-old girl had looked after her 6-year old brother, but he did not become the primary caregiver for the last-born, 4-year-old boy whom all the siblings looked after together. This example shows that gender plays a role in determining roles even at such a young age. But, similar to other research (e.g. Crivello, 2016), I find that gender differences at this age were not as strong as for other age groups.

8 to 12 years

From about eight to ten years, children were called 'latin madit' (big child); as a woman (#024) said, 'They are now grown-up.' When asked what that meant, she laughed and said that children started 'going to the disco'. This is also the time when boys and girls tended to start sleeping in separate huts (if available). At 8 to 12 years, most children said that they had started digging, rearing animals and most care activities, but their key activities were still cleaning, taking care of babies and fetching water. Children still tended to leave the most difficult tasks to older siblings or adults. For example, a boy (13-18) in a focus group (#143) explained:

Preparing the porridge, that one is very easy, a small child even of eight or ten years can do that one, but mingling the bread and cooking beans, you can do that when you are a little bit older. The younger children will do small work. As you are growing, your work will also increase.

The survey data shows that girls aged 8 to 12 spent strongly significantly more time on unpaid care work than boys the same age, who spent marginally significantly more time on market-oriented work than girls. But the gender differences are smaller, compared to other age groups (see Figure 7). In focus groups, some children said that girls of that age group were more likely to cook and fetch firewood than boys, but children usually emphasised that, at this age, both boys and girls just ‘help[ed] their mothers’.

13 to 18 years

In life story interviews, respondents said that their childhood had ended at around 16 years when they had been told to get married or had noticed changes in their bodies. Like research in other settings (e.g. Edmonds, 2006; Emerson & Souza, 2008; Punch, 2001a), I find that older children/ teenagers did more work than younger children. For example, when asked what had changed in the last three years, a 14-year-old boy explained that he was doing more work now because: ‘There is a change in my growth; I am bigger.’ Generally, older children also tended to do more difficult tasks than younger children, such as weeding millet, rearing cattle, cooking or carrying heavier loads of water (as expressed by the life-course drawing in Figure 8).

At the same time, I find that children aged 13 to 18 were significantly less likely to be enrolled in school than those aged 8 to 12. In interviews, younger and older children also reported different leisure activities. While younger children said that they ‘played’, older children were more likely to say that they ‘rested’. Some older boys said that they went to the centre to play card games, go to the casino, watch films or watch people play pool. In the focus group drawing exercises, drawings of play activities tended to be more ‘childish’ than those of work activities. For instance, a 16-year-old girl drew herself as a woman with curves, styled hair and feminine clothing when doing care and farming work (see Figure 9, right), but without hair and curves on the drawings representing play (left).

Figure 9: Drawings of daily activities



Notes: Drawings by a 16-year-old girl

Similar to other research (Crivello & Revollo, 2018; Edmonds, 2006; Emerson & Souza, 2008; Punch, 2001b), I find that gender differences in work increase at this age. The survey suggests that boys aged 13 to 18 spent significantly less time on unpaid care work than boys aged 8 to 12 (see Figure 7). This is confirmed by the qualitative findings. For example, in a focus group (#140), children said that boys cooked from 8 to about 16 years. When I asked why they stopped cooking at this age, a girl (8-12) explained, ‘They feel like they are big enough not to cook.’

Like other studies (e.g. Edmonds, 2006; Heissler & Porter, 2010), I find that older girls had the highest workloads. Girls aged 13 to 18 spent marginally significantly more hours a day on care and market-oriented work combined ($M=9.74$, $SD=3.79$, $MIN=2$, $MAX=17$, $N=95$) than girls aged 8 to 12 ($M=8.87$, $SD=3.63$, $MIN=2$, $MAX=15$, $N=147$). Girls aged 13 to 17 also spent significantly more hours on total work than boys of the same age ($M=7.96$, $SD=4.01$, $MIN=0$, $MAX=16$, $N=101$).

19 to 39 years

In Acholi, the transition into adulthood is usually marked by leaving home, getting married and having children, which normally happens at around 18 to 25 years. In the survey, women, on average, reported having started to live with their partner at 19.73 years ($SD=5.41$, $MIN=13$, $MAX=58$, $N=369$). Like other research suggesting that marriage increases women’s caring responsibilities (e.g. Crivello, 2016), in my research setting, the period from 20 to 34 years is the time when gender differences in unpaid care work and market-oriented work are strongest (see Figure 7). For example, women aged 22 to 29 reported spending strongly significantly more time (about four hours a day more) on unpaid care work than men of the same age group.

There is an especially drastic decrease in unpaid care work for young men, from about five hours at 13 to 18 years to about one hour a day at 19 to 24 years (see Figure 7). This might be partly due to the different time-use measures used in the surveys with children and adults (see section 2.3.2). But the qualitative findings confirm that marriage and starting a household decrease male involvement in unpaid care work. For example, a man (#115) said, ‘Many people, when they get married, they leave the tiring work of washing and cooking to women.’ Some boys also said that even though they cooked now, they would not cook when married. For example, in a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) explained, ‘I will not cook when the wife is there because I brought the wife home to do the cooking.’

Above 40

Acholi women and men with grown-up children and grandchildren — usually from about 40 to 60 years—enjoy an increased status in the community (Vorhölter, 2014). For both women and especially men, unpaid care work and market-oriented work decrease with age. Figure 7 suggests that, compared to females, males tend to spend more time on market-oriented work throughout the life course until they reach about 40 when women do more market-oriented work than men. Everyone in the focus groups agreed that elderly men worked the least; for example, in the focus group (#139) life-course exercises (see Appendix 7), elderly men were consistently assigned the smallest number of dots indicating how much time they spent on unpaid care and market-oriented work.

But, similar to other research showing that the majority of older Ugandans work (Sengupta & Kidd, 2018), I find that work remained high, especially for older women. When I asked about elderly care in a focus group (#138), a man simply said, ‘They [the elderly] keep themselves.’ The survey (see Figure 7) shows that men over 60 spent about five hours on market-oriented work and one hour on unpaid care work a day, while women over 60 spent about six hours on market-oriented work and about three hours on unpaid care work. I find that older women looked after grandchildren or great-grandchildren where their children had passed away or were unable to care for their children, as illustrated by the story of about 70-year-old Atyeno Rachel (#062):

Atyeno Rachel’s daughter died in a car accident when her baby Lamwaka Charlotte was three months old. Atyeno Rachel raised her granddaughter, Lamwaka Charlotte. When

Lamwaka Charlotte was a teenager she had an unwanted pregnancy, left the baby with Atyeno Rachel and went to Kampala. When I interviewed Atyeno Rachel, she was living on her own with her two-year-old great-grandson. While I was there, I saw her showing him how to dig, giving him water and cooking for him.

This sub-section showed that females across different age groups tended to do more unpaid care work than males and that, in most life-course periods, males did more market-oriented work than females. Gender differences become stronger in teenage years and early adulthood. In the next section, I propose social norms as an explanation for gender- and age-based differences in time use.

3.2 Care work norms

In this section, I describe social norms that define responsibility for unpaid care work – which I call ‘care work norms’ – and I argue that these norms influence the household distribution of unpaid care work. It is important to keep in mind that norms are never static but in constant flux, being adjusted, reinforced and reshaped. I describe the dominant or ‘hegemonic’ version of norms, i.e. the prevailing discourses around masculinity, femininity, the division of labour and unpaid care work.

3.2.1 Gender and age dimensions of care work norms

As explained in Chapter 1, I use the term ‘care work norms’ to refer to social norms that define responsibility for unpaid care work. Care work norms are gendered because they mark differences between females and males, but they also reflect other social identity hierarchies, out of which I focus on age. Broadly speaking, dominant care work norms dictate that females should do more unpaid care work than males of the same age (gender dimension) and that boys should do more unpaid care work than men (age dimension). These gender- and age-based roles and expectations have, historically, been a crucial part of Acholi culture and social organisation (e.g. Girling, 1960; Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980).

Gender dimension

The gender dimension of care work norms implies that females should do more unpaid care work than males. Early anthropological work in the northern Ugandan region (e.g. Girling, 1960; Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980) finds that norms have traditionally dictated that women are responsible

for unpaid care work, helped by their children, especially girls. More recent research (e.g. Marcus & Harper, 2015; Vorhölter, 2014; Watson, 2014) also suggests that, in Uganda, a 'good woman' takes care of all household chores, including food, maintenance and nurture and is expected to care for her husband by cooking, getting water ready for bathing, washing clothes and welcoming him. In interviews, I was also often told that women's main responsibility should be unpaid care work, including activities, such as cooking, washing clothes, ironing, brushing shoes, washing utensils, cleaning the floor, fetching water, fetching firewood, buying things, bathing the children, 'making sure that the children are okay', teaching the girls to do unpaid care work and 'making sure that the sons are well-kept'.

At the same time, norms around men's roles tend to encourage men to see unpaid care work in conflict with male 'tradition' (Samman et al., 2016). For Uganda, research has consistently shown that unpaid care work is not considered part of men's responsibility (e.g. Girling, 1960s, Vorhölter, 2014). Even though some few respondents said that men were expected to sweep/maintain the compound and to teach their children, most respondents were convinced that men were not supposed to do unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#016) said, 'Men don't have a duty to cook; they only cook if they have a problem'.

Dominant care work norms also dictate that girls should do more unpaid care work than boys. Girls across the world are often expected to provide unpaid care work (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). For northern Uganda, the 2014 Social Institutions and Gender Index (SIGI) results (OECD, 2015) show that the majority of adults believe that girls should spend more time on unpaid care work than boys. I find that girls were expected to engage in similar tasks as women, with a special emphasis on unpaid care work. Some unpaid care work was reserved particularly for girls (see Marcus & Harper, 2015), such as serving food to the men in the family and guests. Boys were generally expected to do less unpaid care work than girls. For example, a young man (#070) explained, 'In our culture, here, a boy cannot cook food when his sister is there.'

Age dimension

The age dimension of care work norms means that younger, unmarried males are expected to do more unpaid care work than older males (see, for example, Vorhölter, 2014). I was often told that boys, especially younger ones, were expected to help their mothers with their work, which

included unpaid care work. Rather than being an expression of gender identity, expectations of boys to engage in unpaid care work seemed to be related to age hierarchies. Expectations of obedience and respect for older people tend to be strong in gerontocratically-ordered settings like northern Uganda (Harris, 2012), which might explain why boys, but not men, are expected to engage in unpaid care work (see section 3.3.1).

Another explanation for why boys are expected to do more unpaid care work than men is that the gender dimension of care work norms becomes more important with age. The survey finds that boys aged 8 to 12 were significantly more likely to approve of a vignette describing a situation where a woman and a man shared unpaid care work (99%, 153, N=155) than boys aged 13 to 18 (93%, 94, N=101).²⁸ In the survey, younger boys also expressed being significantly happier to do unpaid care work than older boys.²⁹ In a focus group life-course drawing exercise, a 13-year-old boy drew himself carrying water on his head (a stereotypically 'feminine' activity) as a younger child, but he drew himself carrying water in his arms as an older child (see Figure 10). When explaining his drawing, he said that he had adjusted the way he carried water because it was less acceptable to do 'female work' as an older boy.

Figure 10: Drawing of fetching water over the life course



Notes: Drawing by a 13-year-old boy; emphasis added

A man (#082) emphasised that for older boys/young men, the gender dimension of care work norms was reinforced through social pressure:

²⁸ Note that the large majority of both younger and older boys approved of the vignette.

²⁹ Children were asked how happy they felt doing different activities on a scale from one ('very sad') to five ('very happy'). The mean happiness score for all unpaid care work activities combined was 3.60 for boys aged 8 to 12 (SD=0.84, MIN=1.4, MAX=5, N=156) and 3.41 for boys aged 13 to 18 (SD=0.93, MIN=1.2, MAX=5, N=101). There are no significant age differences for girls.

Young boys accept to do care work, but when it reaches a certain age...they will deny doing care work when they experience peer pressure...It is a very critical point when someone is turning from maybe a boy into a man.

Hence, in simplified terms, one could argue that prevailing care work norms in northern Uganda establish a hierarchy of responsibility for unpaid care work with women at the top, followed by girls, then boys and men at the bottom.

The norms described above relate to the findings from the previous section, showing that women did more unpaid care work than men, and girls more than boys; and that gender differences in unpaid care work increase with age. The similarity between norms and behaviour might suggest that norms influence behaviour. The next-sub-section explores whether this is the case.

3.2.2 Care work norms and care work hours

I find that care work norms influence the household division of unpaid care work. As discussed in Chapter 1, I build on Bicchieri's (2017) definition of social norms as rules of behaviour 'such that individuals prefer to conform to it on condition that they believe [conditional preference] that (a) most people in their reference network conform to it [empirical expectation] and that (b) most people in their reference network believe they ought to conform to it [normative expectations]' (p. 35). Using mostly quantitative data,³⁰ I now examine how these three dimensions of social norms relate to unpaid care work hours: (1) normative expectations (2) empirical expectations and (3) conditional preference.

Normative expectations

I find that normative expectations – beliefs about what others think one should do – are associated with unpaid care work hours. The 2017 survey finds that men who believed that other men in their community thought that men should engage in unpaid care work tended to spend almost two hours a day more on unpaid care work, compared to men who thought that men in their community disapproved of male participation in unpaid care work (see Table 15).

³⁰ Since the quantitative data does not provide enough information to explore the age dimension, I focus on the gender dimension of care work norms (see section 3.2.1).

Table 15: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs in other men's approval of male care

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's primary care hours
Men's beliefs in other men's approval of male care	1.773** (0.824)
N	160
Adjusted R-squared	0.110

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2017 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for marital status, education (women and men), age group (women, men), number of children under four; 'men's beliefs in other men's approval of male care' takes the value 'one' if men said that in their village at least one out of five men thinks that men should do unpaid care work*

The 2015 survey also suggests that if men believed that community members approved of male involvement in unpaid care work, couples tended to distribute unpaid care work more equally, with men spending more and women less time on it (see Table 16).

Table 16: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs in others' approval of male care

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Men's any care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Women's primary care hours	Gender difference primary care hours
Men's beliefs in others' approval of male care	2.222*** (0.811)	2.219*** (0.819)	-0.981*** (0.275)	-0.764** (0.305)
N	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.045	0.048	0.123	0.072

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four*

Further, as Table 17 shows, the survey data finds that if women thought that community members approved of sharing unpaid care work, they were more likely to have asked their partners for help with care tasks, and their children followed a more gender-equal division of unpaid care work (boys doing more and girls less unpaid care work).

Table 17: Association between women's beliefs in others' approval of male care and children's care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	1	2	3
	Women asked partner for help with care	Boys' primary care hours	Girls' primary care hours
Women's beliefs in others' approval of male care	0.104*	1.460***	-1.468**
	(0.060)	(0.478)	(0.733)
N	246	175	155
Adjusted R-squared	0.040	0.160	0.098

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (2,3) and LPM with robust standard errors (1); 2015 adults' survey (1) and 2015 adults' and children's survey merged (2, 3); standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four, men's beliefs in others' approval of male care (1,2,3), child's age, child's school enrolment, children's belief in others' approval of male care (2,3); 'women asked partner for help with care' takes the value 'one' if women have asked partners for help with at least one care activity

In interviews, respondents also often explained their division of labour with reference to others; for instance, saying that men did not engage in unpaid care work because community members would think of it as 'negative', 'not nice', 'funny' or 'awkward' (see section 4.3). For example, a woman (#018) said that men did not do much unpaid care work because 'the community would perceive it negatively'.

I do not find an association between children's time use and their beliefs about community members' approval of a gender-equal division of unpaid care work. This might be explained by the fact that children had little control over their own time; 65% of boys (174, N=268) and 67% of girls (163, N=244) agreed or strongly agreed that someone else in their family made all decisions about how they spent their time.³¹ Indeed, I find that normative expectations only mattered for boys who reported control over their own time. Boys who did not feel that someone else determined what they did and believed that community members approved of a shared division of unpaid care work, tended to spend more time on unpaid care work (see Table 18).

³¹ Children aged 13 to 18 were significantly more likely to report control over their time (40%, 77, N=194), compared to children aged 8 to 12 (28%, 82, N=290).

Table 18: Association between children's care hours (per day) and beliefs in others' approval of male care

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	Boys' primary care hours	Girls' primary care hours
Children's beliefs in others' approval of male care=1	-1.095*** (0.372)	-0.562 (0.490)
Children control own time=1	-1.357*** (0.441)	-0.387 (0.861)
Children's beliefs in others' approval of male care=1 # Children control own time =1	2.866*** (0.626)	0.914 (0.981)
N	266	244
Adjusted R-squared	0.136	0.065

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 children's survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child's age, child's school enrolment, child's paid work in last year; 'children control own time' takes the value 'one' if child controls own time*

In both the 2015 and the 2017 survey, I do not find any significant association between community members' actual approval of doing unpaid care work and individuals' unpaid care work hours. This is consistent with social norms literature suggesting that beliefs about what others think matter more to behaviour than what others actually think (e.g. Bicchieri, 2017). Intuitively, this makes sense, as no one can be absolutely sure what other people think.

Empirical expectations

I also find that empirical expectations – beliefs about what others do – are associated with time spent on unpaid care work. The 2017 survey analysis (see Table 19) suggests that men who believed that at least some other male interview participants had reported involvement in unpaid care work the previous day, tended to report about two hours more time spent on unpaid care work themselves.

Table 19: Association between men's care hours (per day) and beliefs about other men's care

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's primary care hours
Men's beliefs about other men's unpaid care work	2.088*** (0.691)
N	160
Adjusted R-squared	0.121

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2017 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for marital status, education (women and men), age group (women, men), number of children under four; 'men's beliefs about other men's unpaid care work' takes the value 'one' if men believe that in their village at least one out of five spent at least an hour on unpaid care work the previous day

The 2015 survey did not include questions on beliefs about other people's time spent on unpaid care work. But the qualitative data support the finding that empirical expectations matter for behaviour. For example, a woman (#039) said that her husband did not engage in unpaid care work because 'men of this area never help their wives.' Similarly, a woman (#019) explained, 'Ever since I was born, I have never seen a man cook, clean or so. I have never seen it. This why I think it would be shameful for the man.'

However, similar to beliefs about community members' views, I find that the actual involvement of fellow men in unpaid care work is not associated with the time men spend on unpaid care work. This is in line with the literature (e.g. Bicchieri, 2017), suggesting that beliefs about what others do are more important in shaping behaviour than what others actually do.

Conditional preference

I also find evidence suggesting that individuals' preferences to act in a certain way are influenced by their empirical and normative expectations. The 2017 survey vignette questions (see Chapter 2 for an explanation) finds that respondents were most likely to say that men would do unpaid care work in situations where other men did unpaid care work (empirical expectations) or where people believed that men should do unpaid care work (normative expectations). Descriptive statistics for the vignettes are presented in Table 20.

Table 20: Descriptive statistics of vignettes

Vignette	Man likely to do unpaid care work	Woman likely to want husband to do unpaid care work	N
Few men do unpaid care work and few say that men should do unpaid care work	42.39% (39)	83.70% (77)	92
Almost all men do unpaid care work but few say that men should do unpaid care work	72.62% (61)	88.10% (74)	84
Few men do unpaid care work but almost all say that men should do unpaid care work	79.17% (57)	90.28% (65)	72
Almost all men do unpaid care work and almost all say that men should do unpaid care work	83.84% (83)	96.97% (96)	99

Notes: 2017 adults' survey; for each respondent, one vignette was randomly selected; frequency reported in brackets

The 2017 survey also finds that empirical expectations shape preferences. 70% of men (120, N=172) reported that they would like to do more unpaid care work if no one were to know about it. Similarly, 89% of women (119, N=173) said that they would like their husbands to do more unpaid care work if others would not find out about it. This was confirmed by interviews. For example, when I asked a woman (#027) whether she would like to sit back and let her husband wash the plates if no one could see it, she laughed and said, 'Yes, that would be okay.'

Hence, the analysis points to a relationship between social norms and the division of unpaid care work. I showed that how much time different people spend on unpaid care work is related to the three dimensions of Bicchieri's (2017) definition of social norm: it is associated with individuals' beliefs about other people's time spent on unpaid care work (empirical expectations) and with their beliefs about other people's approval of male participation in unpaid care work (normative expectations). Empirical and normative expectations shape preferences (conditional preference), as shown by the fact that individuals said they would divide tasks differently if normative and empirical expectations were different.

The analysis is unable to make a causal claim due to the limited sample sizes and potential biases (see section 2.3.2). Most significantly, there might be an issue of simultaneity: we cannot be sure whether respondents reported more gender-equal behaviour because they believed in more gender-equal norms or whether they reported more gender-equal norms to justify their

gender-equal behaviour. But the analysis is still important as it establishes a quantitative relationship between norms and behaviour, which is supported by the qualitative findings. The following section further explores the relationship between social norms and the division of unpaid care work by focussing on a broader set of norms and ideologies.

3.3 Related norms and ideologies

One set of norms is never the only force influencing behaviour (Cislaghi & Heise, 2018a). I find that prevailing care work norms are embedded in, reinforced by and expressed through a complex inter-related web of norms and ideologies.

As discussed in chapter 1, ideologies are part of ‘more extensive worldviews about how societies should be organised, themselves often reflecting particular religious or cultural traditions’ (Marcus & Harper, 2014, p. 28). In contrast to social norms, ideologies are not related to expectations of others’ behaviour and views (Bicchieri, 2017). One could argue that ideologies are more deeply rooted than social norms. They provide an ideological explanation or justification for the existence of social norms. For example, ideologies might suggest that men are and should be more powerful than women, and social norms might dictate that men should have the final say in household decisions. As this example shows, it is not easy to make a clear distinction between norms and ideologies. Therefore, I follow others (e.g. Marcus & Harper, 2015) in describing how norms and ideologies together reinforce social norms and the division of unpaid care work. In particular, I focus on norms and ideologies around power, the body, material objects, separate spheres and marriage.

3.3.1 Power

Care work norms are embedded in, and reinforced by, ideologies and norms that associate power with masculinity. But in gerontocratically-ordered settings, like northern Uganda, age-related power relations can be as important as gender-hierarchies (Harris, 2012). Harris (2012) uses the term ‘gender-age system’ to denote how gender and age work together in determining power relations. In particular, for northern Uganda, the gender-age system means that older men are at the pinnacle of power, older women and younger men/boys in the middle, and younger women/girls at the bottom.

Even though research has shown that women in sub-Saharan Africa have historically enjoyed some autonomy (Kandiyoti, 1988), the literature suggests that traditional Acholi norms assign control over women and children to men (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980; Sengupta & Calo, 2016). The Acholi adult male household head has historically been known as 'won-ot', which implies the conception of fatherhood and ownership (Girling, 1960). A recent survey in Uganda shows that 78% of men and 58% of women thought a man should have the final word about decisions in the home (Vlahovicova, Spindler, Levtoy & Hakobyan, 2019). In my research, respondents also said that men should be the 'head of the family', 'leader', 'president of the home', and 'above the woman'. I find that men were expected to have 'full authority', 'full power', and to control 'everything at home', especially farm activities and household resources. Men were also supposed to 'establish rules', to 'discipline children' and to 'solve problems'. For instance, a man (#096) explained, 'The father has the role of being a leader. You have to be in charge of the home, in charge of the wife, in charge of the children.'

At the same time, research in Uganda (Watson, 2014) and northern Uganda (Bukuluki et al., 2013; Dolan, 2002; El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005; Vorhölter, 2014) finds that women are supposed to take a subordinate role, to be 'humble', 'obedient', 'respectful' and 'submissive to authority'. For example, historically, women were not allowed to eat special types of food, such as chicken (Dolan, 2002). Women have been found to be expected to do whatever was agreed upon by the leaders and not to oppose family or clan decisions (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005). I observed similar expectations. For example, a man (#112) said, 'Everything that the woman does, she must first contact the husband.' Some also said that women were expected to be 'calm' and not disagree with their husbands. For instance, a woman (#016) explained, 'When a man comes with all his anger you have to be calm and down to earth.' Another woman (#025), who had an alcoholic and abusive husband, said that people advised her to 'stay calm and look at the man, stay there and endure.'

Both boys and girls are disadvantaged in terms of power by the gender-age system. As in many cultures (Montgomery, 2009), obedience is a crucial part of child-rearing in northern Uganda. Like El-Bushra and Sahl (2005), I find that respect, humility and acceptance of strict rules were important virtues for young people. Children were expected to obey and respect their parents, other adults and older siblings. For example, a man (#017) said that his grandfather had taught

him, 'When you are a young kid and a big one has sent you to do something, you shouldn't refuse...you should be obedient to the parents, you should listen to any assignment.'

Norms and ideologies generally granted boys more freedom and power than girls (Marcus & Harper, 2015). For example, El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) find that traditionally, boys were supposed to oversee their sisters. Like El-Bushra and Sahl (2005), I find that the ideal girl was 'obedient, non-assertive and respectful to her brothers.' Some respondents said that girls were taught to be obedient from a young age. They described expectations of girls as 'calm', 'soft' and 'less hostile than boys', and said that, compared to girls, boys were 'stubborn', 'harsh' and 'do[ing] what they want'.

These power relations seemed closely connected to care work norms and the division of unpaid care work. Unpaid care work was perceived to be 'inferior' to market-oriented work (see section 3.3.2); it thus came to be associated with individuals in 'inferior' positions, such as women, girls and boys, and was considered less appropriate for 'superior' men. For example, a woman (#014) explained: 'They [men] would love to be seen as bosses, a leader; you are the one leading the family, so they just sit there and enjoy their luxurious time and wait for women to bring food.' Respondents also said that asking men to do unpaid care work would be questioning their power, 'turning them into a child', 'turning them into a woman' or 'minimising them'. For example, a woman (#013) said, 'If you tried to ask him, "Hi, please, can you help me today, you wash the clothes." He says, "No, no, no, I cannot do that now. You want to change me to become a woman."'

Notions of female 'inferiority' might also make it less likely for women to choose what tasks to engage in (see section 4.1). Expectations of female obedience also mean not getting annoyed about heavy workloads and accepting a husband's orders. It was considered 'not respectful' if a woman asked her husband for help with unpaid care work. For example, in a focus group (#139), a woman said: 'At the homestead, men don't cook because of the respect women show their husband.'

Power relations also seemed related to the age dimension of care work norms, namely that boys were expected to do more unpaid care work than men. As described above, some men said that they could not do unpaid care work as this would 'turn them into a child.' For example, a boy 16-

year-old boy (#065) said that ‘men think they are mature people so that they cannot go to cook.’ The finding that even though boys were inferior to men, they tended to have power over girls also relates to expectations of girls to do more unpaid care work than boys. For example, a man (#070) said that traditions expected a girl to do more unpaid care work ‘because she is more obedient’.

To conclude, gender- and age-based hierarchies seem to be reflected in gender- and age-based norms around the division of unpaid care work. Women and children, who were seen as relatively ‘powerless’, were expected to do most unpaid care work, which was considered ‘inferior’ to other types of work. But one could also argue that unpaid care work was considered ‘inferior’ because it was carried out by relatively ‘powerless’ women and children (Nieuwenhuys, 1996). Power relations reinforce care work norms, but at the same time, care work norms maintain an unequal distribution of power (see section 4.1.). Care work norms could be seen as a type of ‘patriarchal norms’ – that ‘disproportionately favour men and masculinity, and deny resources, opportunities and power to women’ (Lundgren et al., 2018, p. 389). Unequal power relations can thus be both a reason for, and a consequence of, care work norms.

Note that I am describing a ‘hegemonic discourse’ around power and, that in reality, power relations are more complicated; for example, women and girls might be granted power in less visible realms or express power in subtle ways, which is further discussed in section 4.1.

3.3.2 Body

Further, I find that socially constructed differences between the female and the male body – in terms of physical strength and gendered positions – are related to and support care work norms.

Physical strength

Closely related to power dynamic, ideals of the body often picture men as ‘physically stronger’ and ‘more competent’ than women (Lorber, 1994). These ideas have been argued to be related to women’s procreative physiology (ibid.). In northern Uganda, expectations of men include being ‘strong’, ‘courageous’ and ‘enduring’ (Dolan, 2002). El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) observe that the ideal Acholi man ‘never gave up, and never accepted defeat’ (p. 16). My respondents also described men as ‘strong’, ‘tough’, ‘energetic’, ‘hard’ and ‘brave’. In the focus group drawing

exercise, children usually drew their fathers and older brothers tall, strong looking and sometimes intimidating, looking straight ahead, while they tended to draw their mothers as smaller, looking side-ways or on the floor (see, for example, Figure 11).

Figure 11: Drawing of a family



Notes: Drawing by a 12-year-old boy; father, mother, brother, three sisters, self

At the same time, women are often believed to be ‘fragile’, ‘physically and mentally incompetent’, and ‘unfit’ for certain kinds of work and physical activity (Lorber, 1994). Some of my respondents said that women were ‘weaker’ than men, usually referring to physical strength and leadership abilities. For example, a woman (#032) said households without men were ‘weak’ because ‘a woman cannot easily solve the problem because she doesn’t have the voice to speak up’; or a man (#106) said, ‘The woman has less strength, she cannot overwork, heavy-duty.’

Children were generally perceived to be physically weaker than adults. But, like other research (e.g. Blum, Mmari & Moreau, 2017), I find that girls were perceived as physically weaker and more vulnerable than boys. El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) find that, traditionally, northern Ugandan boys were expected to be good at games that showed their strength and resilience and to be active, resourceful and energetic. Boys in my research were also described as ‘brave’ and ‘hav[ing] this mentality that they are strong’.

These ideals of physical strength further reinforced associations between unpaid care work, the feminine and young age, since unpaid care work was generally perceived to be less difficult than other types of work. Unpaid care work was described as ‘small’, ‘petty’, ‘light’, ‘simple’, ‘minor’,

‘tiny’, ‘not very difficult’, ‘not very tiring’ or ‘not heavy’. When asked about their daily activities, some respondents did not mention unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#033) said ‘there is nothing I do apart from farming’ but, when I probed, she listed many care activities, saying, ‘I thought maybe it is only great work, the rest are minor.’ In contrast, market-oriented activities – especially digging and construction work – were described as ‘heavy’, ‘big’ and ‘hard’.

Like others (e.g. England, 2005), I also find that unpaid care work was considered less skilled than market-oriented work. The survey asked women and men to rank different activities based on the level of skill the activities required (see Appendix 1). I find that, on average, women and men ranked care activities to require strongly significantly fewer skills than market-oriented activities. But women believed care activities, especially cooking, to be strongly significantly more skilled than men. Table 21 lists the order of the ranking from the most to the least skilled activity.

Table 21: Ranking of activities from most to least skilled

Women	Men
1. Drying/processing	1. Planting/harvesting
2. Planting/harvesting	2. Drying/processing
3. Childcare	3. Construction, repair
4. Farm animals	4. Childcare
5. Food preparation	5. Farm animals
6. Construction, repair	6. Carpentry/furniture
7. Carpentry/furniture	7. Selling/trading
8. Selling/trading	8. Care of dependents
9. Care of dependents	9. Food preparation
10. Cleaning	10. Cleaning
11. Preparing clothes	11. Preparing clothes
12. Fuel or water collection	12. Fuel or water collection

Notes: 2015 adults’ survey; N=369

One could argue that the fact that unpaid care work was perceived to be ‘easy’ and ‘unskilled’ made it less appealing for males who were expected to engage in activities that required physical strength. Some respondents suggested that men did not do unpaid care work because it was ‘too light’ or ‘too little’ for them. For example, a man (#120) said, ‘We want to do this heavy, heavy work and leave the light, light one for women.’ Similarly, a man (#106) said that carrying firewood ‘is too little for me to carry, so it is the duty of the woman.’ The survey analysis (see Table 22) shows that men who considered unpaid care work to be less skilled tended to spend less time on it.

Table 22: Association between men's perception of care as skilled and men's care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	Men's any care hours	Men's primary care hours	Men's simultaneo us care hours
Men's perceptions of care as skilled	-0.221*** (0.050)	-0.016 (0.012)	-0.224*** (0.051)
N	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.076	0.016	0.079

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'men's perceptions of care as skilled' represents the sum of the ranking of all care activities; the lower the value, the less skilful unpaid care work is considered

At the same time, related to ideas of women as 'physically weaker' than men, some respondents said that women undertook unpaid care work because it was 'easy'. For example, a man (#085#085) said, 'They [women] have to do most of the household work to remain at home because they are weak'; or a woman (#037) suggested, 'Women do this unpaid care work because they are weak; even it is a lot, it is not heavy.'

Similarly, physical inferiority might reinforce children's – especially girls' duty to do unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#029) explained that girls specialised in unpaid care work because 'girls are weak, ploughing they may not manage.'

Thus, like others, I find that ideologies of the gendered body are related to ideals around power and the division of work. In particular, 'men's supposed greater strength rationalises the gendered division of work' (Lorber, 1994, p. 49). The association between ideas of the body and care work norms goes both ways: one could argue that unpaid care work is devalued precisely because it is done by women (and children) who are perceived to be weaker than men, or that women (and children) are devalued because they undertake care (Ryle, 2012).

Positions

In addition to notions of physical strength, I find that female responsibility for care is reinforced by perceptions of gendered bodies being suited to different positions. Typically 'female' positions were bending, kneeling and sitting on the floor, while males were generally expected

to stay in upright positions. I was often told that there was a particularly 'feminine way' to bend down (for example, to pick something up, sweep or weed). This involved bending forward with straight legs as opposed to squatting (see Figure 12, third drawing). During participant observation (#131), I was laughed at when I squatted to weed because I found bending in the above described way too uncomfortable in the lower back. Similar to other research in Uganda (Parvez Butt, Walsh & Garber, 2017), I find that people believed that women were 'biologically better able to bend'. For example, a man (#114) said, 'You know our backs, for men, we can easily get tired from here. The women are flexible, they can bend. It is kind of their nature.'

Another 'female' position was kneeling. Women and girls were expected to kneel in front of men. For example, a woman (#013) explained, 'When you are a woman in Acholi culture, if you are giving something to anybody you have to kneel down and then you give that thing.' When I asked her whether men kneeled too, she laughed and said, 'Men they don't kneel...they cannot kneel because they are men.'

Further, women were supposed to sit with their legs stretched out in front of them on the floor or a mat, as shown in Figure 12 (first drawing). Keeping the legs straight and together was important because women generally wore skirts. During an interview, when I sat in this position on a mat, a woman (#023) praised me and said that I was seated like a 'proper Ugandan woman'.

Positions that were considered most appropriate for men were those that allowed them to stay upright (e.g. standing) or higher up (e.g. sitting on a chair). For example, a man (#114) said, 'Those days, it was regarded that men stand up.' In the focus group drawing exercises, all children drew their fathers either standing up tall or sitting on a chair.

I found similarly gendered positions for boys and girls. For example, in the focus group drawing exercises, girls usually drew themselves bending or sitting when doing unpaid care work, while boys drew themselves on chairs or in upright positions (see Figure 12).

Figure 12: Drawings of cooking and washing clothes



Notes: Drawings of cooking (first, second) and washing clothes (third, fourth) by a 16-year-old girl (first), a 14-years-old boy (second), a 16-year-old girl (third) and a 15-year-old boy (fourth)

These ideas about gendered positions seemed to underpin the division of labour. Most unpaid care work activities involved 'female positions', such as sitting on the floor (e.g. preparing food, bathing children), bending (e.g. washing clothes, cooking, doing the dishes, and sweeping inside) or kneeling (e.g. grinding). Grinding nuts or grains on a grinding stone was a particularly gendered activity that was considered 'unacceptable' for men; potentially this is related to the fact that bending involved both kneeling and bending over for a long period of time.

Gendered positions might also be an explanation for the finding that out of all care activities, boys and men were most likely to sweep the compound, but not inside the house (see section 3.1.1). Sweeping the compound was usually done with a big broom that allowed men to stand upright; while sweeping inside the house was done with a smaller broom that required bending down.

The relationship between gendered positions and activities was further exemplified by looking at farming activities. The farming tasks that men usually did (e.g. preparing the garden, ploughing, planting) involved upright positions, while women's farming activities usually involved more bending (e.g. weeding, harvesting). Growing millet was especially gendered. Respondents often told me that men and boys were not supposed to weed millet, as it involved bending over in a 'non-masculine' way. For example, a man (#114) said:

The reason why most men leave it to the women because weeding it requires you to bend down. Men do not want to bend down, they want to dig up...For us, we feel it is the women's work to bend down.

This is consistent with the literature suggesting that ‘physical bodies are always social bodies’ (Lorber, 1994; p. 40). Female and male bodies (as well as younger and older bodies) are infused ‘with cultural and symbolic meaning’ (ibid.). In northern Uganda, ideas of the female body as physically weaker and more suited to bending, sitting and kneeling than the male body reinforce norms that associate care and the feminine. This sub-section is consistent with other literature suggesting that ideologies around gendered bodies are closely related to those around power: ‘Small biological differences are turned into bigger physical differences, which themselves are turned into gambits of social, political and ideological power play’ (Cockburn, 1985 cited in Lorber, 1994, p. 49).

3.3.3 Material objects

Research suggests that gender norms and ideologies also have a material dimension (e.g. Pulerwitz et al., 2019). I find that, related to the power relations, described above, ideals about who should hold money and tools further reinforce care work norms.

Money

First, I find that men’s responsibility to generate an income stood in opposition to participation in unpaid care work, which – by definition – is unpaid. Research from Uganda (Watson, 2014) and northern Uganda (Dolan, 2002) finds that the ideal man is hard-working with a job that enables him to provide for his family, buy clothes and pay school fees. Traditionally, Acholi men have been expected to provide for the family through heavy farming work, hunting (Vorhölter, 2014) cultivating cash crops and managing livestock (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). In my research, men’s main responsibility was also said to be ‘going to work’, looking after livestock and digging/clearing the garden. Men usually said they wanted to do activities that brought an income. For example, in a focus group (#144), participants agreed that women usually prepared food for selling, but a man added, ‘If it comes to money, now, even men can prepare.’

That unpaid care work was not considered part of men’s normative role might be related to the fact that it was unpaid, thus theoretically, not in line with men’s role as breadwinners. Some respondents believed that men were not expected to do unpaid care work because it did not generate an income. For example, a man (#099) said that men should be encouraged to do

income-generating rather than unpaid work: 'You see, this reproductive work doesn't take us anywhere.' Similarly, a woman (#028) said that her husband did not do unpaid care work because 'it does not earn anything for him...men should work on things that bring them income.' At the same time, expectations to generate an income were less strong for women and children, which might be related to beliefs that it was generally more acceptable for them to engage in unpaid work.

Tools

Norms that define care as 'non-masculine' seemed to be further strengthened by the fact that unpaid care work does not usually require 'masculine' tools. Related to ideas of men as 'powerful' (see section 3.3.1) and 'strong' (see section 3.3.2), masculinity seemed to be associated with 'powerful', 'big' tools. For example, an Acholi custom has been to cut a newborn boy's umbilical cord with a spear or arrow and a girls' umbilical cord with a piece of thatching grass (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980). Similar to research in other settings (e.g. Gelber, 1997), I find that the tools that Acholi men used were generally bigger and heavier than those that women used.

Out of farming activities, males were most likely to plough and dig – which requires big ploughs or hoes – and least likely to weed – which requires small hand hoes or no tools. For instance, a man (#099) said that men could not weed millet because 'they use that small, small tool...but the men would prefer using a hoe.' In the focus group drawing exercises, most boys drew themselves holding bigger tools than girls carrying out the same activity, as shown by the drawings in Figure 13. Note that on the third drawing, the stick looks almost like a weapon.

Figure 13: Drawings of digging and animal rearing



Notes: Drawings of digging (first, second) and animal rearing (third, fourth) by a 12-year-old boy (first), an 11-year-old girl (second), a 14-year-old boy (third) and a 9-year-old girl (fourth)

Unpaid care work usually involved no tools (e.g. caring for children, adults and community members, fetching water and washing clothes) or small tools (e.g. knives for cooking, an axe for splitting firewood). One could argue that the fact that unpaid care work did not require big tools made it less suitable for men and boys, and more suitable for women and girls. Perceptions of ‘masculine tools’ might also provide another explanation for why men and boys were more likely to clean the compound than inside the house since cleaning outside the house was usually done with a big broom and cleaning inside the house with a small broom.

Like others (e.g. Gelber, 1997), I find that men’s use of big and heavy tools can be an assertion of male control of the physical environment and can help to express masculine identity. Ideologies around tools are, thus, closely related to the ideals around power and physical strength described above.

3.3.4 Separate spheres

Another related aspect that seemed to underpin care work norms and the division of labour is the notion of the separate spheres. The doctrine of separate spheres marks two different realms of social lives as strictly gendered: the public sphere is the male space of ‘power, politics, and production’ (Robson, 2004), while the private sphere is defined as the female realm encompassing anything that is not public, i.e. primarily home and family life (Ryle, 2012).

In northern Uganda, the household has traditionally been the ‘main sphere of a woman’s activity’ (Girling, 1960, p. 25). Acholi women, traditionally, had full control over the kitchen hut – usually referred to as the ‘women’s hut’ (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980), but were expected to refrain

from clan meetings and politics and to remain at home in the private sphere (Dolan, 2002; Watson, 2014). More recent research (Sengupta & Calo, 2016) also suggests that women who spoke out in public were described as 'promiscuous', 'big-headed' and 'irresponsible'. In my research, a woman (#032) explained:

When a woman speaks out [in public] people will say, 'Ah this woman, she wants to be like men.' They do not want women to express their views. If the man is weak in talking, the household will go down even if the woman is very good at talking.

Like other researchers (e.g. Watson, 2014), I find that women were generally not supposed to go out late or to go to leisure places. For example, a young man (#067) explained, 'For a woman to move, she goes and moves to a fellow woman to beg for something to cook, not just moving anyhow.'

At the same time, traditionally, Acholi men were not allowed to enter the kitchen hut, nor to touch the pots and granaries used to store food (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980). Men were generally expected to represent the household's interests in the larger community and to participate in clan meetings (Dolan, 2002). In my research, men were often described as 'free' and 'mobile'. As a young man (#067) puts it: 'Men, they are too free, like a goat that is untied; they just move endlessly; they just visit friends without a reason; they go and drink.'

As with women, girls were often expected not to go far from home (Blum et al., 2017; Watson, 2014). Girls were expected to be virgins until marriage, which might further restrict girls' mobility and freedom to move around (Marcus & Harper, 2015). Boys did not participate in community decision making either, but their fathers sometimes took them to clan meetings. Even though boys' mobility was more restricted than men's, boys had greater freedom than girls to move around and meet up with friends (Marcus & Harper, 2015). My survey data shows, for instance, that boys (35%, 97, N=271) were strongly significantly more likely than girls (18%, 46, N=253) to report that they decided on how long they stayed out.

The notion of the private sphere connects unpaid care work, women and children – especially girls – which are all placed in the private realm (Evans, 2016; Nussbaum, 2001). Being at home can also be a motivation to carry out unpaid care work. For example, a man (#093) said that women worked a lot 'because they are ever at home.' Likewise, when a man in a focus group

(#147) said 'women do a lot of unpaid care work because they don't move a lot', no one contradicted him.

But it also works the other way around: because women do unpaid care work, they are at home and their mobility is restricted (Evans, 2016). For example, a man (#106) said:

Women fear if they are appointed to be the representative of a specific clan, maybe sometimes they call for a meeting, for example, to go to Gulu. You as a woman, if you go to Gulu for two weeks, how would your family be?

The relationship of caring for children and being at home was further emphasised by a woman's (#014) response to the question of whether she would like to leave her home more: 'No! This is unacceptable...A woman cannot just get up and move and is somewhere doing nothing when the children are at home.'

Being at home can also be a reason for the expectation of children – especially girls – to engage in unpaid care work. During participant observation, if not at school, younger children and older girls, were usually at home with their mothers, who assigned them work – especially unpaid care work. In interviews, mothers often said that they assigned unpaid care work tasks to the 'children who were around'. This might also help to explain why younger boys, who generally spent more time at home, tended to do more unpaid care work than older boys, who were more likely to be away from home. For example, in a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) explained that for younger children, 'their work will begin from home, just washing plates and cups from there.'

Ideologies that position men in the public sphere can also prevent male engagement in unpaid care work, either because they spend less time at home or because they are excluded from female realms. For example, some respondents said that men were not allowed to enter the kitchen hut, access food in the granary or touch the pots used for cooking. This might explain the strong gender differences in time spent on cooking (see section 3.1.1). Hence, the notion of the separate spheres can be seen as another set of ideologies and norms underpinning care work norms.

3.3.5 Marriage

The last set of crucial ideologies and norms related to prevailing care work norms are those around marriage practices. Marriage is very important in Acholi culture. It is an essential way to

achieve status in the community and to be taken seriously. This is true for both women and men (Woodburn, 2003). Some consider the failure to marry a curse or abnormality (Lundgren et al., 2018). For many, marriage is normal and unquestioned. For example, an 18-year-old girl (#006) said that she was looking forward to getting married because 'it is normal for each and every one'.

Exogamy and 'bringing a wife'

Exogamy – marrying outside a community or clan – has historically been part of Acholi marriage practices. An Acholi household is traditionally formed when the wife moves into the husband's hut. The newly married woman usually has little contact with her birth family and home place (Vorhölter, 2014). Many of my respondents said that 'bringing a wife' from elsewhere meant that the woman had to do 'all the unpaid care work', 'some duties', 'all those things' or 'everything'. For example, a woman (#014) said: 'Most men wouldn't want to do this care work because they have the feeling that women were brought to do this work.' For some men, benefitting from women's labour was even one of the reasons for marriage. For example, a man (#082) said that some young men wanted to get married because they thought: 'My wife can help me with the work that I am not supposed to be doing, maybe washing, cooking, some of the farm work.'

Respondents also emphasised that coming from somewhere else undermined women's power to negotiate responsibilities. A young unmarried man (#068) explained:

In northern Uganda, if a man brings a woman this man should have more power than the woman. In any way, you can command a woman, go and cook. You can decide to just sit and the woman does everything.

Another man (#089) explained that marriage practices made women live in 'fear':

Men have this inner feeling that this is my land, this is my home. They live freely without even thinking that someone could chase them away, but women are always thinking, 'Me, I am from elsewhere. In case I do something wrong, my husband can send me away.' They live in fear.

The fact that women moved into their husband's hut was also said to influence girls' position and responsibility for unpaid care work. Some said that men preferred to have sons because their daughters would, at some point, 'go away'. For example, a man (#089) said that he was

closest to his oldest son ‘because he is a boy and he is going to keep the home. I tried to be close to Diana, but Diana got married, she is not here.’ Girls were also supposed to do unpaid care work to prepare them for their future life with their husbands. For example, an 18-year-old girl (#006) said that the main reason why she and her sisters worked more than her brothers was that ‘when they [girls] reach some age, they go away for marriage.’

Bride price

The practice of paying bride price for marriage seemed to further reinforce men’s feeling of entitlement to women’s labour. Paying bride price from the man’s to the woman’s family has traditionally been an important aspect of marriage. A recent study finds that the majority of Ugandans still consider bride price a common and required practice (OECD, 2015). The required amount depends on the families and the overall economic situation (Vorhölter, 2014). It is usually paid in small instalments over a long period (Finnström, 2008). As a woman is married into her husband’s family, she is an outsider until all the bride price has been paid. Until then, the newly married woman is often considered a threat to her husband and his family, and men have no legal right to, or formal responsibility for, the woman’s children (Finnström, 2008).

Research finds that bride price gives ownership to the husband (OECD, 2015) and makes men feel entitled to their wife’s labour (Dolan, 2002; Parvez Butt et al., 2017). In the survey, 42% of women (154, N=369) said that bride price had been paid by their husbands. Table 23 shows that men tended to spend less time on unpaid care work if they had paid bride price.

Table 23: Association between bride price payment and men’s care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men’s any care hours
bride price	-1.839*** (0.711)
N	338
Adjusted R-squared	0.303

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults’ survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four, ‘bride price’ takes the value ‘one’ if bride price was paid for the union*

Childbearing

The female responsibility for care was further strengthened by the expectations of women to bear many children. In northern Uganda, the marital union is only fully acknowledged when the first child is born. Both women and men gain status when they have children. Child-bearing provides economic security for women since it is only through their children that women have claims on the lineage's resources (Vorhölter, 2014).

Several studies have shown that parenthood increases women's time spent on household chores and decreases their time spent on employment (e.g. Floro, 1995; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997). My respondents told me that having children meant spending more time on childcare, but also on domestic work, such as cooking, washing clothes and preparing beds for children. Table 24 shows that both women and men tended to spend more time on unpaid care work the more children they had under the age of four, but women about twice as much more than men.

Table 24: Association between the number of children under four and adults' care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	Women's any care hours	Men's any care hours
Number of children under four years	3.567*** (0.563)	1.500** (0.602)
N	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.188	0.023

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth*

Table 25 shows that if there were more under-four-year-olds in the household, girls (but not boys) aged 8 to 18 also tended to spend more time on unpaid care work and were more likely to supervise children while doing other activities.

Table 25: Association between the number of children under four and girls' care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	1	2
	Girls' primary care hours	Girls' Supervision
Number of children under four years	0.819** (0.383)	0.080* (0.048)
N	155	153
Adjusted R-squared	0.076	0.083

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1) and LPM with robust standard errors (2); 2015 adults' and children's survey merged; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, child's age, child's school enrolment

By increasing women's and girls' unpaid care workloads, expectations to have many children can sustain norms around female responsibility for care. On the whole, expectations of bringing a wife, bride price payment and childbearing seemed to underpin care work norms. The described expectations are closely related to ideologies around power (e.g. bringing a wife might reinforce power imbalances), the body (e.g. childbearing), material objects (e.g. paying bride price), and separate spheres (e.g. moving to an unfamiliar area might reduce mobility).

This section argued that different forces work together in spinning a web that sustains, supports and reinforces care work norms and the division of unpaid care work. Norms and ideologies around power, the body, material objects, separate spheres and marriage are all closely related to care work norms described in section 3.2 and help to explain the time-use findings outlined in section 3.1.1.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter argued that social norms are an important determinant of the division of unpaid care work. First, I presented the time-use data that was collected in conjunction with my research. I find that, generally, women do more unpaid care work than men, and girls more than boys. But there are important differences between activities and age groups. The imbalance between men and women is more significant concerning domestic work, especially cooking, and less significant concerning caring for people. Boys are generally more likely to engage in unpaid care work than men, with gender differences becoming more pronounced in adolescence and

early adulthood. Seasonality influences care activities, but total unpaid care workloads and gender differences remain more or less constant throughout the year.

The second part of the chapter proposed social norms as an explanation for the gender- and age-based differences in unpaid care work hours outlined in the first part of the chapter. I defined 'care work norms' as social norms that define responsibility for unpaid care work; they dictate that females should do more unpaid care work than males of the same age (gender dimension) and that boys should do more unpaid care work than men (age dimension). Using mostly quantitative data, I showed that care work norms shape the division of unpaid care work: I find that beliefs about whether others approve of sharing unpaid care work (normative expectations) and beliefs about whether others share unpaid care work (empirical expectations) shape how equally unpaid care work is shared between husbands, wives, boys and girls.

The third section showed that care work norms are related to, reinforced by and expressed through norms and ideologies around power, the body, material objects, separate spheres and marriage. These forces are closely connected and work together in maintaining gender- and age-based roles. For example, ideals of female inferiority, physical weakness, better suitability to bending and location in the private sphere contribute to associating care with the feminine, while expectations of men to engage in activities that require physical strength, generate an income, require big tools and are carried out away from home contribute to making participation in unpaid care work less acceptable for men. The section also offered some potential explanations for why some unpaid care work activities (e.g. sweeping) are more acceptable for men than others (e.g. cooking or grinding).

Applying a social constructionist lens, one could argue that these different forces work together in constructing unpaid care work as a feminine – and not a masculine – activity. I showed that the gender division of labour is not biologically determined, but emerges out of cultural definitions of sex-appropriate behaviour and characteristics (Ampofo, 2001). People 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987) through day-to-day activities and interactions – such as bending in a 'feminine way', using tools, participating in clan meetings, paying bride price or bearing children. These interactions construct and reconstruct masculine and feminine natures, social orders and responsibilities for unpaid care work.

Nevertheless, gender is not the only force shaping time-use patterns. The chapter took a life-course approach, looking at how time-use patterns evolve through the life course and how norms define age-based roles. The time-use data has portrayed children as active contributors, showing that children engage in activities that are essential for the livelihood of the family (Nieuwenhuys, 1994). The data thus supports an approach that sees adults and children as interdependent, with mutuality beginning early in life (Crivello & Revollo, 2018).

Lastly, the chapter supported the ecological framework outlined in Chapter 1. I find that norms and ideologies related to unpaid care work operate at different levels, such as the individual level (body), household level (power), community level (separate spheres), material level (material objects) and institutional/cultural level (marriage). The analysis is, thus, consistent with other research suggesting that social norms tend to be 'over-determined', i.e. maintained by different factors on different levels (Mackie & Le Jeune, 2009). The chapter also emphasised the importance of understanding the larger spectrum of norms and related factors influencing behaviour, rather than simply focussing on one set of social norms (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2018a).

It is important to re-emphasise that, in this chapter, I described a 'hegemonic' discourse around masculinity, femininity, roles and relations, i.e. the dominant story I was told by participants. Like Dolan (2002) I find that, even though men's 'lived experiences of their own masculinities' are multiple and diverse, their 'lived expectations of masculinity', contained in a 'hegemonic model of masculinity', are perceived to be more fixed (p. 60); and the same applies to femininity. While this chapter focussed on the latter (i.e. lived expectations), the following chapters consider the former (i.e. lived experiences). They explore how individuals experience prevailing care work norms; how they accept, internalise, question or challenge them (Chapter 4), and how these norms are reinforced and reconfigured (Chapter 5).

4 To comply or to deviate? Agency, awareness and advantage

This chapter explores why people comply with, or deviate from, the care work norms described in the previous chapter. As discussed in section 1.2.1, norms compliance has been extensively discussed in different disciplines. For gender norms, one can broadly divide the literature into two groups: while social norms theory – drawing on social psychology and behavioural economics – has emphasised the importance of sanctions for non-conformity and rewards for conformity, gender theory – mainly grounded in sociology and anthropology – has focussed on how socialisation, cultural values and power inequalities maintain gender norms (Marcus & Harper, 2015). Literature from different disciplines has suggested that compliance with norms is determined by a variety of inter-related factors and mechanisms.³² Much of the literature has focussed on compliance with social norms, while less is known about the people who challenge social norms and their motivations (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Even though some studies have investigated compliance with gender norms, little attention has been paid to gender- and age-based norms around unpaid care work.

Building on the different theories of compliance with social norms, this chapter argues that whether people comply with, or deviate from, prevailing care work norms³³ depends on three inter-related factors:

- **Agency:** If individuals lack the power to decide what to do, they are more likely to comply with care work norms. But higher levels of agency – i.e. ability to make choices and act upon them – may create space for non-compliance with norms.

³² For example, behavioural and experimental economics have emphasised the role of ‘self-regarding preferences’ (i.e. caring about own payoffs), as well as ‘other-regarding preferences’ (i.e. caring about others’ payoffs, which may include altruism and inequity aversion) (Cardenas, 2009). In social psychology, the theory of normative social behaviour (Rimal & Real, 2005) holds that whether or not individuals comply with social norms depends on contextual attributes (e.g. social distance to reference network, media exposure, external monitoring), individual attributes (e.g. group involvement, ego identity, past experience, social comparison) and behavioural attributes (e.g. functionality, privacy, outcome expectations).

³³ Chapter 3 showed that dominant care work norms provide that women and girls should (and men should not) do unpaid care work. These norms are expressed through personal beliefs and beliefs about others. In my quantitative analysis, I interpret the following situations as an indication that dominant care work norms are being challenged: (1) women and girls do less unpaid care work; (2) men do more unpaid care work; (3) women have asked husbands to help them with unpaid care work; (4) respondents approve of sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives; and (5) respondents believe that community members approve of sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives.

- **Awareness:** For some, care work norms have become internalised to the extent that they are unquestioned. Conversely, awareness of alternative ways of behaving or role models can encourage individuals to challenge norms.
- **Advantage:** Sanctions for non-compliance and rewards for compliance can make compliance with care work norms advantageous. But benefits associated with non-compliance can also encourage individuals to behave in non-normative ways.

In this chapter, I investigate how each of these factors can encourage women, men, boys and girls to comply with, or to deviate from, dominant care work norms. I argue that agency, awareness and advantage together determine the space for renegotiating or ‘bending’ (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) the norms that influence behaviours.

4.1 Agency

Agency is central to understanding whether people adhere to, or deviate from, existing norms (Pulerwitz et al., 2019). In the last decade, there has been an increasing interest in agency within the field of development. Many different definitions of ‘agency’ have been advanced in different disciplines. I rely on Kabeer’s (2002) definition, which is often used in development research. Kabeer (2002) defines agency as ‘the ability to define one’s goals and act upon them’ (p. 438). This definition is related to Sen’s (1985) definition of agency as a person’s ability to act on behalf of what he or she values and has reason to value. Both definitions suggest that agency is not only about being able to act but also means that preferences for action are not being constrained, i.e. one needs to be able to ‘define goals’ that ‘one has reason to value’.

Agency can take a variety of forms, such as bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance or reflection and analysis (Kabeer, 2002). Agency can take the expressions of ‘power to’ (i.e. the capacity to act), ‘power over’ (i.e. control over others), ‘power within’ (i.e. a sense of self-identity, confidence and awareness); and ‘power with’ (i.e. solidarity with others) (IDS, 2011; Rowlands, 1997). Agency is most often operationalised as ‘decision making’ or ‘power to’ (Kabeer, 2002). At the household level, agency is reinforced by bargaining power (Lecoutere, 2017), which is determined by the strength of an individual’s ‘fall-back position’ if cooperation in the household fails (Agarwal, 1997) (see section 1.1.4).

The role of social norms in shaping agency has increasingly been recognised. Most literature has focussed on how social norms restrict agency, but some studies have also investigated how agency can be used to challenge social norms (Agarwal, 1997; Van Aelst, 2014). Social norms are not just blindly complied with by individuals; as Sen (2007) suggests: ‘Norms influence gender relations but do not determine them’ (p. 115). Agency can be used to ‘think outside the system’ and challenge the status quo (Mishra & Tripathi, 2011). With regards to time use, individuals with more agency might be more likely to engage in tasks that are beneficial for them, even if this means challenging social norms. Since unpaid care work is associated with little power and can be strenuous and restricting (see Chapter 1), some have proposed that individuals with more agency argue their way out of housework (Shelton & John, 1996).

Building on this literature, this section argues that an individual’s level of agency can (to some extent) explain whether or not individuals comply with dominant care work norms.³⁴

4.1.1 Compliance

Norms are reinforced and adjusted by people in superior positions, such as community leaders, trusted public figures or powerful men (Agarwal, 1997). The powerful usually have an interest in maintaining existing norms, especially those that support their status. As Badgett and Folbre (1999, p. 318) note: ‘Stereotypes are particularly resistant to change when they benefit those who have the economic and cultural power to defend them.’ Men, in particular, have an interest in maintaining gender inequitable norms that put them in powerful positions vis-à-vis women and children (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

As shown in Chapter 3, men in northern Uganda are generally expected to control their wives and children (Sengupta & Calo, 2016), while women and children are expected to take a subordinate role (Dolan, 2002; El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005; Vorhölter, 2014). Most of the interviewees reported adhering to this ideology, at least to some extent. Generally, they emphasised that men were the ‘heads of the household’ who had ‘full control’ and the ‘final say’ in household and community decisions. The survey finds that men had ‘power to’ make

³⁴ The focus in this section is on individual agency, rather than on collective agency (or ‘power with’). It is important to keep in mind that individual agency may need to be complemented with collective agency for achieving change in gender relations. Being part of a group can enhance an individual’s ability to challenge norms through peer pressure, group solidarity and by providing a space for negotiating norms (Lecoutere, 2017).

households decisions, and 'power over' other household members' lives. Men were said to be the main decision makers in most listed household decision-making domains, and especially on issues related to money, including large purchases (30%, 109), children's schooling and health (23%, 85), the allocation of market-oriented work (18%, 65, N=368) and taking a loan (17%, 61); N=368.

In the qualitative data, I also observed a sense of confidence or 'power within' among most men, especially among those who were physically strong or engaged in non-farming income-generating activities. Men tended to speak more loudly than women, to look more directly at me during interviews, and to speak with more assertion. For example, a tall and strong-looking carpenter (#095) explained with a loud and confident voice: 'I am the head of the family...the woman follows me.'

Men might use their agency to choose to engage in behaviour and to comply with norms that are beneficial to them.³⁵ Prevailing care work norms can be beneficial for men as they strengthen men's powerful positions in the household and community, allow men to have more free time and to express masculine identity (see section 4.3). In the survey, 50% of men (181, N=369) were said to make decisions entirely independently from their wives in at least one area of decision making. Table 26 shows that these men tended to spend less time on unpaid care work and were less likely to believe that community members would approve of sharing unpaid care work between husband and wife.

³⁵ Men's agency does not necessarily imply compliance with gender norms, but can also be used to challenge the status quo (Marcus & Harper, 2014). For example, if compliance with care work norms becomes less beneficial for men, they might choose not to comply with these norms (see section 4.3).

Table 26: Association between men's decision making and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	1	2	3
	Men's any care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's beliefs in others' approval of male care
Men's independent decisions	-1.619** (0.763)	-1.662** (0.768)	-0.334*** (0.052)
N	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.034	0.038	0.130

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,2) and LPM with robust standard errors (3); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'men's independent decisions' takes the value 'one' if women said that their husbands made decisions independently from any other household member in at least one area of decision making

At the same time, if those who do not benefit from norms lack agency, they might be less able to challenge norms and to engage in non-normative behaviour (Marcus & Harper, 2014). For the women survey participants, the only domains of decision making in which they reported higher involvement than their husbands were about small purchases (46%, 168, N=368) and children's work (36%, 133, N=368), which seemed less 'strategic' (Kabeer, 2002) than the domains dominated by men (e.g. loans, large purchases).

The survey shows that only 20% of women (73, N=369) selected a decision-making domain that their husbands or another household member decided on as the domain they would like to have more control over. Women were the least likely to want more control over 'strategic' decisions, such as about loans (3%, 13, N=369) or large purchases (8%, 28, N=369). It could be argued that making strategic decisions is not an inherently desirable task (e.g. it might be associated with stress). Women might also choose not to choose because of internalised norms (see section 4.2) or sanctions associated with non-traditional power relations (see section 4.3). Alternatively, one could interpret these findings as an indication of women's limited confidence in their ability to decide or 'power within'.

In interviews, women also often emphasised that, even though they could make some decisions, they could not change their husbands' decisions. For example, a woman (#026) said that while

she was the one who decided on what to buy 'for the home', her husband had decided on moving to a new house and on what school to send the children to. She said that he 'listen[ed] to [her] thoughts', but added: 'Once he has decided I cannot do anything else to change his mind.' Women's limited control over their own lives was further emphasised by the fact that the widows or single women I interviewed generally agreed that their agency and decision making had improved, compared to when they had been with their husbands. For example, a widowed woman (#018) said:

When I was still with my husband...I could not make my own decisions. Now, I can make my own decisions; I am not oppressed; I have grown a little bit stronger, compared to the past...For widows, they are strong because they can do a lot of work, in the garden, business and so on, and they sit down and plan independently.

Limited agency might make it harder for women to negotiate care responsibilities. In the survey, between 20% (water collection) and 43% (elderly care) of women reported that their husbands had never helped with specific care activities, even when they had asked them to help. In interviews, the large majority of women told me that their husbands had refused to do unpaid care work when asked. For example, a woman (#012) said, 'I delivered [a baby], and two days after, I requested the husband to fetch water, and he said, "No, this is not my work to fetch for you water."' Likewise, a woman (#007) explained, 'Even now, I am pregnant, if I tell him to collect firewood, he has never accepted it.' Another woman (#029) said, 'Most men are just stubborn; they do not want to help their wives.' Men's lack of willingness to help seemed to have made some women stop asking for help. For instance, a woman (#007) told me, 'I tried twice [asking my husband for help with unpaid care work], and there is no change, so I have given up now.'

Other women said that they had never even tried renegotiating unpaid care work because they knew that their husbands would refuse. For example, a woman (#042) said, 'I don't ask him to help me [with unpaid care work] because he will never allow. He will say, "This is woman's work; I cannot do it."' This was particularly the case for less socially acceptable types of unpaid care work, such as cooking. For example, a woman (#011) explained that when she asked her husband to help her, he 'can weed if there is some grass on the compound' and 'carrying the children, sitting the children, he is okay with it.' But she explained that she had never asked him to help her 'in the kitchen', because: 'Even if I request for help, he would never do it.'

As a result of men refusing to do unpaid care work, some women said that even though they wanted to do less unpaid care work, they were not able to choose to do so, as this would put the survival of the family at risk. For example, a woman (#050) who looked after her orphaned grandchildren and whose husband did not support her with any unpaid care or market-oriented work said, 'I work so much harder to get something, to take care of the family because otherwise, they die of hunger.' Thus, like others (e.g. Tronto, 1993), I find that caring can be done out of the need to keep women and others alive. Given their circumstances and men's limited willingness to take on more responsibility for care, some women seemed unable to choose to challenge care work norms.

Similarly, limited agency might explain children's compliance with dominant care work norms. As shown in Chapter 3, obedience is a crucial part of child-rearing in northern Uganda. The survey and interviews show that even though not all children adhered to these ideals (as discussed in Chapter 5), many children did. In the survey, children did not select themselves as the main decision maker in most domains of decision making, except for what friends to meet and religious training. They were the least likely to make decisions related to resources, including buying clothes (7%, 39, N=527) and what to spend their own money on (18%, 94, N=527). For most domains of decision making, the majority of children said that they could not influence their parents' decisions. Girls reported making decisions in significantly fewer areas than boys. Even though older children were significantly more likely to make decisions than younger children, parents were still said to make most decisions about older children's lives. In interviews, most children said that they had never refused a task assigned by their parents, mainly because this would not be 'good' or would not be 'possible'.

As with women, one could argue that limited agency might be one reason (but definitely not the only one) why some children – especially girls – obeyed care work norms. For example, a man (#070) said, 'In Africa here, in tradition, it is the girl to do more care work than boys, and the reason that it is her only because she is more obedient.'

This sub-section painted a simplified picture of a possible way in which the distribution of power can encourage a traditional division of unpaid care work. It relates to sub-section 3.3.1, which argued that power underpins care work norms. Powerful people – in this case, men – can choose to comply with norms and engage in actions that are beneficial for them, while less

powerful people – in this case, women and children – are less likely to be able to choose to renegotiate norms that are not beneficial for them. Agency is only one of many reasons why people comply with social norms; some other reasons are explored in the following sections. Further, as the literature on sub-Saharan Africa suggests (e.g. Kandiyoti, 1988), and as the following sections show, women and children are not ‘powerless’. They can challenge prevailing care work norms or they can choose not to.

4.1.2 Non-compliance

Power is only maintained if the powerless adhere to norms maintaining power imbalances (Ashburn et al., 2016). Whether individuals challenge prevailing norms depends on their ability to make and act on their own decisions (Marcus & Harper, 2014). I find that two proxies of agency – decision making and resources – can encourage individuals to challenge dominant care work norms.

Decision making

Direct measures have increasingly been used to measure agency. This often includes questions about who decides in different areas, such as money, resources, children, marriage and freedom of movement (Samman & Santos, 2009). My quantitative analysis (see Table 27) suggests that if women made or influenced decisions in more areas, they tended to spend less time on unpaid care work, and their husbands tended to spend more time on these tasks. I also find that women with more decision-making power tended to express more progressive attitudes and were more likely to believe in more progressive norms: they were more likely to approve of sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives and more likely to believe that community members would approve.

Table 27: Association between women's decision making and adults' care hours (per day)/beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	1	2	3	4
	Women's primary care hours	Women's beliefs in others' approval of male care	Women's approval of male care	Men's simultaneous care hours
Women's decision-making scale	-0.114*** (0.037)	0.039*** (0.006)	0.008** (0.004)	0.193* (0.106)
N	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.121	0.096	0.043	0.036

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,4) and LPM with robust standard errors (2,3); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'women's decision-making scale' is the sum of variables for each area of decision making, which take the following values: 0=not decide, not influence, 1=not decide, but influence, 2=decide

In the qualitative data, 'sharing decision making' was said to have the potential to encourage equal 'sharing of work', as expressed by a woman (#025): 'There is one couple who do all the work together. They share everything, discuss as a family. They make decisions together, share ideas.' Similarly, an 18-year-old girl (#006) said that sharing unpaid care work was linked to 'understanding one another', which could be achieved by 'sharing decisions'.

Not all decisions carry the same weight; deciding in some areas can be more empowering than in others (Lecoutere, 2017; Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). I find that women's decision making related to money – a domain in which few women were involved in – was most strongly associated with a more equal allocation of unpaid care work, while other decisions, such as around small purchases, did not correlate significantly with unpaid care work hours (see Table 28). This is consistent with other literature suggesting that 'strategic life choices' rather than 'routine decisions' define women's agency (Kabeer, 2002). Strategic life choices are critical for people 'to live the lives they want'; they frame other less consequential choices, 'which may be important for the quality of one's life but do not constitute its defining parameters' (Kabeer, 2002, p. 436).

Table 28: Association between women's decision making in specific areas and adults' care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
	Women's primary care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's any care hours	Gender difference primary care hours	Gender difference simultaneous care hours	Gender difference any care hours
Women's decisions on daily purchases	0.732 (0.503)	-0.621 (1.312)	-0.630 (1.305)	0.780 (0.590)	0.206 (1.428)	0.316 (1.347)
Women's decisions on large purchases	-1.056*** (0.340)	0.391 (0.745)	0.305 (0.762)	-0.773** (0.389)	-1.618* (0.825)	-1.406* (0.818)
Women's decisions on loans	-0.478 (0.318)	3.164*** (0.699)	3.067*** (0.709)	-0.354 (0.367)	0.052 (0.763)	-0.249 (0.761)
N	341	341	341	341	34	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.132	0.068	0.061	0.071	0.115	0.104

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; the women's decisions variables take the value 'one' if women influence decisions (regarding daily purchases, large purchases or loans) independently or jointly with someone else*

The relationship between children's decision making and time-use patterns is less clear. As with women, I find that children who made decisions in more areas tended to be more likely to believe that community members approved of sharing unpaid care work (see Table 29). However, decision making did not significantly correlate with children's time-use patterns.

Table 29: Association between children's decision making and children's beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	Girls' beliefs in others' approval of male care	Boys' beliefs in others' approval of male care
Children's decision-making scale	0.026*** (0.008)	0.022*** (0.008)
N	255	270
Adjusted R-squared	0.077	0.028

Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 children's survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child's age, child's school enrolment; 'children's decision-making scale' is the sum of variables for each area of decision making, which take the following values:: 0=not decide, not influence, 1=not decide, but influence, 2=decide

One explanation for a lack of association between decision making and unpaid care work hours might be that children have limited control over household decisions (see section 4.1.1). This might mean that children use less visible strategies to negotiate responsibilities and to challenge adult-imposed limits (Punch, 2001a). Similar to Punch (2001a), I find that children used coping strategies to make arduous tasks more tolerable. As shown in Chapter 3, children often carried out tasks (e.g. fetching water) together with siblings and friends, and played, laughed and chatted at the same time.

I also find that some children assigned tasks they did not want to do to a younger sibling. A 16-year-old boy (#143) explained, for instance, 'We will divide the work among us...you can say, "You boy or you girl, you sweep the house, you clean the utensils". We transfer some of our work to a younger child.'

Children also manipulated their parents by acting out a certain role, such as being 'extra cute' (Punch, 2001a). During participant observation, I observed that younger boys, in particular, used playful games, jokes and cute, silly behaviour to avoid certain types of work. For example, a six-year-old boy – the youngest boy with several older sisters – often chased animals, did cartwheels or ran around giggling while his siblings were grinding peanuts, cooking, washing clothes or fetching water. Sometimes he was told to help, but most of the time, his mother and siblings just laughed at his playful behaviour.

More importantly, I find subtle negotiation strategies the most commonly used strategy to influence decisions on time use. Children told me that they ‘had discussed with their mother’, ‘sat the mother down’ or ‘negotiated with the mother’. For example, in a focus group (#141), a boy (8-12) explained, ‘I discussed with the mother, I want to go and fetch water instead of doing a different task.’ A girl added, ‘When assigned to go to the garden, I discussed with the mother so that I go to school instead.’ Girls often said that they had complained to their mothers that they were overworked and that, as a result, their mothers had given them more time to rest or to do homework. These more subtle ways of challenging adult authority and norms around what children were supposed to do were not recorded in the quantitative measures of decision making and might thus explain the lack of association between children’s decision making and time-use patterns.

This evidence suggests that women’s and children’s decision making is associated with beliefs about others’ approval of sharing unpaid care work, an important dimension of care work norms. Women’s decision-making power – especially involvement in strategic choices – is also associated with a more equal distribution of unpaid care work. Hence, one could argue that decision-making power has the potential to encourage individuals to think ‘outside the system’ (Mishra & Tripathi, 2011) and to challenge or adjust care-related norms.

Income

Resources, such as assets or income, have been conceptualised as key determinants of agency or, for the case of household negotiations, bargaining power (Doss, 2013). Income can determine the gender division of housework and the impact that housework has on choices (Esquivel, 2013). Some studies have also shown that children’s economic contributions influence their ability to have a say in household decisions (Basu, Zuo, Lou, Archary & Lundgren, 2017; Montgomery, 2009; Punch, 2001a). Table 30 shows that the amount of income boys had earned from their paid work in the last 12 months (mostly from working in other people’s gardens) is associated with fewer hours of unpaid care work and more hours of sleep. Boys, who work more for pay may simply have less time for unpaid care work. But the finding that boys with more income tend to sleep more suggests that, potentially, these boys have more power to negotiate their household responsibilities (Punch, 2001a). One could argue that boys use their agency to challenge the age dimension of care work norms (i.e. that boys should do more unpaid care

work than men) rather than the gender dimension (i.e. that females should do more unpaid care work than males).

Table 30: Association between children's income and children's time use (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	Boys' primary care hours	Boys' primary market work hours	Boys' primary sleep hours
Children's income	-0.386*** (0.134)	0.122 (0.209)	0.226** (0.104)
N	78	78	78
Adjusted R-squared	0.143	0.007	0.029

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 children's' data; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for whether children are enrolled in school and age; controlling for time spent on paid work the previous day does not change the results; 'children's income' is the amount of money children earned from their paid work in the last month*

I do not find an association between girls' income and time use. This might reflect the fact that, conditional on working for pay, girls reported marginally significantly less income from their paid work in the last year ($M=25923$, $SD=61561$, $MIN=200$, $MAX=30000$, $N=56$), compared to boys ($M=74546$, $SD=2000184$, $MIN=1800$, $MAX=1085000$, $N=78$).³⁶ The reason for not finding an association can also be a lack of statistical power, since only very few girls reported earning an income.

For women, the literature suggests that those who do not have economic opportunities are more likely to hold on to traditional gender ideologies (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Women's participation in paid work can affect individual agency by improving women's sense of self, perceptions of their economic contributions and their 'fall-back positions' (Benería et al., 2016). For the division of labour, the relative resource perspective (see Chapter 1) proposes that women with more resources tend to do less unpaid care work and their husbands more. But many empirical studies have shown that women's income is not necessarily associated with a more equal division of unpaid care work (e.g. Bertrand, Kamenica & Pan, 2013; Shelton & John, 1996). It has increasingly been recognised that whether women control the income they earn is

³⁶ Slightly fewer girls than boys reported working for pay but the difference is not statistically different.

more important in determining bargaining power and outcomes than the mere fact that they earn income (e.g. Ashraf, Karlan & Yin, 2010; Doss, 2013).

I find that women who control more income independently from their husbands tended to spend less time on unpaid care work and were more likely to have asked their husbands for help with unpaid care work (see Table 31). Control over income is also associated with more decision-making power for women and more progressive attitudes and norms around sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives. Moreover, women's control over income is positively associated with ownership of a fuel-efficient stove. Women may use their income to buy items to reduce their unpaid care work. The data suggests that owning a fuel-efficient stove is associated with women spending fewer hours on meal preparation.³⁷

Table 31: Association between women's control over income and women's care hours (per day)/beliefs/decision making

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Women's primary care hours	Women's beliefs in others' approval of male care	Women's approval of male care	Women asked partner for help with care	Women's decision-making scale	Stove
Women's control over income	-0.083* (0.049)	0.040*** (0.011)	0.008** (0.004)	0.031*** (0.010)	0.254*** (0.069)	0.035*** (0.010)
N	341	341	341	251	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.097	0.042	0.035	0.059	0.056	0.034

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,5) and LPM with robust standard errors (2,3,4,6); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.01; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'women's control over income' shows the number of beans (out of 10) that represent the income (out of women's total income) that women control independently from their husbands; 'women asked partner for help with care' takes the value 'one' if women have asked partners for help with at least one care activity; 'women's decision-making scale' is the sum of variables for each area of decision making, which take the following values: 0=not decide, not influence, 1=not decide, but influence, 2=decide; 'stove' takes the value 'one' if the household owns a charcoal- or fuel-efficient stove*

³⁷ The survey shows that 36% (132, N=368) of respondents owned a firewood- or charcoal-efficient stove. OLS regression analysis with robust standard errors, controlling for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under 4, finds a significant negative association between women's ownership of a fuel efficient stove and their time spent on primary food preparation (Coefficient=-0.406**, SD Err=0.166, adjusted R-squared=0.028, N=341).

However, even though the direction of the coefficient is positive, women's control over income is not significantly associated with an increase in men's participation in unpaid care work. Similar to others suggesting that resources do not automatically improve agency (Alkire, 2008), the qualitative data suggests that women's control over income does not necessarily lead to more decision making power and a more gender-equal division of unpaid care work. This is expressed by the story of Aloyo Susan (30-39):

In 2014 (#027), Aloyo Susan told me that she wanted to go to school to find a job: 'My husband has more education. I stopped halfway through, so now my duty is to do all this housework but my husband works as a teacher. Had it been that I went to school, at least, I would also be going somewhere to do some work, and then we would come back and combine hand.'

In 2017 (#026), she was working as a nursery school caregiver. She said, 'It's better if you are on your own money; if you are not waiting for the money that a man gives.' She also said that she controlled the income she earned and had mostly used it for household expenses. But she emphasised that because her job 'wasn't very big', her husband still made the most important household decisions:

'Women who have more of a say in decision making are women who have gone to school and they have their own jobs and these are skilful jobs where you earn money and when you talk to the husband and tell him to do something the husband will know, she is working she is also going to contribute her own money. But since someone like me, I don't have so much money, so I have to listen to the husband because he is the one who provides the money.'

The quotes emphasise that earning and controlling an income have the potential to transform household relations and to encourage men to 'join hands'. But they also show that this may not be enough to transform decision-making power; it may need to be accompanied, for instance, by 'more education' and a 'skilful job' that pays 'much money'.

Further, the qualitative data also suggests that control over income does not necessarily transform the household distribution of unpaid care work since dominant care work norms are internalised and maintained by sanctions and rewards. This comes out clearly in the story told by 23-year-old Laker Grace (#019):

Laker Grace was 16 when she got married, but she soon decided to leave her husband because he was cheating and she feared to get HIV/Aids from him. She stayed with her parents for three years. The community rejected her for having left her husband. To regain respect and earn money she decided to do a six-month course to become a beautician: 'Life was very hard, you need money, so I thought twice, I need to go to school.'

She said that when she started working in a beauty salon ‘people started respecting me because I was working, earning money.’ She is now married again and continues to work in the salon. She told me, ‘I love the salon work more than any other work’ and laughed loudly. For her, earning an income was a way to be independent: ‘As a woman, I also wanted to get extra money, I wouldn’t have wanted to sit there and wait for money from the husband.’ She said that she decided how to use the money and had so far used it for cultivation and food, ‘If I need some foodstuff, some utensils, I just buy it without disturbing the man. You know men, the more you ask them, they can get tired.’ She laughed and added proudly, ‘I struggle for myself, I am a hard-working woman.’ She also said that she had a good relationship with her new husband: ‘My hard work makes the husband respect me.’

However, when I asked her who decided on the allocation of tasks in her household she replied ‘the husband’. She also said that she did all unpaid care work and that even though she ‘hated’ cooking and washing plates she would not want her husband to help her with these tasks: ‘No, it is not really good for a man to do that. Ever since I was born, I have never seen a man cook, clean or so, I have never seen it. This is why I think it would be embarrassing for the man.’ She explained that she contributed more to the household in terms of income and unpaid care work, but that she did not mind: ‘I take it easy, it is okay with me, it is part of women’s work to see that the house is maintained, maybe cook, clean and do all the other necessary care work; it is part of women, so it’s okay.’

The story of Laker Grace shows that income can have positive effects in terms of financial independence and recognition by husband and community. However, income on its own is not necessarily enough to shift prevailing care work norms and responsibilities. This case illustrates that care work norms are internalised from childhood (‘ever since I was born’), are perceived to be natural (‘it is part of women’), preferred and unquestioned (‘No, it is not really good for a man to do that’), and are maintained by sanctions (‘it would be embarrassing for the man’). Hence, even though Laker Grace might have ‘power to’ renegotiate care work norms and responsibilities, she seems to have limited awareness that this is ‘possible’. Moreover, the costs of re-negotiating norms appear too high for her to challenge the status quo. This is consistent with other literature (e.g. Lecoutere, 2017) suggesting that individual agency may not be enough to achieve structural changes in gender relations.

4.1.3 Conclusion

This section presented agency as a potential explanation for why people comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms. Men’s relative power over women and children might explain why men, women and children adhere to norms that assign unpaid care work to women and girls. At the same time, this section supports the literature (e.g. Marcus & Harper, 2014)

suggesting that individual agency can be used to challenge norms. For instance, I showed that women's decision making is associated with a more gender-equal division of unpaid care work and more positive social norms around the gender division of unpaid care work. I also find that boys' income might potentially increase their ability to bargain their way out of housework. However, the analysis showed that agency does not necessarily transform prevailing care work norms and distributions. This may be the case for four possible reasons.

First, while agency tends to be operationalised as 'decision making', it can take other forms, such as deception and manipulation (Kabeer, 2002). Research has suggested that, in contexts of strong patriarchal norms, some women use 'backstage power', i.e. keeping a public image of traditional decision making intact while increasing power in less visible spheres (e.g. Kabeer, 1997; Silberschmid, 2001). I observed some women using 'backstage power', such as hiding money in cooking pots or lying to a boyfriend about taking herbal abortion treatment. I was unable to collect data on 'backstage power' relating to unpaid care work. But decision making and the division of unpaid care work may be different in settings when no one can see them. For example, Clever (2000) finds that in Zimbabwe, some men performed female tasks and women male tasks in private while keeping a public image of traditional gender roles intact.

Second, decision-making power might not consistently translate into improved outcomes for women and children, because decision-making processes are influenced by social norms. For example, social norms might contribute to women being less 'assertive and loud' and men more 'aggressive'. This is likely to influence the outcome of the decision-making process (Agarwal, 1997; Van Aelst, 2014).

Third, the finding that agency is not necessarily used to challenge norms might be related to a feeling of interdependence or connectivity. Rather than trying to negotiate the best possible outcomes for themselves, household members may work together towards the same goal, i.e. maintaining the family. This is consistent with the literature (e.g. Punch, 2001a) suggesting that children's decision to carry out tasks assigned to them by adults does not necessarily imply a lack of their power; instead, it can be an autonomous decision to contribute rather than to resist.

Lastly, the analysis suggests that it is important to consider factors other than agency. As the story of Laker Grace showed, even if women could potentially choose to negotiate responsibilities for unpaid care work, they may not want to do so because norms are internalised and reinforced by sanctions. In contexts where norms are internalised, individuals might be able to 'act upon goals' but not to 'define goals' (Kabeer, 2002). A lack of awareness might create a situation where an individual 'acts on behalf of what he or she values' but not on what 'he or she has reason to value' (Sen, 1985, p. 203). In contexts where sanctions for non-compliance are strong, an individual may be able to 'define one's goals and act upon them' (Kabeer, 2002 p. 438), but they may prefer to maintain the status quo.

Agency is a prerequisite for challenging norms – one cannot challenge norms without being able to choose to do so – but individuals also need to want to deviate from norms. This relates to whether they are *aware* of alternatives and whether challenging norms is *advantageous* for them. The following sections investigate awareness and advantage as two other factors shaping whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms.

4.2 Awareness

Another factor influencing whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, social norms is their level of awareness of possible alternatives. The Oxford Dictionary (2020) defines awareness as 'knowing something; knowing that something exists'. For the purpose of my argument, 'awareness' refers to knowing that alternatives to social norms are possible. This definition has two inter-related components: (1) knowing about alternatives, e.g. being aware that some people behave in non-normative ways, and (2) knowing that alternatives are possible, e.g. being aware that social norms can be adjusted. These two dimensions are closely related; for example, seeing people behave in non-normative ways might make questioning social norms more socially and materially possible (Kabeer, 2002).

For my conceptualisation of awareness, I rely on Bourdieu's (1972) concepts of 'doxa' and 'discourse'. 'Doxa' is the 'natural attitude' of the dominant groups; it defines perceptions and opinions, which have not been subjected to reflexive thought (Myles, 2004). 'Doxa' describes social norms that are taken for granted and 'naturalised' so that they are 'undiscussed'. This can cause people to overlook the socially arbitrary nature of specific normative rules and symbolic

power (ibid.). In other words, in a situation where social norms are part of 'doxa', people are unlikely to be aware that alternatives to norms are possible.

But 'doxa' can change when people start reflecting on the arbitrary nature of 'doxa' (Nentwich, Ozbilgin & Tatli, 2015). This is what Bourdieu calls a transition from 'doxa' to 'discourse'.

'Discourse' refers to a more critical form of consciousness and is the opposite of 'doxa'.

'Discourse' means that the 'common sense' ideas of culture begin to lose their 'naturalised' character (Kabeer, 2002). A transition from 'doxa' to 'discourse' only becomes possible when competing ways of 'being and doing' become available as 'material and cultural possibilities'. Available alternatives are crucial for this process: people need to be able to 'imagine the possibility of having chosen differently' (Kabeer, 2002, p. 441). If people become aware that alternatives to social norms are possible, 'doxa' might turn into 'discourse'.

In this section, I argue that a lack of awareness can explain compliance with dominant care work norms. For some, care work norms have become part of 'doxa' – i.e. are perceived as 'normal', 'natural', 'right' and 'unquestionable'. But those who are aware of alternatives are more likely to engage with care work norms as 'discourse' that can be debated and adjusted.

4.2.1 Compliance

If people learn about social norms from early in life and continue to enact and observe normative behaviour in adulthood with limited awareness of possible alternatives, these norms are likely to become part of 'doxa', which makes compliance more likely.

Processes of internalisation

An explanation for why gender norms are so entrenched and often unquestioned comes from learning what it is to be a girl, a boy, a man or a woman, from early in life and throughout the life course (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). Lorber (1994) states, 'Individuals are born sexed but not gendered, and they have to be taught to be masculine or feminine' (p. 4).

In most cultures, children are taught that a man's role is to provide financially for their wives and children, while women and girls are supposed to carry out unpaid care work (Esplen, 2009). Similar to Lundgren et al. (2018), I find that children in northern Uganda learned about these

roles through task assignment from an early age. For example, a woman (#026) said, 'When I'm going to fetch water I give them [ten, seven and four-year-old children] a small jerry can so that they also learn to fetch water.' When mothers had the choice (i.e. when girls and boys of the same age were present), they usually assigned care activities to girls. For example, a woman (#030) called her eight-year-old daughter to help her with her twin babies even though most of her sons were at home; she explained, 'She is a girl, she knows how to look after children...that's her practice; she will do it in the future.' Interviews and observations also suggest that older children assigned gender-specific tasks to younger children. For example, I observed an older boy telling his younger brother to carry a hoe or an older girl telling her younger sister to buy food.

I find that children were also taught about roles through 'demonstration, guided practice' (Katz, 2004) and 'guided participation' – referring to explicit instructions and more implicit communication and stage-setting arrangements (Rogoff, 1991). Adults and older siblings usually performed activities first and then let younger children join in. The best example was grinding; usually, mothers started grinding and then handed over to the oldest girl, who later handed it over (and corrected) younger girls and sometimes younger boys. As this example shows, I observed that mothers and siblings tended to demonstrate different tasks to boys and girls. Some women told me that, even though boys did unpaid care work, they did not teach them to do it well. For example, a woman (#030) said: 'The boys also carry [the babies], but I don't teach them.' Generally, while girls unpaid care work was considered to be both 'helping' and 'teaching', boys' unpaid care work was primarily seen as 'helping'.

Children also learned about their roles through parents or others providing specific instructions on what was considered proper behaviour (Abebe, 2008; Ampofo, 2001), sometimes through stories, songs and riddles (Katz, 2004). Many of my research participants talked about *wango-o* ('wang'=eyes; 'o'=reach), a traditional family gathering around an evening fire, often described as a 'place for teaching children'. *Wango-o* teaching was usually led by an elderly man who told educational stories about 'how to live', which included messages about gender roles. For instance, a man (#073) said that his grandfather had taught him three main lessons during *wango-o*: (1) 'If you have too many women you will have also problems'; (2) buy cattle to 'live

like a strong man'; and (3) marry a 'respectful woman' who 'doesn't talk too much, respects her parents and the in-laws and meets and greets anybody.'

Lastly, play – on their own and especially with other children – can be a way for children to be agents in their own learning (Abebe, 2008; Katz, 2004; Punch, 2001b) and to internalise messages about gender (Montgomery, 2009). I find that girls were more likely than boys to do skipping, to sing songs or play school. In the focus group 'draw your day' exercise, most girls, but no boy, made a drawing of three girls playing skipping (see Figure 14 for an example). Through games, girls also learned about 'traditionally feminine' tasks. For example, a girl (8-12) in a focus group (#140) explained that girls, from about four to eight years, engaged in pretend cooking games: 'We have our teams, this one can be our pot this can be our cups.' When I asked whether boys played the same game, everyone giggled and loudly proclaimed, 'No!' Interestingly, girls said that they only played cooking until around eight years, which was the time when most girls started cooking meals for their families. During participant observation, I also observed girls drawing care-related pictures in the sand, which I did not see any boy do. For example, a girl (#131) drew a woman with cooking equipment (kettle, jug, cup, table, food) (see Figure 14).

Figure 14: Drawings of girls' play activities



Notes: Drawings by a 12-year-old girl (first) and a 12-year-old girl (second)

Boys' play was usually more physical, such as playing football, chasing each other or chasing chickens. Some older boys also said that they went to the centre to play cards, casino, watch films or watch people play pool. In the drawing exercises, most boys drew active activities, especially playing football (see Figure 15). Other gendered play activities I observed among boys

included playing with a catapult or building small houses and other structures with sticks and stones.

Figure 15: Drawings of boys' play activities



Notes: Drawings by a 12-year-old boy (first), a 15-year-old boy (second) and a 17-year-old boy (third)

Some children crossed gendered borders in their play (Thorne, 1993), and not all children accepted prevailing care work norms (see, for example, section 5.3.5). But, like assignment, demonstration and firewood teaching, gendered play was a way for children to engage with and internalise gender roles from a young age. Being taught the 'rules of the game' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) from a young age might make children think that unpaid care work is more important for girls than for boys (Himmelweit, 2000).

These early experiences continue to shape perceptions and behaviour as children grow into adults. I was often told that women did more unpaid care work because they had been taught to do so as children. For example, a man (#079) said, 'Parents always tell them [the girls], "When you get married you go and help that family, make it grow." This is why women do all the unpaid care work.' Similarly, a woman (#025) said, 'It is my role, ever since I was little, I had to do it. No one needs to tell me every day. I wake up; I know what I have to do to keep the family.' For some, childhood learning was also a reason not to question gender roles. For example, a woman (#016) said, 'You cannot do something your mother has not told you is a woman's work.' Likewise, a 16-year-old girl told me that her mother had taught her, 'If I am grown up I should cook, I should not allow the man to cook. If the man cooks it means I have not got a good lesson from her.'

Learning about gender roles does not stop after childhood, but continues in adolescence and adulthood (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Through everyday actions and interactions, we constantly

‘do gender’ (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and internalise gender roles (Ryle, 2012). Marriage or moving in together is a crucial milestone when gender roles are enacted and manifested (see section 3.3.5). Having children is another essential time when ideas around women’s role as carers tend to be reinforced. For example, in a focus group (#148), a man said, ‘Right from the time of pregnancy...women get attached a lot to the child, the labour pain, the breastfeeding, through all this process, this is why women care more.’

We continue to learn about gender roles and norms through day-to-day observations of and interactions with other people. As shown in section 3.2.2, respondents said that they divided tasks the way they did because other people did the same. For example, a woman (#014) said that she wanted to do unpaid care work because ‘most women stay at home and look after the children.’ In addition to these processes of observing and copying, peers and community members also openly enforce norms through sanctions or rewards (see section 4.3). Internalisation may also be reinforced if, because of poverty and high workloads, people have limited time available for reflection on and analysis of norms and behaviour.

Like other research (e.g. Marcus & Harper, 2014), I find that cultural practices contributed to the internalisation of dominant care work norms, especially in adulthood. Literature has emphasised that cultural beliefs and practices³⁸ maintain and justify social norms in general (e.g. Voss, 2001) and gender norms in particular (e.g. Baden & Reeves, 2000; Lorber, 1994). Similar to Watson’s (2014) research in Uganda, I find that cultural beliefs reinforced discriminatory gender norms and practices around the gendered household division of labour. For example, a man (#109) said, ‘Culturally, in Acholi, the men they cannot cook.’ Similarly, a woman (#041) explained, ‘It is according to the tradition of the Acholi that it is the work of the women to cook and the boys are not allowed to cook. This is why we are doing it like this.’

Respondents often said that care work norms had to be followed since they were part of ‘cultural traditions’ or had been there ‘ever since’, ‘since those days’, since the ‘early days’ or ‘the olden days’. For example, a man (#106) said, ‘Ever since those early days, this work is divided according to strength. It is meant to be like that.’ Similarly, a 16-year-old boy (#143)

³⁸ My respondents used the term ‘culture’ to describe the ‘Acholi way of life’, which is similar to the definition in the Oxford dictionary: ‘The customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organisation of a particular country or group’ (Oxford Dictionary, 2019).

explained, 'This thing began in the past, girls usually work more than boys...some are still continuing until today.' Cultural leaders were also said to play a role in shaping these beliefs. For example, a man (#113) explained: 'All the ancestral elders put it clearly, culturally, it is clear that women are supposed to do that care.'

Closely related to culture, religion can also contribute to the internalisation of gender norms (Agarwal, 1997; Marcus & Harper, 2014). Most of humanity's major religions support norms that assign unpaid care work to women (Samman et al., 2016). As explained in Chapter 2, traditional Acholi spirituality is increasingly replaced or supplemented with Christianity. Like other research in Uganda (Lundgren et al., 2018; Parvez Butt et al., 2017), I find that female responsibility for caring was perceived to be 'God-given'. God was said to have given women 'a lot of work' and to have created females, but not males, with a 'heart to care'. For instance, a woman (#121) said, 'God created me with this heart [to care for my children].' Often, respondents said that God had given women and girls more skills to do care work. For example, in a focus group (#142), a girl (13-18) said that boys did not 'know how to tie the firewood into bundles' because 'This is how God has brought them.'

Some even said that female responsibility for unpaid care work was manifested in the Bible. For example, a man (#107) said: 'Even from the Bible, God started with creating a man and then created women. God created the woman as the man's help. This is why their work is a lot.' Some women also said that religious leaders had taught them to 'forgive' and 'stay with the husband'. For example, a woman (#049), whose husband was alcoholic and did not support her, said: 'I joined the Church and made a commitment...because being a born again I forget and feed the husband.'

If norms are reinforced through a wide range of institutional settings, they are more likely to be internalised and accepted as 'doxa' (Marcus & Harper, 2014). I showed that children learn about care work norms from a young age, continue to enact and observe normative behaviour in adulthood, and learn about these norms in their cultural and religious practices. These actions and interactions in childhood and adulthood might mean that care work norms become an 'integral part' of an individual's identity (Ryle, 2012 p. 120), motivations and goals (Cancian, 1975) and are placed in the realm of 'doxa' – ideas and actions that are taken for granted and beyond questioning. This is expressed clearly by a woman (#121):

Women do most of this work on a daily basis because this is how God created us, this is our culture, from childhood, from the early day, this is how women are...Women will always remain doing this care work most of the time.

‘Doxa’

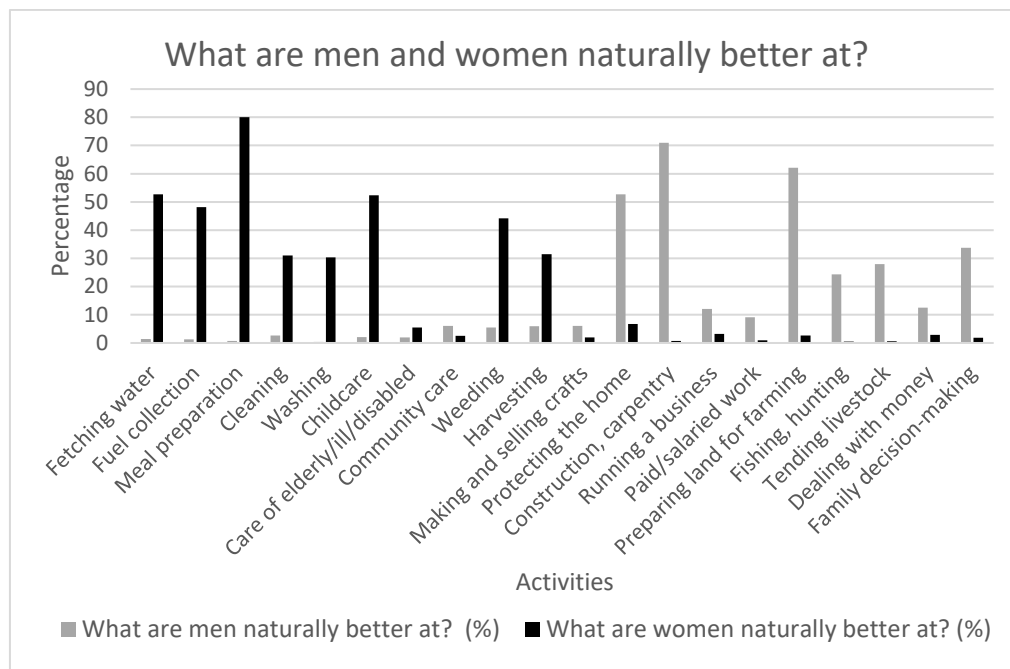
My data suggests that, for some, care work norms are part of ‘doxa’; they are perceived to be ‘natural’, ‘normal’, ‘right’ and ‘unquestionable’.

Natural

If norms are part of ‘doxa’, they tend to be perceived as ‘natural’ (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). Like others (e.g. England, Budig & Folbre, 2002), I find that unpaid care work was perceived to come ‘naturally’ to women. Women were often said to be ‘born’ to do unpaid care work. For example, a man (#112) said, ‘Women are naturally like that. Women were born to cook, to take care of children and do all that domestic work.’ Similarly, another man (#114) explained, ‘Women do all this work on a daily basis, morning to sunset because...what they do is nature, ever since they were born, it was given to them.’ At the same time, men were said to have been ‘born’ not to do unpaid care work. For example, in a focus group (#139), a woman said that men did not cook because ‘they were born men’.

In line with other studies (Chopra & Sweetman, 2014; Folbre, 1986), I find that females were also believed to be ‘naturally’ better at unpaid care work than males. The 2014 survey finds that 90% of adults (755, N=847) believed that men were ‘naturally’ better at some activities and 87% thought that women were ‘naturally’ better at some activities (750, N=800). While men were said to be ‘naturally’ better at construction, carpentry, preparing the land for farming, protecting the home and making family decisions, women were said to be ‘naturally’ better at unpaid care work, such as cleaning, washing, childcare and cooking (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: Perceptions of tasks that men/women are naturally better at



Notes: 2014 data; enumerators first asked 'Are there tasks that women/men are naturally better at than men?' and, if yes they asked, 'What do you think men/women are naturally better at than women/men?'; the questions were asked as open questions and matching codes were recorded; since women's and men's responses were very similar, the graph presents the percentages for women and men combined; N=855

Interviews confirmed that women were believed to be better at care work. For instance, a woman (#029) said her husband might not even be able to 'detect that the child is sick' and another woman (#008) was sure that the only type of unpaid care work her husband was better at was 'paying school fees'; 'everything else I can do better!'

Like others (e.g. Chopra & Sweetman, 2014; Folbre, 1986; Vorhölter, 2014), I find that females were also believed to be 'naturally' more suited to unpaid care work, as they were considered more 'altruistic', 'loving', 'caring' and 'sympathetic' than men. Some of my respondents talked about women having an 'inner feeling to care' or a 'heart for caring', especially for their children. For instance, a woman (#025) said:

Women have this feeling of care for the family...they feel it is part of them to take care of the family member, seeing that there is food on time, that children are taking care of, that they sleep well, are taken to the hospital if they are sick.

This 'motherly feeling to care' was sometimes said to be universal. For example, a man (#114) explained:

Every woman anywhere in Uganda and even outside, they [women] have that in their heart, let me keep and protect my children, so that's why they are always up and down...to see that their children are okay.

This feeling of care was closely inter-related to a sense of duty. For example, a woman (#039) said, 'Most times before a woman goes somewhere...she must make sure that she does something for the home, that the home is okay'; or a woman (#016) said, 'As a mother, you have to feed your children, you have to strive for them.'

For girls, I observed a similar – but less strong – sense of 'natural' responsibility for unpaid care work. For example, girls emphasised that they did unpaid care work because it 'helped the family', made people 'satisfied and healthy' or 'because it was necessary for the family'. But no one mentioned a 'feeling to care' for males. For example, a woman (#121) said that if the children were not at school, 'the father may not feel anything'. Some respondents even said that men were 'mindless about the family' and 'not really sympathetic'.

The assumption that women and girls have a greater responsibility than men and boys to subordinate themselves to the needs of children and family is socially constructed. If internalised, it restricts women's mobility, independence and productivity (Badgett & Folbre, 1999).

Normal

The notion of what is normal has been monopolised by men (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). If norms are part of 'doxa', they are considered 'normal' and are followed automatically without conscious deliberation and awareness (Bicchieri, 2006). They operate so 'automatically' and 'naturally' that they remain unnoticed (Coltrane, 1989; Mahler & Pessar, 2006).

Like Mackie et al. (2012), when I asked respondents to explain why they divided unpaid care work the way they did, they often did not know an answer or simply said 'that's how we do things'; some respondents uncomfortably waited for the next question; others looked puzzled or started laughing. Some said, 'I do not know why' or 'It is really hard to explain'; others said that this is what they were 'used to' or 'that's how it is'. Some respondents also simply said that unpaid care work was 'women's duty', 'women's work', 'women's responsibility', 'women's role' or 'lady's work'. Others gave nonsensical answers or repeated what they had previously said. For

example, when I asked why girls did more unpaid care work more than boys, an 8 to 12-year-old girl (#052) said: 'Girls work from morning till evening' and her 13 to 18-year-old sister (#001) said, 'Because the work which girls always do is more than the one boys always do.' Similarly, when asked why boys did more unpaid care work than men, some respondents simply replied: 'because they are boys'.

Right

Related to perceptions of care work roles as 'natural' and 'normal', the division of labour was often perceived to be 'right' and 'proper'. Many respondents said that work was 'supposed to' be divided the way it was, often justifying this with references to culture and religion. For example, a woman (#037) said 'Those are my tasks, so I must do it.' Another woman (#048n) explained, 'Those tasks were designed by God, so I appreciate the way things are...this is how it is supposed to be.' Or an older woman (#061) said, 'If you were born a woman you have to do all the household work. This is what we live up to.'

Like others (e.g. Demo & Acock, 1993; Madina et al., 2018), I find that women and girls perceived the division of labour as 'fair' even if they worked more than men and boys. In the survey, 58% of women (215, N=369) said that they were happy with the division of labour. In interviews, some women and girls also expressed satisfaction with the way tasks were divided. For example, a woman (#044) said, 'I may not feel anything, I may not feel bad when the man doesn't help.' Or a 13 to 18-year-old girl (#001), whose brothers worked less than she did, said: 'I don't feel bad.' Similar to Nussbaum (2001) I find that people often assumed that because something had always been a certain way, it must be right, as expressed by the following quotes:

I don't feel bad about the husband not doing that [care] work...Women have always done that work. I don't c (woman, #040).

I am okay with everything, women's and men's work, because it started that early, during the old days, men were not cooking; they kept following it (man, #104).

Some women and girls also said that they wanted to do more unpaid care work. When asked in interviews what their favourite activities were, women and girls were more likely to select care activities (e.g. childcare) and men and boys more likely to choose market-oriented activities (e.g. digging). In a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) said girls liked looking after children more than

boys: 'The girls don't mind [when babies urinated on them] because, in future, they will become mothers.' When I asked the girls whether they agreed they all said yes. In the survey, strongly significantly more girls (17%, 44, N=255) than boys (7%, 19, N=272) said that they wanted to spend more time on an unpaid care work activity. Girls, in the survey, were also strongly significantly more likely to report that they were happy to do unpaid care work than boys. But, interestingly, compared to boys aged 13 to 18, boys aged 8 to 12 were marginally significantly happier to collect water and fuel and strongly significantly happier to look after children. This might suggest that not only the gender dimension but also the age dimension of unpaid care work becomes internalised from a young age.

The survey shows that 16% of women (52, N=320) did not want their husband to help them with any care activity, ranging from 16% (childcare) to 42% (community care). About half of the women I interviewed said they did not want help from husbands with unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#016) said that she did not want her husband to do unpaid care work in her presence, 'It would be like he was despising me if he started cooking when I was around.'

One could argue that, for some, care work norms have become 'adaptive preferences'. The literature on adaptive preferences claims that people's preferences are socially conditioned through social norms, sometimes to the extent that people prefer 'objectively negative outcomes' for themselves, such as malnutrition or abusive marriages (Nussbaum, 2001). Women might genuinely prefer things that they would not prefer if social norms were different (Narayan, 2005). But, as section 4.3 argues, a traditional division of unpaid care work may also be preferred because it is beneficial for women.

Unquestionable

Lastly, perceptions of care work norms as 'unquestionable' indicate that they might be part of 'doxa' – the universe of the undiscussed. Many women and girls said that they had never tried to renegotiate care responsibilities. In the survey, 25% of women (67, N=268) had never asked their husbands for help with any care activity, ranging from 71% (elder care) to 27% (childcare). About half of the women in interviews said they had never asked their husbands for help with unpaid care work. This might be because they feared sanctions as discussed in section 4.3, but in interviews, it became clear that some women had never thought about the possibility of asking

for help. For instance, when I asked a woman (#036) why she had never asked her husband to help her with unpaid care work, she simply said, 'I do not ask', and another woman (#039) said, 'I did not think of that. It did not come into my mind.'

Some respondents also considered a deviation from defined roles 'impossible'. Often, respondents said that men 'could not do' or that it was 'not possible' for men to do unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#016) said, 'It is really hard for me to tell you that men can be forced. They can't. If he doesn't want to work, there is nothing you can do.' Similarly, a woman (#008) said: 'Fetching water, a woman can do, can a man really do that? Firewood, can he really do that?...He couldn't do it even if he wanted to.'

To conclude, this sub-section suggests that, through actions and interactions in childhood and adulthood, care work norms have, for some, become internalised and part of 'doxa' – taken for granted assumptions that are undiscussed (Bourdieu, 1972). I showed care work norms are perceived to be 'natural', 'normal', 'right' and 'unquestionable'. I find much evidence that, in particular, the gender dimension of care work norms – that females should do more unpaid care work than males – has become internalised, but some also perceived the age dimension – that boys should do more care than men – as 'normal' and 'unquestionable'.

Being part of 'doxa' means that norms have not been subjected to reflexive thought and that their arbitrary nature is not recognised (Myles, 2004). 'Doxa' can thus imply a lack of awareness of possible alternatives. Being in the realm of 'doxa' makes social norms powerful. Even if opportunities and resources change, beliefs and behaviours might not change because they are so deeply internalised and people are unaware of alternatives (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012).

However, understanding roles and preferences as 'imposed' or 'internalised' runs the risk of denying people's agency. Such a representation can homogenise individuals into a group of victims and fail to see that even coercive rules can be empowering for some people (Meyers, 2002). This becomes especially problematic if western feminists represent women in developing countries as having deformed preferences (Mohanty, 1988). The following section shows that dominant care work norms are not uncontested.

4.2.2 Non-compliance

When alternatives are introduced as materially and socially possible, ‘doxa’ might start being questioned (Kabeer, 2002). In particular, I find two ways that increase awareness about possible alternatives to prevailing care work norms: (1) observation and (2) information.

Observation

Observing other people behave in a non-normative way can show that deviation from norms is possible and encourage others to imitate behaviour (Marcus & Harper, 2014; Watson, 2014). This is more likely to happen if the action is associated with positive outcomes (Bicchieri, 2017) and if other people identify with those who challenge norms (Lecoutere, Spielman & Van Campenhout, 2019). Role models are also important in stimulating aspirations and updating beliefs about one’s own ability (ibid.). Research has, for instance, shown that role models changed norms around girls’ education, delayed marriage and employment in Bangladesh (Schuler, 2008) and aspirations for girls in India (Beaman et al, 2012). For the division of labour in Zambia, Evans (2016) argues that social norms are strongly influenced by ‘first-hand exposure to flexibility in gender divisions of labour (or lack thereof)’ (p. 1138). Observations of non-normative behaviour can happen at different levels, out of which family and community level seemed to be the most relevant in my context.

Family

By watching parents, children learn to distinguish female and male roles (Ampofo, 2001). Adults of the same sex tend to play an especially important role in shaping children’s gender identities (Siann, 1994). Studies suggest, for instance, that wives of men whose mothers worked for pay when they were children are more likely to engage in paid work (e.g. Fernández, Fogli & Olivetti, 2004). Several studies (e.g. Barker, 2012; Hofferth, 2003) have also shown that if boys see their fathers do more unpaid care work they tend to do the same as adults. For Uganda, Vlahovicova et al. (2019) find that men whose fathers/guardians had actively participated in unpaid care work were over four times more likely to participate in these activities.

In line with this research and other studies emphasising the interdependence between adults and children (e.g. Crivello & Revollo, 2018), my data points to a relationship between fathers’

and sons' involvement in unpaid care work. First, the survey data presented in Table 32 shows that if fathers reported at least some time spent on unpaid care work their sons tended to spend more time on unpaid care work.

Table 32: Association between men's care and sons' care hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Boys' Primary care hours
Men's any care (binary)	0.885* (0.465)
N	175
Adjusted R-squared	0.126

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' and children's survey merged; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four, child's age, child's school enrolment; 'men's any care (binary)' takes the value 'one' if men did at least one hour of any care the day before the interview*

The qualitative findings confirm this. Most boys whose fathers expressed strong views about not doing unpaid care work did not list unpaid care work as one of their daily activities. For example, a 19-year-old boy, whose father said that he did not do any unpaid care work, told me that he could only 'wash plates when the sister is busy'. At the same time, boys whose fathers did more unpaid care work also often reported unpaid care work activities. For example, a 14-year-old boy whose parents emphasised that they shared unpaid care work said that, in his family, boys and girls shared all the tasks; during participant observation (#130) with this family, I even saw him grinding nuts on a grinding stone—a particularly gendered task (see Chapter 3).

I also find a relationship between reports of fathers' participation in unpaid care work and their sons' unpaid care work hours later in life. Table 33 shows that if men reported that their fathers had engaged in more care activities when they were children, men reported more time spent on unpaid care work as adults. I also find that the reported number of care activities their fathers had engaged in is associated with men's perceived norms later in life: men who said that their

fathers had engaged in more care activities were more likely to believe that community members would approve of a shared division of unpaid care work.³⁹

Table 33: Association between men's reports of their fathers' care and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	1	2	3	4
	Men's any care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's approval of men's care	Men's beliefs in others' approval of men's care
Men's fathers' care	0.842*** (0.250)	0.883*** (0.250)	0.020 (0.018)	0.054*** (0.020)
Observations	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.047	0.053	0.010	0.038

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,2) and LPM with robust standard errors (3,4); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'men's fathers' care' is the number of care activities that men saw their fathers do as children (out of childcare, cooking, washing, cleaning)*

I find exposure to fathers engaging in childcare to be especially important. Men who reported that their fathers had engaged in childcare when they were children reported spending about three hours a day more on supervising children (Coefficient=3.241**, SD Err=0.806, adjusted R-squared=0.060, N=341; see Table 33 for controls).

Qualitative findings also suggest that fathers' participation in unpaid care work matters for their son's unpaid care work later in life. For example, a woman (#034) said that whether men did unpaid care work depended on 'the family background...you see what the mother did, what the father did.' Similarly, a man (#071) explained, 'We got it [the division of labour] when we were born, the elders were practising it, so as the young ones, we just adapted to it.' When I asked a man (#108) who did not do any unpaid care work whether this father had done so, he loudly proclaimed: 'Those days, never!'

³⁹ The 2017 survey also finds a significant positive relationship between the number of care activities fathers had participated in and men's unpaid care work hours (Coefficient=0.600***, SD Err =0.133, adjusted R squared=0.106, N=160).

Further, I find that parents' division of labour mattered to how children wanted to divide tasks in the future. Table 34 suggests that children who said that their parents shared unpaid care work equally were more likely to want to share unpaid care work equally in their future married life.⁴⁰

Table 34: Association between parents' and children's desired future division of labour

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	Girls want to share unpaid care work in future	Boys want to share unpaid care work in future
Children believe that parents share unpaid care work	0.111*** (0.038)	0.206*** (0.040)
N	255	272
Adjusted R-squared	0.024	0.070

*Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 children's survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child's age, child's school enrolment; 'children want to share unpaid care work in future' takes the value 'one' if children selected 'similar' or 'very similar' for the question, 'If you lived with a family in the future, how would you like to compare to [couple that shares unpaid care and market-oriented work equally described in vignette]?'; 'children believe that parents share unpaid care work' takes the value 'one' if children selected 'similar' or 'very similar' for the question, 'How do your parents/guardians compare to [couple that shares unpaid care and market-oriented work equally described in vignette]?'*

Qualitative findings paint a similar picture. For example, a 14-year-old girl, whose father did not help with housework, mentioned 'house construction' as the only task that her future husband should do. When asked about unpaid care work, she said that her future husband could wash clothes but not cook: 'I would fear to ask the future man to help me cooking.' In a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) who insisted that he did not want to cook when married said that his father had never cooked. But a 14-year-old boy, whose parents shared unpaid care work, said that he would cook as a married man. Thus, the quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that fathers' unpaid care work can encourage their sons to engage in unpaid care work in childhood and adulthood.

⁴⁰ Similarly, children who said that their parents did not divide unpaid care work equally were more likely to want to divide tasks unequally in the future.

Community

In addition to family members, observing community members divide tasks equally was said to encourage imitation, especially if these community members were doing well financially. Similar to other research (e.g. Blum et al., 2017), I observed a general awareness of other people's division of work. Most people I interviewed knew exactly which families did, or did not, share unpaid care work. Some respondents said that 'positive jealousy' ('nyeko') – seeing someone doing well – encouraged people to copy behaviour. A man (#088) gave the example of a brother who had helped another man ploughing his garden with a cow in return for using the cow for his own garden. He had soon realised how much less time ploughing with a cow took. This 'positive jealousy' had encouraged him to work very hard to be able to buy cows himself.

Some also specifically said that 'positive jealousy' could lead to sharing unpaid care work. For instance, a man (#106) explained: 'One aspect is positive jealousy. If one family is sharing [unpaid care work], you will feel jealous and copy from those who are sharing.' Similarly, a man (#077) explained: 'I think by showing them some good example like me sharing work is not bad...others will copy.'

Two couples stood out in my research for sharing unpaid care work more equally than most others. Both couples said that even though some people were critical of their division of labour, others had started copying them:

Otim John (40-49) and Ayaa Lydia (30-39)

Otim John (#101; #102) and Ayaa Lydia (#029; #030) lived with their eight children in a village in three grass-thatched huts. They said that they shared all tasks. Otim John explained: 'Every day, when I am at home, I pick a mattress for bathing, if children urinate, collect them to dry, sweep the compound, sweep the house. Every kind of work, we do it together equally. If the wife is fetching water, I can remain and wash plates.'

Otim John and Ayaa Lydia were known in their village for sharing tasks. Some people I interviewed talked negatively about their division of labour. Ayaa Lydia gave the following example: 'Most time when we come from the garden, I get the greens and the husband carries it if I am carrying water and firewood. And then this LC3 [local councillor] said, 'It is not good' ...the LC3 doesn't like the way we share work.'

But both Otim John and Ayaa Lydia said that some other people had copied them. For example, Ayaa Lydia explained, 'People from the surrounding area see us as role models, how we live, they copy us.'

Akello Faith (30-39) and Okullu Ronald (30-39)

The other couple that stood out in their division of labour were Akello Faith (#026; #027) and Okullu Ronald (#081; #093) who lived with their three children in a small brick-built house near the village primary school where Okullu Ronald worked as a teacher. Akello Faith explained, 'If I am not at home and I come back, he has cooked, bathed the children, and swept the compound. If I am at home, he doesn't over-involve but he comes in to give a hand.' Okullu Ronald confirmed, 'For me, even at times, I cook...and I don't think that task diminishes me from being a man, I feel okay about it.'

Okullu Ronald and Akello Faith said that some community members did not approve of their division of labour. For example, Okullu Ronald said, 'Some of my friends, when they see me doing it [unpaid care work], they say, "Hey, why do you do that? Is your wife not there? She is there at home."'

But Okullu Ronald and Akello Faith also said that some individuals copied their behaviour. For instance, Okullu Ronald explained: 'I am a teacher. When some people see me working together with my wife, they say, "Oh even a teacher can do it."'

When I interviewed these couples again three years after the first interview, they both said that fewer people criticised them and more people copied them, compared to three years ago (Chapter 5 discusses this in more detail). Observing parents or community members dividing tasks differently can shift empirical and normative expectations. People might start believing that others challenge norms and approve of challenging norms (Bicchieri, 2017). Observing counter-stereotypical images can also help to delink negative associations with these images to the point that gender norms vary or become irrelevant (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004).

Information

In addition to observations, exposure to information can increase awareness of alternatives to social norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014). A lack of information can be a reason for internalising social norms as conditional preferences (Harsanyi, 1982) or explain why people do not challenge social norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014; World Bank, 2011). For example, Watson (2014) finds, in her research in Vietnam, Nepal, Ethiopia and Uganda, that a lack of information was a key force maintaining discriminatory gender norms and practices. Information can increase self-awareness and help to construct alternative models of masculinity and femininity. I find that people in northern Uganda received information about alternatives to dominant care work norms primarily through family, community, NGOs and school.

Family

As shown in section 4.2.1, childhood learning can contribute to the internalisation of care work norms. However, I find that people who had been taught about gender-equal sharing of tasks tended to share unpaid care work more equally. In the survey, 58% (216, N=369) of men said that they had been taught to do childcare, cooking, washing and cleaning as children.

Table 35 shows that men who had been taught to do more care activities when they were children, tended to spend strongly significantly more time on unpaid care work later in life. Men who had been taught to do more care activities were also strongly significantly more likely to believe that community members would approve of sharing unpaid care work. Further, men who had been taught to do more care activities were significantly more likely to select boys when asked from whom women should mainly receive help with unpaid care work.

Table 35: Association between men's learning of care and men's care hours (per day)/beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES				
	1	2	3	4	5
	Men's any care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's approval of men's care	Men's beliefs in others' approval of men's care	Men want boys to help with care
Men's learning of care	0.843*** (0.312)	0.905*** (0.307)	0.060*** (0.020)	0.095*** (0.022)	0.044** (0.019)
N	341	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.040	0.046	0.035	0.065	0.002

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,2) and LPM with robust standard errors (3, 4,5); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.01; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'men's learning of care' represents the number of care activities that men have been taught to engage in as children (out of childcare, cooking, washing, cleaning); 'men want boys to help with care' takes the value 'one' if men selected boys for the question, 'From whom should women mainly receive help with caring for people and domestic work?'*

This is confirmed by the qualitative findings. For example, a man (#079) said that he engaged in unpaid care work because of the way he had been taught: 'My parents educated me, as a man you bring a wife, you need to help her.'

Community

Community members can also provide individuals with information about non-normative ways of behaving. Many respondents said that ‘counselling’ by community members could encourage men to do more unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#035) said that her husband could be encouraged to do unpaid care work ‘through constant talking or counselling, every day, every day.’ Respondents also gave several examples of successful ‘counselling’, for example, having improved household relations or convinced a husband to let his wife participate in local politics.

Both couples who shared unpaid care work more equally, described above, told me that they had ‘counselled’ or ‘taught’ community members:

Otim John and Ayaa Lydia said that they had taught other people in their community about ‘how to live’. They gave several examples, such as teaching children to listen to their parents or telling couples to ‘sit down and discuss it and repair the relationship.’ During participant observation (#130), a man came to the house and asked for help. Ayaa Lydia explained that he had asked her ‘to counsel his family, to teach his wife to respect him, because it is not peaceful in their family.’

Similarly, although not as much, Akello Faith and Okullu Ronald said that they had ‘taught others how to share tasks.’ For example, Akello Faith said that she had shared with a friend ‘how we live, share tasks.’ As a result the ‘woman [had] told her husband, “My boss, today you help me out, you help me wash clothes.”’

NGOs

NGO training sessions and information campaigns can also provide information, showing that alternatives to social norms are possible. They can increase awareness of inconsistencies between beliefs and new information, i.e. realise that a particular norm is harmful (Bicchieri, 2017). In northern Uganda, many development agencies conducted training sessions on gender equality in the camps and after the war (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). Many people I interviewed said that they had attended gender training sessions. Respondents usually said that training sessions had changed gender relations, for example, that they had decreased fighting, led to better relations between husband and wife or a more equal division of work between boys and girls. Quite a few respondents also said that gender training sessions had encouraged men to do unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#034) explained:

In Acholi culture, men don't cook, men don't do the housework task, but after sensitisation from WORUDET [local NGO], we started knowing that everyone has the role and responsibilities and every human being is equal.

Generally, respondents seemed positive about these programmes. Some even said that they 'needed training' and 'sensitisation' to teach people about gender equality, as expressed most clearly by the following quotes:

We need sensitisation...and there is that culture which we need to eradicate (man, #090).

Massive sensitisation should take place for couples; they should be counselled and talked to on how to share work (woman, #018).

Sensitisation should increase, people should not give up on giving trainings...Even if one NGO is not there, they should send another (man, #111).

In the 2014 survey, 35% (151, N=432) of women and 43% (182, N=423) of men said that they had attended a training session on gender. Table 36 suggests that men who had participated in gender-related training sessions tended to spend more time on unpaid care and less time on leisure.⁴¹

Table 36: Association between men's training participation and adults' time use (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
	Men's primary care hours	Men's primary leisure hours	Gender difference in primary care hours
Men's participation in gender training	0.715*** (0.273)	-1.221*** (0.474)	-1.123*** (0.415)
N	394	394	394
Adjusted R-squared	0.069	0.050	0.004

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2014 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four, education (women, men), women's participation in gender training; 'men's participation in gender training' takes the value 'one' if men reported ever having participated in a gender-related training session*

These positive views about NGO training sessions might be a result of social desirability bias.

Due to my identity as a foreigner, participants might have believed that this was what I wanted to hear or that I would be able to facilitate their participation in a training session. They might

⁴¹ The 2015 survey did not ask about participation in training sessions.

have talked positively about training sessions since participants were often given food and a ‘transport allowance’, i.e. a little bit of money, for their participation in training sessions. As discussed in Chapter 2, to mitigate this issue, I emphasised that I was not working for an NGO, that the interview was confidential, and that participation would not lead to any participation in development initiatives.

School

Even though some research finds that education reinforces gender-inequitable norms (see section 5.1.3), other studies suggest that education can be a strong driver of positive change in gender norms (Watson, 2014). Education can provide students with information about gender-equitable views and alternatives to dominant norms. For example, the Uganda SIGI results find an association between higher levels of education and more gender-equal attitudes and practices (OECD, 2015). Education has been found to be negatively correlated with time poverty for women (Arora, 2015). Studies from other countries (Barker & Verani, 2008; Shelton & John, 1996) or Uganda (Parvez Butt et al., 2017) also suggest that better-educated men tend to do more unpaid care work.

My regression analysis (see Table 37) finds that, compared to men with no education, educated men were significantly more likely to believe that community members approved of sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives. But I do not find an association between education and time use patterns.

Table 37: Association between men's education and men's beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's beliefs in others' approval of male care
Primary education (men)	0.315** (0.130)
Above primary education (men)	0.329** (0.134)
Observations	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.020

Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four, women's education

My respondents also said that people learned about alternatives to care work norms or the 'knowledge to share tasks' at school. For example, a woman (#011) suggested, 'People when they go to school, they get a lot of knowledge and when they get home they know they have to share responsibilities.' A male teacher (#083) said that he had learned about doing unpaid care work at the 'teachers training' and from 'school books'. Similarly, a man (#115) said that he was doing unpaid care work because, 'in our family, there is a bit of education in it, so they don't adopt a traditional way of living.'

Both of the couples who stood out for sharing unpaid care work, described above, said that education was a key reason for their division of work:

Otim John explained that he did unpaid care work because he was educated: 'I went to school, so I have more knowledge on how life should be, because of this knowledge I am always on the right track.'

Akello Faith, compared her husband, Okullu Ronald, to another man in the village who did not do unpaid care work: 'My husband is much better because he is exposed, he has moved to many places, talked to colleagues, he knows how to live. But the other one he is not exposed, he doesn't have any understanding, he doesn't have any knowledge, he is backwards...it is all about education. People who have learned have this mind of setting up their goal, their objective in life; they have a vision; they want to move somewhere.'

Family, community, NGOs and school have the potential to expose children and adults to messages of gender equality, showing them that non-traditional ways of dividing tasks are possible. But they do not necessarily do so. For example, literature has shown that education can reinforce gender-discriminatory views (e.g. Dunne, 2007; Leach, 2003; Longwe, 1998) and that NGO interventions on women's rights can lead to backlash (e.g. Watson, 2014). Also, note that there are additional channels through which individuals may receive information about alternatives to gender norms, such as media, information technology and politicians.

'Discourse'

One could argue that observing other couples share unpaid care work more equally or receiving information about sharing unpaid care work can increase awareness that challenging care work norms is 'socially and materially possible'. Awareness about counter-stereotypical behaviours can contribute to delinking negative associations with these behaviours (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004). Such awareness can contribute to a transition from 'doxa' to 'discourse' (Myles, 2004). For some, competing ways of 'being and doing' are available as 'material and cultural possibilities' (Kabeer, 2002). These people might start gaining a more critical consciousness and reflecting on the arbitrary nature of 'doxa' described in the previous section. Moving care work norms out of the realm of 'doxa' can decrease their strength and encourage contestation and adjustments. Observations of and information about alternatives can, thus, help people imagine 'the possibility of having chosen differently' (p. 441).

4.2.3 Conclusion

This section presented awareness as another reason for why people comply with, or deviate from, prevailing care work norms. If individuals are unaware of possible alternatives, norms are more likely to be internalised as part of 'doxa'— the universe of the undiscussed. I showed that, through actions and interactions in childhood and adulthood, care work norms can become part of 'doxa' and to be perceived as 'natural', 'normal', 'right' and 'unquestionable'.

But I also showed that, for some, care work norms are closer to 'discourse'. Through observations of and information about alternatives at the family, community, NGO and school level, people might realise that alternatives to norms are 'material and cultural possibilities'

(Kabeer, 2002); they might question the 'naturalised character' and the 'arbitrariness' of care work norms and realise that norms are socially constructed (Agarwal, 1997). This can encourage individuals to deviate from care work norms.

A focus on awareness can help to explain the finding from the previous section that agency on its own is not enough to determine compliance with, or deviation from, social norms. Even if individuals have opportunities and resources and can choose, they might not choose to challenge norms because these norms are so deeply internalised (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). The ability to choose is restricted if certain choices are impossible; as expressed by Kabeer (2002): 'In assessing whether or not an achievement embodies meaningful choice, we have to ask ourselves whether other choices were not only materially possible but whether they were conceived to be within the realms of possibility' (p. 442). In other words, people do not only need to be able to choose, but they also need to be able to 'imagine the possibility of having chosen differently' (p. 441).

However, as with agency, awareness on its own does not necessarily lead to questioning social norms. Being exposed to alternatives may increase individuals' aspirations to behave differently, but this does not necessarily lead to a change in behaviour (Lecoutere et al., 2019). Individuals might be aware that alternatives to dominant norms are possible, but they might not challenge norms if they lack agency – are unable to define goals and act upon them. Further, under some circumstances, people might be able to choose and know about possible alternatives, but they still choose to comply with social norms because this is to their advantage.

4.3 Advantage

The last factor that I find determines whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms is the advantage associated with their action. I use the term 'advantage' to refer to 'the opportunity to gain something; benefit or profit' (Dictionary, 2020). It could just as well be described as 'benefits'. People are likely to conform to norms because compliance is advantageous for them, i.e. they 'want to' comply (Horne, 2001). Scholars have argued that social and economic interests are pivotal in understanding the maintenance of discriminatory gender norms (e.g. Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). Sanctions for non-compliance and rewards for compliance can make normative behaviour beneficial (e.g. Mackie & Le Jeune,

2009). Conversely, benefits associated with deviating from social norms can also encourage individuals to behave in non-normative ways.

4.3.1 Compliance

Compliance with social norms is more advantageous for individuals if there are strong sanctions for non-compliance and rewards for compliance. Sanctions are one of the most commonly cited mechanisms of normative power (Watson, 2014). Social convention theory, in particular, has focussed on how sanctions reinforce social norms (e.g. Mackie & Le Jeune, 2009). The intensity of social sanctions can vary substantially depending on the importance of a norm for social life and the nature of the harm (real or perceived) associated with disobedience (Bicchieri, 2017). The effects of sanctioning also depend on the level of interdependence between group members (Horne, 2007). People can punish others unconsciously without being aware of it, or punishment can result from a conscious process (ibid.). Sanctions for disobeying social norms can, for instance, include feelings of guilt, shame, anxiety, embarrassment or stigmatisation (Elster, 1989; Keleher & Franklin, 2008; Mackie et al., 2012).

Rewards can also encourage compliance with social norms. Rewards might include liking, appreciation, trust, respect (Bicchieri, 2017), esteem, recognition, positive reputation or acceptance by the group (Bell & Cox, 2015). Sanctions and rewards are closely related; a loss of reward can be perceived to be an 'indirect sanction' or the avoidance of a sanction can be considered a reward (ibid.). In northern Uganda, sanctions for non-compliance and rewards for compliance with care work norms (at community, household and individual level) seem to motivate individuals to comply with these norms.

Community level

At the community level, I find that it was advantageous for individuals to comply with dominant care work norms, as this meant avoiding criticism and gaining recognition from community members. This seemed particularly important for men.

Avoid criticism

Similar to other research (Esplen, 2009; Evans, 2016), I find that fear of rejection by peers and loss of respect was a major reason for men not to engage in unpaid care work. In interviews and focus groups, most women and men said that if men engaged in unpaid care work, community members would consider it 'negative', 'not nice', 'speak negatively', 'react badly'. Some also said that this would look 'funny' or 'awkward' or that it would be 'embarrassing' and 'shameful' for both men and their wives.

Like Akintola (2006) for South Africa or Parvez Butt et al. (2017) for Uganda, I find that men were teased for doing 'unmanly' work, especially through publicly mocking them. In a focus group (#138), a man gave the following example: 'One day, my wife cooked beans with the pot. I poured the pot. There was a neighbour, he said, "Look at him touching the pot, pouring the water outside."'

Respondents also often said that community members would express confusion, start 'wondering' or ask men why they engaged in unpaid care work. For example, a male teacher (#077), who engaged in unpaid care work, said, 'Most of the people, they ask me, "Is it you cooking yourself, getting water and washing the clothes yourself? Why are you cooking when your wife is there?"' A man (#088) explained that friends would also encourage men to change their behaviour: 'Sometimes, the friend comes: "Why are you doing this? Why are cooking? Why are you following your woman? Come, let's go and drink!"'

Community members were also said to talk about men who did unpaid care work behind their backs. For example, a woman (#014) said, 'Sometimes, the man is ashamed if his friends found him washing plates. They will start talking, "We found this man washing plates or cooking." So he fears.' Others said that the community would think of a man who did unpaid care work as 'stupid' or as having hidden motives. For instance, a man (#104) said that people would call a man who cooked 'selfish' suggesting that he only cooked to assign bigger pieces of meat to himself.

In the survey, 26% of women (95, N=367) and 30% of men (109, N=365) reported that a man close to them had been mocked for doing unpaid care work in the last month. 31% (113, N=369)

of men and 26% (97, N=369) of women thought that it was acceptable to mock men for doing unpaid care work. Table 38 shows that men tended to spend less time on childcare if they thought it was acceptable to mock men for bathing a child or for taking care of children. They also tended to spend less time on fetching water and adult care if they accepted mocking men for doing these activities.

Table 38: Association between men's acceptance of mocking and men's time use (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE		DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's childcare hours		Men's adult care hours
Men approve of mocking men for childcare	-0.205* (0.112)	Men approve of mocking men for adult care	-0.063* (0.036)
Observations	341	Observations	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.004	Adjusted R-squared	0.004

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's water collection hours
Men approve of mocking men for water collection	-0.062** (0.029)
Observations	338
Adjusted R-squared	0.032

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'men approve of mocking men for childcare' takes the value 'one' if men approved of mocking men for looking after a child or bathing a child; 'men approve of mocking men for adult care' takes the value 'one' if men approved of mocking men for looking after or bathing a dependent adult; 'men approve of mocking men for water collection' takes the value 'one' if men approved of mocking men for water collection*

As with men, women who act against pre-established norms might face community sanctions, such as disrespect or stigmatisation (Kabeer, 1997). Some respondents said that having a husband who did unpaid care work would be 'embarrassing' or 'shameful' for women. For example, a woman (#027) said, 'It is really not worth because the community will look at you as

if you are oppressing your man and you, as a woman, will feel ashamed making your husband wash plates while you are there.’

Some also said that community members would laugh at, or openly criticise, women whose husbands did unpaid care work. For example, a man (#113) said that the community would ask, ‘What’s wrong with this lady?’ Some described women whose husbands did unpaid care work as ‘dick-headed’ or ‘stubborn’. For instance, a woman (#042) said that if a husband did unpaid care work ‘people would say, “He is favouring the woman, making the woman dick-headed, making the woman grow.”’ Likewise, in a focus group (#139), a woman said that ‘the wives who want their husbands to do such [care] work are the ones who want to compete with the men.’

That community sanctions encouraged compliance with prevailing care work norms is expressed by the fact that women said that they would divide tasks differently if community members were unable to see them (as discussed in section 3.2.2.). For example, a woman (#027) said she would like her husband to do the dishes if no one could see him. When I asked her why, she replied, ‘Maybe I am having this fear from the community.’

Children seemed to face similar community criticism for challenging care work norms, but, compared to adults, this was less strong and less common. Like Lundgren et al. (2018), I find that some young people in northern Uganda faced stigma, embarrassment and loss of status for challenging patriarchal gender norms. Respondents also said that it would not ‘look good’ if younger boys and girls disobeyed their parents and did not meet their care responsibilities.

For older boys, I observed similar community reactions as for men, especially when they engaged in particularly gendered care activities, such as grinding or cooking. For example, when I came to a rural household, a young man was grinding nuts on a grinding stone; all family members laughed and showed it to me excitedly. During the interview they referred back to this ‘funny incident’, asking who I found grinding and laughed when I said ‘a boy’. Similarly, when a 17-year-old boy presented a drawing (see Figure 17) of himself sitting with his legs stretched out while cooking – a typically female position (see section 3.3.2) – the other children in the focus group (#143) laughed out loudly.

Figure 17: Drawing of a boy cooking



Notes: Drawing by a 17-year-old boy

This is consistent with other studies finding that older boys who challenge gender norms are teased or bullied (Basu et al., 2017) or that they feel embarrassed for doing unpaid care work (Boyden, Porter, Zharkevich & Heissler, 2016; Heissler & Porter, 2010).

Gain recognition

Related to avoiding criticism, I find that compliance with dominant care work norms was associated with gaining recognition in the community. For men, maintaining norms that reinforce their superiority can be a way to demonstrate competency to their peers and to improve their status (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). For example, a man (#071) explained:

For you to gain respect from the community in terms of work, you as a man should work in line with your work, man's work, but do not cross the other line and do other work, they would start despising you.

Women might also benefit from a 'traditional outcome' in case it increases their social legitimacy and status (Kabeer, 2002). Like other studies, I find that the community respected women who were hard-working (Harvey, 1994) or who had husbands who were 'real men' (Chant, 2002). Women also gained social legitimacy from their care-giving and domestic roles, as motherhood was central to hegemonic femininity (see Chapter 3). For example, a woman (#018) said that women were respected by the community if they were 'respectful, hard-working, obedient to people'. Another woman (#029) said, 'People admire me, maybe because of my work.'

Community recognition can be associated with socio-emotional benefits – e.g. improved feeling of self-worth – as well as with practical benefits, such as support from community members. The 2014 survey asked women whether they had shared care tasks or discussed ways to reduce care

work with non-household members in the last three months. It finds that 28% of women (122, N=431) had discussed ways to reduce unpaid care work with community members and that 26% of women (110, N=431) had shared tasks with community members at least once in the last three months. During participant observation, I observed many incidents of community members helping each other, for example, lending items to community members, working in other people's gardens, looking after their neighbours' children or cooking food, brewing alcohol or repairing broken things for community members.

For children, adhering to care work norms and carrying out the work assigned to them can also improve their position in the community (Libório & Ungar, 2009). In my research, respondents often said that children could gain respect by being 'hard-working' and 'obedient', which in most cases meant following gender- and age-based norms around the division of labour. For example, a woman (#013) said that children would be respected if they greeted adults politely, served them water and food and kneeled in front of them. Another woman (#030) also explained, 'If you talk to that child and the child does what you say without talking back to you, this is a good child; this is what people want.'

Household level

At the household level, I find that adhering to care work norms was beneficial as it could mean avoiding violence and divorce and improving family relations.

Avoid violence

For women, adhering to care work norms can be advantageous if it means avoiding violence.⁴² I find that some women experienced psychological violence, such as scolding by their husbands, if they failed to do unpaid care work or asked their husbands for help with unpaid care work. For example, a woman (#033) said:

The man thinks it is the woman's responsibility to do everything, so I fear to ask the man...when I ask, he barks at me, he screams, tells me in a violent way: 'Why do you ask me to do that?'

⁴² To define 'violence', I rely on the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (UN General Assembly, 1993, which defines 'violence against women' as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women.'

The survey finds that 37% of women (135, N=367) and 38% of men (138, N=365) reported that a woman close to them had been harshly criticised for failing to do unpaid care work in the last month.⁴³ 51% of the interviewed women (189, N=369) and 40% of men (147, N=369) thought that it was acceptable to harshly criticise a woman for at least one situation describing an inadequate provision of unpaid care work.⁴⁴ The regression analysis (see Table 39) suggests that women who approved of harshly criticising women in more situations tended to spend more time on unpaid care work and were less likely to have asked their husbands for help with unpaid care work; their husbands also tended to spend less time on unpaid care work. Further, if men approved of criticising women in more situations they tended to spend less time on unpaid care work and more time on leisure.

Table 39: Association between adults' acceptance of criticising women and adults' time use (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Women's primary care hours	Women asked partner for help with care	Men's any care hours	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's primary leisure hours	Gender difference primary care hours
Women's acceptance of criticising women	0.196*** (0.069)	-0.028** (0.013)	-0.375** (0.186)	-0.361* (0.187)	0.005 (0.090)	0.230*** (0.073)
Men's acceptance of criticising women	0.028 (0.076)	0.018 (0.014)	-0.598*** (0.177)	-0.599*** (0.177)	0.179* (0.100)	0.026 (0.084)
N	341	251	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.119	0.041	0.084	0.085	0.044	0.088

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,3,4,5,6) and LPM with robust standard errors (2); 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * p < 0.1; ** p < 0.05; *** p < 0.01; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'acceptance of criticising women' represents the number of situations of inadequate provision of unpaid care work (out of 5) that respondents thought it was acceptable to criticise women; 'women asked partner for help with care' takes the value 'one' if women have asked partners for help with at least one care activity*

⁴³ Because asking about violence is a sensitive topic, we decided to ask about awareness of violence rather than whether individuals had experienced violence. This data does not tell us about actual prevalence of violence. It could be, for instance, that everyone in a village knows that one woman has experienced violence. In this case, the awareness would be high, but the prevalence would be low.

⁴⁴ The situations included: spoiled/burnt/failed to cook a meal; failed to care well for the children; left a dependent/ill adult unattended; did not prepare her husband/uncle/father/brother's bath; failed to fetch water/firewood for her husband/uncle/father/brother

Table 40 shows that if women and men approved of criticising women for not doing unpaid care work in more situations, they also tended to have less favourable views of sharing unpaid care work between husband and wife, and were less likely to believe that community members approved of sharing unpaid care work.

Table 40: Association between adults' acceptance of criticising women and adults' beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Women's approval of male care	Women's beliefs in others' approval of male care	Men's approval of male care	Men's beliefs in others' approval of male care
Women's acceptance of criticising women	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.052*** (0.013)	-0.019* (0.010)	-0.059*** (0.013)
Men's acceptance of criticising women	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.060*** (0.013)	-0.047*** (0.012)	-0.045*** (0.014)
N	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.039	0.163	0.096	0.166

*Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'acceptance of criticising women' represents the number of situations of inadequate provision of unpaid care work (out of 5) that respondents thought it was acceptable to criticise women*

In addition to psychological violence, I also find that some women faced physical violence for not fulfilling their normative roles as carers. Levels of domestic violence are particularly high in the northern Ugandan region (see Chapter 5). In interviews, respondents said some husbands beat their wives if they did not carry out unpaid care work. For example, a man (#082) explained, 'When they [men] come and the woman has not cooked and the children have not eaten, it is really a big issue, it can lead to a serious fight.' A man (#088) gave a similar example: 'A man demands food...when the woman is still preparing, he could come and beat the woman straight away.'

Some women also said that they did not ask their husbands to help them with unpaid care work because they feared physical violence. For example, a woman (#045) explained, 'When I push my man, "You cook, you wash", it might end up into violence.' Another woman (#014)

explained, 'I wouldn't mind if the husband cooked or washed plates but the problem is husbands of today, he can even end up beating you.'

In the survey, 31% of women (115, N=367) and 35% of men (127, N=365) said that in the last month, a woman close to them had been beaten for an inadequate provision of unpaid care work. 41% (153, N=369) of women and 22% (83, N=369) of men thought that it was acceptable to beat a woman in at least one situation describing an inadequate provision of unpaid care work.⁴⁵ Regression analysis suggests that if women found beating women more acceptable, women tended to spend more time on unpaid care work and less time on leisure. Men who found beating more acceptable tended to spend more time on leisure and their wives more time on unpaid care work. This meant that acceptance of beating women for failing to do unpaid care work was associated with a less equal division of unpaid care work (see Table 41).

Table 41: Association between adults' acceptance of beating women and adults' time use (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Women's primary care hours	Women's primary leisure hours	Men's primary leisure hours	Gender difference primary care hours
Women's acceptance of beating women	0.164* (0.088)	-0.120* (0.068)	0.048 (0.099)	0.205** (0.087)
Men's acceptance of beating women	0.257* (0.132)	-0.055 (0.084)	0.305* (0.176)	0.289** (0.132)
N	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.118	0.041	0.045	0.089

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'acceptance of beating women' represents the number of situations of inadequate provision of unpaid care work (out of 5) that respondents thought it was acceptable to beat women*

Further, Table 42 suggests that men and women who accepted beating in more situations describing an inadequate provision of unpaid care work tended to be less likely to believe that community members would approve of sharing tasks between husbands and wives.

⁴⁵ The situations are the same as in footnote 37.

Table 42: Association between adults' acceptance of beating women and adults' beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES			
	Women's approval of male care	Women's beliefs in others' approval of male care	Men's approval of male care	Men's beliefs in others' approval of male care
Women's acceptance of beating women	-0.009 (0.009)	-0.043*** (0.017)	-0.035** (0.014)	-0.057*** (0.016)
Men's acceptance of beating women	0.007 (0.009)	-0.086*** (0.019)	-0.061*** (0.022)	-0.094*** (0.018)
N	341	341	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.028	0.070	0.070	0.124

Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'acceptance of beating women' represents the number of situations of inadequate provision of unpaid care work (out of 5) that respondents thought it was acceptable to beat women

Similar to Lundgren et al. (2018), I also find that children in northern Ugandan experienced violence if they did not carry out tasks assigned to them, mostly beating, 'quarrelling' or withholding food. For instance, an 8 to 12-year-old boy (#118) explained, 'The dad told me to tie the cow to eat and I refused because the cow is wild. I am scared of the cow, so the dad beat me.' Children were punished by adults, but also by older children, usually boys. For example, a woman (#049) said that, as a child, she had been 'beaten by the father, mother, brothers, because...sometimes I did not do work given to me to do.' Similarly, a 12-year-old girl told me that her 13-year-old brother beat the other children 'so that we get well behaved.' During participant observation, I observed older children slapping or scolding younger children for naughty or lazy behaviour.

Some few respondents also mentioned household-level sanctions for men who did unpaid care work. For example, a man (#093) explained, 'My wife is a little uncomfortable [when he does unpaid care work]. She seems like I am grabbing responsibility from her. She would say, "Why do you do this?"...she thinks I think she is not doing enough.' But generally, at the household level, criticism/violence related to challenging care work norms seemed to be more commonly perpetrated against women and children.

Avoid divorce

For some, the threat of divorce was another reason to comply with gender norms. Divorce was associated with stigma, and divorced women struggled to provide for their families and to remarry. For those who remarried, men were generally less likely to support their wives. For example, a woman (#025) who had children from a previous relationship said that her husband did not support her with unpaid care work because: 'He might think, "Ah you came with children, you do everything."'

For these reasons, some women told me that they did not dare to negotiate care responsibilities because they feared divorce. For example, a woman (#007) said, 'I will stay with him even if I am not happy.' Another woman (#018) said that if a man was doing unpaid care work, the community would say, 'Why can't you just let this woman go? You divorce!' Likewise, a man (#082) explained, 'When they [men] come and the woman has not cooked and the children have not eaten...it can even lead to the man chasing away the woman from home.'

Improve family relations

Another advantage of adhering to prevailing care work norms can be good family relations, which have been argued to be a priority for African women (Lundgren et al., 2018). Like others (e.g. Kabeer, 2002), I find that fulfilling gender roles was a way for women to gain their family's respect and affection. By performing care duties, women were able to show that they 'respected their husbands', which was said to lead to a good relationship and a 'happy family'. For example, a woman (#048) said that women could show respect by 'carrying bathing water and taking it for the man, washing the clothes for the man and cooking'; she said that such respect 'will help reuniting partners'; for her son, she explained, 'If my son brings a woman who does not respect him, there will be no love.'

Good familial relationships can also have long-term benefits, for example, in terms of support and general insurance (Kabeer, 1997). Some research suggests that family harmony might even be a reason for men to help out in the household (Barker, 2012; Samman et al., 2016). My respondents often said that men who engaged in unpaid care work did so because they 'loved' or 'respected' their wives. For example, a woman (#048) explained, 'When there are

understanding and respect, they share.’ Another woman (#042) said: ‘When a man is helping in all this care work; it is love, care for the family.’ Similarly, a woman (#039) explained, ‘The foundation of working together lies in love. If you love, you share ideas. It means you will understand and help one another.’ Many interviewees also said that whether a man engaged in unpaid care work depended on ‘his heart’. Rather than ‘pushing husbands’, showing respect through doing unpaid care work might be more beneficial for women in the long-run.

For children, following care work norms can also improve family relations. I find that parents considered children who followed their orders to be ‘good children’. For example, a woman (#030) explained, ‘A child who is fearful is a good child because the child won’t go and do bad things, won’t be stubborn.’ Complying with care work norms generally meant carrying out households tasks together with or near the mother, which can improve the mother-child relationship. In participant observation, I observed mothers and children having playful interactions while working, such as joking, singing or cuddling. Harmonious family relations can improve children’s wellbeing and improve feelings of comfort and understanding (Crivello & Revollo, 2018).

Individual level

At the individual level, complying with care work norms can be advantageous as it can improve power and control, self-respect and wellbeing, and because it can produce gender identity.

Strengthen power

Complying with care work norms can strengthen an individual’s power and control. For men, care work norms can reinforce their superior positions vis-à-vis women (e.g. Chopra & Sweetman, 2014). As shown in Chapter 1, care responsibilities can reduce women’s opportunities for paid work and education/training, which may reduce women’s decision-making power in the household. Unpaid care work can also limit women’s voice by creating obstacles to full and meaningful participation in politics and development activities (Esplen, 2009).

But at the same time, research suggests that caring responsibilities can provide women with a sense of control (Welsh, 2001). As shown in section 4.1., women selected themselves as the

main decision makers in areas related to unpaid care work, including small purchases – usually food-related – and assigning work to children. In the survey, children were also significantly more likely to say that mothers, rather than fathers, made decisions about their lives, for all decision-making domains except education. This was confirmed in interviews, for example, a man (#082) explained, ‘The mother is close to the children, so it is mainly left to the woman [to decide about their lives]’; or a man (#106) noted, ‘The granary where we keep this food. When the products are put there, the overall control is with the woman, you as a man should not open it.’ Even though these decisions were less ‘strategic’ than those that men were generally responsible for (as discussed in section 4.1), they still seemed to provide women with a sense of control in the realm of care.

Work might also help children develop personal agency and a sense of being able to make independent decisions (Libório & Ungar, 2009). I find that hard-working children who followed their parents’ orders were granted more freedom and independence. For example, during participant observation, I observed that the children who were sent to buy items at the market were not necessarily the oldest, but those who were most helpful at home. The quantitative analysis (see Table 43) shows that boys (and girls) who reported more leisure time the day before the interview were less likely to say that they made or influenced household decisions.

Table 43: Association between children’s leisure hours (per day) and children’s decision making

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Girls’ decision- making scale	Boys’ decision- making scale
Children’s primary leisure hours	-0.182 (0.129)	-0.188* (0.100)
N	255	269
Adjusted R-squared	0.327	0.309

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 children’s survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child’s age, child’s school enrolment, child’s paid work; ‘decision-making scale’ is the sum of variables for each area of decision making, which take the following values: 0=not decide, not influence, 1=not decide, but influence, 2=decide*

Engaging in childcare also allowed older children to exert power over younger children. For example, during participant observation, I observed that a 13-year-old boy slapped his baby

sister for throwing sand (#124), a 17-year-old sister told her 5-year-old brother to stop being naughty (#123) and even a 5-year-old girl told off her baby sister for chewing on an object (#124).

Improve wellbeing

Adhering to dominant care work norms can improve wellbeing. Norms that define unpaid care work as a female responsibility can exempt men from having to do the 'dirty work' (Esplen, 2009). In northern Uganda, care work norms meant, for example, that men had food cooked, water brought and clothes washed for them. These norms can also free men of constraints of biological time (Marcus & Harper, 2014). As shown in Chapter 3, men and boys generally had more time for leisure activities. Since men tended to like care activities the least (see section 4.1.1.), they might be in favour of norms excluding them from these tasks.

Even though unpaid care work can negatively affect the wellbeing of caregivers (see section 4.3.2), adhering to norms can also have positive effects. For women, fulfilling their normative roles can provide them with dignity, self-respect and self-worth (Esplen, 2009; Wheelock, 2000). Like others, I find that women had more self-respect if they were hard-working (Chant, 2002; Harvey, 1994). For example, a woman (#028) proudly told me that her boyfriend had chosen her because she was a 'hardworking person'. Some women also proudly showed me blisters on their hands – a sign of hard work.

This came out most clearly during participant observation. All women with whom I conducted participant observation seemed proud about working hard without breaks. They mocked me for not being able to carry water or beans on my head, for feeling tired from farming, or for not staying in the kitchen hut with strong fumes. Women tended to have high standards when preparing food; for example, chopping leaves in very small pieces or grinding peanuts into a liquid paste without any chunks. At first, these efforts seemed 'unnecessary' to me, but I later realised that serving 'proper' food was not just a duty but also created feelings of satisfaction. This could be observed in small movements. For instance, a woman (#122) dipped a finger into perfectly ground sesame paste and let it flow into a bowl, and another woman (#125) ran her hands through tiny pieces of pumpkin leaves before throwing them in the pan.

Through unpaid care work, children may also develop feelings of efficacy, confidence, self-respect and self-valorisation, and perceive themselves as competent, responsible and productive members of society (Libório & Ungar, 2009; Nieuwenhuys, 1994). Similar to other research (Abebe, 2007; Heissler & Porter, 2010), I find that children took pride in their contributions to the household. In my survey, 79% of boys (215, N=271) and 82% of girls (210, N=208) agreed or strongly agreed that they were proud of the work they had to do. The children who were proud of their work spent strongly significantly more hours on unpaid care work and strongly significantly fewer hours on education. As with women, I observed a sense of confidence in children, especially older children, from being hard working. For example, when I asked a 17-year-old girl whether she felt tired from farming, she replied proudly and mockingly, 'No. You are tired because you are still learning.'

Produce gender identity

Lastly, adhering to gender norms can be a way of expressing and producing gender identity. This seemed especially important for men. On the one hand, refraining from unpaid care work meant that men could avoid being perceived as 'non-masculine' and 'overpowered' by their wives. The following quotes show that men's participation in unpaid care work was perceived to be against ideals of masculinity (see Chapter 3), such as being 'strong', 'competent', 'in control', 'dominant' and 'manly':

'Strong': When the man goes in to start cooking, bathing kids, collecting firewood, what people are saying is, 'The woman is controlling him, he has a weaker brain. He is overpowered by the woman (man, #074).

'Competent': This woman is sitting on the man, is oppressing the man, the man is now dull; the woman is overpowering the man (man, #089).

'In control': The woman is oppressing him; the woman is becoming more powerful in the family. This man is so weak, he cannot control the woman (young man, #068).

'Dominant': The woman is oppressing him, he is becoming a soft-spoken man who wants to be oppressed (man, #109).

'Manly': This is what they say, I have bewitched; this is why the man is just like me, like a woman (woman, #038).

On the other hand, a key reward of adhering to care work norms for men was the production of masculine gender identity. The gender constructionist perspective (see Chapter 1) emphasises

that the performance of housework expresses gender relations (Bianchi et al., 2000). Individuals 'do gender' through interactions (West & Zimmerman 1987). Some call housework a 'dual aspect activity' as it takes on symbolic meaning, part of which is gendered (Twiggs et al., 1999, p. 713). This means that men and boys can produce and reproduce their gender identities by resisting housework (Erickson, 2005). Chapter 5 also argues that, in northern Uganda, rejecting care responsibilities was a way for some men to 'protect the remaining vestiges of masculine identity in a world where women are increasingly encroaching on their breadwinning roles' (Kabeer, 2007, p. 50).

As with men, women also produce gender identity through unpaid care work (Ferree, 1990; Kroska, 2004). Since caring is considered part of the female role, undertaking unpaid care work enables women to behave consistently with their feminine identities (Erickson, 2005). In my research, women often said that they carried out unpaid care work because they were women, using the phrase 'as a woman'. For example, a woman (#045) said, 'As a woman, I sweep the compound...then again as a woman, I need to start thinking of supper, so I look for foodstuff and cook.' Likewise, another woman (#037) explained, 'As a woman, those [unpaid care work] are my tasks, so I must do it.'

For children, doing/not doing unpaid care work can also be a way of engaging with, exploring and producing gender identities. For example, an unmarried 18-year-old boy said, 'In the future, this small, petty, petty work, domestic work, this will be for the wife. If she is sick maybe I can help her.' He seemed to 'try out' this role already. For example, he said that he generally did not do unpaid care work but 'helped' his sisters and mother only under exceptional circumstances, giving the example of seasonal migration.

This sub-section argued that adhering to norms around the division of unpaid care work is associated with rewards/avoidance of sanctions at the household, community and individual level.⁴⁶ This may make compliance with care work norms advantageous and might explain why people comply with these norms. Conversely, the next sub-section argues that advantages associated with non-compliance can encourage individuals to deviate from norms.

⁴⁶ There are certainly also material or societal level sanctions and rewards (e.g. law enforcement, poverty), which were outside of the scope of this thesis, but would be interesting to explore further.

4.3.2 Non-compliance

Individuals are more likely to challenge norms if they have a reason to do so (Bicchieri, 2017).

Not only compliance but also non-compliance with gender norms can be advantageous for some people in some circumstances. For example, Barker (2000) finds that young men in a low-income setting in Brazil who reflected on the costs of traditional versions of masculinity demonstrated higher degrees of gender-equitable behaviour and attitudes.

Improve health

As described in Chapter 1, heavy unpaid care workloads can have negative implications for caregivers' wellbeing and health (e.g. Camilletti et al., 2018; Esplen, 2009), which might be an incentive for women and children to challenge dominant care work norms. Children in the focus groups often said that they had too little time to rest. For example, a girl (13-18) in a focus group (#142) said, 'We feel tired, exhausted with lots of work.' A girl (13-18) in another focus group (#143) explained that carrying heavy jerry cans affected 'the growth of the child.' I saw many very young girls carrying 20l of water on their heads. In the focus group drawing exercises, girls often drew themselves carrying jerry cans the same size as themselves, which might be an indication of how heavy they felt (see Figure 18 for an example).

Figure 18: Drawing of a girl carrying water



Notes: Drawing by a 12-year-old girl

In the survey, 42% of boys (110, N=264) and 41% of girls (101, N=249) agreed or strongly agreed that they were overworked. The regression analysis in Table 44 shows that girls who said that they were overworked ranked their wellbeing lower than those who did not; they were also more likely to say that they wanted to share unpaid care work equally with their future husband.

Table 44: Association between children feeling overworked and children's happiness

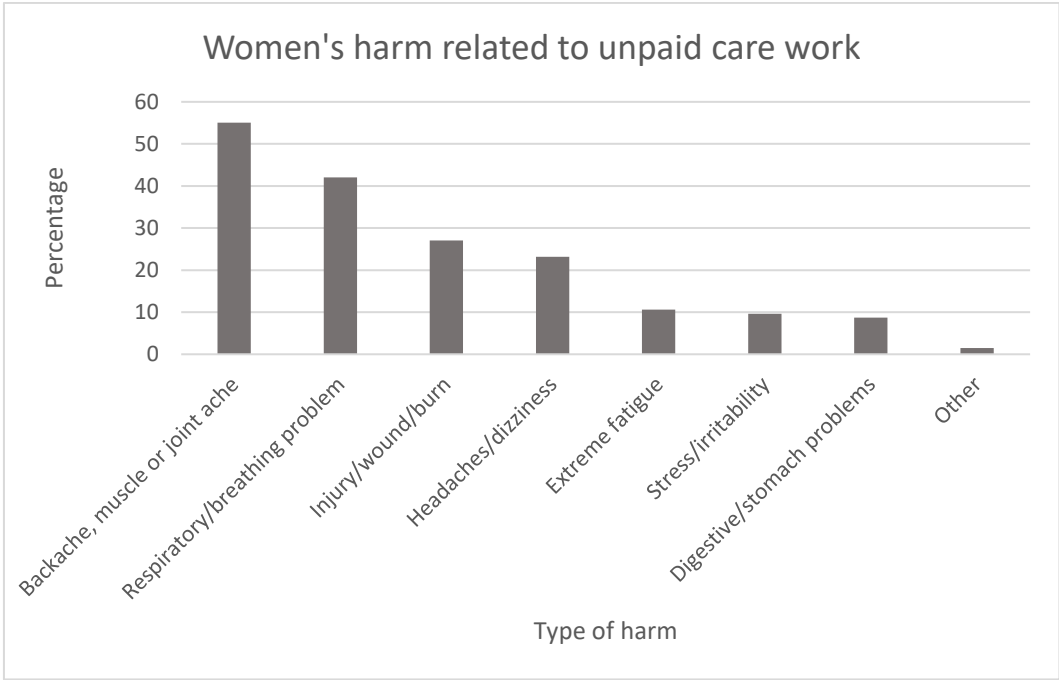
	DEPENDENT VARIABLE			
	1	2	3	4
	Girls' happiness scale	Boys' happiness scale	Girls want to share unpaid care work in future	Boys want to share unpaid care work in future
Children feeling overworked	-0.465* (0.247)	-0.403 (0.250)	0.111*** (0.038)	-0.011 (0.045)
N	249	264	249	264
Adjusted R-squared	0.051	0.068	0.021	0.011

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1,2) and LPM with robust standard errors (3,4); 2015 children's survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child's age, child's school enrolment, child's paid work, child's gender; 'happiness scale' captures the step of a ladder (out of nine) that children felt represented how they felt, where the top step represented the best and the bottom step the worst possible life; 'want to share unpaid care work in future' takes the value 'one' if children selected 'similar or 'very similar' for the question, 'If you lived with a family in the future, how would you like to compare to [couple that shares unpaid care and market-oriented work described in vignette]?'

Similar to Chopra and Zambelli (2017), I find women's work being 'physically and emotionally depleting' (p. 3). Women often said that they were overworked, which negatively affected 'their health, behaviour and attitudes' (woman, #047). For example, a woman (#013) explained: 'Women, they cry a lot; they have a lot of pain because they are overworking themselves...everywhere is paining, it is not easy for them.' I saw many women who had the flu, malaria, typhoid, or who were heavily pregnant, but still worked very hard, for example, carrying heavy loads of water.

In the survey, only 5% of women (19, N=369) and 6% of men (22, N=369) said that there was no problematic care activity. 57% of women (211, N=368) were somewhat or very concerned that their unpaid care work would cause them physical or mental harm in the future. 56% (207, N=368) of women said that they had suffered from an injury, illness, disability or other physical or mental harm from their unpaid care work in the last 12 months. As illustrated by Figure 19, the most common type of harm caused by unpaid care work was backache, muscle or joint ache followed by breathing problems and chest pain.

Figure 19: Women’s harm related to unpaid care work



Notes: This question was only asked for women who said that their unpaid care work had caused them harm; N=207

Out of the women who had experienced harm related to their unpaid care work, 55% (113, N=207) said that the harm had caused a long-term effect. I find that women who said that their unpaid care work had caused a long-term effect were more likely to want husbands and sons to help them with unpaid care work (see Table 45), compared to those women whose unpaid care work had not caused a long-term effect; but they were not more likely to have asked their husbands for help or to have redistributed responsibilities for unpaid care work.

Table 45: Association between women's injury and women's beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Women want husbands to help with care	Women want boys to help with care
Injury long-term effect	0.107* (0.061)	0.185*** (0.058)
Observations	197	197
Adjusted R-squared	0.002	0.056

Notes: LPM with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'women want boys/husbands to help with care' takes the value 'one' if women selected boys/husbands for the question, 'From whom should women mainly receive help with caring for people and domestic work?'; 'injury long-term effect' takes the value 'one' if the woman said that the injury or harm from unpaid care work had caused a long-term effect

In this sense, challenging prevailing care work norms and redistributing care responsibilities might be beneficial for those women and children who did the bulk of it. However, even though this might mean that women and children may be more likely to *want* change, it does not necessarily mean that they will try to or succeed to change the way work is divided at the household level.

Free-up time

Challenging dominant care work norms can also be beneficial as it can save time. If women and children – especially girls – are assigned the bulk of unpaid care work, they have less time for rest and leisure (Camilletti et al., 2018). In the survey, 39% of women (142, N=368) said that they did not have enough time for self-care or personal hygiene. When asked what women would do if their time on unpaid care work was reduced, the majority selected leisure/sleep/personal care (37%, 137, N=329). Women who said that their unpaid care work had had a long-term effect were strongly significantly more likely to say that, if they had more time, they would spend more time on leisure than women who had not experienced a long-term effect from their unpaid care work.

Similar to others (Camilletti et al., 2018), I find that children's heavy care workloads were negatively correlated with their time spent at school and studying at home.

Table 46: Association between children's care hours and education hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE	
	Girls' education hours	Boys' education hours
Primary care hours	-0.695*** (0.052)	-0.713*** (0.064)
Observations	255	270
Adjusted R-squared	0.393	0.329

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 children's data; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for child's age, child's school enrolment, child's paid work

In interviews, children often told me that they did not have time to study or do homework. For example, a boy (13-18) in a focus group (#143) explained:

In the morning, very early, you will go to the garden, you will come back, you go for fetching water, you come back, you sweep, you slash, then, for revising books is usually in the evening when you have finished all your work; you now sit and revise; sometimes you will be very tired, so you don't revise on the day.

I also observed children, especially girls, being taken out of school to help their parents. For example, during participant observation with a woman (#136), her two oldest sons and younger daughters were at school but her oldest daughter, eight years, was at home helping her mother with harvesting and pounding millet. In a focus group (#147), some mothers brought their daughters (about six to eight years) wearing school uniforms to look after their baby siblings while their mothers attended the focus group. The survey also finds that 72% of boys (137, N=191) and 80% of girls (154, N=192) had not completed their homework at least once in the week before the interview. This difference is marginally significant.

Moreover, nearly 60% of boys and girls (297, N=525) wanted to spend less time on a care activity, especially on childcare and cleaning/washing. When asked what they would like to spend more time on, the large majority of girls (56%, 142, N=255) and boys (56%, 152, N=272) selected school, followed by work for the family business; only 17% of girls (44, N=255) and 7% of boys (19, N=272) said that they wanted to spend more time on an unpaid care work activity.

Increasing time for leisure or studying could be a reason to challenge care work norms.

However, as with the analysis on health above, I do not find that this advantage was necessarily

associated with transforming care responsibilities. One possible explanation could be that the benefits of complying with norms described in section 4.3.1 outweigh the costs. Women with high workloads may also simply not have the time or capacity to reflect on or change things as they are busy just trying to survive. As previously discussed (see, for example, section 4.2.1), poverty may make it impossible for some individuals to reduce their workloads, as work is necessary for survival.

Necessary due to circumstances

But family survival can also be a motivation for challenging prevailing care work norms in situations where the main care providers are unavailable. Boys generally undertook more unpaid care work if their mothers and sisters were unavailable. For example, in a focus group (#142), a boy (13-18) explained that he cooked, 'When the mother is not there, when the sister is not there', or a woman (#040) said that her boys 'only cook when I'm not around and the girls are not around.'

Like other research (e.g. Parvez Butt et al., 2017), I also find that men tended to do more unpaid care work if their wives and older children were unavailable. For example, a man (#077) who lived alone with his three young children said that he cooked for his children, but had not done so when his wife was there: 'I don't like it. I just cook because I have to.' Similarly, another man (#096) said that he did more unpaid care work when his wife was farming in a garden in their home village: 'Of course, when my wife is away, I do some of the tasks that she usually does, like going to the market to buy the food.' Some men also said that they undertook unpaid care work if their wives were ill or physically unable to carry out unpaid care work. For example, a man (#089) explained, 'When my wife was about to give birth, I cooked for over two weeks.'

However, even when their wives were unavailable, men were most likely to carry out tasks that they usually engaged in, such as cleaning or childcare, rather than cooking. For example, a man (#084) said, 'If she [my wife] is not there, at least I can bathe the kids, but cooking I can't do, even if she is not there.' Further probing also suggested that if wives were unavailable, many men tended not to engage in unpaid care work if older children were at home. For example, a woman (#023) said, 'When the kids are not there, he [my husband] sweeps the compound; when the kids are there he sends the kids to sweep.'

But, generally, household circumstances can encourage individuals to distribute unpaid care work in non-normative ways. If women and older children are unavailable it can not only be advantageous but necessary for men to take over some responsibility for unpaid care work.

4.3.3 Conclusion

To conclude, this section supports other scholars suggesting that social sanctions and rewards play a key role in motivating respondents to obey social norms (e.g. Bicchieri, 2017; Mackie & Le Jeune, 2009). Women, men, boys and girls who challenge dominant care work norms face a variety of negative sanctions – such as gossip, ridicule, reduced respect, embarrassment, criticism and violence. At the same time, complying with care work norms can be beneficial, for example, in terms of community recognition, free time, feelings of self-worth, control, family harmony and producing gender identities.

Nevertheless, I also showed that challenging care work norms can be beneficial under some circumstances for some people, especially in terms of health, time and, most significantly, to maintain the family in cases where the main carers are absent.

Note that what I described in this section are perceived rather than actual advantages. Because of limited exposure, information or reflection, individuals may not be aware of actual advantages arising from non-normative behaviour or costs associated with norm compliance. For example, men may not always be aware of or consider some of the benefits of male participation in unpaid care work. Studies have, for instance, shown that fathers who report close relationships with their children live longer, have fewer mental or physical health problems, are less likely to take drugs, and report being happier than fathers who do not report this connection with their children (Levtov et al., 2015).

Related to differences between care activities (see Chapter 3), I find that sanctions and rewards were activity-specific. For example, men and older boys were more likely to be mocked for cooking/grinding than for cleaning the compound, and childcare was more likely to bring status and control to women than other activities, such as washing clothes or fetching firewood.

Further, sanctions and rewards were gender-specific. It seemed that community-level sanctions were stronger for men and household-level sanctions for women. This might relate to notions of

the private sphere as women's and the public sphere as men's realm (see Chapter 3). For men, community sanctions linked to ideals of hegemonic masculinity – currently honoured ways of being a man (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) – seemed particularly important. Men might be especially sensitive to judgments that threaten their gender identities because manhood is precarious – masculinity is something that can be lost (Croft, Schmader & Block, 2015). Men's superior position (see section 4.1) might also make it easier for men to sanction women at the household level (e.g. through violence) than vice versa. The finding that sanctions were gendered relate to the words by a famous Acholi poet (P' Bitek, 1985): 'A lazy youth is rebuked; a lazy girl is slapped; a lazy wife is beaten; a lazy man is laughed at.'

As this quote suggests, sanctions and rewards were also age-specific. Exploring the 'vertical perspective' of social life (Wyn & White, 1997) showed that there were similarities between sanctions/rewards that women and girls experienced, compared to men and boys. But the 'horizontal perspective' on social life suggested that there were also differences between the way adults and children are sanctioned/rewarded. For example, children did not need to fear divorce but risked physical punishment, or younger boys were less likely to be mocked for doing unpaid care work than older boys and men.

This section presented advantage as a third reason explaining why individuals may or may not comply with dominant care work norms. If the costs for challenging norms outweigh the benefits, individuals may be more likely to conform, but if the benefits outweigh the costs, they tend to be more likely to deviate.

However, as with agency and awareness, advantage on its own does not necessarily explain compliance or non-compliance with social norms. As the analysis on health and free time showed, even if challenging norms is advantageous for an individual, this does not necessarily mean that they want, or are able, to change the status quo. Potentially, this may be because they are not able to choose otherwise (agency) or because they have internalised their roles as 'natural' and 'normal' (awareness).

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented a 'Triple A framework' for understanding whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms. First, it matters whether individuals are able to choose to challenge norms (agency). Second, to deviate from norms individuals also need to be aware of possible alternatives (awareness). Lastly, individuals are more likely to challenge norms if this is associated with rewards rather than sanctions (advantage).

Agency, awareness and advantage are closely inter-related and reinforce each other. For example, those individuals with more agency might have better access to opportunities that increase their awareness of non-traditional ways of dividing unpaid care work (e.g. through education). More powerful individuals might also face fewer sanctions for challenging social norms. Sanctions and rewards can open the door to dynamics resulting in norm internalisation, but people might also perceive their interests as in line with social norms because they have internalised these norms (Bell & Cox, 2015; Marcus & Harper, 2014).

The three dimensions of the 'Triple A framework' may carry different weight depending on the family and circumstances. The following two stories show how agency, awareness and advantage work together in determining whether care work norms are complied with, but that, under some circumstances, one dimension of the 'Triple A framework' may be more salient.

Otim John (40-49) and Ayaa Lydia (30-39)

Otim John (#101; #102) and Ayaa Lydia (#029; #030) shared care work more equally than most other couples I met. Otim John explained: 'Every kind of work, we do it together equally. If the wife is fetching water, I can remain and wash plates.' Their children also seemed to share work, as expressed by their 14-year-old son (#064): 'Sometimes, I cook food and the sister might be washing plates. We share.'

Agency: Ayaa Lydia had recently taken on a community leadership position, which involved teaching community members about 'life skills'. She was an outgoing, sociable woman, who didn't shy away from expressing her opinion. For example, she explained, 'If the husband is in the wrong I sit him down to talk' and that, as a result, he 'listened to [her] and apologised'. She also assigned work to him: 'I tell him, like go and get the cows'.

Awareness: When asked why he was different from another man in the village, Otim John replied: 'The other one did not go to school; I went to school so I have more knowledge on how life should be; because of this knowledge I am always on the right track'. He further emphasised that he had been 'exposed' to other people sharing care work: 'In Entebbe, people were very many and they did a lot of work, they shared, the

man and the wife. I also moved to Tanzania and Kenya; I was exposed. I learned a lot from those different people on how to share work and I carry it up to now.'

Advantage: Otim John and Ayaa Lydia both expressed that sharing work was advantageous. For example, Otim John said, 'We are sharing work because we want to develop our home. By sharing work, we are moving forward, we see that our home is okay...Last year we cultivated a lot of simsim [sesame], and this year we are using this money for cultivation. This is development.'

Okello Patrick (40-49) and Atim Brenda (30-39)

Okello Patrick (#095, #096) and Atim Brenda (#028, #041) lived with their seven children in a small brick-built house and some grass-thatched huts in a village near Kitgum. Okello Patrick worked as a carpenter and did not usually do care work, as expressed by my participant observation notes (#122):

'Suddenly, the boys run inside the kitchen hut and shout excitedly: "Daddy is back!" It is 5 pm. The girl who was sitting on the only chair quickly moves. Okello Patrick comes in, greets the children and me with a handshake, not the wife. He tells the youngest girl to get water. Atim Brenda warms up the food, puts it in nice containers on a tray. One of the older girls pours water for the father to wash his hands. Another girl brings the food and says a prayer. He starts eating and chatting to me. The others are quiet. When he finishes, the girl who brought the food takes it away.'

As this extract shows I observed girls in this family doing more care work than boys. The 17-year old daughter (#001) explained, 'Boys wake up they sweep the compound, but for us we should wash the utensils, fetch water, wash clothes.'

Agency: Okello Patrick seemed to lead household decisions; for instance, he explained, 'The father has the role of being a leader; you have to be in charge of the home, in charge of the wife, in charge of the children.' He told his wife and children what to do: 'I call them and I sit them down and I tell them exactly what I want.'

Awareness: They explained their division of labour with reference to culture. For example, Atim Brenda explained: 'It is according to the tradition of the Acholi that it is the work of the women to cook and the boys are not allowed to cook. This is why we are doing it like this.' When asked how she felt about working more than her brothers, the 17-year-old daughter said, 'I don't feel bad...because the work which girls always do is more than the one boys always do.'

Advantage: Okello Patrick and Atim Brenda were concerned about sanctions for male participation in care work. For example, Atim Brenda said, 'It doesn't look good if I am sitting here and he is cooking; people will wonder.' Okello Patrick explained, 'It will look bad; they will think bad'. However, when Atim Brenda migrated for seasonal agricultural work for a couple of months, Okello Patrick took over more care work: 'Of course, when my wife is away I do some of the tasks that she usually does, like going to the market, buy the food...I also cook.' He explained that, he did care work under these circumstances because it was advantageous: 'It helps my family and then it also helps me.'

The first story illustrates how agency, awareness and advantage work together in encouraging families to challenge care work norms and to divide care work more equally. The second story shows the opposite: how an unequal distribution of decision power, internalised beliefs about natural caring roles and fear of sanctions can explain an unequal distribution of care work. However, the second story also suggests that circumstances matter. Under some circumstances, one factor of the 'Tripe A framework' (in this case advantage) can be more salient than the other two.

Along with others (e.g. Mackie & Le Jeune, 2009), this chapter suggests that social norms tend to be 'over-determined' – maintained by many different factors on different levels – which makes norms more binding (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Agency, awareness and advantage all operate at different levels, such as:

- **Individual level** (e.g. internalised beliefs, feelings of control, self-worth, gender identity, health)
- **Household level** (e.g. childhood teaching, family relations, domestic violence, decision making)
- **Community level** (e.g. role models, community criticism and recognition)
- **Material level** (e.g. income, poverty)
- **Institutional level** (e.g. culture, religion, NGO interventions, education)

This chapter argued that, through everyday interactions in childhood and adulthood, people 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman 1987), reproduce gender identities and care work norms. A focus on how social norms become internalised and normalised from a young age highlights that gender differences are 'learned' rather than 'biological' (John et al., 2017). I explored the gendered meanings that women and men derive from the performance of housework (Erickson, 2005), showing that doing or not doing unpaid care work produces gender (Shelton & John, 1996). But as further discussed in Chapter 5, through everyday interactions individuals can also 'undo gender' (Deutsch, 2007), deconstruct and adjust norms (Lundgren et al., 2018).

Further, the chapter suggests that a life-course perspective can help to understand normative influence. I showed that social norms become part of everyday life and identity from an early age. But I also acknowledged children's agency in engaging with, complying with or deviating

from norms. The analysis has emphasised intergenerational relations and the interdependence between adults and children (e.g. Crivello & Revollo, 2018). For example, I highlighted that fathers' and sons' unpaid care work hours are closely related and that children take over their mothers' care responsibilities when they are absent.

To summarise, this chapter argued that whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, care-related social norms depends on agency, awareness and advantage. This suggests that change in social norms is more likely to occur if related agency, awareness and advantage change. The next chapter examines whether care work norms are changing in northern Uganda.

5 Continuity and change in care work norms

In recent years, development organisations have grown increasingly interested in exploring the malleability of social norms, based on a perception that social norms underpin many of the development challenges and goals that they have identified.⁴⁷ Gender norms tend to be especially difficult to change because they are widely practised in daily life, represent the interests of power holders and because they instil unconscious learned biases about gender differences. Research has suggested that gender norms around domestic roles are among the ‘stickiest’, i.e. most resistant to change (Watson, 2014). Klasen (2017) proposes that gender norms tend to be harder to change in areas that relate to regulating life in households and families, such as the division of labour, because the trade-offs are clearer than in other areas, such as girls’ education, which is often considered a ‘win-win situation’.

But even the ‘stickiest’ norms evolve and can change (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). There is increasing evidence showing that, in different contexts, gender norms are shifting (Marcus & Harper, 2014). For example, Munoz Boudet et al.’s (2012) research in 20 countries shows that explicit and implicit negotiations over gender norms around men’s participation in household work are increasingly happening. For Uganda, the Afrobarometer (2017) finds that 80% of respondents said that equal opportunities and treatment for women were better or much better, compared to a few years ago.

Research has generally shown that social norms change is ‘complex, messy and non-linear’ (Watson, 2014, p. 6), and should not be ‘simplified as a shift along one single continuum’ (Pearse & Connell, 2016, p. 43). In their research on gender norms in 20 countries, Munoz Boudet et al. (2012) refer to a ‘muddled story of norm changes’ suggesting that ‘change is surely happening, but at the local level, it is often patchy, gradual, and difficult to discern’ (p. 59). Similarly, Boyden et al. (2015) suggest: ‘Behavioural and attitudinal change in respect of gender is not a linear process but reflects a complex mix of shifting and sometimes competing, or even contradictory,

⁴⁷ This can be problematic when organisations pathologise non-western cultures and impose western-centred norms. For gender norms, in particular, post-colonial scholars have criticised approaches that ignore local realities and represent women in developing countries as passive victims of patriarchy (e.g. Mohanty, 1988).

understandings' (p. 233). Watson (2014) argues that drivers of change in gender norms have 'dialectical effects', i.e. positive and negative impacts and unintended consequences.

In this chapter, I investigate whether, to what extent and how care work norms are changing in northern Uganda.⁴⁸ After presenting what I identified as the most important drivers of change, I show that these drivers can reinforce prevailing care work norms, but have also created scope for change. Even though care-related norms are not radically changing, for some, they are bending and relaxing.

5.1 Social drivers of change

Like Vorhölter (2014), I observed a 'hegemonic discourse of cultural change' according to which 'traditional Acholi culture' has been lost through war and displacement. But I also found other social drivers contributing to cultural change in general, and regarding gender roles, in particular. In this section, I briefly describe the drivers of change that I identified as the most crucial and how they could potentially influence gender norms.

5.1.1 War

As described in Chapter 2, northern Uganda has suffered from a long civil war between the LRA and the Ugandan army. The war lasted for about 20 years and involved many years of displacement. Some people felt that the life they knew had been completely transformed through the war, and that until today, there remained uncertainty about how life should be organised. This is illustrated by an older man (#119):

People do no longer believe in traditions because the war has psychologically tortured very many people; they don't know where they are going; they are not living in the past; they don't know the future.

In post-conflict settings, gender norms can be reinforced or changed. On the one hand, women's workloads often increase in post-conflict settings because of destroyed infrastructure (such as schools and health care facilities) and a reduction in natural and social capital (Moser & Clark, 2001). Trauma that women experienced during the war might also make it harder for women to

⁴⁸ For most of the analysis, I follow other researchers (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014) and focus on 'perceived change', i.e. what people believe has changed, which might not necessarily be the same as what has actually changed. When possible, I use my longitudinal data to explore changes over the course of my research.

negotiate change (Handrahan, 2004). For those women who lost their husbands during the war, widowhood can represent an emotional loss, as well as a lowering of status within patriarchal society (ibid.). Gender norms might also be reinforced after a conflict, in case men feel threatened in their roles as providers, leaders and protectors (Dolan, 2002).

On the other hand, war tends to break down old structures, which can open space for new norms and relations. Finnström (2008) suggests, 'Crises often force people to rethink the very foundation of their existence and to reorient themselves in the world' (p. 171). In this context, patriarchal structures might be questioned, which can provide opportunities for women to gain freedom, responsibility and worth (Handrahan, 2004). During a war, women often take on new roles, and humanitarian organisations tend to promote gender equality. These shifts can lead to changes in gender roles in post-conflict settings (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005; Petesch, 2013). Conflict can also provide opportunities for women to enter peace processes and to have a say in community decision making (Bouta et al., 2015). Petesch (2013) suggests that there is a 'time-limited rare window of opportunity' after conflict during which gender norms can shift, but whether gender norms change depends on the specific circumstances.

5.1.2 Material changes

Immediately after the war, poverty rates were very high in northern Uganda (e.g. Oosterom, 2011). People had lost assets and livestock, especially cattle. Some also struggled to regain access to land after returning from the camps (Harris, 2012). Poverty rates remain high in the Acholi region. In 2010, 46% of the population lived below the poverty line, compared to 24% nationwide (UBOS, 2010). Many Ugandans struggle to find jobs (Gijsberts, Wolsey, Andrea & Twijukye, 2018) and there is a high youth unemployment rate (ILO, 2017).

However, over the last decade, the northern Ugandan region has seen some material changes. Uganda underwent a period of high growth and poverty reduction between 1987 and 2010.⁴⁹ Poverty levels fell to 21% by 2016 (Gijsberts et al., 2018). The current government planning document 'Uganda Vision 2040' has a focus on infrastructure and energy; it aims to transform the country from a low-income economy into an upper-middle-income country (Gijsberts et al.,

⁴⁹ The growth period coincided with seven major structural adjustment reforms since 1987. Even though studies find that the reforms were partly successful, they have also been criticised for reinforcing inequalities, increasing the burden of rural women and for worsening food security (Makokha, 2001).

2018). In the northern region, several reconstruction plans have been initiated by the government and international donors (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). Over the course of my research, I could observe visible changes in the standard of living of my research participants. In 2017, I saw many new roads that had not been there in 2014 (e.g. my journey to Kitgum took about half of the time). A man (#099) explained, 'We believe that in ten years, all our villages will be connected to roads.'

When I returned to Uganda in 2017, I was also struck by how many more permanent buildings (built out of bricks rather than grass-thatched) there were, compared to 2014. Many of the families I visited again in 2017 had discernibly more assets than in 2014, such as new houses, types of equipment, bicycles, and livestock, especially cows. Respondents also told me that over the last decade, the number of health facilities, markets, schools, improved water sources, lighting systems, means of communication and banks had increased. A man (#090) explained, 'The community wants change' and told me that he had observed 'change in terms of production, change in terms of infrastructure, development, and change in terms of the health'. A woman (#013) summed up the developments in her community:

Things are changing in the community; if you see when they were coming back from the camps, they had no cows; they had no goats; they had nothing completely; but if you move around the place right now, you find people now at least they have their own things.

Material conditions are closely related to gender relations. Poverty can make it difficult for men to achieve ideals of masculinity and can increase workloads for men, women and children. For example, research suggests that income poverty and time poverty are closely related (Blackden & Wodon, 2006). New technology and infrastructure have been found to influence gender relations and to reduce the amount of unpaid care work needed (e.g. Barwell, 1996). But economic change can also reinforce unequal gender norms (e.g. Pearse & Connell, 2016).

5.1.3 Rise of formal education

In Uganda, formal education has increased over the last decades. When President Museveni came to power in 1989, he laid the foundation for education sector reforms that have since been implemented (Datzberger, 2018). Education came to be seen as an essential ingredient for economic growth and national and human capital development. The government introduced

Universal Primary Education in 1996 and Universal Secondary Education in 2007. Uganda joined the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) in 2011 and has received grants from it of USD 100 million (ibid.).

Gender differences in educational achievements are diminishing. The recent SIGI survey finds that although female literacy rates (49%) lag behind those of males (69%), gender parity in primary education has almost been achieved, with 91% of the school-age population being enrolled (OECD, 2015). My survey findings also show that while men tended to have attended school for strongly significantly more years than women, there were no significant gender differences in children's school enrolment: 88% of boys (238, N=272) and 92% of girls (234, N=255) were enrolled in school or had recently finished exams. In interviews, older respondents emphasised that, compared to when they grew up, these days, more children went to school, especially girls.

I find, like other studies (Cheney, 2007; UBOS, 2010), that respondents valued education highly, irrespective of their age or background. For example, an 80-year-old man's message for younger people was: 'Take children to school and make them learn.' In the survey, most children wanted to spend more time at school (56%, 294, N=527). Attending school was also by far the activity that both boys and girls considered the most valuable (73%, 381, N=527). When asked what they would do if they were local leaders, children in the focus groups often said that they would ensure that all children went to school. For example, in a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) said: 'If I was the LC [local councillor], I would put a bylaw that all the children should be sent to school. No child should be found at home caring for babies, doing the garden work.'

Similar to other research in Uganda (e.g. Datzberger, 2018), I observed a general perception that education would lead to better employment opportunities and income. The selected quotes below emphasise beliefs about the importance of education and also express a feeling of pressure to be educated:

Job opportunities: Without education, it won't be easy for you...the only thing you can do is go and dig, but if you go to school you get something to do (man, #101).

Money: I wish the child to go ahead of me [in terms of education]...so that tomorrow it can get development at home; the child can develop, get money, take care of our family (man, #071).

Ambition: Once you are not educated you will not be focussed; you will not see good things in the future; being ignorant, you remain down at the grassroots; you don't explore (young man, #067).

Knowledge: Formal education is so important because it widens someone's knowledge; I get to know what is happening abroad, maybe in Europe, maybe that in Sudan (man, #079).

Skills: Nowadays, the times require that you have at least a skill; you have to get skills to get money; not like in the past where you dig and get enough money (woman, #028).

Mobility: With English, you can cross the ocean (man, #105).

In Uganda, many young educated people struggle to find work; the share of youth working as professionals is very low at 3% (ILO, 2017). However, I find that beliefs in education as the solution to escape poverty were strong. For instance, in a focus group (#142), when I said that there were few employment opportunities for educated people, children contradicted me. For example, a boy (13-18) suggested, 'Maybe the person has not passed, this is why the person is at home.'

Education has the potential to shift gender norms by expanding girls' and women's agency and introducing new ideas about gender equality (as discussed in section 4.2). Recently, the Ministry of Education has introduced various programmes to promote gender equality through education (Datzberger & Le Mat, 2018). However, education can also be used to teach girls to comply with patriarchal authority (e.g. Dunne, 2007; Longwe, 1998) or normalise 'female' and 'male' identities (Leach, 2003). For northern Uganda, Vorhölter (2014) observed that schools taught children about traditional gender roles. Watson (2014) also finds that, in Uganda, schools can reproduce the existing inequitable gender norms and practices through gender-biased teaching and gender-based harassment of girls, including by male school officials.

5.1.4 Gender policies and programmes

The Ugandan women's movement has spanned more than 50 years (Tripp & Kwesiga, 2002). From Uganda's independence from Britain in 1962 until the early 1980s, women's issues were handled by the Ministry of Community Development, Culture and Sports, which organised training sessions for women. The military government of Idi Amin (1971–79) banned women's organisations. But in response to the UN Women's Decade (1975–85), the Uganda Council of Women was created. This entity worked primarily with community development clubs at the

grassroots level but had little impact due to its limited budget (Kwesiga, 2018). In 1988, President Museveni created the Ministry of Women in Development, which is today called the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. This Ministry developed the National Gender Policy in 1997, which has provided guidance for gender mainstreaming across key ministries through various programmes (ibid.).

In 1995, equality of men and women was recognised in the Uganda Constitution, which prohibits all forms of discrimination against women. The parliament has passed several landmark laws, such as the Domestic Violence Regulations (2011) and the Anti-Female Genital Mutilation Act (2010). The Local Government Act 1997 requires that at least one-third of positions at various local government structures need to be filled by women. The quotas mean that Uganda has one of the highest rates of women's political participation in East Africa (OECD, 2015). Uganda has also signed a number of international and regional agreements on women's rights.⁵⁰ In recent years, the government has implemented some policies to improve care-related infrastructure. For example, in 2006, the Ministry of Water and Environment updated a policy to improve water services to poor communities, which has been found to have decreased the time women and girls spent queuing for and carrying water. Discussions are also ongoing about prioritising unpaid care work in the National Development Plan for 2020/21–2025/26 (Mugehera & Parkes, 2020).

Support for gender inclusion has also come from external sources, linked to development assistance. Uganda is one of the top ten Official Development Assistance recipients in Africa, with USD 1.628 billion spent on aid in 2015 and more than 40 development partners or donors providing financial support to the country (Datzberger, 2018). Many international development organisations have been present during the war in the north and continue to implement projects in the Acholi region, often with a focus on gender equality (Oosterom, 2011).

Policies and programmes on gender – from the national government or other organisations – can shift gender norms, as they can affect individuals' beliefs about others (Mackie et al., 2012). Research has shown that, in contexts where political structures advocate gender equity, egalitarian allocations of household labour within couples are more common (e.g. Lachance-

⁵⁰ CEDAW in 1985; Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) in 2010; African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender equality in Africa in 2009; Goma Declaration on Eradicating Sexual Violence and Ending Impunity in the Great Lakes Region in 2008 (OECD, 2015).

Grzela & Bouchard, 2010). Community discussions have been found to be useful in shifting gender roles as they can increase awareness of one's beliefs and other people's beliefs, and make people realise that a particular norm is harmful (Bicchieri, 2017).

But at the same time, policies and programming can reinforce gender inequalities or high workloads for women. NGO interventions can leave patriarchal systems untouched (Vijan, 2002) or even lead to resistance and backlash, especially if men are not adequately included. For example, Nuñez-Mietz and García Iommi (2017) argue that transnational advocacy by internal organisations around Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) rights in Uganda led to a backlash, including the introduction of the 2014 Anti-Homosexuality Act. Watson (2014) claims that, in Uganda, campaigns for women's and children's rights were successful in changing gender norms, but also provoked resistance by men who saw the campaigns as a threat to their power and authority. Likewise, Vlahovicova et al. (2019) find that, in central Uganda, over half of the interviewed men said that more rights for women meant that men lose out.

5.1.5 'Western' influences

Vorhölter (2014) finds that 'the West' is an important spatial and symbolic reference point when talking about social change in northern Uganda. One can trace western influences back to colonialism, which significantly affected socio-cultural life in Uganda (see section 2.1.1). My research and other studies in northern Uganda (e.g. El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005; Finnström, 2008; Gijssberts et al., 2018; Harris, 2012; Vorhölter, 2014) suggest that the 'West' is associated with economic development, wealth, progress, capitalism, political power, the current education system, technologies and media (e.g. TV, phones, internet), new means of entertainment (e.g. movies, betting) and material culture (e.g. consumer products, 'modern' clothing). Similar to Vorhölter (2014), I also find that the concept 'western' was used to label cultural traits, practices and values, such as values of materialism and individuality.

Some respondents seemed to respect the 'West' for being 'wealthy' and 'developed', said that they would like to move to Europe, or expressed a feeling of being 'behind'. For example, a woman (#030) said, 'For you, you have everything, but for us here, we have nothing.'

But others regretted the influence of the 'Whites' on Acholi culture, for example, for crowding out traditional dance practices, creating an education system that did not prepare children for the Ugandan job market, or for introducing new types of entertainment and alcohol that distracted men from work. For example, a woman (#047) explained:

Now, people have video games or what; there is a lot happening; new things have come up in the community from abroad, like betting...betting takes a lot of time because you have to watch football and after that, you have to go and bet.

Acholis were not passively taking on ideas imposed on them by global influences, but critically engaged with 'western' values, norms and practices (Vorhölter, 2014). To use Knauff's (2002) words: modernity is not necessarily a 'global triumph of Euro-American economic, social, or cultural development' but 'a differentiated or variegated process' (p. 3).

Global processes and 'western influences' can shape local and national masculinities (Kimmel, 2002) and introduce alternative ways of being a man, a woman, a boy or a girl. For example, research suggests that a discourse around the lines of the 'Swedish husband' – referring to a man who is involved in childcare and shares traditionally female tasks – originated in Scandinavia and is increasingly spreading to other countries (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012).

However, the spread of 'western culture' can also have an intensifying effect on women. The feminist cause to empower and emancipate women has been criticised for being universalistic and for ignoring local religious and cultural values (Lanoszka, 2018). For northern Uganda, some have argued that 'western' influences since colonialism have reinforced ideas of 'hegemonic masculinity' and a 'crisis of masculinity' (e.g. Harris, 2015; Silberschmidt, 2001). Some people in northern Uganda, even perceive ideas of gender equality to be a form of neo-colonialism (Vorhölter, 2014).

To summarise, this section presented different social drivers of change in northern Uganda all of which have been found to have affected the lives of people in the Acholi region. Surely, there are more drivers of change (e.g. environmental, media, economic, political), but those that I am focussing on seemed most relevant to the respondents. In the review of the literature, I highlighted the 'dialectical effects' of these drivers, i.e. their potential to reinforce or shift gender norms (Watson, 2014). I now examine the former, i.e. how these social drivers of change reinforce care work norms.

5.2 Reinforcement of care work norms

Changes to the socio-cultural organisation of society can lead to resistance or backlash. This is most likely to be the case if these changes threaten individual or group power, status or economic interests (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Alvarez Minte (2013) defines backlash as a 'reaction of those in power to the push towards social change and challenges to entrenched power structures by a group disadvantaged by the status quo' (p. 13). In my context, several factors might lead to backlash and reinforce care work norms. I find that a 'crisis of masculinity', gender-based violence, alcohol consumption, the fear of losing power, and strong gender ideologies make change in care work norms less likely.

5.2.1 'Crisis of masculinity'

The term 'crisis of masculinity' describes men's insecurities and uncertainties, such as a decline of their traditional roles as breadwinners (Cleaver, 2002). Although war is a stereotypically male-dominated area and a way to express masculinity, men are often emasculated through war, especially through sexual violence and loss of control. Several studies have described the northern Ugandan war as having 'disempower[ed] men as breadwinners and providers' (El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005). In the camps, men were unable to engage in income-generating activities, such as hunting and gathering of wild foods, because of landmines and the risk of being captured by the rebels or the army (Dolan, 2002). Men's insecurity was further exacerbated by their inability to control land and cattle (Bukuluki et al., 2013; Dolan, 2002; Vorhölter, 2014) and to pay bride price (Bukuluki et al., 2013; Dolan, 2002). The militarisation also favoured soldiers over civilians, which further undermined civilian men's masculinity (Dolan, 2002).

Some have argued that NGO interventions on gender equality in the camps further increased men's feelings of having 'lost their masculinity' (e.g. Oosterom, 2011). Men felt like they were becoming 'equal to helpless women and children, as the 'white man' or aid workers became substitute fathers or family providers' (Sengupta & Calo, 2016, p. 294). Harris (2012) argues that the efforts of the international community contributed to the 'destruction of Acholi manhood'.

After the war, some men still struggle to meet ideals of masculinity, especially their roles as providers. Economic circumstances and a lack of employment opportunities make it difficult for

men to earn enough money to support their families (Mehus et al., 2018). Woodburn (2003) finds that men only wanted to do 'big jobs' that their children could be proud of, and complained that such jobs were not available. She also observes that men feared that their wives would run away with 'rich men'. In my research, 'looking for work' was one of the men's main activities, especially for those who lived nearer to town. Men often expressed frustration about their inability to meet masculine roles as providers. Even Okullo Ronald (whose story I told in section 4.2), probably the most 'successful' male respondent, who lived in a permanent building near a town, had been promoted as deputy teacher and pursued a university degree, seemed worried about not fulfilling expectations: 'Sometimes, people are looking at the house that you build, but I'm still renting.'

The 'crisis of masculinity' was reinforced by pressures to get educated but having limited job opportunities. The following quote by a man (#099) emphasises that these pressures had an intergenerational dimension:

Even those of them who are educated, they are unable to access jobs, formal employment...If my father has made all these sacrifices to educate me, he expects me to start and look for my own money and if I don't now make it, I also get very disappointed and my dad also gets very disappointed.

The 'crisis of masculinity' was also related to a lack of land after the war (Harris, 2006). For example, a man (#086) explained: 'Somebody encroached into my land. It has stopped me from digging and paying school fees.' The loss of cattle also meant that men were unable to prepare land on their own without draught animals for ploughing. This increased the need for women and young people to engage in physically demanding agricultural work, which had traditionally been men's duty (Harris, 2006).

A lack of cattle, and assets more generally, also made it more difficult for men to pay bride price. Some also said that education had increased the required amount of bride price, as expressed by an older man (#120): 'These days, Acholis used to marry with two cows, but today...education has increased what you need to marry and as a result, people are living with women for free; they are not married.' Even though paying bride price had become difficult, people still thought that it was important. This meant that while better-off people were able to pay a bride price, poorer people felt insecure about their inability to pay. For example, a man (#084) said:

In our past, people used to have very many animals, products came many from the garden...but now it is hard to marry a woman; sometimes it is hard to get much from the garden and even our animals die all the time...we pay a big amount at school when you have little capital.

As explained in Chapter 3, traditionally, men are able to insist on their domination if they married according to Acholi custom through the payment of bride price. Without this, a man does not actually 'own' his wife and children (Harris, 2006).

Even though the expectations of masculinity seemed 'hegemonic' – i.e. ideals of what it means to be a man seemed to be commonly shared – individuals dealt with those ideologies and pressures differently. The following two stories describe two men's personal 'crises of masculinity':

Odoc Matthew (40-49)

Odoc Matthew (#098) lived with his wife and seven children, between 3 and 26 years old, in three grass-thatched houses in a rural village. He had 'inherited' his wife and some of her children from his brother, who had passed away. His wife (#046) told me that Odoc Matthew was often drunk and violent and did not usually do farm or unpaid care work. The oldest daughter (#015) confirmed, 'When he is not drunk he is ok, but when he is drunk the children have to look for where to sleep outside at night.'

At midday, I found him at the centre with his friends listening to disco music and drinking alcohol. When I interviewed him, he smelt like he had not washed in a while and he made me feel a bit scared. But he turned out to be friendly. He told me that he went to the centre for 'small entertainment', talking to his friends, drinking alcohol and 'being free'. While he had been 'forced' to be protected in the camps, he was now 'free' to do what he wanted: 'We can walk, chat, go anywhere we wish!'

I learned that he had been shot by the Kony rebels during the war: 'They came up to home and when I tried to run away, this is when I was shot. I just ran with the injury like that.' The injury in his arm had never healed up properly, and he told me that 'even up to now, if I work hard it still pains me because it has affected the bone.' He also told me that he used to have many animals that were raided during the war by the rebels, 'So up to now, I find things not very normal and nothing seems to be okay for me.' He said that the war had made him 'weak': 'I have lost my property; there is no need of doing any other thing.'

Oyik Thomas (30-39)

Oyik Thomas lived with his wife and seven children, aged 1 to 17, in a village near a town in basic conditions, only three grass thatched huts. His wife (#024) said that he did not help her much with any type of work. During participant observation (#124), I barely saw him. He arrived drunk when dinner was ready. He asked me for financial help, saying: 'life is not easy.'

His parents and siblings had died when he had been a child and he had had a difficult childhood with his stepmother (#161): 'I actually cannot remember anything nice in my childhood other than when my parents were still alive.' The war had also been a traumatising experience for him: 'My houses were burnt. I slept in the bush; animals like goats looted, crops burnt from the granaries; my wife was kidnapped when she was having our little child and she was released back home after two hours. I also lost one of my brothers-in-law.'

Following him throughout a year with the spot phone calls showed how he struggled to find work and to provide for his family. In September (#150), he told me, 'I used to work on a construction site, but, at the moment, that work is completed, so I am just at home now.' The next day in the afternoon he said, 'I have been looking for work and didn't find anything and now I am just going home.' The following day, at six in the morning, he was 'already in town looking for a job.' He explained, 'The problem of money forced me; there is no food for children, so I have to look for something to maintain the family.'

When I called him again half a year later, in March (#151), not much had changed, 'It is equally still hard, there is still no work.' He told me that now he had to sell his goat 'to send the child to school.' For the future, he wished, 'I hope to acquire a better job to support my family members and, lastly, I hope to marry my wife if I could because traditionally it is not proper to stay with someone's daughter minus compensating the family members, and it is a must to marry a woman.'

These stories illustrate the extent to which some men struggled and how deeply this affected their feelings of self-worth and wellbeing. Even though there are clearly similarities between the two stories (e.g. the impact of the war, alcohol consumption, lack of work), both men experienced and dealt with the 'crisis of masculinity' differently.

Both men were among the least likely of the research participants to engage in unpaid care work or to express positive views about gender equality. This is consistent with the literature suggesting that a 'crisis of masculinity' can lead to resistance to change in gender norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014) and make it more important for men to be excluded from unpaid care work (Cleaver, 2002). The gender display hypothesis, first introduced by Brines (1994), holds that married men and women in circumstances that contradict the normal expectations, display their gender by either increasing or decreasing their time spent on housework. This is confirmed by empirical research suggesting that men who feel that their masculinity is under threat tend to do less unpaid care work (e.g. Bertrand et al., 2015; Chant, 2002; Safa, 1999).

In line with the gender display hypothesis, I observed that men who failed to meet other norms of masculinity (e.g. being a provider, protector), seemed more opposed to doing unpaid care work. For example, a man (#107), who suffered from high blood pressure, lived in poor

conditions and was smaller and skinnier than other men, strongly defended his exclusion from unpaid care work: ‘I work very little in the day, then I go to relax and drink because I have finished my duties.’ A woman’s (#012) husband, who had been made redundant from his job as a teacher, did not do any care or income-generating work, and she said that he had become ‘harsher’ since he had stopped work. The survey data analysis (see Table 47) also suggests that men from households that owned fewer assets tended to do less unpaid care work and were less likely to approve of sharing unpaid care work between husband and wife, compared to men from the best-off households.

Table 47: Association between household wealth and men’s care hours (per day)/beliefs

	DEPENDENT VARIABLES	
	1	2
	Men's simultaneous care hours	Men's approval of male care
Wealthiest quintile	2.175* (1.280)	0.124* (0.072)
N	341	341
Adjusted R-squared	0.027	0.009

*Notes: OLS with robust standard errors (1) and LPM with robust standard errors (2); 2015 adults’ survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), number of children under four; other wealth quintiles; ‘wealthiest quintile’ represents the best-off households (fifth quintile) based on an asset index*

At the same time, the men who I found doing most unpaid care work generally adhered to ideals of masculinity in other areas, for example, having a job, being well-educated, physically strong or tall. This is consistent with other studies suggesting that boys and men are more likely to act in non-stereotypical and less discriminatory ways when they conform to some aspects of prevailing norms of masculinity (e.g. Barker, 2000).

One could argue that in a context of a ‘crisis of masculinity’ where some ways of being a man have become difficult (e.g. providing for one’s family), holding on to traditional care responsibilities is particularly important for some men; not doing unpaid care work is an easy way to adhere to traditional ideals of masculinity. Dolan (2002) argues that, in northern Uganda, many men are unable to live up to the normative model of masculinity, but at the same time they ‘cannot afford not to try to live up to it’ as conforming to a norm brings social and political

acceptance and resources, such as solidarity and contacts, which are especially important in conflict situations. Without alternative forms of achievements for men, adhering to traditional roles becomes even more important as it seems to be an 'anchor in the context of economic, social and political uncertainty' (p. 67).

5.2.2 Gender-based violence

In the context of a 'crisis of masculinity', gender-based violence can become a source of self-confidence, social value and identity for men. In northern Uganda, gender-based violence existed before the war, but it acquired new intensity and symbolic meaning during and after the war (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). During the war, women were often raped and sexually abused by rebel men but also by the Ugandan army (Finnström, 2008). Gender-based violence has also been found to have increased in the camps, linked to general frustration, alcohol consumptions and the violent surroundings (Vorhölter, 2014).

In post-conflict environments, gender-based violence can be an 'outlet for various power struggles', a systematic reaction of men dealing with their struggles with disempowerment in a changing world (Parpart, 2015). Dolan (2002) argues that even though there is nothing explicit about violence in the model of masculinity, it becomes the 'last resort of those who are unable to achieve masculinity' (p. 79). The 2011 National Demographic and Health Survey shows that 42% of women and 59% of men in northern Uganda agreed with at least one reason for husbands beating their wives (UBOS, 2013). Sengupta and Calo (2016) find that most respondents first mentioned physical acts of violence, but after probing also expressed forms of emotional violence, such as 'verbal abuse, quarrelling, neglect of responsibilities, or prioritising other wives' (p. 291).

As shown in Chapter 4, the survey also finds that about a third of women and men reported that in the last month a woman close to them had been beaten and or harshly criticised. Some perceived violent behaviour to be a result of the war. For example, a man (#099) explained:

People who went to the bush, they were violent; they grew up from there, indoctrinated from there, they do not know anything like handling matters in peaceful approaches...people came back with violence in their head...this is why you see GBV.

Children often talked about violence at home. For example, in a focus group (#141), a girl (8-12) said that if she was the head of the household, she would stop her father from 'quarrelling with the mother.' When drawing their families, some children also drew their parents arguing (see Figure 20 for an example).

Figure 20: Drawing of parents fighting



Notes: Drawing by an 11-year-old girl; she explained the drawing with the following words: 'The father is pointing to the mother, she went to the market and took long there. The father is following the mother, it is kind of a quarrel between the two.'

Gender-based violence can prevent change in gender norms and reinforce traditional roles (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). It worsens relationships, can decrease women's self-worth, and can discourage women to stand up against their husbands. The fear of violence can also prevent women from negotiating gender-inequitable norms and responsibilities (see Chapter 4).

5.2.3 Alcohol consumption

Alcohol consumption can be both a cause and result of a 'crisis of masculinity', and it is often related to gender-based violence. Alcohol consumption is high in the region, especially among men. This is common in many other parts of the world and the causes and results have been the subject of many studies. For northern Uganda, my respondents mentioned a variety of context- and region-specific reasons for the high levels of alcohol consumption.

First, during the war, alcohol was used to ease the shock and to deal with failures to meet expectations of masculinity (Vorhölter, 2014). A woman (#047) explained that 'in the camp, people were drinking a lot, it was a kind of coping strategy for some people.' A man (#082) said that since food was distributed and men did not have to work in the camps, 'men were a little bit relaxed, concentrating on drinking.' Some said that men continued with the habit of drinking

alcohol after the war, or that they used alcohol to ‘forget’ about ‘traumatic experiences’ from the past.

Another reason for alcohol consumption was said to be imports of cheap alcohol in sachets from India that had been introduced during the war (only UGX 500/£ 0.11 per pack). Alcohol in sachets was stronger than the traditional type of home-made brew⁵¹. For example, a woman (#050) said, ‘For my family, the problem is these sachets that have gone into my husband’s brain.’

Unemployment and poverty were also said to be reasons for alcohol consumption. For example, an older woman (#062) explained, ‘Boys have nothing to do because they do not have jobs; they are just moving around; they go to the friend’s place and of course they drink.’ Men also said that they consumed alcohol because they felt overwhelmed by their responsibilities. For example, a man (#081) said, ‘When men get drunk they tend to forget that fatigue of the garden work.’ Another man in a focus group (#138) admitted, ‘When I drink I forget about managing the home, responsibilities.’

Some also said that men drank alcohol because of peer pressure or because they copied their parents. For example, a woman (#015) said, ‘It starts upright from the household, sometimes they could see what their stepfather is doing is the right thing, and sometimes it depends on the teaching they get.’

Like Woodburn (2003), I find that alcohol consumption is ‘a driver and a result of gender tensions’ (p. 454). Alcohol was said to reduce the amount of market-oriented and unpaid care work that men engaged in, imposing higher workloads on women and children. For example, a woman (#021) said that alcohol caused ‘laziness’. Similarly, a woman (#018) said, ‘Men of today are taking alcohol as one of their priorities, they go to the centre to do drinking and leave their women to go to the garden and to do all the care work.’ Another woman (#015) put it simply: ‘If you are drunkard you do not work.’

Alcohol consumption was also said to affect men’s health and, thus, their capacity to work. For example, a woman (#050) said that her husband had been ‘mentally disturbed’ because of

⁵¹ The Ugandan government introduced a ban on alcohol sold in sachets in 2019 (BBC, 2019).

alcohol. Some also said that alcohol meant that men lost a 'sense of direction'. For example, a woman (#025) said, 'Men have lost life, they don't see any future, for them, there is only drinking.'

Women's work was further exacerbated because men stole from the household to get money for alcohol. A woman (#049) said that her husband 'pick[ed] anything, money, soap, millet and [sold] it for drinking alcohol.' This affected women financially and psychologically, as explained by a woman (#043), who had recently left her husband:

Physically, I was in the garden but mentally I was at home because if he remained at home for a minute...the resources, like millet, cassava, maize, would be stolen by him. The little that we kept for food he stole and drank it.

Alcohol was also said to be a reason for violence against women and children, as it made men 'wild' or 'mad'. Mothers or children often told me that they slept in the bush when their husbands or fathers were drunk. For example, a woman (#021) said that when her husband was drunk 'we will not sleep; every night, my kid and I sit outside until morning.' This had severe effects on women's and children's wellbeing. For example, a woman (#010) said that her husband's alcohol consumption and violent behaviour affected her emotionally, 'Even just me smiling, happiness, this one is rare.'

To conclude, alcohol consumption can limit financial resources, exacerbate workloads and increase conflicts, violence and negative relationships. It can thus stand in the way of positive masculinities and gender-equal divisions of unpaid care work.

5.2.4 Resistance and fear of losing power

Another factor that may have contributed to reinforcing care work was men's fear of losing power and control. As shown in section 3.3.1, the 'gender-age system' in northern Uganda means that older men are at the pinnacle of power, older women and younger men/boys in the middle, and younger women/girls at the bottom (Harris, 2012). Some few women expressed negative views about change in culture and gender roles. This may be the case because they see 'the old normative order slipping away from them without any empowering alternatives' (p. 282).

However, I find, along with others (such as Watson, 2014), that men – especially older men (see section 5.3.5) – tended to be particularly likely to resist change. Some men said that the promotion of women's rights had made women 'big-headed' or 'uncontrollable'. For example, a man (#091) said, 'Women are misusing their rights, they should know their roles and responsibilities.' Another man (#104) said loudly and firmly that gender roles should not change: 'No one can come from anywhere to change the culture!'

As this quote suggests, men often explained their resistance to change with reference to 'culture'. For example, a man (#082), who had coordinated NGO work on gender equality in the region, told me that some men were against the interventions as 'it looked like we were trying to fight culture'. In the radio programme I organised to discuss my research findings, a man called and suggested: 'Is the culture in the UK not spoiling the Acholi culture? In Acholi culture, once a man has brought a woman, he is not meant to do the work meant for women. The feedback is interfering with the culture.' Men's resistance to change comes out most clearly in the following quote by a woman (#047):

I can see where the men are coming from, from you having power, because before the conflict the men held a lot of power. But now, when women went back they were saying, 'We need to talk!', but yet the men were not ready for that...They see it as if different agencies, NGOs were fighting culture, it is against their culture. They made women big-headed; it is against what they knew. Men, they are still clinging on; they are still not accepting the reality; they need to accept that women need to get out...the roles are now changing and the women are saying the men need to embrace these new roles and responsibilities.

I also find that cultural leaders (all of which I interviewed were male) were especially opposed to changes in gender relations, potentially because of their decreasing influence (see section 5.3.2). For example, an older man (#120) said angrily: 'Acholi culture has been spoilt'. Some considered gender equality a 'negative side-effect' of cultural change, undermining Acholi culture and contributing to a 'breakdown of traditions' (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). When I asked a male cultural leader (#105) about women's rights, he said: 'We don't deal with it so much.' Likewise, a man (#086) explained, 'The traditional leaders don't like the way women nowadays are behaving because it has built big head into the women...they are seeing that the women's rights are knocking the heads of the culture.'

The findings could be interpreted as what Vorhölter (2014) calls a 're-traditionalisation discourse' consisting of beliefs in an idealised past and fears of future developments. As previously discussed, those people who benefit from norms that put them in powerful positions vis-à-vis others are most likely to resist change in these norms (see section 4.1). One could also interpret the findings through the lens of Connell's (1987) concept of the 'patriarchal dividend' – referring to the honour and prestige and more material dividends men accrue in a patriarchal system. If men benefit from the 'patriarchal dividend' they might be more likely to resist change.

5.2.5 Strong gender ideologies

Lastly, I find that ideologies around what it means to be a woman, a man, a boy or a girl remain important, which may make change in care work norms less likely. Research has shown that gender ideologies are more resistant to change than gender roles or norms (Marcus & Harper, 2014; Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). This may be the case because ideologies are part of 'more extensive worldviews about how societies should be organised, themselves often reflecting particular religious or cultural traditions' (p. 28). Ridgeway and Correll (2004) note that cultural beliefs about gender are 'a stubborn part of social reality' because they 'must be dealt with or accommodated in many contexts, even if they are not personally endorsed' (p. 514). For northern Uganda, El-Bushra and Sahl (2005, p. 23) suggest that gender ideologies have been reinforced rather than weakened through the war: 'For both men and women, the ideals of the Acholi cultural code do not seem to have changed as a result of war, but have simply become harder to put into practice.'

I also find that gender ideologies remained strong. First, similar to other research from northern Uganda (e.g. Mehus et al., 2018), I find that, even though women were increasingly involved in household decisions (see section 5.2.5), ideals of adult male superiority and their roles as 'heads of the household' remained important. One could argue that men became 'figureheads of the household' (Silberschmid, 2001). Even women who did all work and made most decisions about running the household tended to refer to their husbands as the 'household heads', who had the 'final say' in decision making. For example, Aloyo Susan (whose story I told in section 4.1) earned her own income and even controlled her husband's income: 'I don't always give it [money] to him when he asks for it because I first have to clear the reason why he wants to use it.' But she still said that her husband was the 'leader of the home' and should have 'all authority' to decide.

Further, like Silberschmidt (2001) for Kenya, I find that despite the inability of many men to fulfil traditional roles, ideologies of the male breadwinner largely remained. Even though the large majority of women worked more than their husbands, many people said that men contributed more to the household. For example, a woman (#007) said that her husband contributed more to the household even though her work was 'very hard' and she 'spent much more time' on it. In the survey, the majority of women (51%; 190, N=369) said that men made the most significant contribution to the wellbeing of the household. This view was not significantly correlated with whether women worked more than their husbands or not.

Ideologies around the female carer also remained powerful. Along with other studies in East Africa (Marcus, 2018), I find that, even though some men took on a greater share of domestic work (see section 5.3), ideologies around the ideal divisions of labour had shifted little. I observed (similar to Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) that men who did unpaid care work described it as 'helping their wives' rather than as 'taking responsibility' for household chores, as expressed by the following quotes:

Women are naturally like that. Women were born to cook, to take care of children and do that entire domestic work, but because work is now growing, becoming too much for the women, men come in and help the women (man, #112).

Sometimes, when men are trying to help their women, they look at care work being a woman's work. So when they are doing it, they are doing it to help; they are not doing it as their role (man, #082).

The two couples who shared unpaid care work more equally than others (described in Chapter 4) also followed this discourse. For example, Akello Faith said that her husband suggested: 'Let me help you and I wash these clothes!' Her husband, Okullu Ronald, said, 'I help her [with unpaid care work].' Similarly, Otim John proposed, 'It doesn't hurt to help the woman [with unpaid care work].'

Boys – but not girls – also tended to describe their unpaid care work as 'helping' their mothers. For example, an unmarried young man (20-19) said, 'I help the mother cleaning the compound, slashing, cleaning.' His sister (13-17) confirmed that her brothers 'support[ed]' the mother with sweeping the compound, but she did not describe her tasks as 'support': 'I clean the rooms, I fetch water, then, I start cooking.' Describing unpaid care work as 'support' meant that ideologies of the female carer were not necessarily questioned. This may even reinforce power

imbalance, as a man who 'helps' is doing more than he is supposed to, thereby enhancing his position of power.

The findings support El-Bushra and Sahl (2005), who suggest that ideologies remain strong. If underlying ideologies remain important, norms are less likely to change. Harris (2012) argues that, as long as the overall shape of the power system does not change, no radical transformation of the gender-age system will occur.

This section showed that the drivers of change described in section 5.1 might reinforce care work norms. A 'crisis of masculinity', gender-based violence, alcohol consumption, men's fear of losing control and powerful gender ideologies can reinforce negative gender relations and make shifts in care work norms less likely. As Kandiyoti (1988, p. 286) notes: 'New strategies and forms of consciousness do not simply emerge from the ruins of the old and smoothly produce a new consensus, but are created through personal and political struggles, which are often complex and contradictory.' The next section focusses on the 'complex struggles' that 'create new strategies and forms of consciousness'. I argue that, despite the forces reinforcing care work norms, there is evidence suggesting that the scope for change in care work norms is widening.

5.3 Scope for change in care work norms

Chapter 4 proposed that whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms depends on their level of agency, their awareness of alternatives and on whether compliance/non-compliance is to their advantage. I find some evidence suggesting that, in northern Uganda, agency, awareness and advantage related to care work norms are perceived to be changing, as are some people's attitudes and beliefs. I argue that this widens the scope for prevailing care work norms to change.

5.3.1 Agency

My research and other studies in northern Uganda (e.g. Nibbe, 2015; Sengupta & Calo, 2016) suggest that the drivers of change described in section 5.1 have contributed to women and children experiencing an increased sense of agency, which can potentially open up space for negotiating care work norms.

Women's agency

Some research suggests that northern Ugandan women have been 'empowered' during and after the war (e.g. Nibbe, 2015; Sengupta & Calo, 2016). In the camps, women's economic activities expanded (Nibbe, 2015). Women often took over the traditionally male role of providing for the family, as they could earn an income through brewing beer or engaging in small businesses (El-Bushra, 2003). After the war, some find that women continue to have greater economic responsibility than men (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). Several respondents told me that women were now engaged in tasks that had traditionally been carried out by men, such as 'taking the animals to graze', 'digging', 'providing money for food', 'building, construction' or even 'going on the roof' for building houses and 'hunting'. For example, in a focus group (#138), a man said, 'Garden work used to be men's work, but nowadays, women are helping so much.'

More responsibilities can be disempowering for women (as they increase workloads), but they can also improve agency (Sengupta & Calo, 2016) and contribute to change in gender norms (Hossain, 2011; Marcus & Harper, 2014). In the discussions on women's economic responsibilities, women argued loudly with men, insisting that they had the same 'strength' and 'ability' to work as men. For example, in a focus group (#139), a woman vehemently contradicted a man who had said that women could not hunt: 'We have the same energy for hunting like males!' The other women loudly agreed and laughed. Likewise, in an interview, a woman (#037) explained, 'These days, men's and women's strength is equal; women are now also coming up to work so hard...these days, women go and dig and plough.'

As well as improving these self-perceptions or 'power within', some also said that women's economic opportunities had increased their decision making or 'power to'. Like Harris (2012), I find that because of their increased economic responsibility, some women 'felt they had a right to challenge certain aspects of older male domination' (p. 482) and that some men accepted that it was unfair for men to reclaim their former level of power and control. For example, a woman (#047) said, 'Women are working so hard, so men feel like they don't have the power; they cannot control women like they used to do.'

In addition to economic responsibilities, some research suggests that women's positions had improved because of NGO and government interventions on women's rights (e.g. Lundgren et

al., 2018). Women in the camps were often the main receivers of humanitarian aid, as they were considered more trustworthy in making sure that items would reach children and other household members (Vorhölter, 2014). This made many women develop 'a sense of individual identity and confidence in their new role of breadwinners' (Sengupta & Calo, 2016). My respondents also emphasised that women had become aware of their rights. For example, a woman (#047) explained:

The donors started targeting women a lot, giving them money, giving them support and others because they knew it would reach the family. Women have come to know their rights, they are working so hard; they are trying to fight for their rights, the right to participate in leadership, the right to live free of violence, the women are saying, 'We don't want that.'

Some interventions had also focussed specifically on household decision making; for example, a man (#082) explained, 'There has been a lot of sensitisation on decision making and planning, also by the government; the coverage is wide, so there is a lot of change.' A male government official (#097) said that he had attended 'very many trainings' and explained how this had influenced decision-making processes in his family, using 'business terms':

In my family, we have rational decisions, okay. We brief things. I bring an issue; we plan together with my family and then we portion work; everyone has a task to do and then we report in monthly meetings.

Recent national data from Uganda suggests that since 2000-01, married women's participation in decision making has steadily increased (UBOS, 2018). Similar to Munoz Boudet et al.'s (2012) research in 20 countries, I also observed changes in household cooperation, open dialogue, and even power sharing. Some said that women nowadays were better able to 'speak up' and 'be like men', had become 'dick-headed or 'stubborn' or were 'claiming their rights'. Respondents told me that 'shared decision making' was increasing and that women were increasingly able to make decisions traditionally left to men, such as concerning selling assets. For example, a woman (#034) said:

It is changing in the way that in the past, men once they married a woman they take the woman as an asset; there was also no decision making; anything they say is right but now...there is a good relationship between men and women and women are not looked at as assets.

Similar to other studies showing that women complained about men not meeting their roles (Woodburn, 2003) or had lost respect for their husbands (Vorhölter, 2014), I observed a feeling

of disapproval of men among some women. For example, a woman (#011) said angrily, 'For men, alcohol is taking their time in the afternoon and evening and then in the morning they are too weak to dig or do anything.' Another woman (#007) explained disapprovingly, 'My husband goes to the garden, eats, goes to the centre, I have to do all this care work.' Likewise, a woman (#050) said crossly, 'Men care so little about the family because there is some evil that has come into the world; there is madness among men.'

More than being critical, along with others (e.g. Woodburn, 2003), some of my respondents also said that, these days, women were more likely to have the courage to correct their husbands or argue with them. For example, a woman (#034) said that nowadays, there were some women 'who could even beat their husbands'. Similar to Lundgren et al. (2018), I also find that women were increasingly aware of and used official reporting structures for domestic violence or other types of abuse. Some women I interviewed had reported their husbands to local authorities for a lack of support or violence. As a result, some husbands had 'run away', while others had been punished by community members (usually through beating). Reporting seemed to have mixed results. For example, a woman (#049) said that even though reporting her husband to the local authorities had not increased his work or reduced his alcohol consumption, he had started 'listening' to her: 'Because I report any bad habit, this is why he tends to respect me and listen to me.'

Some also said that women were more likely to leave their husbands than in the past. For example, a man in a focus group (#138) said, 'In the past generation, the man beats the woman with a 'panga' [stick]; the woman can't go anywhere. But now, if you beat, even if you punch, they will go away.' Some respondents even said that living without a husband was advantageous. For example, a woman (#016) said, 'For widows, they are strong because she can do a lot of work, in the garden, business and so on, and she sits down and plans independently.' I interviewed a few women who had left their husbands, mainly because they had been 'cheating', 'stealing', 'drinking alcohol', 'fight[ing], quarrel[ing]' or had not contributed to the household.

In addition to household decision making, some respondents suggested that women were increasingly able to contribute to community decisions. Johnson, Kabuchu and Kayonga (2003) find that the affirmative action clause of the Local Government Act in 1997 has increased the

number of women councillors and has made women's participation in community affairs more acceptable. The women councillors I met were proud of their role and seemed to view themselves as examples of women who had challenged traditional norms. For example, a woman (#042) told me that even though her husband had not initially agreed to her political participation, she had been able to convince him. There was a general consensus that, compared to the past, more women in today's world participated in community decisions. For example, a 16-year-old boy (#143) said, 'It is today that the world is changing and they say that woman can also do things, so they are allowing now women to stay in the meetings.' Hence, there is evidence suggesting that, compared to the past, women make more household and community decisions.

Children's agency

My research and other studies (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014) also find that, as a result of different developments, some children seemed to have gained a new sense of agency. Some said that life in the camps had made children 'disobedient' because of changing teaching practices and exposure to media programs and movies (Vorhölter, 2014). For example, a woman said that in the camps, children had become 'less obedient' because they had been exposed to children whose parents did not teach them 'properly'. Some also said that, in the camps, children in 'gangs' or 'groups' had encouraged each other to disobey their parents. The literature also suggests that the traumatic abduction of children to serve as child soldiers or slaves for the LRA has questioned concepts of childhood and contributed to a loss of a 'sense of normality'. This is likely to have shaped people's relationship with age-based hierarchies, and to have contributed to inter-generational tensions (Cheney, 2007).

Like other research suggesting that formal education can challenge seniority (Montgomery, 2009), my respondents emphasised that educated children were less likely to listen to their parents, especially if their parents were uneducated. For example, an older man (#119) said, 'Maybe they [the parents] believe what they [the children] get from school is more informed than what they know, so they may shy away as parents.' A 17-year-old girl (#001) also told me that she had 'taught her parents' things she had learned at school, such as about farming.

The promotion of children's rights by NGOs and governmental agencies was also said to have challenged former Acholi social hierarchies. For example, Vorhölter (2014) finds that elders disliked that children talked about their rights to education and leisure. Adults, in my research, also described children's rights as a 'new', 'foreign' concept imposed by the 'government' and 'donors', which was making children 'big-headed'. Some said that children's rights discourses had provided children with a tool to challenge adult authority, as expressed by a man (#086):

A child can choose to go far away from home to go and play and the parents might not know where they are going. If you ask, the child says, 'It is my right, I have the right to go and play anywhere I feel like.'

Related to these influences, children were said to have become more likely to challenge adult authority. Similar to Dolan (2002), who finds that elders criticised youth for being 'disrespectful, impatient, extravagant, arrogant' (p. 62), I was often told that children had lost respect for parents and elders, had become 'stubborn', 'disobedient' or 'big-headed'. For example, a man (#096) said: 'My teenage years were full of fear and respect but nowadays, my teenage children are very stubborn, disrespectful, and do not listen to their parents.' Respondents often gave the example of children – especially boys – going to the centre to drink alcohol without their parents' permission.

Interestingly, even children themselves repeated the discourse of children's increased disobedience. For example, a 14-year-old boy said, 'In the past, boys tended to listen to the parents, today they are big-headed.' Likewise, in a focus group (#143), a boy (13-18) said that if he was the local leader he would teach children to 'listen to their parents, they shouldn't be big-headed.'

Some seemed to suggest that, compared to children in the past, children today were less likely to carry out the tasks that their parents assigned to them. Dolan (2002) finds, for instance, that elders criticised youth for being 'fun lovers, ineffective at work, undisciplined' (p. 62). In my research, a man (#096) said, 'I wasn't lazy [as a child]; I did not refuse to do tasks assigned to me by my parents...but now my children cannot do tasks I had done in the past because they are lazy.' A woman in a focus group (#139) complained that children were especially reluctant to do housework, 'Children don't want to do the household work but they want to eat, they want to go to school and also to roam around the centre.'

Generally, boys were described as more 'stubborn' than girls. For example, an 18-year-old girl (#006) explained, 'The boys are stubborn, they don't want to work.' A woman (#036) said that her son had become 'hard' around the age of 16 and only cooked when she 'put pressure on him'. Some adults even said that older sons used violence or threats against their parents. For instance, a woman in a focus group (#139) said that from 14 years boys 'knock our heads'. Likewise, a man (#107) said about his son: 'This youth, they know how to box. I cannot do anything; he can easily punish me.' This suggests that different drivers of change seemed to have provided children with new tools for challenging adult authority in general and regarding work in particular.

To conclude, this sub-section argued that the different drivers of change described in section 5.1 have created new opportunities for some women and children to challenge social hierarchies. This can create scope for gender norms to change. Hayward (1998), building on the Foucauldian concept of power, claims that social norms shift if marginalised groups gain the capacity to negotiate social norms. Norms are also more likely to shift if people in powerful positions lose power (Young, 2007; Mackie et al., 2012). But, as sections 3.3.1, 4.1 and 5.2.5 show, norms that reinforce power imbalances remain powerful and gender hierarchies persist. Further, as argued in Chapter 4, being able to choose does not necessarily mean that care work norms will be challenged. Even though agency can potentially constitute a force of change, 'it is equally important for understanding social continuity' (Huijsmans et al., 2014, p. 168).

5.3.2 Awareness

Chapter 4 argued that cultural beliefs contribute to internalising dominant care work norms, while exposure to alternative ways of behaving can encourage deviating from these norms. I find that related to the drivers of change described in section 5.1, 'old' cultural influences have become less important, while 'new' influences have increased awareness of alternative gender roles and relations.

My respondents often used the terms 'old culture' and 'new culture' to contrast current ways of living with life in the past. The 'old culture' was associated with a 'traditional Acholi way of life', cultural leaders, Acholi spirituality, rituals and the pre-war period or vaguely defined distant 'past'. The 'new culture' was 'modern', post-war and associated with formal education,

‘western’ influences and economic progress. It was closely related to ‘development’ – described as ‘doing business’, ‘pushing lives’ or ‘upgrading families’. ‘Development’ was often described as opposed to Acholi culture. For instance, a 16-year-old boy (#065) said that today people ‘are so much into the development, very few now look into the culture.’ Most people talked positively about ‘development’; for example, a man (#099) said, ‘Development is a positive social change, is a social change towards the betterment of lives of our people.’⁵²

Gender is often debated in these tensions between ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ (Vorhölter, 2014). Even though the academic literature tends to be critical of associations between gender and modernity (e.g. Phillips, 2018), I find, like Mehus et al. (2018), that in northern Uganda, gender hierarchies were perceived to be part of the ‘traditional perspective’, while gender equality and sharing parenting roles was considered part of the ‘modern perspective’.

‘Old’ influences

I find evidence suggesting that Acholi cultural influence was diminishing. First, similar to other research (e.g. El-Bushra & Sahl, 2005), I find that the influence of cultural leaders had declined. As shown in Chapter 2, traditionally, clans (‘kara’) were ruled by a head (‘muku’), while chiefdoms (collections of clans) were ruled by a king (‘rwot’). Even though these structures were still in place, respondents told me that people preferred to turn to local councillors – introduced by President Museveni during the war⁵³ – for advice. I was also told that the influence of cultural leaders had diminished since many elders had died during the war or had gone into exile. Further, some said that the rise of formal education and global capitalism had undermined cultural leadership. For example, a man in a focus group (#138) said that because of education people now ‘underlook at the cultural leaders and the culture,’ and another man added, ‘They

⁵² The terms ‘tradition’, ‘modernity’ and ‘development’ have been criticised for being western-centred and creating a false dichotomy (Knauff, 2002; Vorhölter, 2014). I follow others (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014) to focus on emic discourses, i.e. describing ‘modernity’ and ‘tradition’ the way they are understood by the people in the research context. Notions of being and becoming modern are not simply an academic projection but exist in everyday lives of individuals across the world (Knauff, 2002). Similar to Vorhölter (2014), I find that while the dichotomy of modernity and tradition is often deconstructed in academia, people in northern Uganda tended to describe the two as dualistic. However, I am aware that modernisation may be a ‘myth’, which provides ‘categories and premises that continue to shape people’s experiences and interpretations of their lives’, but does not represent the reality of African countries (Ferguson, 1994, p. 14).

⁵³ LC1 for village; LC2 for parish; LC3 for sub-county; LC4 for municipality; and LC5 for district level (Finnström, 2008).

used to respect the hierarchy of the community but now they only see money.’ The declining influence of cultural leadership is expressed most clearly by the story of the elderly area chief, Oceng Samuel (#119):

When I first saw the house of Oceng Samuel, I thought we had taken the wrong turn and gone to a government building instead. His house looked modern, brick-built, with several rooms, electricity and modern furniture. He later explained that the house was indeed provided by the government.

He had lived in exile most of his life. Under Amin’s regime, he had lived in Sudan for nine years, and during the civil war, he had lived in a European country for 30 years. He had only returned to Uganda in 2013. His children were still in Europe. He and his wife had European passports and went back to Europe twice a year for medical check-ups.

He talked passionately about the past, the time when Acholi leaders were powerful and when people followed Acholi culture. He told me that the ‘cultural objects’ traditionally used for rituals had been destroyed during the war: ‘During the war, they were all destroyed, the drums, spears, plates and very many things.’ He also said that people did not respect him the way they had respected his father, the former area chief:

‘Nowadays, if I am to come and talk to the public, they will not honour me and respect me. They will not want to listen to my concern because they will think it is past issues, they will want to listen more to the politicians because they speak current things.’

The story of Oceng Samuel highlights that the influence of cultural leaders was declining and points to ‘new influences’, such as government structures and international migration.

Respondents also told me that cultural values and practices were becoming less important. For example, in a focus group (#148), a cultural leader stood up and said passionately: ‘Traditions and values of Acholi were all washed away’, and another man agreed: ‘We have left all our traditions.’ Moreover, I find that the cultural practice of *wango-o* teaching around the fireplace (see section 4.2.1) was said to have declined. In a focus group (#139), out of about 40 participants only 2 said that they still carried out *wango-o*. Similar to others (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014), I find that participants were nostalgic about the decline of *wango-o*, and usually saw its waning as a result of the war (Finnström, 2008). They said that *wango-o* had stopped during the war because ‘this would expose you to the rebels’ (man, #082) or because ‘people had to hide in the bush’ (man, #138).

Some also said that *wango-o* was not practised anymore because of alcohol consumption. For example, in a focus group (#138), a man explained, ‘The men spend much time drinking at the centre, even the children drink. Instead of staying at the *wango-o*, they go to the bar.’ Further,

some respondents suggested that because of new cultural influences (e.g. western TV programmes, leisure activities), young people were not interested in traditional practices, including *wango-o*. For example, a man in a focus group (#138) said, 'Whenever I call the child [for *wango-o*], the child will tell me you are coming with your old age.' Declining traditional teaching practices meant that children were taught less about 'the knowledge from the past', 'culture' and 'respect'.

Chapter 4 showed that cultural leaders, cultural beliefs and traditional ways of teaching children (e.g. *wango-o*) can contribute to the internalisation of care work norms as 'normal', 'natural' and part of 'doxa' – the universe of the undiscussed. Weakening cultural influences might, thus, make internalisation of care work norms less likely. In a context where people are forced to 'rethink the very foundation of their existence' (Finnström, 2008, p. 171), traditional beliefs and norms might be subject to analysis and debate.

'New' influences

At the same time as 'old' influences seemed to lose importance, 'new influences' seemed to become more powerful. I find that the drivers of change described in section 5.1 may expose individuals to alternative ways of living in general, with particular implications for care work norms.

As shown in section 4.2, formal education can increase awareness of alternatives to gender norms and encourage men to take a more active role in caregiving. I was often told that since education had increased, the sharing of tasks had increased too. For example, in a focus group (#138), a man explained, 'Nowadays, people are sharing the cooking' because 'they have been teaching us to share responsibilities.' In another focus group (#139), a man explained, 'In the past, it was the woman to cook but now, being educated, both men and women can share the household work. Even a man can go and fetch firewood, cook.' Similarly, a man (#112) said that people in the past 'were backward; they did not realise because many of them were not educated. Now they are educated and they realise they should work together.' An 18-year-old, unmarried boy (#067) also expressed that education was changing gender roles: 'These days, they are doing development at school; they know a lot. Me I am doing my education, in some years, if I have a wife, I will say I should also assist her.'

A large number of NGO training sessions on gender can also increase awareness of alternatives and encourage non-normative divisions of unpaid care work (see section 4.2). For example, a woman (#045) said that NGOs were changing Acholi culture and the gender division of labour, 'These days, the culture is being wiped out slowly, slowly. This is why the boys can cook...through this knowledge, NGOs, education, people are getting to know and trying to change the way of life.' Likewise, a man in a focus group (#138) said, 'In the last generation, there was no teaching of the boys to do unpaid care work, but nowadays NGOs are teaching how to share.' Similarly, a woman (#034) explained that NGOs had 'taught people on how to share responsibilities and roles and they created awareness on all human beings are equal, all human beings have their rights.'

'Western' influences were also said to have increased awareness of more gender-equal divisions of labour. Some described sharing unpaid care work as a 'western' concept brought from the 'Whites'. For example, a man (#085) said, 'This kind of responsibility came from the western world, the white men.' A woman (#013) explained that gender relations were changing because: 'We are just trying to copy the culture from people from outside.' Similarly, a 16-year-old boy (#143) explained: 'The colonialist, they came with their culture from there, people usually call it the western culture; it started back then in the 1980s back there; it [the gender division of labour] started changing.'

Declining 'old cultural influences', combined with the increasing importance of 'new influences' can increase awareness of alternative behaviours and of the arbitrary nature of social norms. When alternatives are available, people might realise that norms are socially constructed (Agarwal, 1997) and that if they challenged norms they would not be acting alone (Bicchieri, 2017). This might mean that norms move from 'doxa', where only one interpretation of culture is possible, to becoming 'discourse', where competing interpretations are possible (Bourdieu, 1972). Shifts in awareness of alternative ways of dividing unpaid care work can, therefore, be argued to create scope for change in care work norms. However, as shown in Chapter 4, awareness does not necessarily encourage individuals to challenge norms. Changing 'sticky' norms requires more than an awareness that some people do not conform; it requires a 'critical mass' of people to change their behaviour (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

5.3.3 Advantage

Chapter 4 showed that individuals are more likely to deviate from social norms if this is to their advantage. Related to the drivers of change described in section 5.1, I observed three emerging discourses that presented male participation in unpaid care work as advantageous.

Modern

First, some people described sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives as ‘modern’, which was generally perceived to be positive, as it was associated with ‘western wealth’ and ‘development’ (see section 5.1.5 and Vorhölter, 2014). I was often told that ‘modern couples’ shared unpaid care work more equally and that male participation in unpaid care work was a prerequisite for being ‘modern’. For example, a woman (#044) explained:

Because there is civilisation coming in, the husband doesn’t want to remain backwards; moving forward for him, this is why most times he comes in to do this and that, to leave the old style of living and adopt the new one to achieve development...I have to work hard, share responsibilities with my wife in order to move forward, achieve something; but if he stayed back in the dark he will not reach there.

The quote clearly highlights advantages of the ‘new culture’ (‘moving forward’, ‘to achieve development’, ‘achieve something’, ‘reach there’), as opposed to the ‘old culture’ (‘backwards’, ‘back in the dark’) and describes ‘sharing responsibilities’ as part of being ‘modern’.

The two couples who divided unpaid care work more equally than others, described in Chapter 4, also made references to ‘development’ and ‘modern influences’ when explaining why they shared work:

Okullu Ronald explained that people who had received ‘modern information’ were more likely to share decision making and household tasks than those who had not: ‘If you don’t have information it means you are in a cage.’ His wife, Akello Faith explained: ‘Because of development...this is why husband and wife come together.’

Otim John also emphasised that he was doing unpaid care work to achieve ‘development’ and ‘progress’ and because he had ‘more knowledge on how life should be’ than other men he knew. His wife, Ayaa Lydia, agreed that her husband was more ‘modern’ and ‘exposed’ than other men in the village because he had travelled to Sudan and had lived in Entebbe for some years.

One could argue that the association between male unpaid care work and being 'modern' created a new benefit for challenging dominant care work norms, namely improving men's feeling of self-esteem or self-worth where they perceive themselves as 'modern'.

Financially beneficial

Further, some couples emphasised that they shared unpaid care work because this was financially beneficial for them. Like Vorhölter (2014), I find that some individuals perceived gender equality to be necessary to achieve 'western wealth'. Some respondents said that sharing unpaid care work and market-oriented work between husband and wife was more 'efficient' and created space for women to earn more income. For example, a man (#076) said, 'When we work together, the work will not take the same amount of time that it would normally have taken.'

Some people believed that sharing unpaid care work increased family income and led to 'development', 'progress' and 'growth' of the family. For example, a man (#077) said that sharing unpaid care work 'could bring something to the development of the family'; another man (#106) explained, 'If the man is responsible enough he will cook; everyone can see that the family is progressing.' Likewise, a man (#110) said, 'When you feel that your family should grow or move forwards you join hands.' Often, respondents linked sharing work to having a 'vision' or a 'plan'. For example, a man (#079) said that he shared work with his wife because 'I am looking at the future, I have a goal, a vision for the future.'

Raising money was particularly important to provide for children, especially paying school fees. For example, a man (#092) said, 'We decided to work together to raise money for the school fees and also to take care of the children at home, medication, clothes.' A woman (#036) said that she did not convince her husband to do unpaid care work, but that he started doing more of it because 'he is just using his vision to see how the children are progressing.' A man (#112) explained, 'After the camps when they came back home, they realised that education is good. This is when the man and the wife started to work together.'

Generally, people agreed that the insight that sharing work was financially beneficial was 'new.' For example, a woman (#028) suggested:

In the past, men used to think that their job was just herding cattle, and they would also see that the woman all they needed to do is cook and collect water, but nowadays, they are seeing that if they are doing everything together it will help the home. This is why they combine to do it together.

Some said that because of 'development' workloads had increased, which made working together even more important. For example, a man (#114) said that because 'development is coming in, you don't just cultivate in one garden, you cultivate in many plots, so you cannot just leave this unpaid care work for the women.'

The two couples who shared unpaid care work more equally, described above, expressed especially strong views about sharing work as a prerequisite for 'progress'. Interestingly, both couples said that their way of dividing work had led to financial success:

Otim John said: 'By sharing work, we are moving forward, we see that our home is okay. As a family where you have children who are going to school, work is a lot, it doesn't hurt to help the woman.' Compared to another man who did not share care tasks, Otim John emphasised that he had a 'plan', he explained, 'This little money you have, don't use it for alcohol but buy school uniforms because development, these days, if you mix it with alcohol it will never come.'

Similarly, Akello Faith and Okullu Ronald related their habit of sharing work to their intention to 'develop the home.' Akello Faith explained: 'In ways of combining work as a team, you move somewhere. This is how development is linked to sharing tasks.' Her husband, Okullu Ronald said that he had an 'objective in life to move somewhere' and that sharing unpaid care work meant that 'things will be done much better.'

It seemed like their approach was successful. When I returned to these two families in 2017, I was struck by the changes in their living arrangements and circumstances. Okullu Ronald and Akello Faith had moved to a new place (permanent building, water on the compound, electricity). Akello Faith had started work as a nursery school teacher and Okullu Ronald was pursuing a university degree. They both wore new and modern clothes.

Ayaa Lydia and Otim John were in the process of building a brick-built house, had built a new kitchen hut, had two new cows, were keeping pigeons for sale and had bought a solar panel for light. Otim John explained proudly, 'Last year, we cultivated a lot of simsim [sesame] and this year, we are using this money for cultivation; this is development.'

Interestingly, both couples told me that because of their financial success, others had started to accept their division of labour. When I interviewed them in 2014, they said that community members were very critical of their division of work (see section 4.2.2). But when I interviewed them again in 2017, they told me that community criticism had reduced.

For example, Otim John said: 'People are seeing me as an example because we are having progress in our family...Everyone starts everyone else's journey. The first person

to do something is the example to the others; so people got knowledge from seeing me; now people go with their wives and they work together...it used not to happen, but they are now changing.'

His wife, Ayaa Lydia, confirmed: 'They are adopting our way of life. People are not critical anymore because they know what I was doing was good...because they were seeing that the problems that they would get, this family would not be facing. Here we work together but for them, they don't raise enough money, they don't get a good harvest.'

In interviews with other village members, I also observed that they talked more positively about the couples' divisions of labour in 2017, compared to 2014. For example, a woman (#046) said, 'Otim John, I have seen him cooking even in the presence of the wife...It is very good because it lessens tasks on the other person and it makes things move.'

One could argue that the perceived financial and economic benefits of sharing work, along with a reduction in community sanctions, have made male participation in unpaid care work more advantageous for some. Observing families sharing care and market-oriented work and doing well financially could be considered a 'living proof that new norms can lead to positive outcomes' (Marcus & Harper, 2014, p. 25).

Equipment

Lastly, as shown in Chapter 3, masculinity was associated with the use of big tools and equipment. New types of tools or equipment for carrying out unpaid care work might thus attach a more 'masculine flavour' to care (Samman et al., 2016) and make it more acceptable for men and older boys. As the focus group drawings in Figure 21 show, boys tended to give their care work a 'masculine flavour' by emphasising the tools they used for care activities in their drawings. For example, while most girls drew themselves carrying jerry cans on their heads, most boys drew the tool (the pump) for fetching water. Boys also tended to draw much bigger brooms than girls (in the third drawing, the broom looks almost like a weapon).

Figure 21: Drawings of fetching water and sweeping



Notes: Drawings of fetching water (first, second) and sweeping (third, fourth) by a 14-year-old boy (first), a 12-year-old girl (second), a 12-year-old boy (third) and a 12-year-old girl (fourth)

Several respondents emphasised that the increasing availability of bicycles had made it possible for men to fetch water. Even though I saw some women and girls cycling, bicycles seemed to be mostly used by men and boys. This might be linked to attitudes around feminine positions and ways of dressing (such as expectations to wear skirts or dresses) (Ahaibwe et al., 2018).

Generally, bicycles were said to be a ‘new’ development. For example, a woman in a focus group (#138) said, ‘The new generation has learned how to use bicycles.’

In a focus group (#138), respondents said that more men fetched water these days because they had bicycles; for example, a man said, ‘Now, bicycles are there, so we can help.’ In interviews, some boys, not girls, also specifically told me that they fetched water with a bicycle. 54% (199, N=368) of households interviewed in the quantitative survey owned a bicycle. Table 48 shows that having a bicycle is associated with men spending more time on water collection.

Table 48: Association between owning a bicycle and men's water collection hours (per day)

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE
	Men's primary water hours
Bicycle	0.065** (0.030)
N	334
Adjusted R-squared	0.036

Notes: OLS with robust standard errors; 2015 adults' survey; standard errors in parentheses; * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$; controls for education (women, men), age (women, men), household wealth, number of children under four; 'bicycle' takes the value 'one' if household owns a bicycle

Some people also said that grinding mills made it more acceptable for men to 'help with grinding.' For example, a man in a focus group (#138) said, 'In the past, the women used grindings stones, now they go to the grinding mills...some men can go too.' A man (#099) explained:

With the current development, you can see, women used to grind using grinding stones and now there are grinding machines for simsim and groundnut paste, for maize flour and the rest of it; and there, when you go you find the men, so grinding is not the work of the women, it is the work of all.

The findings are consistent with other literature (e.g. World Bank, 2011) showing that technological change has the potential to shift gender norms by creating new opportunities for women and men. It seemed like the increasing availability of 'manly' equipment made it more socially acceptable for men to do certain types of unpaid care work. This was further supported by the fact that no one mentioned sanctions for men who fetched water with a bicycle or ground nuts with a grinding mill. If tools decrease the sanctions that men face for participation in unpaid care work, engaging in these activities may be more advantageous for men.

If people gain less from compliance and have less to lose from non-compliance, social norms might become less powerful (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). For social norms to change, people must have reasons to change, such as realising that a particular practice is harmful and that there are better ways to behave (Bicchieri, 2017). One could argue that the emerging discourses of sharing work as 'modern', 'financially beneficial' and acceptable if carried out with equipment, provide a reason to change; they might even promote messages of a 'win-win'

situation, which makes a change in social norms more likely (Klasen, 2017). However, not everyone agreed that sharing unpaid care work was beneficial, and sanctions for non-compliance and rewards for compliance with prevailing care work norms, described in section 4.3.1, remained important for many people.

5.3.4 Behaviour and personal beliefs

Related to the perceived changes in agency, awareness and advantage, I find some evidence suggesting that behaviour and personal normative beliefs were becoming more gender-equal for some. As discussed in the previous sections, some respondents told me that the number of men who took more active roles in unpaid care work had increased in the last years. For example, a man (#074) said, 'Women are somehow entering men's work and men are entering women's work.' Similarly, a man (#086) said, 'In the past generations, men don't cook, women also, they used not to dig, they only weed, among others. There are very many changes now.' An older man (#120) explained, 'Those days, men used not to cook, but these days men can cook.'

The survey analysis suggests that unpaid care work was more equally shared in 2015, compared to 2014. 124 households were interviewed in both the 2014 and the 2015 survey. In 2014, women from these households spent 7.79 hours a day (SD= 7.19, MIN=7, MAX=23) more on any care work than their husbands, which is significantly more than the reported gender difference in 2015, namely 5.94 hours (SD=6.07, MIN=-8, MAX=22).⁵⁴

Further, as the analysis in the previous sections suggested, some respondents said that male participation in unpaid care work had become more acceptable in recent years. For instance, a woman (#034) described a gender-unequal division of unpaid care work as a 'mind-set of the past'. Another woman (#028) said, 'In the past, all they [men] thought about doing was herding cattle, going to the garden, but now the time has changed, they believe that whatever you do at home helps everyone...this is why people now share.' A 16-year-old boy (#065) also said that, 'There are other men that accept cooking now.' For children, a man (#093) proposed, 'Formerly,

⁵⁴ In 2014, women reported spending, on average, 12.14 hours a day (SD=7.95, MIN=0, MAX=23, N=124) on any care, and their husbands 4.35 hours (SD=7.25, MIN=0, MAX=23, N=124). In 2015, the same women reported 11.80 hours a day (SD=7.63, MIN=1, MAX=24, N=124) and their husbands 5.86 hours a day (7.22, MIN=0, MAX=24, N=124) spent on unpaid care work. Given the small sample size and the risk of social desirability bias (especially when participating in the survey for a second time), these findings need to be interpreted with caution.

in the culture, it was believed that the girls were supposed to do all this cooking, fetching water and those kind of thing...But these days, the issue is coming in, we are talking of women's emancipation.'

Like a recent OECD study in Uganda (OECD, 2015), the survey suggests that respondents, generally, expressed positive views about sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives: the large majority of respondents personally approved of a vignette describing a shared division of unpaid care work (see Table 49). But, similar to the OECD study, I find that people were less likely to believe that community members would approve of sharing unpaid care work.

Table 49: Difference between approval of and beliefs in others' approval of male care

	Approval of male care	Beliefs in others' approval of male care	N
Women	93% (344)	46% (168)***	368
Men	79% (292)	43% (159)***	368
Girls	97% (247)	57% (145)***	255
Boys	96% (260)	58% (158)***	272

*Notes: 2015 adults' survey and 2015 children's survey (not merged); * $p < 0.1$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$*

The 2017 survey also finds that men were strongly significantly more likely to say that they personally approved of men's participation in unpaid care work than that other men in their village would approve. It is hard to know whether some kind of interviewer-related social desirability bias might have led people to describe themselves as more open-minded than their fellow community members. However, even if this might have played a role, the large differences between personal views and beliefs about community members are still interesting.

The findings could potentially be an indication that there is a situation of 'pluralistic ignorance' where people wrongly assume that others endorse a social norm (Bicchieri, 2017).⁵⁵ Social norms that are based on 'pluralistic ignorance' are comparatively easy to change. Showing people that others behave differently and think that one should behave differently can update

⁵⁵ This is confirmed by the 2017 survey finding that respondents underestimated the number of men in their community who engaged in unpaid care work. Respondents estimated on average that 2.6 out of 5 men in their community said that they spent at least an hour on care work the day before the interview, but 4.5 out of 5 men reported having spent at least an hour on unpaid care work. This difference is strongly significant.

empirical and normative expectations and shift social norms (ibid.). Norms are defined as beliefs about others' behaviour and personal beliefs and are enacted through everyday interaction. It follows that if people's behaviours and personal beliefs change, norms are likely to shift, too.

5.3.5 Intergenerational differences

Lastly, young people seemed generally more positive about change in gender norms than older people, which may create opportunities for change in the future. Similar to others (e.g. Munoz Boudet et al., 2012), I find that children had more progressive views about gender equality than their parents. The survey data shows that strongly significantly fewer fathers than sons or daughters approved of a vignette describing a couple that shared unpaid care work between husband and wife. Fathers were also marginally significantly less likely to believe that the community would approve of men's participation in care work than their sons, and mothers were significantly less likely to believe in community approval than their sons.

Table 50: Difference between parents' and children's beliefs related to male care

	Women	Men	Girls	Boys
Approval of male care	94% (335)	85% (304)	97% (164)	96% (178)
Beliefs in others' approval of male care	46% (164)	47% (167)	53% (89)	58% (108)
N	365	356	169	187

Notes: 2015 adults' and children's survey (merged)

Further, 85% of boys (130, N=272) and 88% of girls (225, N=255) said that they would like to share unpaid care work equally between husband and wife in their future family. Most girls said that, in the future, they would like to have a formal job, mostly doctor or teacher, while only 1% of girls (2, N=252) (and no boys) said that they would like to be a stay-at-home parent. In interviews, no girl chose 'housewife' as their desired future occupation, instead, they expressed aspirations to become a teacher, doctor, nurse, nun, tailor or policewoman.

The qualitative findings also find more positive views about gender equality among younger people. Older men often said that they were 'too old' to do unpaid care work. For example, a man in his 50ies (#104) said, 'Me as the head of the family and someone who is old, I cannot jump to the kitchen and cook.' Another man in his 50ies (#107) said that he did not help his wife with unpaid care work because: 'I am now old.'

At the same time, people said that young men and boys were more likely to follow a gender-equal division of labour. For example, a man in his 50ies (#107) reckoned, 'Maybe it will happen with the young ones, they may change. But for us, the old men, to go and bend and cook, it will be a great shame.' Similarly, a woman in her 50ies (#044) explained,

During our days, when we were still young, those families would not accept boys to cook. This is why these people grew up with this mindset, and they don't want to change, the old men, but at least now, the young ones are picking up, the boys can also cook.

Younger people also usually talked most positively about 'development' and 'change' and saw gender equality as a part of being 'modern' (see section 5.3.3). Two teenage boys stood out for their engagement in unpaid care work and positive views about gender equality and social change:

Owot Adrian, 16 years

Owot Adrian's mother was not only doing most unpaid care work but also most market-oriented work because her husband, Odoc Matthew whose story I told in section 5.2.1, was an alcoholic. When I interviewed Owot Adrian (#065), his two older brothers were at the centre. His 26-year-old sister (#015) told me that they had copied the stepfather with drinking alcohol but that Owot Adrian was different: he worked the most out of all the siblings. His mother told me proudly, 'Even if I am at home, he can cook, weed and support me in all the household tasks.' Owot Adrian also listed cooking, doing the dishes and cleaning as his daily activities.

More than other children I interviewed, he emphasised the importance of supporting his family, for example, saying: 'I work hard because I want to learn so that I can be strong in the future.' Owot Adrian explained his behaviour with references to 'modern' developments. For example, he said that due to NGO interventions and new technologies, nowadays 'there are men that accept cooking ... a man cannot just sit and look at those things when he is at home and wait for the woman to come back home.' He also said that young people were critical of traditional Acholi culture because 'there are new developments, new things.'

Akera Jackson, 16 years

Akera Jackson's parents followed a traditional division of labour. For example, his father said that he only did unpaid care work 'in the absence of others' because 'I feel I am not used to doing it and I am not supposed to do it...it is the culture' (#086).

But Akera Jackson expressed different views. In a focus group (#143), he drew cooking as one of his daily activities and when I talked to him during spot phone calls, he usually mentioned unpaid care work activities; for example, he said, 'At times, the task becomes so much for the mother that I feel I should help her by doing some small things' (#159).

He related gender-equal sharing of unpaid care work to being ‘modern’(#143): ‘In African traditional society, work is categorised according to age and sex...in the past, our fathers, boys were not allowed to cook because that one was especially for girls. But these days, the world is changing; everyone can do anything; nowadays, even the boys can cook...it is just the modern time that with the development, people are trying to be the same, the work is done together.’

He related this change to colonialism, ‘western’ influences and education, ‘The colonialist, they came with their culture from there, people usually call it the ‘western culture’ ...We were told that from our school, from the Europeans there, everyone worked equally. They came here, they started changing the African culture. Our culture is not like that one of the past. People are changing now.’ He was positive about these changes: ‘It is not a bad thing...change is a process of life.’

Both boys had more positive views about gender equality and sharing unpaid care work than their parents. They both perceived gender equality to be part of ‘modernisation’ and ‘development’. Children may become more conservative and display more traditional attitudes and behaviours as they grow older. Yet, the generational differences in views about men’s participation in unpaid care work can potentially widen the scope for change in gender norms in the future, i.e. when the current generation of children start their own families.

To conclude, this section argued that, related to different drivers of change (see section 5.3.1), the factors determining whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms – agency, awareness, advantage – seem to be shifting. Some people have adopted more gender-equal divisions of unpaid care work, and this has become more socially acceptable. Younger people seemed particularly positive about change and gender equality. These developments and opportunities can be interpreted as creating scope for change in care work norms. If material conditions, individual aspirations, assets, capacities and processes of negotiation at the household level change, gender norms may shift, too (Harris, 2012; Petesch, 2013).

The analysis is consistent with the literature (e.g. Watson, 2014) suggesting that drivers of change tend to have ‘dialectical effects’, both reinforcing norms (section 5.2) and enabling change (section 5.3). For some, care work norms seemed to have gained new value and importance, while for others, new influences and modes of living seemed to have weakened traditional gender roles. The following section reconciles the findings on continuity and change, arguing that, rather than radically changing, care work norms are relaxing and bending.

5.4 Relaxation of care work norms

It has increasingly been recognised that to understand social norms change, it is important to distinguish between different degrees and types of change. I follow Munoz Boudet et al.'s (2012) distinction between 'radical change' and 'relaxation' of gender norms.

5.4.1 Radical change

Munoz Boudet et al. (2012) define a 'radical change' in gender norms as a situation where both men and women report significant shifts in gender roles or gender power relations. Radical change would mean that not only personal attitudes and practices change (see section 5.3.4), but also beliefs about others' behaviour (empirical expectations) and others' views (normative expectations). This is likely to require ideological change, too. As Chapter 3 showed, ideologies and norms are closely related, and ideologies often provide an explanation or justification for the existence of social norms.

I did not observe such radical change in care work norms. Chapter 3 demonstrated that social norms around the division of labour exert a powerful influence on people's behaviour and are deeply embedded in social life. Section 5.2 argued that ideologies related to care work norms remain strong. Even those people who divide unpaid care work more equally still tend to describe the division of unpaid care work in idealised terms, for example, portraying male participation in care as 'helping their wives'. Section 5.3.4 showed that, even though most respondents expressed positive views about sharing unpaid care work between husbands and wives, they were less likely to believe that community members would approve. All of this suggests that prevailing care work norms are still important and are definitely not 'broken fully' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012).

5.4.2 Relaxation

Munoz Boudet et al. (2012) suggest that a 'relaxation' of gender norms means that day-to-day practices and attitudes shift and the 'normative frameworks associated with gender' are modified, even if underlying ideologies remain strong. They build their definition of 'relaxation' on Scott's (1985) idea of less visible forms of resistance and West and Zimmerman's (1987) conceptualisation of gender as a 'performance'. In his seminal book 'Weapons of the Weak',

Scott argued that peasant and slave societies did not respond to domination with observable acts of rebellion but with forms of cultural resistance and non-cooperation. As discussed in Chapter 1, West and Zimmerman's (1987) coin the idea that we 'do gender' through daily interactions. Building on these ideas, Munoz Boudet et al. (2012) argue that a relaxation of gender norms can happen through subtle, sometimes invisible shifts in everyday action. This can mean that individuals challenge gender norms, but their actions are not recognised as ideologically legitimate. While people may assume new roles and responsibilities, they are not 'setting new standards' (ibid.).

In line with this definition, I find that, in northern Uganda, dominant care work norms were 'contested, bent, and relaxed' through everyday interactions and 'less visible' or 'passive' forms of resistance. Even though ideologies of the male breadwinner and the female carers remained strong (see section 5.2.5), some people said that that practices and attitudes related to the division of labour were becoming more gender-equal (see section 5.3.4). I find that despite the 'persistence of gender', some people had 'shifted their daily schedules' to allow for male participation in unpaid care work (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012, p. 52). These shifts are not necessarily the result of conflict but rather 'slowly and sometimes inadvertently creeping into the everyday lives of the people' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012, p. 50). New practices, attitudes and norms coexist with old practices, attitudes and norms in the same households and communities. Individuals navigate between taking advantage of 'new' opportunities and tending to 'old' duties in their households.

Like Munoz Boudet et al. (2012), I find that these subtle shifts and modifications did not necessarily challenge prevailing ideologies. Section 5.3.3 showed that emerging discourses of sharing unpaid care work as 'modern' and 'financially beneficial' managed to challenge dominant care work norms without attacking underlying ideologies of masculinity. Rather than questioning ideals of men as 'household heads' and 'providers', men did unpaid care work to support the family, to be 'modern', 'powerful' or to generate more income, which ultimately means fulfilling their normative roles as respectful and powerful family heads and providers. These discourses managed to integrate participation in unpaid care work within 'hegemonic masculinity' by giving unpaid care work a 'masculine flavour' (Samman et al., 2016). Rather than overthrowing the patriarchal system, one could argue that some people challenged it from

within. They maintained ideas of males as inherently superior but incorporated gender-equal norms and practices within male domination.

Thus, one could argue that care work norms are not radically changing, but they are relaxing and bending. People find creative ways to adjust norms, roles and behaviours in the context of powerful ideologies defining what it means to be male and female. These day-to-day activities that quietly resist norms might not cause complete change but are still important because, over time, they can shift norms. If a critical mass of people changes their behaviour, a 'tipping point' might be reached and gender norms will change (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter argued that the war, the rise of formal education, policies, programmes and 'western' influences have introduced new ways of thinking about gender that are criticised by some and taken up by others. A 'crisis of masculinity', gender-based violence, alcohol consumption, men's fear of losing power and strong gender ideologies can hinder change in care work norms.

At the same time, I argued that the factors determining whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms described in Chapter 4 – agency, awareness, advantage – are perceived to be shifting. Women and children have gained new opportunities to challenge men's authority; there is increased awareness of alternatives to the traditional division of the labour; and some saw gender equality in unpaid care work as beneficial. One could argue that the social drivers of change have created a 'crisis phase' – referring to a situation where socio-economic changes reveal the systematic contradiction of a gender order and lead to questioning the 'fundamental, implicit assumptions behind arrangements between women and men' (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 286).

Given these tensions between change and continuity, I find that, rather than radically changing, care work norms seemed to be relaxing and bending. Even though ideologies about what it means to be male or female remain important, some people had 'shifted their daily schedules' (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012) and framed male participation in unpaid care work in a way that left ideologies of masculinity untouched. One could argue that there was a contradiction between

the ideologies women and men formally held on to and the everyday adjustments they made to these norms. Rather than publicly rebelling against norms, some people resisted norms in subtle and little visible ways (Scott, 1985).

Even though this means that the re-evaluation 'that would make women and men truly equal has not yet occurred' (Lorber, 2000, p. 80), a relaxation of norms can be the first step towards more fundamental shifts. Like Munoz Boudet et al. (2012), I find that 'a window to aspire to a different life' has opened up (p. 72). Changes are happening. But whether or not this will lead to more fundamental shifts depends on the on 'the local opportunity structure' for women and men, including, for instance, resources, policies, laws, and education and employment opportunities (Petesch, 2013). The last chapter of this thesis brings together the findings from the previous chapters and speculates about change in care work norms in the years to come.

6 Conclusion and discussion

This thesis investigated social norms related to the division of unpaid care work in the context of social change in northern Uganda. I argued that social norms are an important determinant of gender- and age-based participation in unpaid care work. Females are generally expected to do more unpaid care work than males, and boys more than men. I showed that these care work norms are embedded in, and reinforced by, a variety of related norms and ideologies.

Drawing on social norms theory and gender theory, I argued that three factors shape whether individuals comply with, or deviate from, dominant care work norms. Individuals are more likely to deviate from norms if they are (1) able to choose otherwise (agency); (2) know otherwise (awareness), and if (3) choosing otherwise is beneficial for them (advantage).

In the specific context where the war, the rise of formal education, 'western' influence, gender policies and interventions have created a feeling of social change, care work norms are debated within the tensions between 'tradition' and 'modernity'. I argued that, even though, some factors reinforce care work norms, shifts in agency, awareness and advantage expand the scope for change. Rather than radically changing, care work norms are relaxing and bending. Whether care work norms will transform more radically will depend on the development of the region, policies and opportunities in the years to come.

Unpaid care work, related norms and drivers of change are very much context-specific (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Even though the findings cannot be generalised and applied to other settings, the research has some methodological, theoretical and policy implications.

6.1 Methodological implications

Keeping the methodological constraints discussed in Chapter 2 in mind, the research generated some new insights into how to measure unpaid care work and social norms. First, taking a mixed-methods approach helped to better understand the complex phenomena of social norms and gender- and age-based roles. Studies on time use tend to be quantitative, while qualitative or mixed-methods studies are less common (Vogler et al., 2009). The quantitative methods were useful for getting a more representative sample and for looking at correlations of time use, norms and other factors. The qualitative methods were able to fill the gaps of the quantitative

methodology, for example by shedding light on effort and intensity of work and on activities that might have been under-reported in the surveys (Budlender, 2008). Similar to others (e.g. Floro, 1995), I found participant observation very useful for understanding the 'quick tasks' that children did – such as getting a chair, pouring water for washing hands or changing siblings' clothes – which were not recorded in other time-use measures.

Further, the research generated some insights for quantitatively measuring unpaid care work. The one-day recall was innovative, as it did not only ask for primary and secondary activities, but also for whether respondents were responsible for supervising dependent adults and children for each hour of the day. I found this approach useful for highlighting the full extent of women's unpaid care work. For example, even though women reported, on average, only about four hours a day of primary unpaid care work, they reported about 13 hours per day of any unpaid care work – a broader category that includes primary, simultaneous and supervision care. I also found that social norms and other factors had different effects on primary or secondary activities. Moreover, the research emphasised the importance of providing a range of activity codes. For example, I find that, even though, compared to men, women spent more time 'looking after children', men were more likely to 'teach children' than women. This would not have been captured if 'childcare' had been the only activity code.

The research also contributed to developing quantitative measures of social norms, which has been identified as a key research gap (Dalberg, 2017). I find that vignettes describing different divisions of labour worked well for measuring social norms. Asking respondents whether they personally approved of each vignette and whether they thought that community members would approve was useful for understanding differences in personal views and beliefs about others. Building on Bicchieri's suggestions for measuring social norms, I included questions to measure (1) empirical expectations (beliefs about others' behaviour); (2) normative expectations (beliefs about others' attitudes); and (3) conditional preference (whether expectations shape preferences). These questions were useful for establishing a quantitative relationship between time-use patterns and social norms.

The spot phone call method that I developed is another methodological contribution. The method provided an insight into the lives of some families over a long period and helped to build rapport and trust. The longitudinal approach highlighted differences in seasonal work and

showed how shocks affected household members. Calling at random times of the day was useful as I reached respondents while engaging in activities that they would perhaps not have reported in an interview, such as 'sitting' or 'doing nothing'. The spot phone calls also helped with understanding men's unpaid care work, which might have been under-reported in other methods. The method was relatively cost-effective and easy to coordinate, and participants were positive about it.

I also adjusted previously tested methods to collect data with children. Similar to other studies (e.g. Mmari et al., 2017), I found that visual exercises and activities that involved greater engagement were most useful for engaging young participants, who were often shy to speak up in conventional interviews. The drawing exercises ('draw your day', 'draw your year', and 'draw your family') helped children to express their views and generated interesting data. The bucket exercise – assigning beads to buckets representing activity categories – was well received and led to interesting discussions. Using differently coloured beads for girls and boys was a useful adjustment to the method, as it highlighted gender differences.

6.2 Theoretical implications

In addition to these methodological implications, this thesis contributed to the literature on unpaid care work and social norms with an in-depth mixed-methods case study from northern Uganda. To understand the division of unpaid care work, this thesis proposed a normative approach combined with elements from the life-course and ecological perspectives.

6.2.1 Normative approach

First, the research added to the limited evidence on the determinants of inequalities in unpaid care work (Edlund & Öun, 2016) by highlighting the importance of social norms. Following Bicchieri's (2017) definition of social norms helped to conceptualise norms as beliefs about others and to move away from simply studying attitudes (Ashburn et al., 2016). Rather than only focussing on gender, I argued that 'care work norms' – defining responsibility for unpaid care work – also have an age dimension: broadly speaking, care work norms suggest that females should do more unpaid care work than males and boys more than men.

I argued that care work norms can help explain unequal divisions of unpaid care work. For example, the quantitative data showed that beliefs about whether others approve of sharing unpaid care work (normative expectations) and beliefs about whether others are sharing unpaid care work (empirical expectations) shape how equally unpaid care work is shared between husband and wife.

Like others (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2019), I found that it is important to study a spectrum of norms and related ideologies rather than just focussing on the most obvious norms shaping the behaviour in question. In my findings, norms and ideologies around power, the body, material objects, separate spheres and marriage reinforced gender- and age-based divisions of unpaid care work. Throughout the analysis, I also highlighted the significance of distinguishing among unpaid care work activities. I found that care work norms and gender differences were strongest for grinding and cooking, less strong for washing or fuel and water collection, and weakest for sweeping and caring for children, adults and community members.

I showed that a social constructionist lens is useful for understanding how social norms around the division of unpaid care work are constantly enacted, reproduced and negotiated through interactions within power relations (Lundgren et al., 2018). On the one hand, I argued that people 'do gender' (West & Zimmerman, 1987) through day-to-day activities and interactions. These interactions construct and reconstruct masculine and feminine 'natures', social orders, and responsibilities for unpaid care work. I argued that individuals derive gendered meaning from the performance of unpaid care work (Erickson, 2005): producing masculine and feminine identities can be a reason for compliance with care work norms. On the other hand, through everyday interactions, individuals can also 'undo gender' (Deutsch, 2007), deconstruct and adjust care work norms. Day-to-day subtle adjustments to practices can quietly resist norms, which can lead to changes in normative structures (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012).

Further, this thesis emphasised the importance of integrating power in research on social norms – which has been found to be a gap (Ashburn et al., 2016). I suggested that care work norms are closely related to ideologies around who should hold power. Men's superior positions make it easier for men to defend norms that are beneficial for them (Marcus & Harper, 2014) and decrease women's and children's ability to negotiate care responsibilities (Agarwal, 1997). However, I also argued that individuals can use their agency to 'think outside of the system' and

challenge norms (Mishra & Tripathi, 2011). Hence, the analysis suggested that agency and social norms are in 'constant dialogue' (e.g. Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). Such an understanding helps to overcome stereotypical representations of women or children as 'helpless victims' and puts emphasis on the conditions that improve agency to challenge norms.

This thesis also contributed to understanding change in social norms. My findings supported other studies (e.g. Marcus & Harper, 2014; Watson, 2014) finding that drivers of change in social norms can have 'dialectical effects' – both positive and negative consequences. The war, the rise of formal education, gender policies, and 'western' influences have introduced new ways of thinking about gender but have also made care work norms more important for some. On the one hand, men who suffered from a 'crisis of masculinity' – i.e. failing to meet their roles as providers and feeling 'disempowered' – were especially likely to resist change in the division of unpaid care work. They were unable to live up to the normative model of masculinity but, at the same time, they could not 'afford not to try to live up to it' because of the benefits associated with adherence to 'hegemonic masculinity' (Dolan, 2002, p. 67). In this sense, not doing unpaid care work can be an easy way to meet ideals of masculinity in a context where other means of being 'masculine' have become difficult to achieve.

On the other hand, new practices, norms and attitudes existed alongside traditional beliefs and ideologies. Some people had 'shifted their daily schedules' and quietly resisted prevailing care work norms through day-to-day activities (Munoz Boudet et al., 2012). Some framed male participation in unpaid care work in a way that left ideologies of masculinity untouched. This approach enabled adherence to ideas of males as inherently superior but allowed for more gender-equal practices and norms to emerge within the broader context of male domination. This thesis, therefore, emphasised the importance of understanding subtle adjustments to norms and ways of navigating between traditional ideologies and new messages about gender. It also suggested that understanding norms around masculinity is important – a gap that Marcus (2018) identified in her review of studies on unpaid care work.

To summarise, the normative approach of this thesis contributed to the literature on unpaid care work, social norms and gender by showing that social norms shape unpaid care work divisions and are socially constructed and deconstructed, reinforced and contested through interactions within power relations.

6.2.2 Life-course approach

The life-course approach could be considered another contribution of the research. Most literature on time use or unpaid care work either focusses on adults or children, even though it has been shown that children and adults are interdependent, both providing and receiving care (e.g. Crivello & Revollo, 2018). The life-course approach highlighted that children engage in activities that are essential for the livelihood of the family (Nieuwenhuys, 1994). For example, children who participated in the survey reported working for about eight to nine hours per day, on average, with the bulk of this (especially for girls) devoted to unpaid care work. Adults were reliant on their children's labour. For instance, I was often told that women's labour burdens were greater when children were at school. A relational analysis can help to overcome a focus on young people as a separate category and an exclusion of the young in development literature and practice (Huijsmans et al., 2014).

Including children was also useful for shedding light on how norms and time use evolve through the life course, which has previously been seen as a gap in the literature on unpaid care work (Marcus, 2018). Looking at how norms become internalised in childhood helped to deconstruct gender identities (Cleaver, 2002). But I also showed that children, just like adults, are active agents (Montgomery, 2009), challenging dominant care work norms and contributing to their relaxation. For example, I found that, some children had more positive views about male participation in unpaid care work than their parents. Similar to others, I found studying children useful for understanding social change (Montgomery, 2009) and processes of modernisation (Vorhölter, 2014).

Given these advantages of a life-course approach, I follow others (e.g. Camilletti et al., 2018; Crivello & Revollo, 2018) calling for better integration of gender and generational approaches regarding care. Rather than addressing 'women's rights' and 'children's rights' separately, a greater appreciation for how these are connected would be meaningful (Crivello & Revollo, 2018).

6.2.3 Ecological approach

Another important contribution of this thesis is the ecological approach. Building on other research (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2018a; Lundgren et al., 2018; Pulerwitz et al., 2019), I developed a multi-level framework for understanding forces maintaining and relaxing social norms related to unpaid care work. As far as I am aware, this has not been done before.

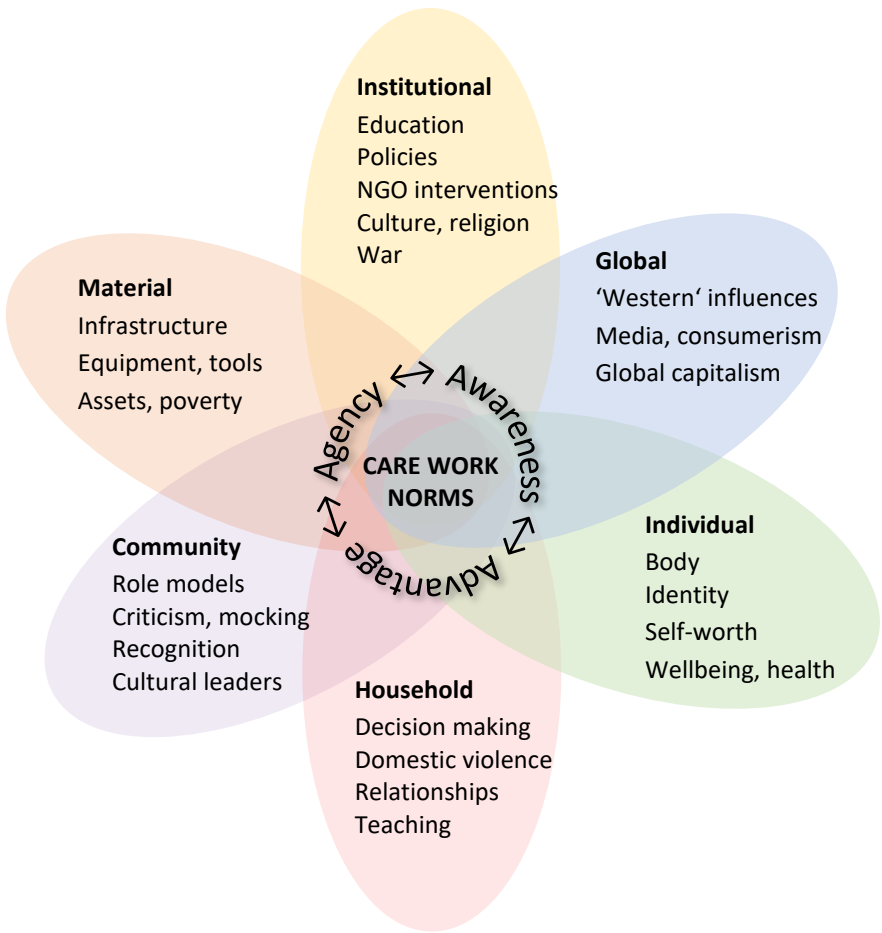
I demonstrated that care work norms are ‘over-determined’ – reinforced by different factors at different levels (Mackie & Le Jeune, 2009). The multiplicity of factors tends to make norms more binding (Marcus & Harper, 2014). For example, structural drivers, such as globalisation, conflict, migration and economic or material advantage might keep norms in place, even as individual attitudes fall out of favour with a practice (Ashburn et al., 2016). Conversely, I also showed that the same factors at different levels can make norms malleable. If circumstances change, norms may change too. Social norms are more likely to shift if change happens at different levels simultaneously (Marcus & Harper, 2014).

I added to the ecological approach an understanding of causal pathways between different drivers – addressing a previous research gap (Ashburn et al., 2016). In particular, I developed, what one could call, a ‘Triple A framework’ for understanding whether norms are complied with or contested. Individuals are more likely to deviate from social norms if they: (1) are able to choose to deviate (agency); (2) are aware of alternative options (awareness); and (3) if deviating is beneficial for them (advantage). I showed that agency, awareness and advantage are closely connected and work together in determining compliance or non-compliance with norms. They operate at the individual level – an individual’s agency, awareness and advantage shape whether they comply with or challenge norms – but are closely related to factors at the household, community, institutional, material and global level.

The Triple-A framework can also help to understand why some norms are more likely to shift than others – which has been found to be a gap in social norms theory (Ashburn et al., 2016; Marcus & Harper, 2014). Norms are more likely to persist if individuals who are disadvantaged by these norms are unable to choose, do not know otherwise and face sanctions for non-compliance with these norms. At the same time, shifts in agency, awareness and advantage can encourage individuals to deviate from norms, which can potentially lead to social norms change.

The levels and factors shaping care work norms, which I explored throughout the thesis, are summarised in Figure 22. I added the Triple-A to the framework to show that factors at different levels shape awareness, agency and advantage, which together influence the malleability of care work norms.

Figure 22: Triple-A framework



Of course, the framework is a simplification of reality and it is by 'no means definite or complete' (Heise, 1998). It is not meant to be a comprehensive blueprint for understanding norms change, but a starting point for thinking about different factors and how they relate. The conceptual framework developed in this thesis could potentially be useful for exploring similar questions and relationships in other settings.

6.3 Policy implications

This thesis also generated some insights that may be relevant for policymaking on gender norms and unpaid care work. Interest in addressing social norms related to unpaid care work has

increased in recent years. This is reflected in target 5.4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (UN, 2015), calling for societies to ‘recognise and value unpaid care work’. However, designing interventions to change social norms is not an easy task; for example, social norms interventions can impose ‘western’ values, devalue local culture and even lead to backlash and resistance (Marcus & Harper, 2014). Social norms are very much context-specific. Cislaghi and Heise (2018b, p. 7) point to a need to ‘design people-led interventions that help participants develop both internal motivations to change local norms and strategies to do so in ways that are compatible with the local cultural and social context.’ Keeping this in mind, my research makes six suggestions for policymaking that aims to address gender-unequal norms.

First, this thesis highlighted the importance of addressing inequality in unpaid care work in policy and development initiatives. It relates to research and policy efforts highlighting that inequalities in care work need to be addressed in order to achieve gender equality and other development outcomes (Razavi, 2007; UN, 2015). For example, the thesis showed that heavy care workloads can have serious implications for the health and wellbeing of women and children – especially older girls. It can reduce their time available for education or economic opportunities, impact on mobility, and increase vulnerability, domestic violence and negative gender relations.

Second, I find that social norms around gender can, and do, change. Even though norms may be described as powerful and stable, there are usually people who resist norms or make subtle adjustments to these norms in their everyday actions and interactions. That gender norms are malleable is an important insight for social norms interventions, as is the finding that there are different degrees of change. Achieving a relaxation of social norms or a more critical awareness of normative influence may be an important starting point for interventions, which can potentially lead to more radical changes.

Third, this thesis proposed some entry points for social norms interventions. The ecological Triple-A framework helps to understand factors that may lead to change in social norms at six different levels: individual, household, community, material, institutional and global level. For instance, I found that long-term forces (e.g. education, labour market opportunities and childrearing practices) have the potential to drive changes in social norms around gender and unpaid care work. External influences such as media, radio programs, drama and popular culture

may also help to increase awareness of social norms and alternatives. Further, this thesis established three mechanisms through which normative change may be achieved, namely through (1) improving agency of those who are disadvantaged by dominant norms; (2) raising awareness of possible alternative behaviours; and (3) addressing sanctions and rewards associated with norm compliance.

The thesis highlighted that only focussing on one driver of change may not be enough. For example, even though research emphasised that it is important to address agency in order to achieve change in social norms (Yaker, 2017), a focus on improving women's agency might not lead to a transformation of gender norms if women are unaware of alternative norms and sanctions for non-compliance are strong. This is consistent with other research (e.g. Cislighi & Heise, 2019; Yaker, 2017) suggesting that the most effective social norms interventions involve different people at different levels. As Ridgeway and Correll (2004, p. 528) put it: 'The gender system will only be undermined through the long-term, persistent accumulation of everyday challenges to the system resulting from socioeconomic change and individual resistance.'

Fourth, like other studies (e.g. Watson, 2014), this thesis suggested that changes in gender norms are likely to provoke resistance. If interventions are unaware of potential backlash or existing conflicts and insecurities, such as a 'crisis of masculinity', they are less likely to be successful and may even reinforce gender inequality. To minimise backlash and resistance, the focus and framing of interventions are important. It may help to map out the norms and ideologies shaping the behaviour in question (as I did in Chapter 3), and to carefully think about which dimensions to focus on. For example, to change gender relations and the division of labour in northern Uganda, interventions threatening ideologies of power could potentially lead to a backlash, while addressing norms around who should earn money might be easier to address.

Interventions might also be more effective if they build on positive aspects of behaviour and norms (Cislighi & Heise, 2018b). For example, to encourage men's engagement in unpaid care work drawing on men's sense of responsibility and engagement as fathers can be useful (Esplen, Heerah & Hunter, 2006). For northern Uganda, it may help to build on discourses of unpaid care work as a way to meet 'ideals of masculinity' – i.e. as 'modern' and 'financially beneficial'.

When choosing what aspects to focus on, it may also help to think about which norms and behaviours are already changing. For example, an Oxfam study in Karamoja, Uganda finds that a Women's Economic Empowerment intervention led to changes in men's attitudes towards unpaid care work because it was able to build on wider social and economic changes in the region (Parvez Butt et al., 2017). In northern Uganda, this could mean building on changes in women's economic roles rather than, for example, confronting women's identities as 'natural carers'.

Lastly, this thesis suggested that programmes targeting the gender division of labour or other kinds of gender-linked norms need to recognise the parallel structures of power related to age. Including children and adolescents in programme development and interventions can help to ensure that their needs are addressed and that interventions do not negatively affect them. For example, if children are not considered, improving economic opportunities for women may impose higher workloads on children. Building on synergies between women's rights and children's rights can help under some circumstances (Crivello, 2016), but this thesis also suggested that there are important differences between the social positions of women and children, which should be accounted for in policymaking (Camilletti et al., 2018). Overall, to address gender norms, this thesis proposes a context-specific, evidence-based approach that involves adults and children, reflects on issues of framing and potential resistance, and works at different levels.

6.4 Further research

It would be interesting to study additional drivers of change and to explore whether gender norms in general, and those relating to the division of unpaid care work in particular, will change more radically in northern Uganda.

6.4.1 Drivers of change

In my research, urbanisation came up as a driver of change in gender norms. Some research suggests that gender norms are more progressive in urban than in rural areas. The Uganda SIGI study (OECD, 2015) finds that Kampala has the lowest levels of gender discrimination and that women and men share unpaid care work more equally in Kampala than in other parts of the

country. My respondents also suggested that people in urban areas were more likely to believe in gender-equal norms and to share unpaid care work because of better access to education, improved economic opportunities for women, the availability of infrastructure and equipment, and because people from urban areas were more likely to have been 'exposed' to people from different cultural origins. Respondents also suggested that having lived in an urban area in the past can lead to more gender-equal norms and behaviours. It would be interesting to investigate the relationship between urbanisation and gender norms change, in northern Uganda or other settings.

The research explored the influence of education on gender norms, but many questions remain. Respondents often told me that education conveyed messages about gender equality, making it more likely for men to engage in unpaid care work. However, some research in the area (e.g. Vorhölter, 2014) finds that the education system perpetuates gender stereotypes. I visited some schools and interviewed several teachers, but a more thorough examination of teaching materials and practices (e.g. through participant observation at school) would be useful for understanding the complicated relationship of education, gender norms and unpaid care work. In their review on change in gender norms, Marcus and Harper (2014) also note that there is limited understanding about the mechanisms through which education shifts or reinforces gender norms, e.g. through the curriculum, expansion of social networks, creation of new reference groups, exposure to new role models or expansion of agency.

Another potential driver of change in gender norms is access to media and information and communication technology. Media can expose people to new discourses and alternative ways of behaving (Jensen & Oster, 2007). Communication technology can also facilitate feminist activism and campaigning. Conversely, the use of media can reinforce existing social norms and promote gender stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes (Marcus & Harper, 2014). When I first came to Uganda in 2014, almost no one had internet access on their phones, but when I finished the research many people did. Respondents told me that they watched 'western' films in bars, and some of the wealthier people I met had TVs. Radios were also used by NGOs to raise awareness about different issues, including gender equality. It may be worthwhile to investigate how different types of media and technology influence gender norms and the household division of unpaid care work.

6.4.2 Looking at the future

It would also be meaningful to explore whether, in northern Uganda, gender norms in general, and care work norms in particular, will change more radically in the years to come. The long civil war between the LRA and the Ugandan army has uprooted the lives of the Acholis. People in displacement camps lived in cramped conditions without access to land and livelihoods. NGOs conducted training sessions on gender equality and preferred working with women. After the war, NGOs and government programmes have continued to address gender equality in the region; children's rights have also increasingly been promoted. More children are going to school than in the past, and people believe strongly in the value of education. The influence of cultural leaders and traditional practices has decreased, and the region has increasingly been exposed to 'western' influences, technological and material changes. All these factors contributed to a feeling of being torn between the 'old' and the 'new'.

Care work norms were debated in these tensions. For some men, resisting participation in unpaid care work was a crucial way of adhering to ideals of masculinity in a context where men have been 'disempowered' and struggle to fulfil their normative roles. For others, sharing unpaid care work was perceived to be a way to become 'modern', earn money and 'develop the home'.

Towards the end of the war, about a decade ago, El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) argued that ideas of Acholi culture have not changed, but have simply become harder to put into practice after the war. My research still found this to be the case for some people. To use the words of a woman (#047):

Men they are still clinging on; they are still not accepting the reality; they need to accept that women need to get out...the roles are now changing and the women are saying the men need to embrace these new roles and responsibilities.

Nevertheless, as this quote suggests, some people have 'embraced new roles and responsibilities'. Ideologies remain strong, but some practices are changing. Through everyday interactions, norms are being adjusted, relaxed and reconfigured. Radical change is not happening, but there is scope for future change.

Children usually spoke positively about social change in general, and regarding gender roles, in particular. They were more likely to approve of a gender-equal division of unpaid care work than their parents. It would be interesting to see whether children will maintain these positive views about sharing unpaid care work in the future, which might lead to more radical changes in care work norms. 16-year-old Akera Jackson, whose story I told in section 5.3.5, suggested that they will:

In those years, in the African traditional society, cooking was for girls only. In the time of our fathers and mothers, they said boys do their work and girls do their work. But nowadays, the world is changing, anyone can do anything. We are in the 21st century, now, it has begun to change. When we are grown, when we are old now, we can cook, no problem!

List of references

- Abebe, T. (2007). Changing livelihoods, changing childhoods: Patterns of children's work in rural southern Ethiopia. *Children's Geographies*, 5(1–2), 77–93.
- Abebe, T. (2008). Trapped between disparate worlds? The livelihoods, socialisation and school contexts of rural children in Ethiopia. *Childhoods Today*, 2(1).
- Admassie, A. (2003). Child labour and schooling in the context of a subsistence rural economy: Can they be compatible? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 23(2), 167–185.
- Afrobarometer (2017). *Afrobarometer: Summary of results Uganda 2017*. Retrieved from <https://afrobarometer.org/publications/uganda-round-7-summary-results-2017>
- Agarwal, B. (1997). "Bargaining" and gender relations: Within and beyond the household. *Feminist Economics*, 3(1), 1–51.
- Akerlof, G. (1976). The economics of caste and of the rat race and other woeful tales. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 90, 599–617.
- Akintola, O. (2006). Gendered home-based care in South Africa: More trouble for the troubled. *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 5(3), 237–247.
- Alderman, H., Chiappori, P.A., Haddad, L., Hoddinott, J. & Kanbur, R. (1995). Unitary versus collective models of the household: Is it time to shift the burden of proof? *The World Bank Research Observer*, 10(1), 1–19.
- Alkire, S. (2008). *Concepts and measures of agency* (OPHI Working Paper No. 9). Retrieved from <https://ophi.org.uk/working-paper-number-09/>
- Alvares Minte, G. (2013). *Conservative backlash to women's bodily integrity in Latin America: The cases of Mexico and Chile* (Birkbeck College Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.uea.ac.uk/documents/425303/4065543/Minte,%20Gabriela+Alvarez.pdf/51b65f5d-c407-4687-a5a5-4eed2522cd22>
- Amnesty International (1997). *Uganda: "Breaking God's commands": The destruction of childhood by the Lord's Resistance Army* (Amnesty International Report). Retrieved from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr59/001/1997/en/>
- Ampofo, A. (2001). 'When men speak women listen': Gender socialisation and young adolescents' attitudes to sexual and reproductive issues. *African Journal of Reproductive Health*, 5(3), 196–212.

- Appelrouth, S. & Desfor Edles, L. (2011). Feminist and gender theories. In *Sociological theory in the contemporary era* (pp. 312-381). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Arora, D. (2015). Gender differences in time-poverty in rural Mozambique. *Review of Social Economy*, 73, 196–221.
- Artis, J. E. & Pavalko, E. K. (2003). Explaining the decline in women's household labor: Individual change and cohort differences. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(3), 746–761.
- Ashburn, K., Costenbader, B., Igras, S., Pirzadeh, M. & Homan, R. (2016). *Social norms background reader* (Learning Collaborate Georgetown University). Retrieved from http://irh.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/LearningCollaborative_BackgroundReader.pdf
- Ashraf, N., Karlan, D. & Yin, W. (2010). Female empowerment: Impact of a commitment savings product in the Philippines. *World Development*, 38(3), 333–344.
- Atkinson, R. R. (1989). The evolution of ethnicity among the Acholi of Uganda: The precolonial phase. *Ethnohistory*, 36(1), 19–43.
- Baden, S. & Reeves, H. (2000). *Gender and development: Concepts and definitions* (Bridge Development Gender Report No. 55). Retrieved from <http://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/sites/bridge.ids.ac.uk/files/reports/re55.pdf>
- Badgett, M. V. L. & Folbre, N. (1999). Assigning care: Gender norms and economic outcomes. *International Labour Review*, 138(3), 311–326.
- Bain, C., Ransom, E. & Halimatusa'diyaha, I. (2018). 'Weak winners' of women's empowerment: The gendered effects of dairy livestock assets on time poverty in Uganda. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 61, 100–109.
- Barker, G. (2000). Gender equitable boys in a gender inequitable world: Reflections from qualitative research and programme development in Rio de Janeiro. *Sexual and Relationship Therapy*, 15(3) 263–282.
- Barker, G. (2012). *Men who care: A multi-country qualitative study of men in non-traditional caregiving roles* (Promundo and International Center for Research on Women). Retrieved from <https://promundoglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/Men-Who-Care.pdf>

- Barker, G. & Verani, F. (2008). *Men's participation as fathers in the Latin American and Caribbean region: A critical literature review with policy considerations* (Promundo). Retrieved from <https://promundoglobal.org/resources/mens-participation-as-fathers-in-the-latin-american-and-caribbean-region-a-critical-literature-review-with-policy-considerations/>
- Barwell, I. (1996). *Transport and the village: Findings from African village-level travel and transport surveys and related studies* (World Bank Working Paper No. 344). Retrieved from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/846361468764127131/Transport-and-the-village-findings-from-African-village-level-travel-and-transport-surveys-and-related-studies>
- Basu, S., Zuo, X., Lou, C., Acharya, R. & Lundgren, R. (2017). Learning to be gendered: Gender socialization in early adolescence among urban poor in Delhi, India, and Shanghai, China. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 61(4), 24–29.
- BBC (2019). *Uganda bans alcohol sold in sachets* (BBC online article). Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-48476168>
- Beaman L, Duflo E, Pande R & Topalova P. (2012). Female leadership raises aspirations and educational attainment for girls: A policy experiment in India. *Science*, 3,582–586.
- Becker, G. S. (1998). *A treatise on the family*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Bell, D. C. & Cox, M. L. (2015). Social norms: Do we love norms too much? *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 7(1), 28–46.
- Bell, L. & Miller, T. (2002). *Consenting to what? Issues of access, gate-keeping and informed consent*. In M. Mauther et al. (Eds.), *Ethics in qualitative research* (pp. 61–75). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Ben-Arieh, A. & Ofir, A. (2002). Time for (more) time-use studies: Studying the daily activities of children. *Childhood*, 9(2), 225–248.
- Beneria, L. (1979). Reproduction, production and the sexual division of labour. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 3(3), 203–225.
- Benería, L., Berik, G. & Floro, M. (2016). *Gender, development, and globalization: Economics as if all people mattered*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Bevans, G. (1913). *How working men spend their time*. New York: Colombia University Press.

- Bernard, R. (2006). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Oxford: AltaMira Press
- Bertrand, M., Kamenica, E. & Pan, J. (2013). *Gender identity and relative income within households* (NBER Working Paper No. 19023). Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w19023>
- Bianchi, S. M., Milkie, M. A., Sayer, L. C. & Robinson, J. P. (2000). Is anyone doing the housework? Trends in the gender division of household labor. *Social Forces*, 79(1), 191–228.
- Bicchieri, C. (2006). *The grammar of society: The nature and dynamics of social norms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bicchieri, C. (2017). *Norms in the wild: How to diagnose, measure, and change social norms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bikketi, E., Ifejika, C., Bieri, S., Haller, T. & Wiesmann, U. (2016). Gendered division of labour and feminisation of responsibilities in Kenya: Implications for development interventions. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 23(10), 1432–1449.
- Bittman, M., England, P., Sayer, L., Folbre, N. & Matheson, G. (2003). When does gender trump money? Bargaining and time in household work. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1), 186–214.
- Bizzarri, M. (2009). *Safe access to firewood and alternative energy in Uganda: An appraisal report (World Food Programme)*. Retrieved from <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/64174>
- Blackden, C. M. & Wodon, Q. (2006). *Gender, time use, and poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Blum, R. W., Mmari, K. & Moreau, C. (2017). It begins at 10: How gender expectations shape early adolescence around the world. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 61(4), 3–4.
- Bourdieu, P. (1972). *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bouta, T., Frerks, G. & Bannon, I. (2015). *Gender, conflict, and development*. Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Boyden, J., Crivello, G. & Morrow, V. (2015). Gender, development, children and young people. In A. Coles, L. Gray & J. H. Momsen (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of gender and development* (pp. 225–235). Oxford: Routledge

- Boyden, J., Porter, C., Zharkevich, I. & Heissler, K. (2016). *Balancing school and work with new opportunities*: (Young Lives Working Paper No. 161). Retrieved from https://www.younglives.org.uk/sites/www.younglives.org.uk/files/YL-WP161-Boyden%20%282%29_0.pdf
- Briggs, J. L. (2014). Playwork as a tool in the socialisation of an Inuit child. *Journal of Playwork Practice*, 1(1), 39–46.
- Brines, J. (1994). Economic dependency, gender, and the division of labor at home. *American Journal of Sociology*, 100(3), 652–88.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Budlender, D. (2004). *Why should WE-Care about unpaid care work?* New York: UNIFEM.
- Budlender, D. (2008). *The statistical evidence on care and non-care work across six countries* (Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 4). UNRISD. Retrieved from <http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/%28httpPublications%29/F9FEC4EA774573E7C1257560003A96B2?OpenDocument>
- Bukuluki, P., Kisuule, J. D., Makerere, A. B., Schei, B. & Sundby, J. (2013). Perceptions of the drivers of sexual and gender based violence in post conflict northern Uganda. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 10, 84–102.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Byrne, B. (1996). *Gender, conflict and development* (BRIDGE Report). Retrieved from <https://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/re35c.pdf>
- Camilletti, E., Banati, P. & Cook, S. (2018). Children’s roles in social reproduction: Re-examining the discourse on care through a child lens. *The Journal of Law, Social Justice and Global Development*, 21, 33–48.
- Cancian, F. M. (1975). *What are norms? A study of beliefs and action in a Maya community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cardenas, J. C. (2009). Social norms and behavior in the local commons as seen through the lens of field experiment. *Environmental and Resource Economics*, 48(3), 451–485.
- Castro, F. G., Kellison, J. G., Boyd, S. J. & Kopak, A. (2010). A methodology for conducting integrative mixed methods research and data analyses. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, 4(4), 342–360.

- Chant, S. (2002). Researching gender, families and households in Latin America: From the 20th into the 21st century. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 21(4), 545–575.
- Chant, S. (2000). Men in crisis? Reflections on masculinities, work and family in north-west Costa Rica. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 12(2), 199–218.
- Chaara, I. (2014). *Pro-women legal reform in Morocco: Is religion an obstacle?* (ODID Working Paper). Retrieved from <http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2011-edia/papers/629-chaara.pdf>
- Cheney, K. E. (2007). *Pillars of the nation: Child citizens and Ugandan national development*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chopra, D. & Sweetman, C. (2014). Introduction to gender, development and care. *Gender & Development*, 22(3), 409–421.
- Chopra, D. & Zambelli, E. (2017). *No time to rest: Women's lived experiences of balancing paid work and unpaid care work: Global synthesis report for women's economic empowerment policy and programming* (IDS Working Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/no-time-to-rest-womens-lived-experiences-of-balancing-paid-work-and-unpaid-care-work/>
- Chung, A. & Rimal, R. N. (2016). Social norms: A review. *Review of Communication Research*, 4(1), 1–28.
- Cialdini, R. B., Kallgren, C. A. & Reno, R. R. (1991). A focus theory of normative conduct: A theoretical refinement and re-evaluation of the role of norms in human behaviour. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 24, 201–234.
- Cislaghi, B. & Heise, L. (2018a). Four avenues of normative influence: A research agenda for health promotion in low and mid-income countries. *Health Psychology*, 37(6), 562–573.
- Cislaghi, B. & Heise, L. (2018b). Theory and practice of social norms interventions: Eight common pitfalls. *Globalization and Health*, 14(1), 83.
- Cislaghi, B. & Heise, L. (2019). Using social norms theory for health promotion in low-income countries. *Health Promotion International*, 34(3), 616–623.
- Cleaver, F. (2002). Men and masculinities: New directions in gender and development. In F. Cleaver (Ed.), *Masculinities Matter!: Men, Gender and Development* (pp. 1–27). London: Zed Books.
- Coffey, C., Espinoza Revollo, P., Harvey, R., Lawson, M., Parvez Butt, A., Piaget, K., Sarosi, D. &

- Thekkudan, J. (2020). Time to care: Unpaid and underpaid care work and the global inequality crisis (Oxfam Briefing Paper). Retrieved from <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/time-to-care-unpaid-and-underpaid-care-work-and-the-global-inequality-crisis-620928>
- Coltrane, S. (1989). Household labor and the routine production of gender. *Social Problems*, 36(5), 473–490.
- Connell, R.W. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin
- Connell, R. W. & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829–859.
- Connelly, R. & Kimmel, J. (2015). If you're happy and you know it: How do mothers and fathers in the US really feel about caring for their children? *Feminist Economics*, 21(1), 1–34.
- Connelly, R. & Kongar, M. E. (2017). Feminist approaches to time use. In R. Connelly & M. E. Kongar (Eds.), *Gender and time use in a global context: The economics of employment and unpaid labor* (pp. 1–28). New York: Macmillan.
- Cornwall, A. (1997). Men, masculinity and 'gender in development'. *Gender & Development*, 5(2), 8–13.
- Cornwall, A. (2006). *Readings in gender in Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Creswell, J. W., Plano Clark, V. L., Gutmann, M. L., Hanson, W. E. (2003). Advances in mixed methods research designs. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (pp. 209–240). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Crivello, G. (2016). *Care and children: Young Lives* (Experts' Roundtable Report). Florence: UNICEF Office of Research.
- Crivello, G. (2017). *Tracing the links between girls' unpaid care work and women's economic empowerment* (Young Lives Project) Retrieved from <http://www.younglives.org.uk/content/tracing-links-between-girls'-unpaid-care-work-and-women's-economic-empowerment>
- Crivello, G. & Revollo, P. E. (2018). Care labour and temporal vulnerability in woman-child relations. In R. Rosen & K. Twamley (Eds.), *Feminism and the Politics of Childhood: Friends or Foes?* (pp. 139–154). London: UCL Press.

- Croft, A., Schmader, T. & Block, K. (2015). An underexamined inequality: Cultural and psychological barriers to men's engagement with communal roles. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 19(4), 343–370.
- Cunningham, M. (2007). Influences of women's employment on the gendered division of household labor over the life course: Evidence from a 31-year panel study. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(3), 422–444.
- Dalberg. (2017). *Unpaid care work and women's economic empowerment* (Report for Bill & Melinda Gates foundation). Retrieved from <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/equal-is-greater/static/Unpaid%20care%20work-575fb6baaebbe7a4ded72efee07e2b2c.pdf>
- Daly, M. & Lewis, J. (2000). The concept of social care and the analysis of contemporary welfare states. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 51(2), 281–298.
- Dar, A., Blunch, N.-H., Kim, B. & Sasaki, M. (2002). *Participation of children in schooling and labor activities: A review of empirical studies*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Datzberger, S. (2018). Why education is not helping the poor. Findings from Uganda. *World Development*, 110, 124–139.
- Datzberger, S. & Le Mat, M. L. J. (2018). Just add women and stir?: Education, gender and peacebuilding in Uganda. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 59, 61–69.
- DeGraff, D. S., Levison, D. & Dungumaro, E. W. (2017). Environmental chores, household time use, and gender in rural Tanzania. In R. Connelly & M. E. Kongar (Eds.), *Gender and time use in a global context: The economics of employment and unpaid labor* (pp. 407–434). New York: Macmillan.
- Della Giusta, M., Hashimzade, N. & Jewell, S. (2019). *Why care? Social norms and the supply of unpaid care* (University of Reading Working Paper). Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266017131_Why_care_Social_norms_and_the_supply_of_unpaid_care
- Demo, D. H. & Acock, A. C. (1993). Family diversity and the division of domestic labor: How much have things really changed? *Family Relations*, 42(3), 323–331.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln Y. S. (2000). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1–17). London: Sage.
- Deutsch, F. M. (2007). Undoing gender. *Gender & Society*, 21(1), 106–127.

- Dictionary (2020). *Advantage* (Google Dictionary). Retrieved from www.google.com
- Dolan, C. (2002). Collapsing masculinities and weak states: A case study of Northern Uganda. In F. Cleaver (Ed.), *Masculinities Matter!: Men, Gender and Development* (pp. 57–83). London: Zed Books.
- Doss, C. (2013). Intrahousehold bargaining and resource allocation in developing countries. *World Bank Research Observer*, 28(1), 52–78.
- Duflo, E. & Udry, C. (2004). *Intrahousehold resource allocation in Cote d'Ivoire: Social norms, separate accounts and consumption choices* (NBER Working Paper No. 104980). Retrieved from <https://www.nber.org/papers/w10498>
- Durick, H. E. (2013). *Post-conflict development in Northern Uganda: The importance of holistically addressing sexual and gender-based violence*. Masters dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, United States.
- Edlund, J. & Öun, I. (2016). Who should work and who should care? Attitudes towards the desirable division of labour between mothers and fathers in five European countries. *Acta Sociologica*, 59(2), 151–169.
- Edmonds, E. V. (2006). Understanding sibling differences in child labor. *Journal of Population Economics*, 19(4), 795–821.
- Edmonds, E. V. (2007). *Child labor* (NBER Working Paper No. 12926). Retrieved from <http://www.nber.org/papers/w12926>
- Edwards, R. (1998). A critical examination of the use of interpreters in the qualitative research process. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24(1), 197–208.
- Ehrenreich, B. & Hochschild, A. R. (2004). *Global woman: Nannies, maids, and sex workers in the new economy*. New York: Henry Holt and Company.
- El-Bushra, J. (2003). Fused in combat: Gender relations and armed conflict. *Development in Practice*, 13(2/3), 252–265.
- El-Bushra, J. & Sahl, I. M. G. (2005). *Cycles of violence: Gender relations and armed conflict* (Acord Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/cycles-of-violence-gender-relations-and-armed-conflict/>
- Elder, G. H. (1994). Time, human agency, and social change: Perspectives on the life course. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57(1), 4–15.

- Elson, D. (2000). *Progress of the world's women 2000* (UNIFEM Biennial Report). Retrieved from <http://www.unwomen.org/-media/headquarters/media/publications/unifem/152preface.pdf?la=en&vs=1003>
- Elson, D. (2005). *Unpaid work, the Millennium Development Goals, and capital accumulation* (Conference Presentation on Unpaid Work and the Economy). Retrieved from http://www.levyinstitute.org/undp-levy-conference/powerpoint/Session2_Elson.pdf
- Elster, J. (1989). Social norms and economic theory. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 3(4), 99–117.
- Emerson, P. M. & Souza, A. P. (2008). Birth order, child labor, and school attendance in Brazil. *World Development*, 36(9), 1647–1664.
- England, P. (2005). Emerging theories of care work. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 31(1), 381–399.
- England, P. & Budig, M. (1998). Gary Becker on the family: His genius, impact and blind spots. In D. Clawson (Ed.), *Required reading: Sociology's most influential books* (pp. 95–112). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Ennew, J. (1994). Time for children or time for adults. In Qvortrup, J., Bardy, M., Sgritta, G. & Wintersberger, H. (Eds.), *Childhood matters: Social theory, practice and politics* (pp. 125–144). Aldershot: Avebury
- Erickson, R. J. (2005). Why emotion work matters: Sex, gender, and the division of household labor. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67, 337–351.
- Esplen, E. (2009). *Gender and care: Overview report* (BRIDGE Report). Retrieved from https://www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/CEP_Care_OR.pdf
- Esplen, E., Heerah, S. & Hunter, C. (2006). *Women's empowerment: An annotated bibliography* (BRIDGE Report). Retrieved from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08c3d40f0b649740010b8/bb14_1_.pdf
- Esquivel, V. (2013). Care in households and communities: Background paper on conceptual issues (Oxfam Report). Retrieved from <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/care-in-households-and-communities-background-paper-on-conceptual-issues-302287>
- Esquivel, V. (2014). What is a transformative approach to care, and why do we need it? *Gender and Development*, 22(3), 423–439.

- Evans, A. (2016). The decline of the male breadwinner and persistence of the female carer: Exposure, interests, and micro-macro interactions. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 106(5), 1135–1151.
- Evertzen, A. (2001). *Gender and local governance* (Netherlands Development Organisation Report). Retrieved from <https://www.iknowpolitics.org/en/knowledge-library/report-white-paper/gender-and-local-governance>
- Fälth, A. & Blackden, C. M. (2009). *Care work: Gender equality and poverty reduction* (UNDP Policy Brief). Retrieved from <http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/gender/Gender%20and%20Poverty%20Reduction/Unpaid%20care%20work%20English.pdf>
- FAO (2020). *Gender and land rights database: Uganda*. Retrieved from http://www.fao.org/gender-landrights-database/country-profiles/countries-list/national-legal-framework/womens-property-and-use-rights-in-personal-laws/en/?country_iso3=UGA
- Ferguson, J. (1999). *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Fernández, R., Fogli, A. & Olivetti, C. (2004). Mothers and sons: Preference formation and female labor force dynamics. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(4), 1249–1299.
- Ferrant, G., Pesando, L. M. & Nowacka, K. (2014). *Unpaid care work: The missing link in the analysis of gender gaps in labour outcomes* (OECD Development Centre Paper). Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/Unpaid_care_work.pdf
- Ferree, M. M. (1990). Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 52(4), 866–884.
- Finnström, S. (2008). *Living with bad surroundings: War, history, and everyday moments in northern Uganda*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. (1975). *Predicting and changing behavior: The reasoned action approach*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Floro, M. S. (1995). Economic restructuring, gender and the allocation of time. *World Development*, 23(11), 1913–1929.
- Folbre, N. (1986). Cleaning house: New perspectives on households and economic development. *Journal of Development Economics*, 22(1), 5–40.

- Folbre, N. (2006). Measuring care: Gender, empowerment, and the care economy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 7(2), 183–199.
- Folbre, N. (2014). The care economy in Africa: Subsistence production and unpaid care. *Journal of African Economies*, 23(1), 128–156.
- Folbre, N. & Nelson, J. A. (2000). For love or money—or both? *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(4), 123–140.
- Fontana, M. & Elson, D. (2014). Public policies on water provision and early childhood education and care (ECEC): Do they reduce and redistribute unpaid work? *Gender & Development*, 22(3), 459–474.
- Fuwa, M. (2004). Macro-level gender inequality and the division of household labor in 22 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 69(6), 751–767.
- Fuwa, M. & Cohen, P. N. (2007). Housework and social policy. *Social Science Research*, 36(2), 512–530.
- Gardiner, J. (1993) *Gender, care and economics*. London: Macmillan.
- Gardiner, J. (2000). Domestic labour revisited: A feminist critique of Marxist economics. In S. Himmelweit (Ed.), *Inside the household: From labour to care* (pp. 65–79). New York: Macmillan.
- Gardiner, J., Himmelweit, S. & Mackintosh, M. (2000). Women's domestic labour. In S. Himmelweit (Ed.), *Inside the household: From labour to care* (pp. 25–40). New York: Macmillan.
- Geist, C. (2005). The welfare state and the home: Regime differences in the domestic division of labour. *European Sociological Review*, 21(1), 23–41.
- Gelber, S. M. (1997). Do-it-yourself: Constructing, repairing and maintaining domestic masculinity. *American Quarterly*, (49)1, 66–112
- Gelsdorf, K., Maxwell, D. & Mazurana, D. (2012). *Livelihoods, basic services and social protection in northern Uganda and Karamoja researching livelihoods and services affected by conflict* (Feinstein International Center Working Paper 4). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/7781.pdf>

- Gijsberts, Wolsey, Andrea & Twijukye. (2018). *Uganda: Political economy analysis* (UNICEF Report). Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/esaro/UNICEF_Uganda_--_2018_--_Political_Economy_Analysis.pdf
- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Girling, F. K. (1960). *The Acholi of Uganda*. London: H.M. Stationery Office.
- Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Rutgers: New Jersey.
- Graeber, D. (2007). *Possibilities. Essays on hierarchy, rebellion and desire*. Oakland: AK Press.
- Grenier, L. (1998). *Working with indigenous knowledge: A guide for researchers*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.
- Grimshaw, D. & Rubery, J. (2015). *The motherhood pay gap: A review of the issues, theory and international evidence* (ILO Paper). Retrieved from https://eige.europa.eu/resources/wcms_371804.pdf
- Handrahan, L. (2004). Conflict, gender, ethnicity and post-conflict reconstruction. *Security Dialogue*, 35(4), 429–445.
- Harlacher, T. (2009). *Traditional ways of coping with consequences of traumatic stress in Acholiland: Northern Ugandan ethnography from a western psychological perspective*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Freiburg, Freiburg, Germany.
- Harris, C. (2012). Gender–age systems and social change: A Haugaardian power analysis based on research from northern Uganda. *Journal of Political Power*, 5(3), 475–492.
- Harsanyi, J. (1982). Morality and the theory of rational behaviour. In A. Sen & B. Williams (Eds.), *Utilitarianism and beyond* (p. 39-62). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harvey, P. (1994). Domestic violence in the Peruvian Andes. In P. Harvey & P. Gow (Eds.), *Sex and violence: Issues in representation and experience* (pp. 66–89). Oxford: Routledge.
- Hayward, C. R. (1998). De-facing power. *Polity*, 31(1), 1–22.
- Hegewisch, A. & Gornick, J. C. (2011). The impact of work-family policies on women's employment: A review of research from OECD countries. *Community, Work & Family*, 14(2), 119–138.
- Heise, L. L. (1998). Violence against women: An integrated, ecological framework. *Violence against Women*, 4(3), 262–290.

- Heissler, K. & Porter, C. (2010). Know your place: Ethiopian children's contributions to the household economy (Young Lives Working Paper 61). Retrieved from: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08b2940f0b649740009e0/WP61-work.pdf>
- Hermanowicz, J. C. (2002). The great interview: 25 strategies for studying people in bed. *Qualitative Sociology*, 25(4), 479–499.
- Himmelweit, S. (2000). *Inside the household: From labour to care*. London: Pelgrave.
- Himmelweit, S. (2006). The prospects for caring: Economic theory and policy analysis. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 31(4), 581–599.
- Hirschfeld, L. A. (2002). Why don't anthropologists like children? *American Anthropologist*, 104(2), 611–627.
- Hofferth, S. L. (2003). Race/ethnic differences in father involvement in two-parent families: Culture, context, or economy? *Journal of Family Issues*, 24(2), 185–216.
- Hook, J. L. (2006). Care in context: Men's unpaid work in 20 countries, 1965–2003. *American Sociological Review*, 71(4), 639–660.
- Horne, C. (2001). Sociological perspectives on the emergence of social norms. In M. Hechter & K.-D. Opp (Eds.), *Social norms* (pp.3–34). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Horne, C. (2007). Explaining norm enforcement. *Rationality and Society*, 19(2), 139–170.
- Huijsmans, R., George, S., Gigengack, R. & Evers, S. J. T. M. (2014). Theorising age and generation in development: A relational approach. *The European Journal of Development Research*, 26(2), 163–174.
- IDS (2011). *Power pack: Understanding power for social change* (IDS Report). Retrieved from http://www.powercube.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/PowerPack_web_version.pdf
- ILO (2002). *Every child counts: New global estimates on child labour* (ILO Report). Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/ipecc/Informationresources/WCMS_IPEC_PUB_742/lang--en/index.htm
- ILO (2017). *School-to-work transition survey country brief: Uganda* (ILO Report). Retrieved from https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/documents/publication/wcms_429078.pdf
- ILO (2018). *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work* (ILO Report). Retrieved from <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/care-economy/care-for-fow/lang--en/index.htm>

- James, A. & Prout, A. (1997). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Jensen, R. & Oster, E. (2007). The power of TV: Cable television and women's status in India. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 124(3), 1057–1094.
- Jochimsen, M. A. (2003). Integrating vulnerability: On the impact of caring on economic theorizing. In D. K. Barker & E. Kuiper (Eds.) *Toward a feminist philosophy of economics* (pp. 231–246). London: Routledge.
- John, N. A., Stoebenau, K., Ritter, S., Edmeades, J. & Balvin, N. (2017). *Gender socialization during adolescence in low- and middle-income countries: Conceptualization, influences and outcomes* (UNICEF Innocenti Discussion Paper No. 2017–01). Retrieved from <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/885-gender-socialization-during-adolescence-in-low-and-middle-income-countries-conceptualization.html>
- Johnson, R. B. & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14–26.
- Johnson, D., Kabuchu, H. & Kayonga, S.V. (2003). Women in Ugandan local government: The Impact of affirmative action. *Gender and Development*, 11(3), 8–18.
- Jones, G. A. & Chant, S. (2009). Globalising initiatives for gender equality and poverty reduction: Exploring 'failure' with reference to education and work among urban youth in The Gambia and Ghana. *Geoforum*, 40(2), 184–196.
- Kabeer, N. (1997). Women, wages and intra-household power relations in urban Bangladesh. *Development and Change*, 28(2), 261–302.
- Kabeer, N. (1998). Jumping to conclusions? Struggles over meaning and method in the study of household economics. In C. Jackson & R. Pearson (Eds.), *Feminist visions of development: Gender analysis and policy* (pp. 91–109). Oxford: Routledge.
- Kabeer, N. (2002). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and Change*, 30(3), 435–464.
- Kabeer, N. (2007). *Marriage, motherhood and masculinity in the global economy: Reconfigurations of personal and economic life* (IDS Working Paper 290). Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9a50/b13977f634355e589445e7633f21a85c867d.pdf>.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender & Society*, 2(3), 274–290.

- Kandirikirira, N. (2002). Deconstructing domination: Gender disempowerment and the legacy of colonialism and apartheid in Omaheke, Namibia. In F. Cleaver (Ed.), *Masculinities Matter!: Men, Gender and Development* (pp. 112–137). London: Zed Books.
- Karimli, L., Samman, E., Rost, L. & Kidder, T. (2016). *Factors and norms influencing unpaid care work: Household survey evidence from five rural communities in Colombia, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe* (Oxfam GB Report). Retrieved from <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/factors-and-norms-influencing-unpaid-care-work-household-survey-evidence-from-f-620145>
- Kasande, J. (2012). *Workshop report: Introduction to community led action learning for gender justice for Oxfam GB, Partners and sesame project beneficiaries* (Oxfam Internal document).
- Katz, C. (2004). *Growing up global economic restructuring and children's everyday lives*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kawulich, B. B. (2005). Participant observation as a data collection method. *Forum Qualitative Social Research*, 6(2), 1–43.
- Keleher, H. & Franklin, L. (2008). Changing gendered norms about women and girls at the level of household and community: A review of the evidence. *Global Public Health*, 3(1), 42–57.
- Kidder, T. & Pionetti, C. (2013). *Participatory methodology: Rapid care analysis: Toolbox of exercises* (Oxfam GB Training Pack). Retrieved from <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/participatory-methodology-rapid-care-analysis-302415>
- Kimmel, M. (2002). Foreword. In F. Cleaver (Ed.), *Masculinities Matter!: Men, gender and development* (pp. xi–xiv). London: Zed Books.
- Knaft, B. M. (2002). *Critically modern: Alternatives, alterities, anthropologies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Knudsen, K. & Waerness, K. (2007). National context and spouses' housework in 34 countries. *European Sociological Review*, 24(1), 97–113.
- Klasen, S. (2017). *Gender, institutions and economic development* (GrOW Working Paper Series). Retrieved from <http://grow.research.mcgill.ca/publications/working-papers/gwp-2017-04.pdf>

- Kroska, A. (2004). Divisions of domestic work: Revising and expanding the theoretical explanations. *Journal of Family Issues*, 25(7), 890–922.
- Kwesiga, J. C. (2018). The national machinery for gender equality in Uganda. In S. M. Rai (Ed.), *Mainstreaming gender, democratizing the state?* (pp. 201–222). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Lachance-Grzela, M. & Bouchard, G. (2010). Why do women do the lion's share of housework? A decade of research. *Sex Roles*, 63(11–12), 767–780.
- Lanoszka, A. (2018). *International development: Socio-economic theories, legacies and strategies*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Laz, C. (1998). Act your age. *Sociological Forum*, 13(1), 85–113.
- Leach, F. (2003). Learning to be violent: The role of the school in developing adolescent gendered behaviour. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 33(3), 385–400.
- LeCompte, M. D. & Schensul, J. J. (1999). *Designing and conducting ethnographic research: Ethnographer's toolkit*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press.
- Lecoutere, E. (2017). The impact of agricultural co-operatives on women's empowerment: Evidence from Uganda. *Journal of Co-operative Organization and Management*, 5, 14–27.
- Lecoutere, E., Spielman, D. & Van Campenhout, B. (2019). *Empowering women with digital extension in Uganda: Effects of information and role models*. 6th African Conference of Agricultural Economists, September 23-26, 2019, Abuja, Nigeria
- Lenhart, L. & Reynolds Whyte, S. (2016). Mental health in post-war northern Uganda: Introduction. *Journal of Peace and Security Studies*, 2(2), 3–5.
- Levison, D. (2000). Children as economic agents. *Feminist Economics*, 6(1), 125–134.
- Levtov, R., van der Gaag, N., Greene, M., Kaufman, M. & Barker, G. (2015). *State of the world's fathers* (Promundo Report). Retrieved from. <https://men-care.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/12/State-of-the-Worlds-Fathers-June2018-web.pdf>
- Lewis, J. & Ritchie, J. (2003). Generalising from qualitative research. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 263–286). London: Sage Publications.

- Libório, R. M. C. & Ungar, M. (2009). Children's perspectives on their economic activity as a pathway to resilience: Children's perspectives on their economic activity. *Children & Society*, 24(4), 326–338.
- Longwe, S. H. (1998). Education for women's empowerment or schooling for women's subordination? *Gender and Development*, 6(2), 19–26.
- Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of Gender*. London: Yale University Press.
- Lorber, J. (2000). Using gender to undo gender: A feminist degendering movement. *Feminist Theory*, 1(1), 79–95.
- Lundgren, R., Burgess, S., Chantelois, H., Oregede, S., Kerner, B. & Kågesten, A. E. (2018). Processing gender: Lived experiences of reproducing and transforming gender norms over the life course of young people in northern Uganda. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*, 1058, 1–17.
- Lynch, K. (2007). Love labour as a distinct and non-commodifiable form of care labour. *The Sociological Review*, 55(3), 550–570.
- Mackie, G. (1996). Ending footbinding and infibulation: A convention account. *American Sociological Review*, 61(6).
- Mackie, G. & Le Jeune, J. (2009). *Social dynamics of abandonment of harmful practices: A new look at the theory* (UNICEF Innocenti Working Paper). Retrieved from https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/iwp_2009_06.pdf
- Mackie, G., Moneti, F., Shakya, H. & Denny, E. (2012). *What are social norms? How are they measured?* (UNICEF Report). Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/protection/files/4_09_30_Whole_What_are_Social_Norms.pdf
- Madina, G., Miriam, K., Sewanyana, S., Ahikire, J., Musiimenta, P. Boonabaana, B. Ssenono, V. (2018). *Gender roles and the care economy in Uganda: The case of Kaabong, Kabale and Kampala Districts* (Oxfam Research Report). Retrieved from <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/gender-roles-and-the-care-economy-in-ugandan-households-the-case-of-kaabong-kab-620532>
- Mahler, S. J. & Pessar, P. R. (2006). Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 27–63.

- Makokha, K. A. (2001). *Uganda country report: A synthesis of the four structural adjustment participatory review initiative studies* (National Steering Committee Report). Retrieved from http://www.saprin.org/uganda/research/uga_country_rpt.pdf
- Malmberg Calvo, C. (1994). *Case study on intermediate means of transport bicycles and rural women in Uganda* (SSATP Working Paper No. 12). Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.532.4501&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Manser, M. & Brown, M. (1980). Marriage and household decision-making: A bargaining analysis. *International Economic Review*, 21(1), 31–44.
- Marcus, R. (2018). *The norms factor: Recent research on gender, social norms, and women's economic empowerment* (ODI Working and Discussion Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/publications/11226-norms-factor-recent-research-gender-social-norms-and-womens-economic-empowerment>
- Marcus, R. & Harper, C. (2014). *Gender justice and social norms processes of change for adolescent girls* (ODI Research Report). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/publications/8235-gender-justice-and-social-norms-processes-change-adolescent-girls>
- Marcus, R. & Harper, C. (2015). *Social norms, gender norms and adolescent girls: A brief guide* (ODI Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9818.pdf>
- Mayall, B. (2001). Understanding childhood: A London study. In L. Alanen & B. Mayall (Eds.), *Conceptualizing child-adult relations* (pp.114-128). Oxford: Routledge.
- Mbah, N. L. (2019). African masculinities. In N. L. Mbah, *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History* (online). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McElroy, M. B. & Horney, M. J. (1981). Nash-bargained household decisions: Toward a generalization of the theory of demand. *International Economic Review*, 22(2), 333–349.
- Mehus, C. J., Wieling, E., Achan, L. & Oloya, O. T. (2018). Identifying the roles of fathers in post-war northern Uganda: Groundwork for a parenting intervention. *African Studies*, 77(4), 526–548.

- Mellor, M. (2000). Challenging the new world (dis)order: Feminist green socialism. In S. Himmelweit (Ed.), *Inside the household: From labour to care* (pp. 166–183). New York: Macmillan.
- Meyers, D. T. (2002). *Gender in the mirror: Cultural imagery and women's agency*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mishra, N. K. & Tripathi, T. (2011). Conceptualising women's agency, autonomy and empowerment. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 46(11), 58–65.
- Mmari, K., Blum, R. W., Atnafou, R., Chilet, E., de Meyer, S., El-Gibaly, O., Basu, S., Bello, B., Maina, B. & Zuo, X. (2017). Exploration of gender norms and socialization among early adolescents: The use of qualitative methods for the Global Early Adolescent Study. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 61(4), 12–18.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1988). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses. *Feminist Review*, 30, 61–88.
- Monna, B. & Gauthier, A. H. (2008). A review of the literature on the social and economic determinants of parental time. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 29(4), 634–653.
- Montgomery, H. (2009). *An introduction to childhood: Anthropological perspectives on children's lives*. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Morrow, V. (1996). Rethinking childhood dependency: Children's contributions to the domestic economy. *The Sociological Review*, 44(1), 58–77.
- Morrow, V. & Vennam, U. (2010). Combining work and school: The dynamics of girls' involvement in agricultural work in Andhra Pradesh, India. *Children & Society*, 24(4), 304–314.
- Moser, C. O. N. & Clark, F. C. (2001). *Victims, perpetrators or actors? Gender, armed conflict and political violence*. London: Zed Books.
- Mugehera, L. & Parkes, A. (2020). *Unlocking sustainable development in Africa by addressing unpaid care and domestic work* (Oxfam Policy Brief). Retrieved from <https://www.oxfam.org/en/research/unlocking-sustainable-development-africa-addressing-unpaid-care-and-domestic-work>
- Munoz Boudet, A. M., Petesch, P., Turk, C. & Thumala, A. (2012). *On norms and agency: Conversations about gender equality with women and men in 20 countries*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.

- Myles, J. F. (2004). From doxa to experience: Issues in Bourdieu's adoption of Husserlian phenomenology. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(2), 91–107.
- Narayan, D. (2005). *Measuring empowerment: Cross disciplinary perspectives*. Washington D.C.: The World Bank.
- Nentwich, J. C., Ozbilgin, M. F. & Tatli, A. (2015). Change agency as performance and embeddedness: Exploring the possibilities and limits of Butler and Bourdieu. *Culture and Organization*, 21(3), 235–250.
- Neuman, W. L. (2011). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. London: Pearson.
- Newman, C. (2001). *Gender, time use, and change: Impacts of agricultural export employment in Ecuador* (Policy Research Report on Gender and Development). Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.196.9199&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Nickols S. Y. & Ayieko, M. (1996). Spot observation: Advantages and disadvantages for household time-use research. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 17(3–4), 281–295.
- Nibbe, A. A. (2015). Women, camps, and 'bare life'. In A. Coles, L. Gray & J. H. Momsen (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of gender and development* (pp. 418–428). Oxford: Routledge
- Nieuwenhuys, O. (1994). *Children's lifeworlds: Gender, welfare, and labour in the developing world*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Nieuwenhuys, O. (1996). The paradox of child labor and anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25(1), 237–251.
- Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) (2005). *Profile of internal displacement: Uganda* (Global IDP Data Base). Retrieved from <http://www.internaldisplacement.org/assets/library/Africa/Uganda/pdf/Uganda-February-2005.pdf>
- Núñez-Mietz, F. G. & García Iommi, L. (2017). Can transnational norm advocacy undermine internalization? Explaining immunization against LGBT rights in Uganda. *International Studies Quarterly*, 61(1), 196–209.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nzita, R. & Mbaga-Niwampa. (1997). *Peoples, and cultures of Uganda*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers Ltd.

- Ocholla-Ayayo, A. B. C. (1980). *The Luo culture: A reconstruction of the material culture patterns of a traditional African Society*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Odoch, P., Kabjuni, A. & Byamugisha, J. (2015). *Rapid care analysis (RCA) and care household survey (CHS) in Lamwo district, Acholi sub-region, Northern Uganda*. Internal document, Oxfam.
- OECD (2015). *Uganda SIGI country report* (OECD Report). Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/dev/development-gender/The%20Uganda%20SIGI%20Country%20Study.pdf>
- OECD (2016). *How partners in couples share unpaid work* (OECD Findings). Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/gender/data/how-do-partners-in-couple-families-share-paid-work.htm>
- Olivetti, C. (2006). Changes in women's hours of market work: The role of returns to experience. *Review of Economic Dynamics*, 9(4), 557–587.
- Oosterom, M. (2011). Gender and fragile citizenship in Uganda: The case of Acholi women. *Gender & Development*, 19(3), 395–408.
- Oxfam (2020). *WE-Care Initiative* (Policy & Practice Website). Retrieved from <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/gender-justice/womens-economic-empowerment/we-care>
- Oxford Dictionary (2020). Culture. In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Retrieved from https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/culture_1
- Oxford Dictionary (2020). Awareness. In *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*. Retrieved from <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/awareness?q=awarenes>
- Pankhurst, D. (2008). *Gendered peace: Women's struggles for post-war justice and reconciliation*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Parvez Butt, A., Walsh, M. & Garber, B. (2017). *Transforming care after conflict: How gendered care relations are being redefined in northern Uganda* (Oxfam Research Report). Retrieved from <https://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/publications/transforming-care-after-conflict-how-gendered-care-relations-are-being-redefine-620391>
- Paternotte, C. & Grose, J. (2013). Social norms and game theory: Harmony or discord? *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 64, 551-587.
- P' Bitek, O (1985). *Song of Lawino and Song of Ocol*. Pourtsmouth: Heinemann.

- Peacock, D. (2003). *Men as partners: Promoting men's involvement in care and support activities for people living with HIV/AIDS* (United Nations Expert Group Meeting Brief). Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/men-boys2003/EP5-Peacock.pdf>
- Pearse, R. & Connell, R. (2016). Gender norms and the economy: Insights from social research. *Feminist Economics*, 22(1), 30-53.
- Pells, K. (2011). *Poverty and gender inequalities: Evidence from Young Lives* (Young Lives Policy Brief 13). Retrieved from https://www.younglives.org.uk/sites/www.younglives.org.uk/files/YL_PB13_Poverty-and-Gender-Inequalities.pdf
- Pells, K. & Woodhead, M. (2014). *Changing children's lives: Risks and opportunities* (Young Lives Policy Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.younglives.org.uk/content/changing-childrens-lives-risks-and-opportunities>.
- Pentland, W. E. (1999). *Time use research in the social sciences*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Perkins, H. W. & Berkowitz, A. D. (1986). Perceiving the community norms of alcohol use among students: Some research implications for campus alcohol education programming. *International Journal of the Addictions*, 21(9-10), 961-976.
- Petesich, P. (2013). *The clash of violent conflict, good jobs, and gender norms in four economies* (Background Paper for the World Development Report 2013). Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/1484/543c7156693abc02a4eae9a4f62f5e42036f.pdf>
- Phillips, A. (2018). Gender and modernity. *Political Theory*, 46(6), 837-860.
- Pulerwitz, J., Blum, R., Cislighi, B., Costenbader, E., Harper, C., Heise, L., Kohli, A. & Lundgren, R. (2019). Proposing a conceptual framework to address social norms that influence adolescent sexual and reproductive health. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 64(4), 7-9.
- Punch, S. (2001a). Negotiating autonomy: Children's use of time and space in rural Bolivia. In L. Alanen & B. Mayall (Eds.), *Conceptualizing child-adult relations* (pp. 23-36). Oxford: Routledge.
- Punch, S. (2001b). Household division of labour: Generation, gender, age, birth order and sibling composition. *Work, Employment & Society*, 15(4), 803-823.
- Punch, S. (2002). Research with children: The same or different from research with adults? *Childhood*, 9(3), 321-341.

- Razavi, S. (2007). *The political and social economy of care in a development context: Conceptual issues, research questions and policy options* (UNRISD Paper No. 3). Retrieved from [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/\(httpPublications\)/2DBE6A93350A7783C12573240036D5A0](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpPublications)/2DBE6A93350A7783C12573240036D5A0)
- Reynolds, P. (1991). *Dance civet cat: The Tonga and child labour in the Zambezi valley*. London: Zed Books.
- Rimal, R. N., & Real, K. (2005). How behaviors are influenced by perceived norms: A test of the theory of normative social behavior. *Communication Research*, 32, 389–414.
- Ridgeway, C. L. & Correll, S. J. (2004). Unpacking the gender system: A theoretical perspective on gender beliefs and social relations. *Gender & Society*, 18(4), 510–531.
- Ritchie, A., Lloyd, C. B. & Grant, M. (2008). Gender differences in time use among adolescents in developing countries: Implications of rising school enrolment rates. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 18(1), 99–120.
- Ritzer, G. (2012). *Introduction to Sociology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Robson, E. (2004). Children at work in rural northern Nigeria: Patterns of age, space and gender. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 20(2), 193–210.
- Rogoff, B. (1991). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rost, L. (2020). Spot phone calls: A new method for measuring time use. *Methodological Innovations*, 13(2), 1–10.
- Rowlands, J. (1997). *Questioning empowerment*. Oxford: Oxfam Humanities Press International
- Ryle, R. (2012). *Questioning gender: A sociological exploration*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Samman, E., Presler-Marshall, E. & Jones, N. (2016). *Women's work: Mothers, children and the global childcare crisis* (ODI Research Report). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/10333.pdf>
- Samman, E. & Santos, M. E. (2009). *Agency and empowerment: A review of concepts, indicators and empirical evidence* (OPHI Research Paper 10a). Retrieved from <https://ophi.org.uk/ophi-research-paper-10a/>

- Samuels, F., Samman, E., Hunt, A., Rost, L. & Plank, G. (2018). *Between work and care: Older women's economic empowerment* (ODI Research Report). Retrieved from <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/12509.pdf>
- Sanchez, L. & Thomson, E. (1997). Becoming mothers and fathers: Parenthood, gender, and the division of labor. *Gender & Society*, 11(6), 747–772.
- Schippers, M. (2007). Recovering the feminine other: Masculinity, femininity, and gender hegemony. *Theory and Society*, 36(1), 85–102.
- Schuler, S.R. (2008). Rural Bangladesh: Sound policies, evolving gender norms, and family strategies. In M. Lewis and M. Lockhead (Eds.), *Exclusion, gender and education: Case studies from the developing world* (pp. 179–204). Washington, DC: CGD.
- Scott, J. C. (1985). *Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sen, A. (1985). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4), 169.
- Sen, A. (1987). *Gender and cooperative conflict* (WIDER Working Paper). Retrieved from <https://www.wider.unu.edu/sites/default/files/WP18.pdf>
- Sen, A. (2007). *Identity and violence the illusion of destiny*. London: Penguin Books.
- Senath, E. R. (2011). *Beyond masculinity: Gender, conflict and post-conflict reconstruction in northern Uganda*, 4, 25–40.
- Sengupta, A. & Calo, M. (2016). Shifting gender roles: An analysis of violence against women in post-conflict Uganda. *Development in Practice*, 26(3), 285–297.
- Sengupta, A. & Kidd, S. (2018). *Facing our future: Ageing in a changing Uganda* (Development Pathways Report). Retrieved from <https://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Facing-Our-Future-Ageing-in-a-Changing-Uganda.pdf>
- Sepúlveda Carmona, M. (2013). *Report of the special rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights: Unpaid care work and women's human rights*. Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2437791
- Serrano, M. D. (2012). *Unpaid care work in Africa*. Bilabao: Fundación BBVA.
- Shaffer, P. (2012). *Ten years of 'Q-squared': Are two disciplines better than one?* (Q-Squared Working Paper No. 57). Retrieved from http://www.trentu.ca/ids/documents/Q2_WP57_Shaffer.pdf

- Shelton, B. A. & John, D. (1996). The division of household labor. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 22, 299–322.
- Siann, G. (1994). *Gender, sex, and sexuality: Contemporary psychological perspectives*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- Silberschmidt, M. (2001). Disempowerment of men in rural and urban East Africa: Implications for male identity and sexual behavior. *World Development*, 29(4), 657–671.
- Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Political psychology: Key readings* (pp. 276–293). New York: Psychology Press.
- Thomas, D. (1990). Intra-household resource allocation: An inferential approach. *The Journal of Human Resources*, 25(4), 635–664.
- Thompson, J. (2014). Being in time: Ethics and temporal vulnerability. In C. Mackenzie (Ed.), *Vulnerability: New essays in ethics and feminist philosophy* (pp. 162–181). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thorne, B. (1993). *Gender play: Girls and boys in school*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Toye, J. & Toye, R. (2005). *The World Bank as a knowledge agency* (UNRISD Overarching Concerns Programme Paper No. 11). Retrieved from [http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/FAEF21FBEF6AF0C6C12570CB0030C5CC/\\$filetoye.pdf](http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/%28httpAuxPages%29/FAEF21FBEF6AF0C6C12570CB0030C5CC/$filetoye.pdf)
- Tronto, J. C. (1993). *Moral boundaries: A political argument for an ethic of care*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Tudge, J. R. H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B. E. & Karnik, R. B. (2009). Uses and misuses of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory of human development. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 1(4), 198–210.
- Twigg, J. E., McQuillan, J. & Ferree, M. M. (1999). Meaning and measurement: Reconceptualizing measures of the division of household labor. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 61(3), 712–724.
- Udry, C. (1996). Gender, agricultural production, and the theory of the household. *Journal of Political Economy*, 104(5), 1010–1046.

- UBOS (2010). *Uganda national household survey 2009/10*. Retrieved from <http://www.ubos.org/UNHS0910/unhs200910.pdf>
- UBOS (2013). *Demographic and health survey 2011*. Retrieved from <http://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR264/FR264.pdf>
- UBOS (2017). *National population and housing census: Area specific profiles: Lamwo district*. Retrieved from <https://www.ubos.org/wp-content/uploads/publications/2014CensusProfiles/LAMWO.pdf>
- UBOS (2018). *Uganda Demographic and Health Survey 2016*. Retrieved from <https://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-FR333-DHS-Final-Reports.cfm>
- UN (2010). *The world's women 2010: Trends and statistics* (UN Report). Retrieved from https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/worldswomen/WW_full%20report_BW.pdf
- UN (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development* (Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 25 September 2015). Retrieved from http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/70/1&Lang=E
- UNDP (2020). *Human Development Reports: Uganda*. Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/UGA>
- UN General Assembly (1993). *Declaration on the elimination of violence against women*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>
- UN Statistics Division (2016). *International classification of activities for time-use statistics* (online). Retrieved from <https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic-social/time-use/icatus-2016/>
- UN Women (1995). *Fourth world conference on women, Beijing 1995*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/beijingdeclaration.html>
- UNICEF (2013). *Ethical research involving children* (UNICEF Report). Retrieved from <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/706-ethical-research-involving-children.html>
- UNICEF (2016a). *Care work and children: An expert roundtable* (Innocenti Research Brief). Retrieved from <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/884-care-work-and-children-an-expert-roundtable.html>

- UNICEF (2016b). *Harnessing the power of data for girls* (UNICEF Report). Retrieved from <https://www.unicef.org/gender/files/Harnessing-the-Power-of-Data-for-Girls-Brochure-2016-1-1.pdf>
- Urdang, S. (2006). The care economy: Gender and the silent AIDS crisis in Southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32(1), 165–177.
- Van Aelst, K. (2014). *Household decision making and gender relations in Tanzania. Literature and theory review* (IDPM Working Paper No. 2). Retrieved from <https://ideas.repec.org/p/iob/wpaper/201402.html>
- Varian, H. R. (2010). *Intermediate microeconomics: A modern approach*. London: Norton W. W. & Co Ltd.
- Veerle, M. (2011). *Cooking, caring and volunteering: Unpaid work around the world* (OECD Social Employment and Migration Working Paper No. 116). Retrieved from <https://www.oecd.org/berlin/47258230.pdf>
- Vijan, P. (2002). Nationalism, masculinity and the developmental state: Exploring Hindutva masculinities. In F. Cleaver (Ed.), *Masculinities Matter!: Men, Gender and Development* (pp. 28–56). London: Zed Books.
- Vlahovicova, K., Spindler, E., Levto, R. & Hakobyan, L. (2019). *Evolving perspectives: Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in central Uganda* (Promundo Report). Retrieved from <https://promundoglobal.org/resources/evolving-perspectives-results-from-the-international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images-in-central-uganda/>
- Vogler, P., Morrow, V. & Woodhead, M. (2009). *Conceptualising and measuring children's time use: A technical review for Young Lives* (Young Lives Technical Note 14). Retrieved from <https://www.younglives.org.uk/content/conceptualising-and-measuring-children%E2%80%99s-time-use-%E2%80%A8-technical-review-young-lives>
- Vorhölter, J. (2014). *Youth at the crossroads: Discourses on socio-cultural change in post-war northern Uganda*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.
- Voss, T. (2001). Game-theoretical perspectives on the emergence of social norms. In M. Hechter & K.-D. Opp (Eds.), *Social norms* (pp. 105–138). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Watson, C. (2014). *Understanding changing social norms and practices around girls' education and marriage* (ODI Research Report). Retrieved from

- <https://www.odi.org/publications/9418-understanding-changing-social-norms-and-practices-around-girls-education-and-marriage>
- Welsh, P. (2001). *Men aren't from Mars: Unlearning machismo in Nicaragua* (CII Briefing). Retrieved from <http://www.progressio.org.uk/sites/progressio.org.uk/files/Men-arent-from-Mars.pdf>
- West, C. & Zimmerman, D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender & Society*, 1(2), 125-151.
- Wheelock, J. (2000). Capital restructuring and the domestic economy: A Marxist alternative to materialism. In S. Himmelweit (Ed.), *Inside the household: From labour to care* (pp. 25–40). New York: Macmillan.
- White, B. (1999). Defining the intolerable: Child work, global standards and cultural relativism. *Childhood*, 6(1), 133–144.
- White, H. (2002). Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in poverty analysis. *World Development*, 30(3), 511–522.
- Whitehead, A., (1981). I'm hungry Mum: The politics of domestic bargaining. In K. Young, C. I. Wolkowitz & R. McCullagh (Eds.), *Of marriage and the market: Women's subordination in international perspective* (pp. 93–116). Oxford: Routledge.
- Woodburn, U. (2003). IDPS and the reconstruction of northern Uganda: Gender and social transformations in Gulu town (University of Antwerp Working Paper). Retrieved from <https://docplayer.net/83114561-Idps-and-the-reconstruction-of-northern-uganda-gender-and-social-transformations-in-gulu-town.html>
- Woodroffe, J. & Donald, K. (2014). *Unpaid care: A priority for the post-2015 development goals and beyond* (Gender and Development Network Briefings No. 6). Retrieved from <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/536c4ee8e4b0b60bc6ca7c74/t/53e0f128e4b09446eddce521/1407250728579/GADN+Unpaid+Care+briefing.pdf>
- World Bank (2011). *Gender equality and development: World Development Report 2012*. Washington DC: World Bank
- Wyn, J. & White, R. (1997). *Rethinking youth*. Newcastle upon Tyne: SAGE.
- Yaker, R. (2017). *Background Paper: Identifying and describing approaches and attributes of normative change interventions* (Georgetown University Paper). Retrieved from <https://prevention-collaborative.org/resource/identifying-and-describing-approaches-and-attributes-of-normative-change-interventions/>

- Yeates, N. (2004). Global care chains. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6(3), 369–391.
- Young Lives (2009). *Child questionnaire for 14.5-15.5-year-olds Ethiopia*. Retrieved from <https://www.younglives.org.uk/sites/www.younglives.org.uk/files/r3-et-oc-15yold-child-questionnaire.pdf>
- Zambelli, E., Roelen, K., Hossain, N., Chopra, D. & Twebaze Musoke, J. (2017). *'How can it be a problem if you need them both?' Women juggling paid and unpaid care work in Tanzania* (IDS Working Paper No. 495). Retrieved from <https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/how-can-it-be-a-problem-if-you-need-them-both-women-juggling-paid-and-unpaid-care-work-in-tanzania/>
- Zelizer, V.A. (1985). *Pricing the priceless child: The changing social value of children*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1: 2014 and 2015 questionnaires with adults

Appendix 2: 2015 questionnaire with children

Appendix 3: 2017 questionnaire with adults

Appendix 4: Survey sampling strategies

Appendix 5: Sample consent script

Appendix 6: Interview questions

Appendix 7: Focus Groups Discussions questions and exercises

Appendix 8: List of research locations

Appendix 9: Correlation matrix of explanatory variables

Appendix 10: Details of qualitative research participants