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THE STATE OF UGANDA'S FATHERS: A SCOPING REVIEW





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June, 2021

In partnership with



ABOUT AFRICHILD

The AfriChild Centre is a multi and inter disciplinary research Centre based at Makerere University in Kampala-Uganda.

Since inception, The Center has positioned itself as a frontier of innovative child focused research, with the aim of catalyzing relevant policy and practice, to improve the wellbeing of children in Uganda and the region. AfriChild does this through a rigorous systematic process of scientific research, analysis and knowledge development. The Centre also seeks to deepen the quality of evaluative research and effectiveness measurement of child wellbeing interventions, in line with ensuing global discourse among child rights activists and child well-being actors.

For more information about AfriChild and its partners, visit www.africhild.or.ug

ABOUT THE STATE OF UGANDA FATHER'S REPORT

The State of Uganda Father's report 2021 is the inaugural report of its kind in Uganda. The report is a product of the AfriChild Center and is inspired by 'State of The World's Fathers' Produced by Promundo-US. The first-ever "State of the World's Fathers" report was published in 2015, and followed by subsequent editions published in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2021.

This report aims to impact power structures, policies, and social norms around care work and to advance gender equality. It joins a growing set of related country- and region focused reports on men's caregiving around the world. All editions of State of the World's

Fathers are available at: www.stateoftheworldsfathers.org and www.africhild.or.ug



Table of Contents

FOREWORD	I
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	II
ACRONYMS	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	IV
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. STUDY BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION	2
3. PURPOSE OF THE SCOPING REVIEW	5
4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	6
5. STUDY METHODOLOGY AND METHODS	7
5.1 ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA	7
5.2 SEARCH STRATEGY	7
5.3 LITERATURE SCREENING	7
5.4 DATA EXTRACTION, ANALYSIS AND QUALITY ASSURANCE	8
5.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	8
6. FINDINGS FROM THE SCOPING REVIEW	9
6.1 WHO ARE UGANDA'S FATHERS?	9
6.1.1 MEANINGS OF FATHERHOOD AND BEING A FATHER IN UGANDA	14
6.2 PARENTING ROLES OF FATHERS IN UGANDA	15
6.2.1 PROVISION OF BASIC/SURVIVAL NEEDS	15
6.2.2 SAFETY, SECURITY AND EMOTIONAL NEEDS	17
6.2.3 DIRECT CHILDCARE WORK/NURTURING	18
6.3 PERCEPTUAL VIEWS ON FATHERS' ROLES IN UGANDA	18
6.3.1 FATHERS PERCEPTION OF THEIR PARENTING ROLE(S)	19
6.3.2 COMMUNITY PERCEPTION OF FATHERS AND THEIR ROLES	20
6.3.3 HOW UGANDAN FATHERS LEARN THEIR ROLE(S)	21
6.4 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE MEN'S PERFORMANCE OF THEIR ROLES	21
6.5 CHANGING CONTEXTS OF FATHERHOOD	23
6.6 SPACES FOR CHILD CARE WORK	23
6.7 TIME SPENT ON CHILDCARE WORK	24
6.8 SERVICES AND PROGRAMMES TO SUPPORT FATHERHOOD	25
6.9 POLICIES AND LAWS	25
7.0. CONCLUSION, RESEARCH GAPS, POLICY AND PRACTICE RECOMMENDATIONS	27
7.1. CONCLUSION	27
7.2 RESEARCH GAPS, POLICY AND PRACTICE RECOMMENDATIONS	29
REFERENCES	31

FOREWORD

Beyond Providers to Carers: Men as Fathers

AfriChild Center is privileged and honored to share with you the very first 'State of Uganda Father's Report'. This report is a demonstration of AfriChild's commitment to generation of research evidence to ensure relevant policies for children in Uganda and Africa as a whole.

This is Uganda's first ever report after Promundo-US released the initial 'State of The World's Fathers' publication in 2015. The state of father's report is intended to provide a periodic, data-driven snapshot of the state of men's contributions to parenting and caregiving, by addressing specific issues related to fatherhood namely, (i) unpaid care work in the home; (ii) sexual and reproductive health and rights, and maternal, newborn and child health; (iii) men's caregiving and violence against children and women; and (iv) child development.

In Uganda, and indeed in Africa, the emergent discourse on Fatherhood is gaining momentum. The significant role played by active and positively involved fathers in the lives of their children and their families can no longer be underscored, and is directly linked to the overall positive outcomes for communities and the entire country at large. This report is a timely contribution to the existent knowledge on Fatherhood in Uganda. It aims to catalyze the discourse on Fatherhood in Uganda, and to challenge some of the existing perceptions, attitudes and social norms as relates to fatherhood with an ultimate goal of influencing policy and practice in the country. This report is an outcome of a scoping review to map the available evidence on the contribution of fathers to care work in their families. It takes

into account the tremendous progress registered by the country in putting in place a robust and policy framework and brings to light the gap in research evidence particularly nationwide evidence on the contribution of fathers to child care and care work in general. Broadly the report reveals the dearth of evidence on Fatherhood in the country. It lays the foundation on which researchers can build, to generate evidence on this important subject. This is timely as the nation embraces parenting programmes as a strategy for promotion of child wellbeing. AfriChild believes that all policy and programmatic interventions to improve the wellbeing the children and their families should be hinged on research evidence. We are optimistic that the gaps in evidence that are revealed by Uganda's state of the Father's report, will inspire and stimulate researchers across the multidisciplinary terrain to design and conduct studies in Fatherhood. We look forward to partnership with individuals and organisation who are committed to further in knowledge on fatherhood in Uganda and throughout the region.

"Anyone who tells you fatherhood is the greatest thing that can happen to you, they are understanding it." Mike Myers



TIMOTHY OPOLO
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report on the State of Uganda's Fathers is the first of its kind. The first State of the World's Fathers Report was published in 2015. This report was monumental in that it highlighted information about fathers and men's caregiving globally. Following this, a number of countries have published national reports on the state of fathers including South Africa which was the first African country to publish this. The reports publish information about men's contribution to caregiving, specifically, men's caregiving in the context of gender equality between parents; the relationship between men's caregiving, violence against women and violence against children; men's caregiving related to maternal and child health; and how men's caregiving contributes to early childhood development.

The report on the state of Uganda's fathers was prepared as result of a scoping review to map the available evidence on the contribution of fathers to care work in the country. While Uganda has taken great strides in ensuring a robust policy framework and continues to demonstrate increasing policy interest to optimize parenting influence, there is still a gap in research evidence particularly nationwide evidence on the contribution of fathers to child care and care work in general. There is limited comprehensive and reliable data on the state of Uganda's fathers, including their perception of what fatherhood and parenting is, and their involvement in this role. Existing information is not only largely anecdotal, but also from small scale studies conducted by NGOs, or from academic research addressing this issue tangentially.

This study was conducted to inform policymakers, researchers and practitioners on the extent and implications of men's involvement in direct childcare work, and to highlight opportunities for improving research knowledge with policy and programme recommendations looking at fatherhood as entry point for improved social outcomes in Uganda. The report presents insights for policy makers, program developers, and grant makers on benefits and mechanisms on how to improve men's contribution to direct child care. It also outlines specific opportunities for further research to better understand, measure progress, and craft tailored interventions to the varied forms of men's contribution to direct child care work in Uganda.

The methodology used for this research – a scoping review – was deliberately selected based on the fact that there was limited literature on the subject particularly covering the Ugandan context. Both grey and academic literature were included for this review guided by the methodological approach proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005). A total of 145 papers were identified. Out of these, only 68 met the selection criteria, with only 16 being specifically about Uganda. An additional 57 documents were reviewed for more insights. Two pairs of reviewers participated in the review and extraction of data. Several coding meetings as well as stakeholder meetings were held to jointly identify emerging themes from the reviewed papers.

The key findings present answers to questions on who Uganda's fathers are, what they perceive their role to be, how they perceive and describe their role in child care and how the existing policies and programmes frame father involvement. Below are the key findings of the study;

Context of fatherhood: It is difficult to establish which age category the majority of Uganda's fathers fit into. Due to early pregnancy that which disproportionately affects girls more, Uganda's fathers are also teenagers, adults and young adults. The majority of studies conducted with fathers have targeted married fathers, and only one was conducted with single fathers.

Who are Uganda's fathers? The concepts and perceptions of who a father is in the Ugandan context reveal a gap in the legal and policy framework which excludes fatherhood outside the biological context. This presents

the need to advocate for more inclusive laws and structural interventions that recognize the wide range of categories and of fathers in Uganda.

Perceptions of fathers' roles: There was congruence between fathers' and societal descriptions of the scope and breadth of ideal roles of fathers. Compared to mothers, fathers' direct involvement in child care is limited, although they tend to focus on provision and protection roles as well as nurturing children to 'fit in society' as their main roles. The level of education of fathers seems to positively correlate with their positive perception of caring for children.

How fathers perceive their roles: Fathers perceive their parenting roles as teaching children acceptable societal values. Increasing changes in respect to how, where, and when this role is played are impacting this traditional role of fathers, alongside the seemingly competing modern-day technology induced learning platforms.

Fathers also perceive their role as that of undertaking tasks that are more metaphysically, economically and cognitive, a perception that sustains traditional gender stereotypes and inequalities that good parenting models are against.

Fathers' Positive Perceptions Toward Child Care Improves with Levels of Wealth and Education.

Educated fathers are in a position to question societal stereotypes associated with fathers' involvement in direct childcare, and are likely to get involved in it because they enjoy doing it, take it as a necessity, need to bond with their children, have time, and feel that it would be unfair to their wives if they didn't.

Gender Norms that shape perceptions of fathers' involvement:

Fathers' perception of their involvement in childcare work is largely influenced by gendered social norms pertaining to the division of labor and socio-economic status in the household. Fatherhood is also learnt through the process of masculinity modelling whereby boys are nurtured to become fathers who conform to the existing social norms and values.

Factors that shape fatherhood roles:

These included societal gender norms, personal factors and institutional factors, changing contexts of fatherhood.

Services and programmes to support fatherhood:

Research on interventions and programs to support Ugandan fathers and fatherhood is sparse. Programmes that have been implemented reveal that focusing on the role of fathers has the potential to maximize the benefits of their role and involvement in child care.

Policies and laws: The lack of policies explicitly promoting and defining gender equity and inclusivity becomes a barrier when fathers wish to be involved in domains that have historically excluded them, such as pregnancy and child health appointments.

Recommendations

- The gap in evidence should be addressed with more research, national, regional and local research studies with different population sub-groups to generate evidence on various aspects of fatherhood including personal factors, contextual factors, and societal factors that shape father involvement in direct child care.
- There is need for instituting national child care policies, programmes and campaigns that recognize and prioritize redistribution of care work equally between men and women/fathers and mothers/boys and girls.
- Government and partners implementing programmes ought to put in place more inclusive laws and structural interventions that promote father involvement in care giving and parenting.
- Promote an ethic of male care in schools, media, cultural and religious institutions, and other key institutions in which social norms are created and reinforced.
- Promote parenting programmes in communities as a mechanism for addressing mindset change on father involvement in direct child care work. Men are receptive towards parenting training if it is carefully structured and tailored to their needs.

ACRONYMS

ANC	Ante Natal Care
COVID-19	Corona Virus Disease
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IECD	Integrated Early Childhood Development
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Inter Partner Violence
MCH	Maternal Child Health
MOGLSD	Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UDHS	Uganda Demographic Health Survey
VAC	Violence against Children
VACS	Violence against Children Survey

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Production, Coordination, and Dissemination: The authors are grateful to the team at Promundo and SONKE Gender Justice and to Reproductive Health Uganda for support towards printing of the report. Thanks to Luciano for the report design.

Additional Acknowledgments: The authors also thank Mr. Hassan Sekajoolo, Mr. Innocent Byaruhanga, Ms. Lucy Otto, Ms. Ruth Muguta and other stakeholders that participated in the different meetings that contributed to this work.

Funding: Funding for this work was provided by the Oak Foundation through Sonke Gender Justice and Reproductive Health Uganda

Suggested Citation: The AfriChild Centre. (2021). State of Uganda's Fathers Report: A Scoping Review. Kampala, Uganda. © The AfriChild Centre, 2021

1. INTRODUCTION

Men's involvement in direct childcare work has not been adequately studied and/or understood in Uganda. Fathers play a critical role in the parenting process. In Uganda, there is increasing demand on fathers to participate more actively in the lives of their children and more broadly in family life. However, there is limited information on the state of Uganda's fathers, including their perception of what fatherhood and parenting are, and their involvement and motivation for their involvement in this role. Existing information is not only largely anecdotal, but also from small scale studies conducted by NGOs, or from academic research addressing this issue tangentially.

A few years after the launch of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Central Uganda --conducted in 2017 in a partnership between Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development (MoGLSD), Promundo-US and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), and funded by the Oak Foundation-- the current report seeks to build on the evidence it generated by furthering the understanding of what it means to be a man, and a father, in Uganda. This report is also timely in light of the recent launch of the new 2021 State of the World's Fathers -- a look at the structural dimensions of father engagement that accounts for the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the dynamics of masculinities and fatherhood globally. The State of the World's Fathers Report, produced by Promundo, is a globally recognized, biennial report and advocacy platform aiming to change power structures,

policies, and social norms around care work and to advance gender equality. With support from Oak and in partnership with Sonke Gender Justice, and Reproductive Health Uganda, the AfriChild Centre led the scoping review of the state of Uganda's fathers with particular attention to fathers' involvement in child care work. The overarching aim of the review was to explore existing evidence that could inform policy and further research on the positive influences father involvement in family care activities in Uganda, particularly child care activities have on the overall well-being of children, their cognitive abilities and overall resilience in future adult life. The study also aimed to highlight opportunities for improving the linkage between research, policy and programme in respect to fatherhood as an entry point towards improved social outcomes for Uganda's families.

2. STUDY BACKGROUND AND JUSTIFICATION

In 2015, the first [State of the World's Fathers](#) report was published highlighting information about fathers and men's caregiving globally (Promundo, Rutgers, Save the Children, Sonke Gender Justice, and the MenEngage Alliance, 2015). Since then, a number of countries have published national reports on the state of fathers. South Africa in 2018 was the first African country to publish such a report. Each report publishes information about men's contribution to caregiving, typically with four lenses;

- 1) Men's caregiving in the context of gender equality between parents
- 2) The relationship between men's caregiving, violence against women and violence against children
- 3) Men's caregiving related to maternal and child health
- 4) How men's caregiving contributes to early childhood development

About State of the World's Fathers Report:

State of the World's Fathers, produced by Promundo, is a globally recognized, biennial report and advocacy platform aiming to change power structures, policies, and social norms around care work and to advance gender equality. An advocacy publication of MenCare, the report presents not only the state of the field, but also a vision and pathway to achieve men's full participation in unpaid care work for the benefit of women, children, men themselves, and all individuals.

www.StateoftheWorldsFathers.org

Increasingly, research evidence has shown that children whose fathers are more involved in their care have better cognitive and behavioral outcomes than their peers with less involved fathers. Children have a higher risk for poor psycho-social outcomes when their fathers are absent or uninvolved, and are more likely to live in poverty, drop out of school, and engage in risky behaviors such as use of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drugs (Allen & Daly, 2002; Sarkadi, 2008; Coakley 2013; Cano et al, 2019).

Evidence from other gender studies shows that fathers' involvement in family care improves redistribution of care work between women and children, and reduces the risk of violence against women and children (Steinhaus et al., 2019). The Uganda National Violence against Children Survey (VACS) report of 2017 found a high prevalence of violence against children, with fathers/step-fathers as leading perpetrators of the most recent episodes of physical and emotional violence, especially against boys (Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development, 2015). These findings are echoed by the International Men and Gender Equality

Survey (IMAGES) report of 2019 - close to six in ten respondents reported ever hitting their child with an object such as a paddle, stick, or broom.

According to the Uganda Demographic Health Survey data (2012), 60 percent of women had ever experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) by their current partner, and 45 percent reported experiencing IPV in the past year. Again, the IMAGES Uganda survey corroborates these findings, showing a rate of 52 percent of ever-partnered women experiencing some form of physical or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner over their lifetime. While men's admission to using these types of violence was much lower, it was still a concerning 40 percent, highlighting the normativity of this behavior. Furthermore, IMAGES Central Uganda and other studies show that IPV and VAC frequently co-occur. About one in three men has used both VAC and physical or sexual IPV in their lifetime, and one in two women who have been the victims of IPV have used VAC as well (Carlson et al., n.d.; Vlahovicova et al., 2019).

These findings on VAC and IPV in Uganda contradict the ideal role fathers are expected to play in the lives of their children and spouses. The dominant narrative currently about Ugandan fathers is that fathers are absent, irresponsible, less involved in caregiving and domestic work, and are the leading perpetrators of gender-based violence and violence against children. This narrative is due to the culturally-shaped gender norms that have continued to 'discourage', or 'limit' the time Ugandan men and fathers put in child rearing and child care. It was thus imperative that an inquiry into the state of fathers in Uganda is undertaken in order to generate important context

specific findings with the potential to reverse such narratives by influencing the development of policy and practice discourses around fathering and parenting. Through well-planned and targeted disseminations, this study will stimulate discussions and action, for instance on how best to work with men and fathers to prevent violence against children and women. The fact that Uganda has one of the youngest populations globally, with 55 percent of the population under 18 years of age makes it even more imperative that Ugandan children are nurtured and protected to contribute to the realization of the demographic dividend.

Several ongoing government initiatives present an opportunity to improve the involvement and presence of fathers in

their family and children's lives through the increasing policy interest to optimize parenting influence. For example, The Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) has developed a National Family Policy as well as parenting guidelines. In collaboration with Child Health and Development Centre Makerere University and other partners, the Ministry has embarked on a national Parenting Agenda Initiative aimed among others at streamlining parenting programming. The President of Uganda also declared the years

2017, 2018 and 2019 as years of the family in Uganda, and launched the Integrated Early Childhood Development Policy (IECD) 2016, whose success is among other things dependent on effective parenting. These measures are an important entry point for greater targeting of fathers. Efforts that aim to promote the involvement of fathers in nurturing interactive and physical care, in order to give children, the chance to both survive and thrive, are therefore a priority, as government implements the current policy and programmes.



3. PURPOSE OF THE SCOPING REVIEW

The purpose of the scoping review was to build on prior evidence to inform policymakers, researchers and practitioners regarding the extent and implications of men's involvement in direct childcare work. This review aimed to highlight opportunities for improving research knowledge with policy and programme recommendations looking at fatherhood as an entry point for improved social outcomes for children in Uganda.

The study sought to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To generate a working paper to inform policy makers, program developers, and grant makers on benefits and mechanisms of improving men's contribution to direct child care;
- ii. To outline specific opportunities for further research to better understand, measure progress, and craft tailored interventions to the varied forms of men's contribution to direct child care work in Uganda;
- iii. To mobilize further research to understand and measure indicators regarding fatherhood, related to topics in social fatherhood, and gender socialization influences on gender-based violence, gender equality, maternal and child health, and early childhood development.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Building on recent evidence, the overall aim of the study was to explore men's involvement in care work and fatherhood in Uganda as well as their role in preventing GBV and VAC. Specifically, the study aimed to address the following questions;

1. What does fatherhood and being a father mean in Uganda?
 - a. Who are Uganda's fathers?
 - b. What contradictions and contestations are associated with being a father in Uganda?
 - c. What different circumstances influence the different identifications/meanings/identities of a father in Uganda?
2. What do Ugandan Fathers perceive their role(s) to be?
 - a. How do Ugandan fathers learn their role(s)?
 - b. What factors (individual, historical, cultural, social circumstances, policy) influence men's performance of their role(s)?
3. How do fathers perceive and describe the concept of father 'involvement in child care'?
 - a. Fathers and child care work
 - b. Father involvement in child care work
4. How do existing policies and programmes frame father involvement in child care work?

5. STUDY METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

The scoping review aimed at identifying the evidence on fathers in Uganda and their involvement in parenting and caregiving, as well as their role in preventing gender-based violence and violence against children. The review was guided by the methodological framework proposed by Arksey and O'Malley (2005) in their article; "Scoping Studies: Towards a Methodological Framework". The framework consists of three key steps in conducting a scoping review; (i) identification of the research question; (ii) identification of relevant data sources/materials for review; (iii) charting the data, collation, summarizing and reporting the results.

5.1 Eligibility Criteria

Both peer reviewed journal papers and grey literature were considered for review in relation to the broad and specific sub-themes. Peer reviewed literature was obtained from electronic databases such as Web of Science, Social Science Citation Index, JSTOR, Science Direct, Scopus, and EBSCO host as well as other online search engines and libraries like Google scholar, Library Genesis, Z-library. Grey literature included public documents included government reports, student dissertations/theses, other research reports obtained from university libraries and repositories, research institutions, relevant resource centers, and organizational websites. All studies irrespective of what methods they employed (qualitative, quantitative or mixed methods) were considered in order to allow a detailed understanding of fatherhood in Uganda. Also, there was no restriction on date of publication; it was crucial to understand several aspects of fatherhood irrespective of when these were documented/published.

In terms of geographical scope, the identification and review of relevant literature/materials was not limited to Uganda. However, given that the scoping review of the state of fathers was

about Ugandan fathers, papers were excluded if they were not covering the subject of fatherhood that was relevant and applicable to the Ugandan context. A total of 145 papers were identified. Out of these, only 68 met the selection criteria, with only 16 being specifically about Uganda.

5.2 Search Strategy

Initial search terms that guided the search for literature were derived from the problem statement, research questions and topic of review. Boolean terms and connectors such as "Fathers AND Uganda", "Fatherhood AND Uganda", "Parenting AND Uganda", "Fathers AND Childcare AND Uganda" and "Single AND Fatherhood AND Uganda" were used to search the literature. Cognizant of the iterative nature of all research, Arksey and O'Malley (2005) suggested that "as familiarity with the literature is increased, researchers will want to redefine search terms and undertake more sensitive searches of the literature" (p.22). In line with the Arksey and O'Malley (2005) approach, there was no strict limitation placed on search terms, identification of relevant studies, or study selection at the outset. The search strategy for this review was reflexive to ensure that the

literature was comprehensively covered (Arksey and O'Malley 2005).

The research team was able to obtain leads through chain-referral to both peer-reviewed and grey literature from researchers and individuals who have written extensively on fatherhood and male-caregiving in a chain referral technique. During the review, there was an interest to know the theories that informed the different studies, the aims of the author(s), the key points in their arguments as well as their key findings, conclusions and recommendations.

5.3 Literature Screening

Initial documents obtained were categorized into published and grey literature. Grey literature was further categorized into dissertations/theses, government reports, program reports and research reports. Similarly, published literature was further categorized into empirical, intervention, and other studies. After categorizing the documents, several techniques were used to select documents for initial review.

A title and abstract review was conducted by two pairs of reviewers separately looking at the citations yielded from the search to determine eligibility based on the defined inclusion and exclusion criteria. Related articles were included if they were found relevant in providing insights on father/men involvement in parenting and caregiving. This was followed by a full text review conducted on literature selected from the title and abstract review. Further searches were also conducted using the reference lists of included studies/reports to identify additional relevant articles for review. Using a chain referral technique, the research team contacted the authors

who were frequently cited to provide leads to more literature.

5.4 Data Extraction, Analysis and Quality Assurance

Two reviewers extracted data from the publications that met the selection criteria. Out of a total of 145 documents that were identified, only 16 were about Uganda so these were prioritized. The two reviewers then reviewed and extracted data from an additional 57 documents that met the eligibility criteria. A data extraction matrix was designed to include information on the publications such as author, date of publication, location, objective, key findings, conclusions and recommendations. A series of joint coding meetings were held during which the research team discussed the emerging themes. These were categorized and organized based on the key emerging findings from literature on fatherhood in Uganda. The Coding process generated a range of themes and subthemes on: who are Ugandan fathers; framings of the problem of fatherhood in Uganda; contexts in which fatherhood is performed; roles fathers play in relation to child care; factors/norms influencing caregiving by fathers; and services and programmes to support fatherhood.

5.6 Ethical Considerations

This scoping review adhered to all relevant ethical requirements for undertaking this kind of research. All data sources - grey or published literature have been given appropriate citations. Since this was primarily a review of evidence, all sources of the date reviewed have been duly acknowledged and cited.

6. FINDINGS FROM THE SCOPING REVIEW

This study aimed at answering four major questions namely, (a) what does fatherhood and being a father mean in Uganda; (b) what do Ugandan fathers perceive their role(s) to be; (c) how do fathers perceive and describe father “involvement in child care”; and (d) how do existing policies frame father involvement? We present and discuss findings from the review in the following sections.

6.1 Who Are Uganda’s Fathers?

Although the 16 studies reviewed are too few to provide a comprehensive picture of fatherhood in Uganda, the diverse sample covered provides important insights into the range of characteristics of fathers who have received research attention in the country. Overall, the fathers researched so far include both rural and urban-based men and a substantial number of these are fathers from central Uganda. One study has been conducted with fathers in Karamoja and 3 studies with fathers from Northern Uganda, including West Nile. In terms of demographic characteristics, it is difficult to establish which age category the majority of Uganda's fathers fit into. Due to early pregnancy that which disproportionately affects girls more, Uganda's fathers are also teenagers, adults and young adults. The majority of studies conducted with fathers have targeted married fathers, and only one was conducted with single fathers.

Title	Year of Publication	Region(s) in Uganda	Study Sample	Authors
1. Evaluation of the Responsible, Engaged, and Loving (REAL) fathers Initiative on Physical Child Punishment and Intimate Partner Violence in Northern Uganda	2016	Northern Uganda	Men involved in the intervention and men not involved in the intervention. A study was conducted in two cohorts. A total 340 men for cohort one, and 160 men for cohort two, summing to 500 men.	Kim Ashburn & Brad Kerner & Dickens Ojamuge & Rebecka Lundgren

2. Evolving Perspectives Results from the International Men And Gender Equality Survey (Images) in Central Uganda	2019	Central Uganda	Men and women. A survey of 2,016 respondents (1,008 men and 1,008 women).	Promundo
3. GENDER roles and the care economy in Ugandan households. A case of Kaabong, Kabale and Kampala	2018	Kaabong, Kabale and Kampala Districts	Women, men (adults), boys and girls (8 -17 years). 1,198 Study sample of Households 3,108 and individuals- 1,310 respondents in Kaabong, 1,035 in Kabale, and 763 in Kampala.	Economic Policy Research Centre
4. Identifying the roles of fathers in post-war northern Uganda: Groundwork for a parenting intervention	2018	Acholi parents in Northern Uganda	19 fathers' in-depth ethnographic interviews, 3 FGDs, conversations with community members and a group of mothers	Christopher J Mehus, Elizabeth Wieling, Laura Achan & Okot Thomas Oloya
5. Male involvement during pregnancy and childbirth: men's perceptions, practices and experiences during the care for women who developed childbirth complications in Mulago Hospital, Uganda	2014	Mulago Hospital, Uganda	16 in-depth interviews with men who came to the hospital to attend to their spouses/ Partners admitted to Mulago National Referral Hospital.	Dan K Kaye, Othman Kakaire, Annetee Nakimuli, Michael O Osinde, Scovia N Mbalinda and Nelson Kakande

6.	Maternal and Child Health in Developing Countries Mothers Care More, But Fathers Decide: Educating Parents about Child Health in Uganda	2017	South West Region of Uganda	Women and men receiving the intervention. The study sample consisted of 105 Women's Health Nutrition villages, 105 Men's Health Nutrition villages, and 104 villages in control group. A total of 4,248 households comprised the sample.	Martina Björkman Nyqvist and Seema Jayachandran
7.	Maternal employment and fatherhood: what influences paternal involvement in child-care work in Uganda?	2009	Kampala and Mpigi, Uganda	Working fathers with working wives and working mothers with working husbands. A sample of 222 employed fathers with wives, and 246 employed mothers with working husbands.	Apollo Nkwake
8.	Men's Involvement in a Parenting Programme to Reduce Child Maltreatment and Gender-Based Violence: Formative Evaluation in Uganda	2017	Kampala, Uganda	Fathers and mothers attending a parenting program. 24 fathers and 16 mothers were interviewed.	Godfrey E. Siu, Daniel Wight, Janet Seeley, Carolyn Namutebi, Richard Sekiwunga, Flavia Zalwango and Sarah Kasule
9.	Parenting dilemmas of single fathers in contemporary Uganda	2018	Uganda and Kenya	Literature	Gordon Ainebyona and Peter Atekyereza

10.	Spousal Wealth and Fathers' Involvement in Childcare in Uganda	2015	Uganda	Mothers and fathers from both urban and rural Districts. Survey of 400 respondents, 200 mothers and 200 fathers 14 FGDs, with an average of 6 participants	Apollo Nkwake
11.	The Impact of Men's Active Positive Presence in the Lives of Children in Uganda	2019	Uganda	Boys and girls aged 16 and 17, mothers and fathers aged 18-50 years, and grandfathers and grandmothers aged 51 years plus; District technocrats, religious and political leaders at District level. Sample sizes were: 5 districts (Gulu, Iganga, Wakiso, Kampala and Mbarara); 35 key informants (with persons in leadership authority); 30 FGDs with male and female participants, adults and children, and 10 in-depth interviews with individuals identified as having special knowledge and characteristics relevant to the study.	Rosalind G.N. Lubanga, Mathew Amollo, John Bosco Apota

12. The modelling of masculinities and the construction of fatherhood in contemporary Uganda: A case of Kampala City	2009	Kampala, Uganda	The study is based on interviews with fathers and community members, and Newspaper Samples.	Magezi, Maria
13. The Uganda National parenting Guidelines	2018	Uganda	N/A	MoGLSD
14. Ugandan households: A Study of parenting practices in three districts	2017	Central Kampala district, Western Ibanda district, Northern Lira district.	Children (Boys and girls 8 - 12) and male and female caregivers 60 children (boys and Girls) In each of the districts = 180 children (boys and girls) 60 Caregivers in each of the districts = 180 caregivers (male and female)	Neil Boothby, Firminus Mugumya, Amy E. Ritterbusch, Joyce Wanican, Clare Ahabwe Bangirana, Adrienne D. Pizatella, Sophie Busi, Sarah Meyer

15. We Are Now Reduced to Women: Impacts of Forced Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda	2010	Karamoja, Uganda	interviews and discussions with 1,759 individuals who included leaders, seers (spiritual guides), male elders, male youth, and women of all ages local administrators, security personnel in grazing areas, weapons dealers and traders, and relevant staff members of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), and international organization	Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai
16. Between Women's Rights and Men's Authority: Masculinity and Shifting Discourses of Gender Difference in Urban Uganda	2008	Uganda	in-depth interviews with 50 men and 19 women	Robert Wyrod

6.1.1 Meanings of Fatherhood and Being a Father in Uganda

Fathers in Uganda are conceptualized as all male parents of both biological (who are the most common in demographic terms) and non-biological children; they are heads of households or families with overall authority and power over their families (Lubanga et al., 2019). In a study on male involvement in pregnancy and child birth, fathers described themselves as the "biological father of the unborn child", "father of her children", "father of the children" or a "lover". Lovers and men whose partners were pregnant regardless of whether they were responsible for the pregnancy are described as fathers (Kaye et al., 2014). Fathers are in formal marital relationships, cohabiting or may be single fathers, having either

lost their spouses, divorced or separated with the mothers of their children, or they became fathers due to non-marital child-bearing or through extra-marital affairs (Ainebyona and Atekyereza, 2018). There are no descriptions of men who may be in same sex relationships as fathers. Another category of fathers includes all the extended male relatives of the father especially uncles, male partners of mothers with children from earlier relationships who in literature (Lewis & Lamb, 2007; Bzostek, 2008; Berger et al., 2008) have been described as 'social fathers', because of cultural and other social-relational ties. For example, in most ethnic groups in Uganda, paternal uncles are addressed with titles that have 'father' in them, e.g. taata-omutto among the Baganda ethnic group, and tatento and isento among the Banyankore-Bakiga, both of which titles can be literally translated as 'young daddy', irrespective of whether the uncle is older in age than the biological father. Being a 'young daddy' culturally carries social roles and expectations over the children of one's brother. These concepts of a father suggest the need to advocate for more inclusive laws and structural interventions that recognize the wide range of categories and of fathers in Uganda. For example, the Children's Act defines a parent as the biological or adoptive father or mother of a child, but Article 35 of the Registration of Persons Act (2015) prohibits registration of the name of the father unless he appears personally before the registrar with the mother of the newborn child or unless a court order or DNA test confirming paternity of the child is presented. Similarly, there is need to review paternity policies to ensure fathers can have more days of paternity leave after the birth of a child and be available to provide care and support for both mother

and new born baby.

Fatherhood is also understood as a transition to adulthood and an important resource for constructing a desired masculinity. It is a status by which young men establish their masculine identity in the community. Formally marrying and having children is central to masculine identity and fatherhood (Nyanzi, 2009). It is also a vital source of respect and trust in the society (Siu et al., 2013). To ascend to these social statuses, young men must prepare economically by finding gainful employment (Mathur, 2016) or inheritance (Asiimwe, 2009).

6.2 Parenting Roles of Fathers in Uganda

This section presents review findings on fathers' parenting roles. Specifically, it gives a general overview of fathers' parenting roles from the literature, examines fathers' and community perceptions/expectations around fathers' roles. The review established that Ugandan fathers play a wide range of roles in their families and communities in relation to child caregiving.

In general, we found that fathers perform several major roles regarding parenting that could be broadly categorized as (i) material provisioning for children and direct households and childcare work, (ii) ensuring safety and emotional needs such as love, and (iii) nurturing morals, discipline and character. We also found that these roles are enacted in specific contexts, spaces, and times.

6.2.1 Provision of Basic/Survival Needs.

In almost all the studies the value placed on fathers' role in the family as a provider was discussed. Both fathers and the wider community describe a father's typical role to be that of a provider. This involves the expectation to provide food and/or money

for family upkeep, making available other material possessions and assets or enterprising, such as keeping domestic fowl and animals, investments to bequeath children, and providing education by paying school fees for children (Lubanga et al., 2019; Siu et al., 2013; Kansime et al., 2017). whereas it is well known that fathers may not necessarily be providing as it is socially constructed, the extent to which various fathers fulfill the provider role is not clearly described and quantified in the studies reviewed, calling for further inquiry. Where there was some data, a father's ability varied by the father's socio-economic status. Economic insecurity or low incomes prevented men from fulfilling their male roles as breadwinners (Silberschmidt, 2001, Siu et al., 2012), and for young men, their lifelong aspiration of fatherhood and marriage (Sanyukta et al., 2016). Failure to fulfill the provider role greatly challenges a man's masculinity and undermines his self-worth in their society and family (Siu et al., 2013). A good father is known by the extent to which they not only care and provide for their families, but also commands respect in the community (Boothby, et al, 2017). Further research in Uganda on the subject of father as 'provider' will need to more deeply delve into what social sanctions are associated with failure by fathers who have failed to play this role, even by major ethnic/cultural groups.

Investing in children's future through education is a hallmark of positive parenting (Boothby et al., 2017), and a central aspect of the provider role. Although Ugandan fathers value providing school fees, they are less likely to fully participate in educational support activities, such as visiting at school, monitoring academic performance and discipline (Lubanga et al., 2019); these are even more likely to happen with girl children whose education is often less prioritized compared to boys

(Ategyereza, 2001). Fathers that cross the traditional lines to support girls' education are unique in that they stand out from the rest of their communities. They are often the ones that have the power to do so; they often have a reasonable level of education and are often in positions of authority, such as teachers, government officials, a doctor, a magistrate, a clergyman, and a journalist, and often they are in paid employment and have control over money, which they could choose to spend on education for their children (Warrington, 2012). Besides school fees and food, it is considered a father's role to provide sleeping space and beddings to children and their mothers. However, studies often describe fathers as unable to provide adequate and good quality housing and bedding for their families (Lubanga et al., 2019).

A father's role in health care is frequently described to include providing money for medical care and/ or accompanying mothers for antenatal care (ANC), and less in terms of other direct patient care work. In the context of pregnancy and child birth, Ugandan fathers describe the qualities of the ideal father as one who was available, easily reached, accessible and considerate. They argue that a man responsible for a pregnancy should accept "partnership" in the pregnancy and his responsibility by supporting and caring for the woman during pregnancy and childbirth (Kaye et al., 2014). Such obligation extended to any man involved in a love relationship with a pregnant woman, even if he was not the "biological father" of the unborn child.

Antenatal Care is an important entry point for real fatherhood. The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) found clear differences in men's and women's reports of men's accompaniment

to antenatal care visits. The majority of men (70 percent) reported that they accompanied their partner to at least one antenatal care visit when she was pregnant with their youngest child compared to only 38 percent of women reporting on the same issue. Different perceptions of "accompaniment" between male and female study participants seemed to explain the difference. Regarding the level of participation in ANC among the men who accompanied their spouses, a greater share of men than women reported the male partner sat in the waiting room during the visit (39 percent of men compared to 27 percent of women), while more women than men reported that the male partner joined for part or all of the visit with the healthcare provider (43 percent of women compared to 35 percent of men) (Vlahovicova et al., 2019: pp 66-67).

With respect to immunization of children, although Ugandan fathers describe performing a range of roles, including personally taking a child for immunization, accompanying the mother, providing financial support, discussing with the partner, and participating in decision making, only a few are highly involved. Fathers predominantly perceive their main role to be that of providing financial support (Baguma et al., 2016). However, men are likely to get involved in seeking services for their pregnant partners when it is an emergency (Muheirwe et al., 2019). Other studies confirm relatively interdependent and supportive family caregiving models for children, but in which mothers can still play a key role in the children's lives and care, whilst fathers are relatively absent for both the sick children and their siblings (Femke et al., 2016; Nakamanya et al., 2014).

6.2.2. Safety, security and emotional needs.

Ugandan fathers play an important role in providing security and ensuring safety of children, as well as meeting psychological needs of their children and families. Some studies report about the father's role in building positive relationships and bonding with their children (e.g., Singla et al., 2015; Siu, 2017) and respectful character building as fathers carry the family vision to uphold family honour (Siu et al., 2017), whilst others describe it in relation to decision-making and discipline (Mehus et al., 2018; Magezi, 2009). Fathers describe providing nurturing care, moulding of children's character, being a father-figure and role modelling children in the community (Lubanga et al., 2019). Warrington's study (2012) described the enabling role of gender sensitive fathers, and reported that for the young women in this study who were from different regions of the country, fathers were not only keenly protective of their welfare. But they also built up their daughters' self-confidence, gave their daughters time and attention, listened, took an interest, gave advice and encouraged them in their education. Fathers in Kaye et al.'s (2014) study are described as being accessible, present, available, and responsible, concerned, maintains connection with the mother of child, and is a caregiver, provider or protector. In addition, a father is expected to be a team player. However, generally, in most literature, fathers are commonly presented as perpetrators of violence against children and women (Vlahovicova et al., 2019; MGLSD, 2015) or as negligent and unavailable to provide parental care (Boydell et al., 2017).

There is congruence between fathers' and societal descriptions of the scope and breadth of ideal roles of fathers. Besides providing for family, societal expectations of fathers included providing nurturing care,

moulding of children's character, being a father figure and role modelling children in the community (Lubanga et al., 2019), roles that are frequently described in father's explanations too.

6.2.3 Direct Childcare Work/Nurturing.

Ugandan fathers' involvement in direct child care work includes participation in activities such as caring for a baby, feeding, bathing, healthcare, playing with the child, changing diapers, taking them to and from school and helping children with their homework. However, the IMAGES study recently conducted in central Uganda confirms important differences in men's and women's involvement in caregiving, with the women doing the vast majority of caregiving (International Center for the Research of Women & PROMUNDO, 2019). The study found out that women generally do the majority of routine childcare tasks like changing diapers, feeding, and bathing babies and children compared to men; men were reported to be more involved in playing with the children, helping with homework, and [on a negative note] scolding the child using verbal discipline. Men were also more likely to be involved (either doing it themselves or sharing with their partner) in child care tasks such as helping children with homework, talking with the child about any personal matters in their lives, changing clothes, or doing various leisure activities (Vlahovicova et al., 2019: pp 67-68).

A recently concluded national time use survey (UBOS, 2019) also found that 81% of the women interviewed agreed that it is a woman's responsibility to take care of her home and family compared to 79 percent among men. Similarly more women (76%) agree that child care is the mother's responsibility compared to their male counterparts (68%). This suggests the existence of negative attitudes

towards gender equality with respect to child care work among Ugandan men and women. In that survey, more rural women and men in Uganda believed that taking care of children (73%), care for the elderly (55%), and cooking all the time (67%) are activities for women compared to their counterparts in urban areas i.e., 67%, 45% and 59% respectively. In a small quantitative study in Western Uganda, however, 1 in 2 fathers (50%) reported being involved in some form of direct care work because they enjoyed doing it, considered it is a necessity, needed to bond with their children, had time and some felt it would be unfair to their wives if they didn't (Nkwake, 2009). For children who look after younger siblings, the burden increased among older girls (age 13-17) while it reduced for boys as they grew older (Guloba et al., 2018). In the Siu et al. (2019) study on maternal care practices and supervision of childhood injuries in central Uganda, mothers described experiencing spousal conflict and a lack of support from their spouses, which undermined child supervision. Thus, although some Ugandan fathers report sharing domestic work with their partners, it may in fact be exaggerated reporting of their participation (Vlahovicova et al., 2019).

6.3 Perceptual Views on Fathers' Roles in Uganda

The scoping review examined the literature on how Ugandan fathers understand and communicate their roles as fathers, as well how other people (the community) perceived fatherhood and its roles. The intention was to explore points of convergence and/or contradictions between the agency (individual beliefs and actions of the fathers) and the expectations of others as well as societal ideologies, rules and norms that structure fathering.

These perceptions are elaborated below:

6.3.1 Fathers Perception of their Parenting Role(s)

Compared to mothers, fathers' direct involvement in child care is limited, although they tend to focus on provision and protection roles as well as nurturing children to 'fit in society' as their main roles. The level of education of fathers seems to positively correlate with their positive perception of caring for children. These perceptions are further discussed as follows:

Fathers Teach Children Acceptable Societal Values. Fathers perceived their role(s) as teaching boys how to be men, and what is right and wrong in preparation for their own future roles as fathers (Mehus, Wieling, Achan & Oloya, 2018). Fathers understood that they should spend time with their children as a way to positively influence their characters (Lubanga, Amollo & Apota, 2019). Fatherhood was also perceived as an expression of love to induct children in acceptable values like greeting, responsibility, avoiding bad groups, avoiding drinking alcohol, violence, and certain [dangerous] places. Traditionally, fathers taught children around the fire place through storytelling, however, this practice has since diminished (Mehus et al., 2018). Whereas inculcating societal values in children remains a key role that fathers have to play, the increasing changes in respect to how, where, and when this role is played are impacting this traditional role of fathers, alongside the seemingly competing modern-day technology induced learning platforms.

Fathers Perceive Their Role As Being That Of Undertaking Tasks That Are More Challenging. The review of literature indicates that fathers are aware of the diverse roles expected of them by the community, family and government. However, they perceive their role as being that of undertaking tasks that are more metaphysically, economically and cognitively demanding (Lubanga et al., 2019). The implication of this finding is that the perception sustains traditional gender stereotypes and inequalities that good parenting models are against; there is a risk that fathers may socialize their male children into these perceptions which is likely to perpetuate gender-based/intimate partner violence. Mothers are capable and may be willing to do the heavy lifting, and whenever this happens it ought not to be viewed as inverting/involving men's domain.

Fathers Protect Children and Promote Peaceful Co-existence in the Family. The findings from the review of literature indicates that fathers also perceive themselves to have a responsibility of ensuring the safety of children, the family, and the family's wealth. Fathers understand that they are responsible for making a stable and peaceful home for the children in which children freely interact with the parents, implying that parents should promote love, respect and freedom for children at home (Mehus et al., 2018). In a study conducted by Stites and Akabwai (2010) to document livelihood impacts of government disarmament in Karamoja sub-region, it was found that the exercise had had negative effects on their social estimation of manhood (and therefore fatherhood). Men decried government's disarmament program for "reducing them to women" by creating a protection gap, which rival neighbouring communities in Kenya exploited to inflict violent attacks on them (Stites & Akabwai, 2010). Disarmament

to the Karamojong men was interpreted not only as disenfranchising manhood/fatherhood but also a risk factor in respect to ensuring family protection, safety and security which is the responsibility of men.

Fathers' Positive Perceptions Toward Child Care Improves with Levels of Wealth and Education. Men's attitudes to participation in child care tend to positively correlate with their education and family size, suggesting that the more fathers are educated, the more they are likely to consider primary child care activities to be less of the primary responsibility of the mothers. In one of the reviewed studies, it was found out that fathers who are wealthy become involved in childcare without 'risking' the social stigma associated with it. In contrast less wealthy or poor fathers avoid child care responsibilities to stem being (perceived) as undermined by their wealthier spouses. Therefore, fathers' perception of their involvement in childcare work is largely influenced by gendered social norms pertaining to the division of labor and socio-economic status in the household (Nkwake, 2015). The study also found out that educated fathers are in a position to question societal stereotypes associated with fathers' involvement in direct childcare, and are likely to get involved in it because they enjoy doing it, take it as a necessity, need to bond with their children, have time, and feel that it would be unfair to their wives if they didn't (Nkwake, 2009).

Furthermore, in another study conducted among adult men and women, boys and girls in central (Wakiso/Kampala districts), northern (Lira district) and western (Ibanda) Uganda, it was found out that few fathers effectively provide for their children's basic needs such as

proper accommodation (e.g. sleeping space and beddings) (Boothby et al., 2017). A study by Lubanga et al. (2019) on the impact of positive men's presence in the lives of children in Uganda (covering five districts in central, east and north) also complements findings by Boothby et al. (2017) in emphasizing that few fathers participate in school visitations to review children's discipline and/or academic performance.

6.3.2 Community Perception of Fathers and their Roles

Fathers Provide for Children and Families. In one of the reviewed studies, community members (both children and adults) perceived a good father to be one who works hard to provide for the family and a bad father inadequately fulfils this responsibility (Boothby et al., 2017). Fathers are expected to provide basic household survival needs such as food, shelter, clothes, medical care, school fees and scholastic materials in addition to undertaking school visitations (Lubanga et al., 2019). Fathers are expected to be fully responsible for the well-being of their children, nurturance and moulding of children's character.

However, despite the well-articulated roles of fathers, there is a general perception that fathers are doing less than expected. The community, including children are dissatisfied with the extent to which fathers are fulfilling their roles (Boothby et al., 2017). Unlike mothers, few fathers participate in child care activities such as caring for babies, feeding, bathing, healthcare, playing with children, changing diapers, taking children to and from school and helping them with homework (Kayanja, 2020). Limited participation in child care work is largely mediated by gendered social norms which view primary child care

activities as a mother's domain. Thus, barriers to fathers' involvement in child care mainly ideological (Nkwake, 2018), but also practical and structural. When fathers are expected to provide for the family and are the ones to work long hours outside of the home, they become absentees on direct care care of children; also when formally employed fathers fail to enjoy paternity leave after the birth of a child they face structural level barriers to their participation in direct care as the IMAGES Uganda study indicated (Vlahovicova et al., 2019).

Fathers are also perceived to be role models not only to their children but also to other people in the community (Boothby et al., 2017). However, their presence alone does not guarantee fathers' effectiveness in positively influencing the lives of children. A study by Lubanga et al., (2017) found that some fathers are physically present but not actively and positively supporting their children; in contrast, some fathers who lived in distant locations were active and supportive to their children. Good fathers invest in their children's future, including educating children, while bad ones fail to care for them (Boothby et al., 2017). Fathers spend more time on paid work than on childcare due to strong cultural norms attached to the division of childcare roles (Guloba, 2018).

6.3.3 How Ugandan Fathers Learn Their Role(s)

Fatherhood roles are learnt by young men from fathers in the community that they take as role models. Boys are mentored into fathers directly and indirectly by father figures around them (Boothby et al., 2017). Fatherhood roles are learnt from childhood experience with father figures. Young men raised by "bad

fathers" intentionally choose to be "good fathers" or better parents by being present and positive in the lives of their future children because they would not want their children to experience the hardships they went through (Lubanga et al., 2019).

Fatherhood is also learnt through the process of masculinity modelling whereby boys are nurtured to become fathers who conform to the existing social norms and values. However, evidence shows that masculinity is overwhelmingly represented and modelled predominantly with provision, decision making, and ensuring discipline, but not with active participation in childcare (Magezi, 2009).

6.4 Factors that Influence Men's Performance of their Roles

Gender Norms. Caregiver norms with regard to division of labor in household differ by gender in Uganda, influencing both practices and relationships related to parenting. As discussed already, fatherhood roles in Uganda are primarily constructed alongside gender norms; the IMAGES study in central Uganda found for instance that 86 percent of men and 77 percent of women agreed that changing diapers and giving baths to children are the mother's responsibility, and nearly all men and women report that the community expects women to change diapers, give baths, and feed children and that women are indeed the ones that engage in such practices. On the other hand, less than a third of men and women said they personally feel it is shameful when men engage in caring for children or other domestic work (Vlahovicova et al., 2019, pp 69).

Other studies also emphasized that fatherhood roles in Uganda primarily relate to provision, decision-making and discipline (Mehus et al., 2018; Magezi, 2009), whereas

mothers focus more on childcare and domestic work (Guloba et al., 2018). Cultural norms in Uganda (as elsewhere) generally present a division of labor, meaning that fathers are meant to provide a stable home but do not partake as much in childcare. Women often do not accept help and men do not help perform unpaid childcare and domestic work because it is seen as a "woman's task". Guloba et al., (2018) in their study on gender roles and the care economy in Ugandan households in Kabong, Kabale and Kampala, most respondents were satisfied with the status quo with respect to work distribution in their households, justifying and normalizing role inequalities. The widespread social expectations that men do not care for children limits paternal involvement in child-care (Nkwake, 2009), and perhaps means that fathers lacked a clear understanding of their roles (Kaye et al., 2014). With the division of labor starting so early, cultural norms around unpaid domestic labor and childcare continue to propagate from a young age. Gender division of labor begins in childhood and progresses into adulthood thereby reinforcing cultural ideals of fatherhood. However, many children learn parenting behavior through their own experiences, though they are not locked into them. For example, while some children continue intergenerational patterns of parenting, some children use their negative experiences of abuse or neglect to act differently and be more present in their children's' lives (Lubanga et al., 2019).

Cultural and gender norms and practices around maternal and child health care, in particular in relation to pregnancy and childbirth, present specific barriers, which undermine fathers' involvement in this important child care role. Although many men

value supporting or are willing to learn how to support mothers during childbirth, clinics are perceived as spaces for women and the organization of ante-natal care and delivery wards makes men feel they do not have a place in the health system, in particular, as they are not allowed into the ANC clinics with their wives, subsequently undermining their involvement (Byamugisha et al., 2010). As a result, fathers describe feeling unsure of their role during childbirth (Kaye et al., 2014). Some fathers who think that male participation in maternal and child health is not important tend to clearly hold negative gendered stereotypical attitudes. They argue that child birth is a women's issue, that since men do not conceive nor do they give birth, they are not directly impacted and therefore had no business at maternal and child health facilities (Muheirwe et al., 2019). Such a negative attitude towards fatherhood responsibility by men is an important barrier to their involvement in Maternal and Child Health (MCH) (Morgan et al., 2017). Men who try to get involved tend to be negatively evaluated and discouraged by the wider society or by family members (Kariuki & Seruwagi, 2016), or by the women themselves (Morgan et al., 2017), and sometimes labelled as bewitched for accompanying their wives for MCH services (Muheirwe et al., 2019).

Gender norms influence the disciplining role of fathers in households. Cultural norms also result in high rates of gender-based violence, and violence against children since it is widely acceptable and common for parents and other caregivers to use physical punishment as discipline in Uganda (Vlahovicova et al., 2019). Violence against children by parents appears to be gendered, with boys tending to experience more physical violence than girls (MGLSD, 2015) who in addition to physical violence are more likely to experience sexual and gender-based violence. Vlahovicova et al., (2019) study confirms fathers' tendency to use violence, with only one in five fathers

reported using neither intimate partner violence nor harsh punishment, though these numbers seem to have improved slowly over time (Vlahovicova et al., 2019).

Personal, Community and Family.

Human behaviour is a product of family, community and personality characteristics. Many studies highlight evidence on how childhood experiences of parents and caregivers shape their expectations and behaviors as parents and husbands/wives. The IMAGES study found out that one in four respondents reported experiencing some type of physical violence as a child, including being beaten, slapped, kicked, or punched by a parent. Similarly, approximately three out of ten respondents reported ever seeing or hearing their mother being beaten by her male partner, and a higher proportion reported witnessing their mother being yelled at and/or humiliated by her male partner (Vlahovicova et al., 2019, pp 42-43)

A study on the impact of men's active positive presence in the lives of children in Uganda indicated that personal, family, and community factors prevent fathers' active involvement in the lives of their children. The study further indicated that active and present fathers have myriad positive impacts for their children, including children being disciplined, self-driven, and performing well at school as opposed to fathers who are absent or inactive, with such fathers increasing the risk of child labor, early pregnancy, low self-esteem, and negative school outcomes (Lubanga et al., 2019). However, Ugandan fathers' presence in the lives of their children is hampered by a range of personal, economic and social factors. The societal designation of fathers as providers means that fathers are pre-occupied/ busy with looking for income

earning opportunities away from home (Karuiiki & Sewragi, 2016), leaving limited time for men to be available although some fathers may use this as an excuse for being away, yet in fact disguising their lack of interest in child care work (Lubanga et al., 2019). Father's age is associated with their involvement in child care. A study on male involvement in children's immunisation found that involvement increased with the age of the father, with older fathers (45 years and more), likely to be more involved than younger parents (Baguma et al., 2016).

Income and perception of how wealth is shared at family level has been found to have various influences on father involvement in child care. Due to financial hardships, many Ugandan fathers tend to perceive themselves as not able to meet all the needs of their children and family. As a result, they tend to focus on what is perceived as important by the community, such as providing school fees and scholastic materials. Ugandan fathers' involvement in childcare work depends on fathers' perception of and/or sharing of their spouse's wealth. Fathers are more likely to engage in childcare when they have equal wealth to their spouse than when there are wealth differences between spouses (Nkwake et al., 2015). In addition, fathers who shared their wealth with their spouses are more likely to engage in childcare (Nkwake, 2009). While assessing gender dynamics affecting maternal health and health care access and use in Uganda, Morgan et al., (2016) found that low social-economic status was an important constraint, as both mothers and fathers and mothers reported not having money to buy key resources needed for delivery at childbirth, such as: polythene paper, gloves, razor blades, cotton wool/gauze and soap.

Marital status, in particular single fatherhood is another important barrier described in the literature. Compared to single mothers, single fathers find it very difficult to rear children alone for a number of reasons: Traditionally, the child care role was strictly for mothers and therefore men are never socialized to nurture and care for children making it very stressful and challenging for single fathers to perform without female support. As a consequence, on child care, little intimacy and affective bond is developed between single fathers and their children (Ainebyona & Atekyereza, 2017). Fathers also find it hard to balance between work and child care, which is worsened by absence of childcare services (Ainebyona & Atekyereza, 2017). Harmony in marital relationships, defined by absence of spousal conflict and violence, positively influences fathers' involvement in childcare (Nkwake, 2009). First, absence of marital discord allows fathers the opportunity to discuss shared responsibilities around child care with their wives and second, it ensures fathers find no excuse to be away from home, thereby allowing them to monitor child behavior and provide child care (Siu et al., 2017).

In contrast, personal factors which positively influence fathers' involvement in childcare include paternal confidence and motivation, access to paternity leave, shorter work time requirements, higher education levels, and harmony in marital relationships (Nkwake, 2009).

Institutional factors: There were also health system related barriers such as unwelcoming, intimidating and unsupportive environments at the health facilities. Although fathers described feeling unsure of their role during childbirth, they were willing to learn and

eager to support their partners/wives/spouses during this time (Kaye et al., 2014). This reported feeling by men points to the need for targeted parenting programmes that will help men to appreciate what roles they can play during and after childbirth.

6.5 Changing Contexts of Fatherhood

Family structure and context in which fathers perform their role in Uganda have evolved significantly, primarily due to the impact of HIV (Mukiza-Gapere and Ntozi, 1995; Kipp et al., 2007) as well as due to the impact of globalization (Kanyesigye, 2014), migrations, and other social influences. This has resulted in breakdown of extended family care model and tendency towards nuclear family models, increased family economic stress, absentee parents, child headed families (Evans, 2010), and an increasing number of single parents. In the Uganda Demographic Health Surveys (2016) conducted with persons aged 15-49 years most of the Ugandan fathers live in marital relationships (married/living together 53.5%), but a substantial number of men (41.3%) are reportedly never married, and a very small number (0.3%) are widowed (UBOS, 2016), perhaps because most men tend to remarry quickly after losing a spouse or because they are polygamous. Surprisingly, more women (61%) report to be in marital relationships than men in the UDHS survey, and more women (10%) are divorced compared to men (4.9%). Thus Ugandan fathers perform their roles in a changing context and varied circumstances. While a lot of the research is with married fathers, some men are single fathers due to, among others, widowhood and the fear of remarrying, separation, sexual permissiveness, or divorce, family/marriage instability, (Ainebyona and Atekyereza, 2017). There is an increasing number of single parents. Unfortunately, most of the research conducted on single parents

is with mothers, so there is much to be learned about the practices and needs of single fathers in Uganda.

6.6 Spaces for Child Care Work

Child care is a gendered activity that takes place in domestic spaces that are usually considered either feminine or masculine. Understanding the appropriateness of the physical and social spaces where child care is done by Ugandan fathers is important for efforts to increase their effective involvement in child care work. However, very limited evidence exists on spaces of child care in Uganda. Siu et al., (2017) delivered a parenting training programme and found that when fathers increased their involvement in child care monitoring in the domestic sphere, the unintended consequence was that it had the potential to diminish the only main space that was traditionally reserved for women. This, they argued risks exacerbating gender inequalities as men's influence over this aspect of the domestic sphere grows (Siu et al., 2017). In terms of programing, this finding suggests the need to monitor how father involvement efforts may impact mothers. On the other hand, it suggests the need to pay attention to ways to effectively create a father-friendly atmosphere to enhance their direct child-care giving in the domestic sphere.

The evidence is weakest with respect to research that assesses the extent to which public child-care spaces such as day care centers, which have grown steadily throughout the country, and work place/ institution provided-child care spaces, are appropriate for fathers who wish to engage in direct child care work. However, there are several reasons to believe they may not be father friendly. By referring to institutional spaces as 'breastfeeding rooms', this terminology essentially

excludes fathers from such spaces, since fathers do not breast feed. It conveys the message that fathers are not important and are not welcome. Second, given these spaces tend to be dominated by mothers, fathers may not be comfortable in a context they feel out of place, they may be uncomfortable where women who are not their partners are breastfeeding and may worry their child-care giving skills are being scrutinized and judged in such a context. In contrast, mothers themselves may be sensitive about men's presence (Siu et al., 2017).

6.7 Time Spent on Childcare Work

Time use is an important proxy measure for men's engagement in childcare work. There are few studies with respect to how Uganda's fathers spent their time and how much of this was allocated to child care work. The closest is a recent national time use survey (UBOS, 2019) that assessed time use by women and men (not necessarily fathers). This survey showed that on average women spend more time doing unpaid care work (7 hours) compared to men (5 hours) in a day while men spend more time in productive work (5 hours) compared to women (3 hours). Overall, there is a huge gap in the time spent by women on unpaid care work daily in compared to Ugandan men; women spent more minutes (approximately 30 minutes) within the hour on unpaid care work which peaks from 7:00 to 9:00 am, 12:00 pm to 2:00 pm, and 6:00 to 9:00 pm while men spent on average less than 10 minutes per day on unpaid care work. Similarly, the IMAGES study in central Uganda reports that the vast majority of caregiving is done by women (Vlahovicova et al., 2019). These findings are confirmed by a study conducted in Kampala, Kaabong and Kabale districts, in which it was found that typically, more men than women

(24% for men vs 13.8% for women) spent a large proportion of their time on paid work, and only a small proportion of men (3%) spend some of their time in a given day on unpaid care activities, compared to 18.2% of the women (Guloba, 2018). When age groups are compared, women and men aged 31-50 years spent more time on childcare than younger (18-30 years) and older persons (above 50 years) (Guloba et al., 2018). When age groups are compared, women and men aged 31-50 years spent more time on childcare than younger (18-30 years) and older persons (above 50 years) (Guloba et al., 2018).

Regarding fathers' presence in their children's lives, relatively few studies consider whether fathers spend time with their children. The one study that explored this issue reports that fathers generally spend minimal time with children at home. There were variations in the extent to which fathers were present and actively and positively managing their children. Some fathers were physically present but not active and positively relating with their children. Some fathers lived in distant places but kept being active and supportive of their children. Other fathers were active momentarily and left the responsibilities of caring to mothers, grandparents and other relatives (Lubanga et al., 2019).

6.8 Services and Programmes to Support Fatherhood

Child Wellbeing and Support Services. There is an inherent trust that fathers benefit and are vital to a child's wellbeing, but the mechanisms of how and why fathers are critical to children in Uganda remain relatively unknown. Parents are the most prominent and important influence in a child's life. Supportive

and positive relationships with parents can mitigate lifelong risks of children and promote resilience and protective factors (Mehus et al., 2018).

Research on interventions and programs to support Ugandan fathers and fatherhood is sparse. Siu et al. (2017) evaluated a community-based parenting program designed to reduce child maltreatment and gender-based violence. The program focused specifically on increasing involvement with fathers in the community. Successful father-involvement was attributed to having the first 10 sessions be exclusively for fathers, then following with mixed meetings with both fathers and mothers. Fathers felt social pressure to adhere to conventional masculinity norms, suggesting social norms rather than individuals need to be changed. Parenting classes also influenced father's involvement in childcare, however, they had a bigger impact on mothers than fathers, in that attendance and engagement was influenced by cultural norms and logistical barriers (Nyqvist & Jayachandran, 2017).

Guloba et al. (2018) examined the impact of community infrastructure on families' domestic and childcare work. They found that well-maintained roads, access to water and sanitation services, education, health centers, and markets had a minimal effect on decreasing inequalities between men and women in the household. Additionally, access to affordable childcare did not have a significant impact on the amount of time women in the household spent on unpaid domestic and childcare work. Their study suggests that creating equity in the household between men and women will take more than infrastructural changes.

6.9 Policies and Laws

Uganda's 1995 Constitution spearheaded the way towards gender equality and inclusion in politics and law. Men and women are afforded equal rights in marriage, during marriage, and on its dissolution. Additionally, the constitution prohibits laws, cultures, customs, or traditions that undermine women's status (Int'l Survey Fam. Law 433: 2002).

The Children's Act defines a parent as the biological or adoptive father or mother of a child, but Article 35 of the Registration of Persons Act (2015) prohibits registration of the name of the father unless he appears personally before the registrar with the mother of the newborn child or unless a court order or DNA test confirming paternity of the child is presented. This most often implicates the mother in proving paternity. Parents are responsible for "duties, powers, responsibilities, and authorities which by law a parent of a child has in relation to the child," and in the case of divorce the best suited parent will be given primary custody. Maintenance orders include the cost of food, clothing, education and welfare of the child.

Under national law, parenting is the responsibility of both the father and mother, yet there are very few guidelines and service agencies which address fathering specifically (Lubanga et al., 2019). The lack of policies explicitly promoting and defining gender equity and inclusivity become a barrier when fathers wish to be involved in domains that have historically excluded them, such as pregnancy and child health appointments. As a result, Kaye et al. (2014) found fathers felt unwelcomed and intimidated by health systems and made it difficult to be successfully involved in the pregnancy and childbirth stage of their children. More procedural and policy work must be done to include fathers in all stages of a children's life.

7.0 Conclusion, Research Gaps, Policy and Practice recommendations

7.1 Conclusion

This study identifies important themes that describe the state of Uganda's fathers and the roles that they perform with respect to child care work. We found that while fathers' roles are performed in diverse social contexts and circumstances, fathers are intrinsically motivated to care for their children regardless of their circumstances. Hence, they do not need to be pressured; rather, environments and services that are father-friendly should be promoted to increase their involvement in child care work. Equally, there is need for deliberate and continuous monitoring of interventions directed toward increasing father involvement in parenting to ensure desirable outcomes, particularly maintaining stability in gender relations.

Evidence from these studies, however, showed that fathers were more inclined to perform traditional male stereotyped roles, with providing/breadwinner repeatedly identified as their typical role by fathers themselves and other members of the community. Yet, Ugandan fathers' proficiency in this much cherished provider role is greatly undermined by economic insecurity and poverty, thereby damaging their masculinity attained or attainable through this role. Other roles such as nurturance and molding of character and discipline were similarly important, but for many fathers, these are better described as expected or ideal roles rather than what they consistently did or were successful at. Fathers appeared to be generally trapped in trying to fulfil the provider role. Although success in the provider role makes the performance of other roles easier, it would appear that enhancing men's proficiency in roles beyond the provider role would liberate them, and result in more progressive and involved patterns of fathering.

There were variations in the way fathers were present, active and positively participating in parenting. What primarily matters in father involvement in parenting was their intrinsic motivation, which they demonstrated as highlighted above. In addition, the higher the income, wealth and education, the more fathers were likely to be involved in direct child care work.

Strong evidence exists that gendered cultural norms related to male authority, power and privilege shape fathers' engagement in caregiving. Some fathers are motivated in their roles by the belief that they are the "presidents or commanders" of their families, carrying delegated authority and power from God himself, while for others, it is the conviction that it is the right thing to do or obligation to "help" women. Uninvolved fathers were those that generally adhered to cultural norms that presented a clear-cut division of labor. Relatedly, some women perpetuated unequal division of labor by not accepting men to "help" in the unpaid childcare, or domestic work, and being satisfied with the work distribution in their households.

7.2 Research gaps, Policy and Practice Recommendations

7.2.1 Research Gaps

Fathers' involvement in direct care giving for children has been the subject of very few studies in Uganda. Hence, the evidence remains weak, but nonetheless, informative. The limited evidence on the factors that shape father involvement in direct child care need to further be studied with the participation of different population sub-groups including children, women and fathers themselves.

Given that the existing evidence is largely from small qualitative studies, there is need for national, regional and local surveys combining qualitative and ethnographic methods to generate evidence on various aspects of fatherhood. Such studies should among others investigate the following:

- **Personal factors shaping fatherhood** e.g., age, life-course changes, education, wealth and health status
- **Contextual factors shaping fatherhood** e.g., technology and fatherhood, structure of the economy, Poverty (as a generalized feature/aspect of Uganda's economy), employment status, etc.
- **Social factors influencing and shaping fatherhood** e.g., meanings of fatherhood across different cultural and ethnic groups, settings/ contexts of fatherhood, experiences of fatherhood, discourses of fatherhood and their sources, and relationships between fatherhood and motherhood, Family type/structure and fatherhood
- **Cultural factors structuring (influencing) fatherhood** e.g., Patriarchy as an organizing social principle, Gender division of labor, and cultural changes and fatherhood
- **Political (economy) factors structuring fatherhood** e.g., the politics of fatherhood, social policy and fatherhood, social conflict and fatherhood, institutions and fatherhood, etc.
- **Local, National and International factors** e.g., Fatherhood in an urbanizing environment, rural context and fatherhood, fatherhood and globalization.

7.2.2 Policy and Practice Recommendations

Based on the findings of the Scoping review, the following policy and practice proposals are made in respect to the needed structural and behavioural changes:

- There is need for instituting national child care policies, programmes and campaigns that recognize and prioritize redistribution of care work equally between men and women/fathers and mothers/boys and girls.
- There is need to advocate for more inclusive laws and structural interventions that promote father involvement in care giving and parenting. In particular policies should promote care giving as the responsibility of both mother and father, and policies and interventions that enhance male involvement in maternal and child-health especially during and immediately after birth should be prioritized. This may include job-protection and fully paid parental leave for both fathers and mothers, and, longer number of paternity leave for fathers to ensure they are available to provide necessary care and support to the mother and new born baby.
- Promote an ethic of male care in schools, media, cultural and religious institutions, and other key institutions in which social norms are created and reinforced;
- Promote parenting programmes in communities as a mechanism for addressing mindset change on father involvement in direct child care work. Men are receptive towards parenting training if it is carefully structured and tailored to their needs. Thus, parenting programmes that draw on positive masculine norms and encourage fathers to see the value of properly parented children in the construction of their masculinity should encourage men's greater involvement in caregiving. Such programmes should help men appreciate fatherhood as a role and a function rather than see it as merely as some form of entitlement or a name.

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