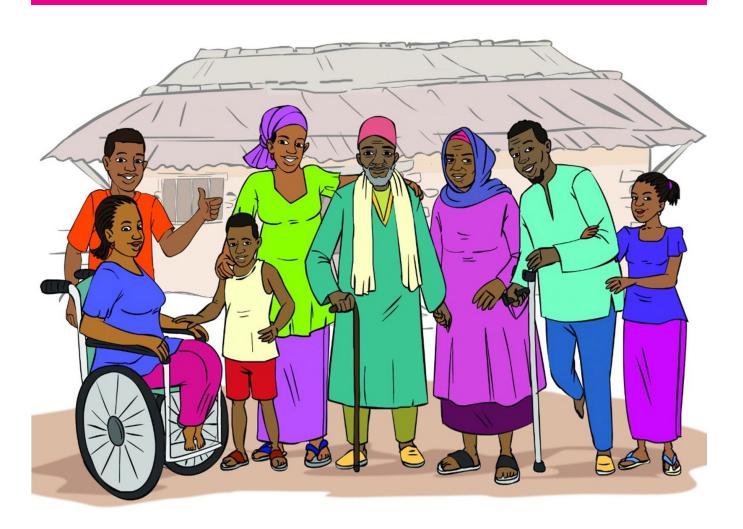




STRENGTHENING HEALTH OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN



UNPAID CARE WORK, SOCIAL NORMS AND GENDER ROLES

A qualitative study assessing shifts in knowledge and awareness among women, adolescent girls, men and adolescent boys

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Acronyms

CE Costed Extension

CEFM Child, Early and Forced Marriage

COVID/COVID-19 Corona Virus Disease of 2019

DHS Demographic Household Survey

FGD Focus Group Discussion

GAC Global Affairs Canada

GBV Gender-Based Violence

KII Key Informant Interview

MNCH Maternal, Newborn and Child Health

PWD Person with Disabilities

RGA Rapid Gender Assessment

SBCC Social Behaviour Change Communication

SHOW Strengthening Health Outcomes for Women and Children

SRH Sexual and Reproductive Health

UPCW Unpaid Care Work

VSLA Village Savings and Loan Association

WRA Women of Reproductive Age

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Executive Summary

GLOBAL SITUATION

Time spent on unpaid care work (UPCW) is heavily gendered with women and girls bearing a greater weight relative to men and boys. The global average for unpaid care work for women (covering 75 nations) is 277 minutes (or 19.7 per cent of a 24-hour day). When it comes to unpaid work for men, the global average is 111 minutes (or 7.7 per cent of a 24-hour day).¹

PROJECT BACKGROUND & RATIONALE

The COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent household hygiene practices and lockdowns with full families being at home significantly exacerbated the unpaid care work (UPCW) demand on women and adolescent girls worldwide. The intensity of the impact was evident in Plan International's *Strengthening Health Outcomes for Women and Children* project countries, that implemented COVID-19 response programming, namely: Bangladesh, Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria. Even before COVID-19, the project addressed UPCW throughout the MNCH continuum through programming seeking to transform unequal gendered power relationships and norms that are

at the root of the uneven gendered division of care work. As part of the gender transformative response to mitigate health, social and economic impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, the SHOW project accelerated UPCW programming in four countries with the goal of promoting equitable sharing of care responsibilities and gender equality. This has been a step towards improving the management of daily care work at home, where women and girls, in comparison to men and boys, spend more time in UPCW.

In order to assess the effectiveness of the project's UPCW activities, a qualitative study was conducted between October 2021 and February 2022. The following two research questions guided the research design and field implementation.

- To what extent have the SHOW activities shifted men, women, girls' and boys' awareness and knowledge of social norms and gender roles towards unpaid care work?
- 2. To what extent shifts in men's and boys' understanding translated into recognizing the importance of gender-equitable sharing of unpaid care work?

^{1.} Jacque Charmes (2019). The Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market. An Analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys. Unpaid care work as defined by this reference consists of three categories: Providing unpaid domestic services for own final use within households, providing unpaid caregiving services to household members, and providing community services and help to other households. ILO. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms 732791.pdf. However in our qualitative study, unpaid care work mostly encompasses the two first categories.



SAMPLE AND METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research was carried out in Bangladesh (Kishoregonj, Jaldhaka and Saidpur, regions), Nigeria (10 Local Government Areas of Sokoto), Senegal (Kedougou, Nioro, Pikine, Louga, Sansamba, Bignona and Kaolack) and Ghana (Bincheratanga, Makayili, Nangunkpung, Daboya, Langogu, Napolgu, Lingbinsi). Data was collected through focus group discussions (FDGs) and key informant interviews (KIIs) with women, men, adolescent girls, adolescent boys, and community facilitators. Content analysis of the qualitative data set draws upon NVivo-based matrix and crosstab coding.

Key findings of the report are summarized as follows:

Gendered division of care work, its implications and causes.

In all four country data sets, many participants demonstrated improved knowledge and recognition of unpaid care work both within and outside the household. In all study countries, men are culturally regarded as financial providers, and their function within the family in terms of regular care responsibility (inside the household) is perceived as secondary. In Senegal, Ghana, and Nigeria many research participants, including women, men, and adolescent girls and boys, agreed that women and girls are overworked, and this affects their health in multiple ways (physical, psychological and emotional). A fraction of men and adolescent boys in Bangladesh claimed that there were no negative consequences of household chores on women and girls.

Evidence from the field establishes a link between UPCW and intimate partner violence. The high burden of UPCW causes time poverty, fatigue and,

in some cases, affects the mental health of women as well. All respondent categories in Africa provided statements that confirm women's increased vulnerability to experience intimate partner violence (physical and sexual) when either due to lack of time, or due to their physical and psychological state they resist partner's demands for sex. In Bangladesh, sexual violence against wives was not mentioned.

Data across countries confirms that time poverty due to women's unpaid care workload has a detrimental effect on women and adolescent girls as it reduces their basic freedom to access economic and educational opportunities as well as greatly limits their basic rights to rest, leisure and good health. Several respondents across countries also elucidated the negative impact of inequitable sharing of UPCW on interpersonal family relationships. Some women and adolescent girls emphasized that care roles and responsibilities are also life skills, and if boys do not acquire these skills, they will experience the repercussions of being unable to care for themselves or others.

As for the causes, the gendered division of care roles and responsibilities was attributed to culture and tradition across the sampled countries and in Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana, intergenerational transmission of gender roles was discussed as one of the causes of the perpetuation of gendered care roles. Among related factors, respect for elders in all four sampled countries was mentioned. Also, at times, respondents understand gendered division of care roles and responsibilities as the only way in which to raise responsible and adaptable children, particularly girls, who can help themselves and serve both parents and in-laws. In addition, based on data collected in Nigeria, women's fear of divorce is a factor that prevents them from having conversations with men about the gendered and inequitable aspects of the UPCW. This is due to their overall dependency on male relatives for financial and socio-cultural security.



Barriers on the road to gender transformative change.

Internal, external, and contextual barriers to gender transformative change were identified based on the data sets. Internal hurdles, such as a person's sense of self and gender identity in patriarchal cultures, as well as restrictions created by immediate blood and spousal relationships, are the most prevalent. In Bangladesh, intergenerational transmission of gendered roles was discussed as children are purposefully and strategically socialized into gender roles. Barriers outside the household include the use of stigmatizing language, gossip, ridicule, and community disapproval and condemnation. All four sample countries indicated the use of stigmatizing language for men and women who practice equitable sharing of care roles and responsibilities, which goes beyond the culturally approved gendered division of care roles and obligations. However, such language seemed less common in the sampled communities in Senegal and more common in Nigeria and Bangladesh. The broader contextual components that at times act as barriers include religion and local culture

among the Mandinka communities in Senegal, Hausa communities in Nigeria, and Dagombas in Ghana. Religion is referenced in a variety of ways, with men and women both appealing to it at times in support of gender equality and at other times, use religion to justify unequal gender relations. Several individuals, however, recognize that in practice their local cultural norms turn out to be more influential than their religious beliefs. Evidence collected suggests that the influence of family structures and organization, notably extended family systems in all four countries and polygynous households in Ghana for example, can be inconducive environments for men and boys to practice fair sharing of care roles and responsibilities and overall gender equality. Economic pressures, financial insecurity, time poverty were also identified as roadblocks to gender transformative change by many respondents, men, women, adolescent boys and girls alike.

Impact of GOVID-19 on unpaid care work and gender-based violence.

During the pandemic, the workload increased for women, adolescent girls, and boys in all four countries and men helped only occasionally. Evidence from Ghana and Senegal suggests that in order to deal with economic hardship, women made whatever efforts they could under lockdown restrictions, for example, by becoming porters (kayayei) and struggling to work as street sellers in addition to the considerable amount of unpaid care work that they were already doing inside the household. Men and women in the four sampled countries reported that disagreements and disputes increased within families. Some respondents also indicated that due to the pandemic, there were more divorced couples as men lost their jobs and families faced financial hardships. Some women reported that their husband's presence at home was the most difficult aspect of COVID-19. Women and adolescent girls and boys, as well as men themselves made statements that suggests that when husbands are at home, they demand women to serve them constantly and that women feel disturbed by their interference.

The findings suggest that violence against women and children also increased during the pandemic. There is evidence that child, early and forced marriage, mostly to escape poverty, increased in Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Ghana. In Senegal, this was reported much less. In Ghana, some adolescent girls were forced into marriage due to unwed pregnancies (which are considered culturally unacceptable). Physical intimate partner violence (such as 'wife beating') was reported across all four countries and all respondent categories. Sexual violence against women and girls primarily features in the Senegal and Ghana data. Respondents in Bangladesh mentioned dowry-related abuse. In Nigeria, more women and adolescent girls than men reported that the COVID-19 pandemic caused an increase in rape incidences as more boys were out of school and work and many returned home from school hostels located outside the community. Some respondents in Nigeria reported that idle boys formed street gangs and harassed women, girls and even small children.

In Senegal however, some respondents reported that the pandemic had strengthened family unity and solidarity, and all family members began to help one another regardless of the relational and gender power imbalances that existed prior to the outbreak.

Impact of SHOW UPCW activities on communities.

The purposive engagement of men and boys towards positive masculinities to address maternal and reproductive health concerns, UPCW, genderbased violence has prompted them to reassess gendered and inequitable aspects of care labour while also facilitating them to be supportive in household and family care work. Men and adolescent boys are increasingly responsive to women's wellbeing related needs. For example, more men are accompanying women to health services. In all project countries, men and adolescent boys have made a certain degree of effort to reduce time poverty for women by redistributing tasks both inside and outside the household so that women can be healthy, take rest and socialize and, in a few cases, even take up income-generating activities. This finding is verifiable across respondent categories, including women and adolescent girls.

Men and boys are now increasingly aware of the negative effects that societal norms and assigned gender roles and obligations have on women and girls, including health conditions, violence against women and children, and disturbed family relationships. Many of them attribute this increased awareness to the SHOW UPCW training sessions, as well other project activities, that they had attended. Participants have begun to more effectively discuss and exchange ideas within families and within wider communities regarding equitable sharing of care work and this they achieved despite the risk of societal ridicule and censure. Based on what they have learned, participants are willing to advocate for gender equality and women's and girls' rights. For example, the male community facilitator in Nioro, Senegal and the respondents belonging to Father's Clubs in Bignona, Senegal, reported that in their



observation as a result of awareness gained through trainings, violence against women had decreased, and there was a notable decrease in complaints from women. A few participants in Bangladesh have taken action to prevent child marriage in their communities.

Overall, women and adolescent girls expressed that they have gained confidence to communicate effectively and assertively and their perception is that SHOW GE sessions and UPCW training sessions have contributed towards greater harmony, peace and love between family members. The participants shared that they had progressively gained the confidence to successfully renegotiate work distribution with parents, brothers, husbands and other family members in this respect. Women and adolescent girls are advocating for gender equality and women's rights while engaging men and boys. Also, as a result of other family members assisting in reducing and redistributing the UPCW load on them, a few women were able to earn money. Respondents have attributed these attitudinal and behaviour changes to the SHOW activities that they had attended.

The future of equitable sharing of UPCW.

The value of equitable sharing of care tasks and responsibilities, as well as joint decision-making, were core components of the curriculum that participants were exposed to through a range of sensitization activities. Many participants in Senegal, Ghana, and Nigeria across all respondent categories agreed that more equitable sharing of UPCW has improved and will continue to improve women's health outcomes. This initiative has substantially helped communities in supporting enabling environments for promoting the agency of women and girls. Men and boys participated in care responsibilities during the pandemic and with a few exceptions, respondents believe that the importance of equitable sharing of UPCW cannot be undermined due to its role in ensuring family peace, harmony and bonding, as well as, its role in allowing women and adolescent girls to diversify their productivity through income-generating and

educational activities. Data suggests that beliefs, attitudes and behaviours are beginning to shift as many respondents reported that equal distribution of care duties and joint decision-making are essential for harmonious households. There are a few exceptions, which are also included in the findings.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on evidence from the qualitative research, recommendations are presented, focusing on the role of civil society, public and private sector stakeholders in recognizing, responding, reducing and redistributing UPCW along with representing the needs and rights of unpaid care workers. The recommendation upholds gender transformative change at the local and national levels through policy and programs.

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This study is divided into four sections. The first two parts contain the relevant context, project specifics, background information, and methodology. Section three presents research findings arranged in six sub sections/ themes, namely: gendered division of care roles and responsibilities; implications of unequal division of care roles and responsibilities; challenges on the road to gender transformative change; impact of COVID-19 on care work and violence; impact of SHOW UPCW activities in communities; and equitable sharing of care responsibilities and its future. Section four discusses the findings briefly and presents recommendations.

1

Introduction



Introduction

Addressing gender inequalities through transformative work.

Plan International's gender transformative approach focuses on addressing the core causes of gender inequality and exclusion, as well as altering uneven gender and power relations in order to realize girls' rights and equality for all children, youth, and adults, regardless of gender or other identities. The gender transformative approach goes beyond improving the condition of women and girls; it attempts to elevate their social position and works at several levels at once, including the individual and collective, family and community, and institutional and policy levels. It focuses not only on ensuring equal opportunities and outcomes for all, but also on reducing the barriers that prevent girls and women from reaching their full potential and exercising their rights. To this end, Plan International's programs are premised on robust contextual data and address and measure progress in core dimensions including improving women's and girls' agency to access and control resources, participate in and lead decisions in private and public spheres, equalize the gendered division of labour and stereotypical notions around roles and responsibilities, address harmful social gender norms as well as policy, institutional responsiveness and service delivery.



▲ Women's group meeting

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

1.1 PROGRAM CONTEXT: THE STRENGTHENING HEALTH OUTCOMES FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN (SHOW) PROJECT

The Strengthening Health Outcomes for Women and Children (SHOW) project is a multi-country, gender transformative initiative which aims to improve the quality, availability, utilization, and accountability of essential Maternal, Newborn and Child Health/Sexual and Reproductive Health (MNCH/SRH) services to reduce maternal and child mortality amongst marginalized and vulnerable women and adolescent girls and their children in targeted regions across five countries (Bangladesh, Ghana, Haiti, Nigeria and Senegal). With support from Global Affairs Canada (GAC) and individual Canadian donors, Plan International Canada worked in partnership with Plan International offices in five countries, the respective governments, and local non-governmental organizations to implement SHOW from 2016 to 2022. SHOW has four Intermediate outcomes:

- DEMAND (1100): Improved access and utilization
 of essential health services by women of
 reproductive age (WRA), adolescent girls,
 newborns and children under 5 living in poverty,
 with high vulnerability.
- SUPPLY (1200): Improved delivery of quality essential health services to WRA, adolescent girls, newborns and children under 5 living in poverty, with high vulnerability.
- ACCOUNTABILITY (1300): Increased dissemination and use of data by project, communities, health committees, service providers, planners and decision makers
- PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT (1400): Strengthened endorsement by Canadian public of Canadian global investments on MNCH/SRHR issues

In August 2020, the SHOW project received its first of two Costed Extensions (CE) from GAC to contribute to the COVID-19 response in Bangladesh, Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria. The CE, which started in August 2020 and ended on June 30, 2022, focuses on enabling safe access to essential MNCH/SRH services, supporting health system response to COVID-19 and continuation of essential services and increased demand for MNCH/SRHR and COVID-19 prevention information and services.

SHOW's theory of change recognizes gender inequality as a key determinant of poor MNCH and SRH outcomes. An evidence-based gender equality strategy contributes to enabling women and adolescent girls to develop individual and collective agency towards the realization of their health rights. Implementation involves strengthening their knowledge and awareness of health rights and gender equality; increasing their participation and leadership in public life; building their financial assets through savings and skills training; establishing social networks; and engaging female community influencers. Also, by involving men and boys in positive masculinity practices, as well as traditional and religious leaders, an enabling social environment for gender equality is supported. SHOW's theory of change and gender equality strategy both tie up with the larger system through its capacity-building components for the health service providers, supervisors, and planners, ultimately contributing to gender-responsive and adolescent-friendly health service delivery. The "5Rs" Approach (Recognize, Redistribute, Reduce, Represent, Respond), a central framework within the care economy, recognized by Global Affairs Canada, underpins SHOW's UPCW activities as part of the broader work on gender quality and equitable distribution of care roles and responsibilities.²

Across the world, without exception, women carry out three-quarters of unpaid care work, or more than 75 per cent of the total hours provided. Women dedicate on average 3.2 times more time than men to unpaid care work. There is no country where women and men perform an equal share of unpaid care work.³ To address the difficulties women and girl's face with regard to the unequal distribution of household responsibilities, which was further exacerbated by the pandemic,⁴ a more targeted focus on unpaid care work (UPCW) was integrated in the CE stages of the project.

The UPCW activities were built on the SHOW project's successful programming with women's support groups, Fathers' Clubs and adolescent boys' and girls' groups, engagement of women and men community leaders as well as in the extensive social behaviour change communication (SBCC) across the SHOW countries prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The objective of these targeted activities was to further reflect on and sensitize group participants on the causes and consequences of the unequal nature of UPCW on the lives and health of women and girls and to collectively identify ways to foster an equitable distribution of UPCW, especially at the household level.⁵

In each country, women and men participated in reflective group sessions to enhance their awareness and understanding around unpaid care work. Women's groups and men's groups participated in 6 and 7 weekly or bi-weekly sessions, respectively. The UPCW manuals⁶ were

^{2.} The main elements of the 5 Rs Approach are: recognizing the value of unpaid and poorly paid care work; reducing unpaid care work through technology and infrastructure; redistributing responsibility for care work more equitably both within the household and outside it; representation of care workers; ensuring that they have a voice; and responding to the rights and needs of all care workers.

^{3.} Jacque Charmes (2019). The Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market. An Analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys. ILO. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms 732791.pdf. p. 3

^{4.} Lilian N. Unaegbu, Peninah Kimiri, Suzan Agada (2020) Rapid Gender Analysis North East Region, Nigeria; UN Women, Care, Oxfam.

^{5.} SHOW Year 6 Annual Report. Plan International

^{6.} These manuals were adapted from the 'Low Literacy & Low Resource Version of Fathers Clubs Manual' jointly developed by Promundo and Plan International Canada during the SHOW project.



▲ A men's group meeting in Nigeria.

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work

contextualized in each country with illustrations created by local artists. The UPCW manual for women's sessions covered topics such as gender roles and responsibilities, gender stereotypes, how to get partner support during pregnancy and post-delivery, assertive communication, and healthy relationships. Men's groups included modules on gender roles and responsibilities, gender stereotypes, GBV, joint decision-making, how to support partners during pregnancy and post-delivery, and how to address community stigma for adopting positive and nonviolent masculinity. Similarly, adolescent boys and girls received awareness messages.⁷

In Senegal and Ghana, partnerships with local women's rights organizations were forged to carry out both the community level awareness raising on UPCW and advocacy with their governments on the importance of addressing the impact of UPCW on women and girls.

The following material offers an overview of women's and girls' status, UPCW, and the pandemic in the project countries. These paragraphs are based on relevant statistical data on the countries engaged in the program. This data is valuable for contextualizing some of the findings provided in <u>Section 3</u>.

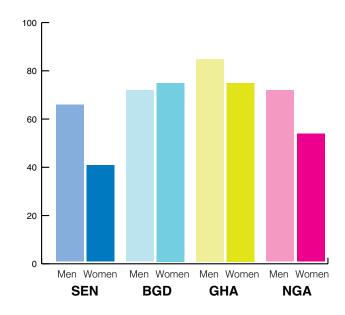
1.2 GENDER INEQUALITIES AND UPCW WITHIN PROGRAM COUNTRIES

Status of women and girls in the four study countries.

Nigeria's population is estimated at over 216 million.⁸ Women constitute 49.95% of the total population.⁹ Bangladesh's population is estimated at over 164.8 million with 49.50% women.¹⁰ Ghana's population stands at 32.04 million people with women being 49.31% of the total population.¹¹ Senegal's female and male population has been recorded at 8.57 million and 8.17 million respectively.¹²

Literacy.

Senegal's total adult literacy is estimated to be 51.9%. Male literacy stands at 64.8% and female literacy is 39.8% (2017). Bangladesh's literacy rate is 73.9% for females and 71.2% for males.¹³ In Ghana and Nigeria male adult literacy is 84% and 71% and female adult literacy is 74% and 53% respectively.¹⁴



^{7.} SHOW Year 6 Annual Report. Plan International

^{8.} UN Population Fund official website. 2022. https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard

^{9.} Where we are: West and Central Africa: Nigeria I UN Women – Africa

^{10. (2022)} World Statistical Data. Bangladesh Population (2022) - Population Stat http://populationstat.com/Bangladesh

^{11.} UN Population Fund official website. 2022. https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard

^{12.} Data from data bank: World Development Indicators. https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators/Type/TABLE/preview/on#

^{13.} Country Fact Sheet I UN Women Data Hub

^{14.} Data bank. World Bank. https://databank.worldbank.org/source/education-statistics

Marriage and fertility.

Nigeria's Demographic Health Survey notes that more than four in 10 women are married by age 18. Among the 15-19-year-olds, one in five is already a mother or pregnant with her first child.¹⁵ Fertility rate stands at 4.5 birth per woman in Senegal (2020)¹⁶ and the percentage of adolescent girls married by age 15 has increased from 7.8% in 2018 to 8.8% in 2019. Only 7% Senegalese women aged 15-49 make their own informed decisions regarding sexual relations, contraceptive use and reproductive health care (2017). In Bangladesh nationally, 65% of girls are married by age 18. Early marriage (including preteens) is common. The proportion of women aged 20-24 years who were married or in a union before age 15 is 15.5%.¹⁷ Unmarried pregnancies are thus very rare and it is a taboo to discuss this issue.18 In Ghana, women in rural areas have an average of 4.7 children, compared to 3.3 children among women in urban areas.19 About 14% of adolescent girls age 15-19 are already mothers or pregnant with their first child.20 Unintended pregnancy rate is 102 per 1,000 women aged 15-49 $(2015-2019).^{21}$

Violence.

In Senegal, about 62.4% of women and girls aged between 15–49 have suffered physical violence from their current husband and 12.4% from their former husband. About 1 out of 3 women aged 15–49 in Nigeria have experienced physical or sexual violence. In Ghana, although overall polygynous relationships have declined from 33% to 14%, still in the Northern region, nearly 2 in 5 women are in a polygynous union. Halt 12 months, was estimated to be 10%. Ghana's Demographic and Health Survey notes that about one quarter i.e., 28% of women agree that a husband is justified in beating his wife under one or more specified circumstances.

In Bangladesh, violence against women and girls is frequent and is seen as a private affair.²⁷ In 2019, 23.2% of women and girls (ages 15–49) experienced physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a current or former intimate partner.²⁸

^{15. (}Aug, 2020). Mitigating COVID-19 Threat To Adolescent Health. https://dhsprogram.com/Who-We-Are/News-Room/Mitigating-COVID-19-Threat-To-Adolescent-Health.cfm

^{16.} Data from data bank: World Development Indicators. https://databank.worldbank.org/source/world-development-indicators/Type/TABLE/preview/on#

^{17.} Country Fact Sheet I UN Women Data Hub

^{18.} SHOW BORN Gender Equality Assessment Report. Annex 6: Bangladesh. Plan International. p6

^{19. (2017).} Ghana Maternal Health Survey. https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR251/SR251.pdf, p.3. Please note that this fertility rate has reduced from an average of 6.6 children in the region that was reported in Demographic and Health Survey 2014. <a href="https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR224/SR2

^{20. (2017).} Ghana Maternal Health Survey https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR251/SR251.pdf, p.4

^{21. (2022).} UN Population Fund official website. https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard

^{22. (2019).} Sénégal: Enquête Démographique et de Santé Continue (EDS-Continue) - Tableaux [FR368.T] (dhsprogram.com). p.212

^{23.} Where we are: West and Central Africa: Nigeria I UN Women - Africa

^{24. (2017).} Ghana Maternal Health Survey https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR251/SR251.pdf. DHS 2014 notes that polygyny is more common in Northern region where 42% of women and 27% of men are in such unions.

^{25. (2022).} UN Population Fund official website. https://www.unfpa.org/data/world-population-dashboard

^{26.} If a wife argues with her husband, goes out without telling him, neglects the children, and refuses to have sexual intercourse, or she burns the food (Source: Ghana: Demographic and Health Survey (2014), Key Findings. This percentage is likely to change at the end of DHS 2022. The status of Ghana DHS 2022 VIIII is ongoing (9/2022- 12/2022). Therefore the details provided here are based on the last published version DHS 2014. DHS 2014 https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/SR224/SR224.pdf. p.16

^{27. (2020).} Bangladesh: Father's Club Study Findings, SHOW Project (Report) Plan International Canada. pp 4-5

^{28.} Country Fact Sheet I UN Women Data Hub

Unpaid Care Work.

According to ILO, the gender dynamics of UPCW have shown no major signs of modification or alteration over the past two decades.²⁹ In Ghana, women spend 155 minutes a day doing unpaid care work in comparison to 40 minutes that men spend. Women perform 76.4 percent of total unpaid care work, while men perform 23.6 percent.³⁰ In Nigeria, women spend 145 minutes a day on childcare, compared to men's 95 minutes.³¹ Women in Senegal spend 92 minutes of a day on childcare in comparison to 38 minutes spent by men.³² Even in a pre-COVID-19 Bangladesh, women did 3.43 times more UPCW and household chores than men.³³

The data on 'proportion of time spent on unpaid and domestic care work female (% of 24-hour day), and 'proportion of time spent on unpaid and domestic care work male (% of 24-hour day)' is not available for Senegal. These indicators are included in the data series on SDGs on all major data banks such as that of the World Bank. However, as of December 2020, only 45.9% of indicators needed to monitor the SDGs in Bangladesh from a gender perspective were available. Information gaps existed in key areas, including unpaid care and domestic work.³⁴

In Ghana, about 21.2% of women (in comparison to 5.2% men) cite UPCW as the main reason for being outside the labour force and another 52.8% of women say they are unemployed for personal reasons.³⁵ About 60.2% of women (in comparison to 5.9% men) in Bangladesh are outside the labour force and living with care recipients as their unpaid care providers. About 66.6% of women (in comparison to 6.8% men) cite UPCW as the main reason for being inactive and outside the labour force.³⁶ In Nigeria, 36% of women (in comparison to 1.2% of men) cite UPCW as the main reason for being outside the labour force.³⁷ The larger share of care work falls on women and girls.

UPCW and Health.

The impact of UPCW on women's health can be illustrated even with a very basic example, that of cooking. In Bangladesh exposure to solid fuel based³⁸ smoke inside the home, has potentially harmful health effects on women and adolescent girls as they spend time cooking for families. In Ghana too, care work comes with its own social and health costs. For example, wood is more commonly used by rural households (60%) than urban households (11%)³⁹ and the smoke produced by solid fuel-based cooking is hazardous for the

^{29.} Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018) Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work, ILO, https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_633135/lang--en/index.htm "The glacial rate of these changes calls into question the effectiveness of past and current policies in addressing the extent and division of unpaid care work over the past two decades." p.xxx.

^{30.} Jacque Charmes (2019). The Unpaid Care Work and the Labour Market. An Analysis of time use data based on the latest world compilation of time-use surveys. ILO. https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms_732791.pdf. p 18-19 & p.46.

^{31.} Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018) Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work. https://www.ilo.nrg/global/nublications/books/WCMS, 633135/lang-en/index htm. p. 48

^{32.} Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018) Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work. https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS 633135/lang--en/index.htm. p.48.

 ⁽May 2020). Rapid Gender Assessment, Bangladesh. UN Women, Gender in Humanitarian Working Group (GIHA) RGA Bangladesh. Final_. May2020.pdf (reliefweb.int)

^{34.} Country Fact Sheet I UN Women Data Hub

^{35.} In order to compile these statistics, ILO's global report (based on data from 90 countries) has been consulted. (Source: Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018). Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work. https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS_633135/lang--en/index.htm p. 376 & p.387

^{36.} In order to compile these statistics, ILO's global report (based on data from 90 countries) has been consulted. (Source: Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018). Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS 633135/lang--en/index.htm p.375, p.358, pp. 369-370, p. 380 & p.386

^{37.} In order to compile these statistics, ILO's global report (based on data from 90 countries) has been consulted. (Source: Laura Addati, Umberto Cattaneo, Valeria Esquivel and Isabel Valarino (2018) Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work. https://www.ilo.org/global/publications/books/WCMS 633135/lang--en/index.htm

^{38.} For example, coal, charcoal, wood, straw/shrubs/grass, agricultural crops, and animal dung

^{39. (2019).} Ghana: Malaria Indicator Survey Chapter: "Characteristics of Household and Women", https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/MIS35/MIS35.pdf p.9

health of those engaged in cooking, predominantly women and adolescent girls. Similarly, in Nigeria, 69% of households use some type of solid fuel for cooking, with 61% using wood.⁴⁰ In Senegal, 31.65% of the total population has access to clean fuels and technologies for cooking.⁴¹

The Gendered Dimension of COVID-19 and UPCW.

SHOW's Gender Equality Assessment reports and country descriptions illustrate that women's and girls' activities in the sample countries can be categorized into unpaid productive, regenerative, and community participation work and supplementary productive work (i.e., where women take up a small activity in order to raise extra income for the household). Men predominantly engage in productive tasks (farming, field work, livestock).⁴² Girls assist their mothers, while boys are trained to assist their fathers. Many studies and reports indicate that COVID-19 has increased the workload on women and girls.⁴³

Development sector organizations conducted Rapid Gender Analysis in countries that are also part of this study and recommended an early recognition of COVID-19's gendered primary and secondary effects:⁴⁴ increasing gender inequalities, additional

work regarding household and childcare on women and girls that ultimately increased their risk of acquiring infection, as well an increased risk of domestic and intimate partner violence/abuse.⁴⁵ Similarly, Plan International's Gender assessment of the impact of COVID-19 in Nigeria⁴⁶ found that the pandemic contributed to increased care work on women and girls, and reinforced harmful coping mechanisms such as child marriage and GBV. During the COVID-19 pandemic, most women in Senegal "carry/carried a disproportionate workload, doing all the housework as well as earning income outside the home" 47 and some respondents agreed that they had perceived an increase in domestic violence.48 In Bangladesh and Ghana as well, women have had to shoulder the increases in unpaid care work and face domestic violence.⁴⁹

Not recognizing women's paid and unpaid work contributions to the economy causes and sustains systemic gender inequalities in society. Government and the private sector are increasingly being called upon to provide adequate support to caregivers and to recognize that care is a collective good and an "inherently sustainable economic sector that rather than consuming resources, helps to sustain and strengthen human abilities".⁵⁰

^{40. (2018).} The Demographic and Health Survey Nigeria (DHS)- p. 15. [FR359] (dhsprogram.com).

^{41. (2000-2016).} World Development Indicators, World Bank.

^{42.} According to Harvard Analytical Framework of Activity profiles there are three categories: Productive activity list (farm work, livestock management, trading/selling etc), Reproductive activity list (replaced here with regenerative, for example, fetching water, fuel, cooking, child care etc..), and community/social participation activity list (attending funerals, wedding etc). Field data shows that in the sampled communities, women and adolescent girls engage in unpaid productive labour (i.e. working on the farms; harvesting with male relatives) and in Senegal and Ghana they also spend time in supplementary productive labour as documented in the paragraph above.) For more on Harvard Analytical Framework consult World Bank Module 4 on Gender Analytic Tools. TDG_G_E_.PDF (worldbank.org), pp.4-5

^{43.} For example, consult SHOW Gender Equality Assessment Report & Annexes Description/Analysis. Plan International. (Unpublished documents).

^{44.} Mainly UN Women, CARE International and Oxfam

^{45.} Lilian N. Unaegbu, Peninah Kimiri, Suzan Agada (2020). Rapid Gender Analysis North East Region, Nigeria. UN Women, Care, Oxfam. https://africa.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Field%20Office%20Africa/Images/Publications/2020/NE%20Nigeria%20RGA%20digital_compressed.pdf

^{46. (}Oct 2020). Gender assessment of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on individuals and households in Nigeria. A case study of Adamawa, Borno, Bauchi, Kaduna, Sokoto and Yobe States. Plan International.

^{47.} In Senegal, RGA results spur a new programme to support vulnerable women while increasing the knowledge of social protection actors I UN Women Data Hub

^{48.} In Senegal, RGA results spur a new programme to support vulnerable women while increasing the knowledge of social protection actors I UN Women Data Hub

^{49. (}May 2020) Rapid Gender Assessment, Bangladesh.UN Women, Gender in Humanitarian Working Group (GIHA) RGA Bangladesh.Final_.May2020. pdf (reliefweb.int); Fatouma Zara Laouan (April 2020) Rapid Gender Analysis – COVID 19 West Africa. Care International. https://reliefweb.int/sites/resources/CARE%20West%20Africa%20Rapid%20Gender%20Analysis%20COVID-19%20May%202020%20final%20EN.pdf

^{50.} UN Women's Women Economic Empowerment initiative in which it collabourates with the government, IFIs and other UN agencies. (Source: Beyond COVID: a feminist plan for sustainability and social justice: Feminist-plan-for-sustainability-and-social-justice-en.pdf (unwomen.org)

2

Research Questions and Methodology



Research Questions and Methodology

The overall objective of this four-country research is to assess the effectiveness of the project's UPCW strategies which were carried out through COVID-19 specific activities in Bangladesh, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal during 2021 vis-à-vis expected outcomes of enabling participants (men, women, adolescent boys, and adolescent girls) to recognize the value of unpaid care work, including the unequal gender norms practiced in care work at homes. The research is linked to the two following **immediate outcome indicators** in the SHOW project:

- Enhanced awareness of social norms and/or gender roles around unpaid care/childcare/ household work
- Enhanced understanding by men and boys of the importance of sharing unpaid care work

Based on these outcomes, the research aims to answer the following two research questions:

- To what extent have the SHOW activities shifted men's, women's, girls' and boys' awareness and knowledge of social norms and gender roles towards UPCW?
- To what extent shifts in men's and boys' understanding translated into recognizing the importance of gender-equitable sharing of unpaid care work?

RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION

This study seeks to capture changes in understanding and awareness of women, men, adolescent boys, adolescent girls and community facilitators using qualitative methods, based on focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs).

2.1 GEOGRAPHICAL AND POPULATION SAMPLING

The geographical sample for this qualitative research consisted of Bangladesh (Kishoregonj, Jaldhaka and Saidpur, regions); Nigeria (10 LGAs of Sokoto), Senegal (Kedougou, Nioro, Pikine, Louga, Sansamba, Bignona and Kaolack) and Ghana (Bincheratanga, Makayili, Nangunkpung, Daboya, Langogu, Napolgu, Lingbinsi). The data was collected considering two units of analysis (i) Gender and (ii) Age group [G1: 10-18y & G2: 19-50y+] and accordingly research participant sample groups were composed of: women, men, adolescent girls and adolescent boys. Participants were selected among those who completed the SHOW project's Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work Module (Table 1). For more details on sessions organized for men, women, adolescent girls, and adolescent boys, consult section 1.1.

Other than the two major units of analysis, a set of variables including marital status, age group, family type, pregnancy status were also considered at selected relevant places.



table 1. SHOW UPCW ACTIVITY PARTICIPANTS

COUNTRY		TOTAL DISTRICTS	TOTAL GROUPS	COMMUNITY BASED FACILITATORS	AVERAGE # 0F MEMBERS	ESTIMATED BENEFICIARIES
Bangladesh	Women		200	200	12	2400
Dangladesii	Men		108	108	15	1620
Nigeria	Women	10	20	20	15	300
Migeria	Men	10	10	11	15	150
Senegal	Women	9	18	18	15	270
Conlogui	Men	9	18	18	15	270
Ghana	Women	4	120	120	20	2400
Gilalia	Men	4	120	120	15	1800



2.2 QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION

Focus group discussions and key informant interviews were conducted during the study. The data set is based on 77 FGD sessions and 15 key informant interviews with community facilitators. A total of 198 men, 242 women, 150 adolescent boys and 160 adolescent girls, participated in the study, along with eight female and seven male community facilitators. (The demographic profile of respondents per country is presented in Table 2. Additional information on the number of respondents per country is available in Annex 1.).

Details are provided on the following page in *table 2* and *table 3*.

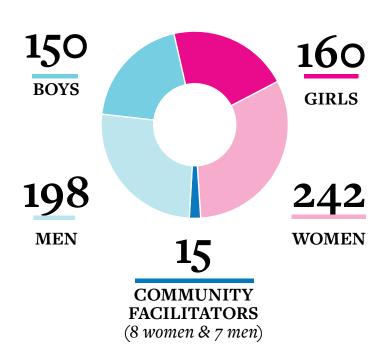


table 2. Demographic profile of FGD/KII respondents per country

		NIGERIA	GHANA	BANGLADESH	SENEGAL
1	Total Sample Size (Number of respondents)	166	221	230	153
2	% of Women	25	28	26	39
3	% of Men	25	23	25	32
4	% of Adolescent Girls	26	26	23	5
5	% Adolescent Boys	22	22	23	7
6	% of community facilitators	2	2	2	17
7	% of people living in extended families	62	62	42	61
8	% of people living in nuclear families	38	38	58	22
9	% of married women	21	31	29	33
10	% of married men	29	23	25	28
11	% of pregnant women	0	5	6	0
12	% of men with pregnant wives	14	9	3	0
13	% of sample with children/siblings under age 5	33	37	33	5
14	% of sample with children/siblings between 6–13	36	34	42	25
15	% of sample with children/siblings above 14	31	29	25	25

Questionnaires used during FGDs and KIIs (Annex 2) focus on participants' perceptions of how UPCW responsibilities were distributed within their households; the consequences of UPCW on women and girls; the impacts of Covid-19 on UPCW distribution; the impacts of the project's UPCW activities on how UPCW responsibilities are being shared; as well as the barriers to more equitable distribution of UPCW. During data collection, the research team used Table 3, when needed, to describe different types of UPCW categories to respondents, namely: 1) Household care work, 2) Outside household care work, 3) Childcare, and

4) Care for the sick, elderly & people with disabilities (PWD). The data collection was conducted by local enumerators under the supervision of Plan Country Office teams, during October 2021 to February 2022. One moderator and one note-taker were present for each FGD and KII when possible. Across countries, the FGDs and KIIs were transcribed in the local languages, and in Nigeria, these were also audio-recorded. Note-takers documented their notes in the template provided to them. Transcriptions and notes was then translated to English. A team of consultants were contracted to conduct the data analysis and produce the research reports.

table 3. Categories of unpaid care work

HOUSEHOLD CARE WORK	OUTSIDE HOUSEHOLD CARE WORK	CHILDCARE	CARE FOR SICK, ELDERLY, & PERSON WITH DISABILITIES
 Food preparation Cooking food Serving food Boiling water Washing utensils Cleaning kitchen Arranging utensils Washing clothes Sweeping floor Cleaning bathroom/toilet Dusting furniture Arranging clothes etc. 	 Bringing water Collecting firewood Purchasing/ bringing food Buying household groceries etc. 	 Taking care of small children's hygiene Bathing children Preparing food for small children Feeding children Playing with children Helping children with schoolwork Commuting children to/from school Taking a child to a health professional 	 Nursing sick, elderly, PWD Taking sick/elderly/PWD to a health professional Taking care of sick, elderly, PWD's hygiene Spending time with sick, elderly, PWD Helping them with exercise etc.



2.3 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

An inductive approach allowed coding/nodes and findings to be based on data collected from the research participants. Simultaneously, a review of existing research literature and reports also guided the analysis so that knowledge acquired from the field could be contextualized. For purposes of thorough content analysis, an analytical framework was prepared in NVivo, based on the FGD and KII questionnaires. This resulted in six primary (parent) coding themes indicated below.⁵¹

- 1. Division of care responsibilities
- 2. Implications of unequal work division
- Challenges on the road to gender transformative change
- 4. Impact/implications of COVID-19 on UPCW
- Impact of Plan International's SHOW UPCW programming
- Equitable sharing of UPCW (present and future)

Sub themes, and 'for and against'/negative/ positive data trends in responses further guided the formation of child and grandchild nodes.

Classification of attribute questions.

Along with providing results for the main codes, a list of independent variables, provided below, was incorporated in the classifications table. This produced data findings that represent variable-wise diversity.

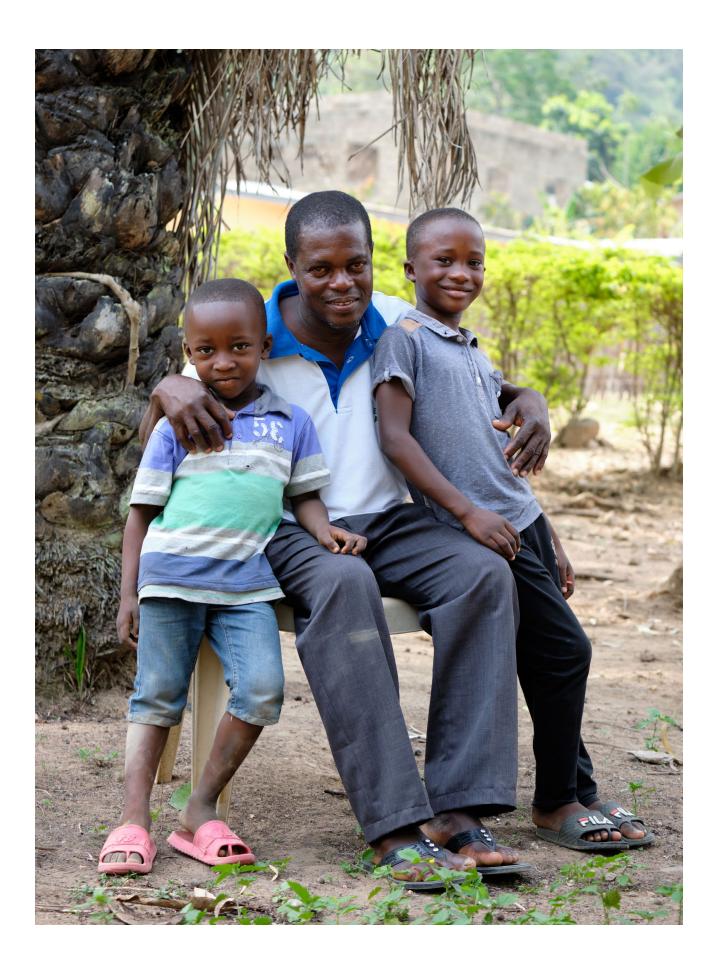
- Respondent category (Men, Women, Adolescent Boys, Adolescent Girls, Facilitators)
- ii. Sex (Male, female)
- iii. Marital Status (Married, unmarried)
- iv. Age group (15-18, 19-30, 31 and above)
- v. Pregnancy/Pregnant wife
- vi. Children/siblings (Under 5, 6–13, 14–18)
- vii. Family system (Nuclear, with in-laws, extended system)

Coding.

Additional sub-themes were identified during the study as a result of coding trends. Once data coding was complete, node and reference summary reports were generated in NVivo. Matrix coding was utilized, and each node's group diversity and variation were studied. The crosstab function was also used to compare the data.⁵²

^{51.} Although the report structure considers all six coding themes indicated here but it does not follow the same titles. The process of writing, structuring, restructuring of the report sections and, sub-sections is mainly guided by the nature of findings.

^{52.} When using a matrix coding query, all relevant nodes are often identified in the 'rows' portion of the menu window in the NVivo interface, and 'attributes/values' are selected for the 'column' section. The findings enable not only the analysis of data coverage for the chosen attribute values but also the systematic reading of responses coded under each given value.



3 Research Findings



Research Findings

The findings reported as follows are organized around the six major themes mentioned in the previous sections. Quotes are incorporated throughout the report to illustrate participants' experiences and perspectives. Additional quotes are referenced in the endnote section.⁵³

^{53.} Quotes from participants should ideally be verbatim and unedited. However, because the data was gathered in the native language and subsequently transcribed into English, some of the quotes have been 'slightly' edited for clarity. For example, grammatical problems and sentence construction were rectified, and redundant words were eliminated.

3.1 GENDERED DIVISION OF CARE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

3.1.1 FAMILIARITY WITH THE TYPES OF UNPAID CARE: INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD

In all four countries, many participants demonstrated improved knowledge and recognition of unpaid care work both within and outside the household. Culturally, a woman's role is tied up with home and a man is expected to function outside the house as financial providers¹ and when inside the house, he mainly commands as the head of the household.2 In Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana, respondents recognized and demonstrated familiarity with the types of UPCW, mostly indicating activities, such as: cooking, washing clothes and dishes, cleaning, sweeping, mopping, for which women are culturally considered to be primarily responsible. Men and boys mostly highlighted for themselves activities such as cleaning courtyards, animal sheds, garbage tanks, gutters; fetching gas cylinders and at times, water and firewood using bicycles, carts and motorbikes. In Bangladesh, men, women, adolescent girls and adolescent boys provided details of UPCW broadly as work performed for the household and mostly done by women.3



▲ Men's 24-hour schedule

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Bangladesh

Women take the lead in child-care related tasks in all four countries; including feeding children, maintaining their hygiene, cleaning and washing children's items, as well as taking care of the overall upbringing of the children. Men and boys reported that at times they assisted in bathing children, school pick up and drop off and school lessons. Men mostly mentioned taking children to hospital if needed.⁴ Most of the time, men and/or boys assist with childcare when women and adolescent girls are busy elsewhere.⁵ In Nigeria and Ghana, women and adolescent girls explained the utility of a father's presence at home, especially for disciplining adolescent boys.⁶

Women, adolescent boys, and girls in Nigeria shared that the presence of a spouse at home becomes a substantial responsibility in and of itself. While counting home chores in Dange Shuni, Nigerian women said "serving meals to the husband," "taking care of the husband's necessities," while an adolescent boy mentioned "a married woman organizes the husband's room." In Bangladesh also, women counted 'taking care of husband' as an important role, for example in Singria, Jaldhaka. Women in Senegal also explained their responsibilities towards their husband. The evidence suggests that women in sample countries also fulfil care responsibilities towards different members of their extended family, other than their children and spouse. For example, a young man from Napolgu, Ghana shared: "my wife washes the children's clothing, my clothes, and my father's clothes" (i.e. she washes her father-in-law's clothing).

Women and adolescent girls are also responsible for a variety of tasks that are performed outside. For example, in Ghana, fetching water and firewood, farming (harvesting). In Senegal, women perform farming tasks, such as transplanting rice. Women raise supplementary household incomes through small scale trading and selling in Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana.

The results obtained from the study show that adolescent girls and boys have several care roles

and responsibilities. Quite often, they are asked to take care of younger siblings. Adolescent girls are allocated many household and outside responsibilities by their parents especially mothers. If Girls help with cooking and also childcare and fetch firewood and water for the household, as well as help on the farm, as in Ghana. Adolescent boys in Rajib, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh indicated taking care of grazing animals and poultry, buying groceries and cultivating vegetables as primary outside household care tasks that were their responsibilities.

Men, women and adolescent children all provide care to the elderly and sick. 13 At times, pregnant women are also indicated among the sick, and men mentioned taking care of them.14 Many research participants, including women, men, and adolescent girls and boys, agreed that women and girls are overworked¹⁵ and that traditionally, men assist and support with UPCW occasionally (however, post UPCW training sessions, some men were adopting new care roles and activities, as detailed in section 3.5). Evidence suggests that men's support to women is either in the form of doing their own unpaid care work¹⁶, for example washing their own clothing (that culturally a woman is expected to do for them), or take up tasks that are considered to require more strength, for example, cleaning the patio or washing carpets or moving furniture. Culturally, men are socialized not to step into women's domain for the sake of helping her unless absolutely necessary, for example if she is sick or pregnant as the data obtained from the sample communities show.17

3.1.2 CAUSES BEHIND THE DIVISION OF CARE RESPONSIBILITIES

Physical attributes, gender roles and expectations.

Respondents in Senegal and Ghana generally associated men's and adolescent boys' work with tasks that requires physical strength. Respondents considered physical attributes as a determinant of gender roles and by extension care roles and

responsibilities. Adolescent children are socialized accordingly¹⁹ and women are overworked inside the household.²⁰

Culture, tradition, and religion.

Many of the respondents supporting the gendered division of care roles and responsibilities do so because of culture and tradition.²¹ Some respondents also supplied information using religion and culture interchangeably in order to rationalize the gendered division of care roles and responsibilities.²² Respondents across countries and all respondent categories emphasized that men's sense of higher self-worth, and inequitable distribution of care roles and responsibilities are passed down from generation to generation and this has a direct impact on men's and boys' attitudes towards care roles inside the house. Even small children are actively and effectively socialized into gender norms of the local culture.²³



▲ Women's 24-hour schedule

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Bangladesh

"The reason is that Allah has made it that way. Women will be at home and man is the source of food (i.e. breadwinner)."

WOMEN FGD, YABO, NIGERIA

Based on country, gender, age group, one finds a lot of variation in how respondents approach religion and culture and to what purpose. For example, some respondents referred to Prophet Muhammad's way of life, his participation in domestic chores etc., to justify their support of equitable sharing of UPCW. Evidence suggests that parents have a big influence and play an important part in sustaining gendered care roles and responsibilities.²⁴ Results also suggest that some elders viewed the gendered division of responsibilities and roles as a way to raise responsible, adaptable children who can support themselves and serve parents and in-laws. In Ghana, for example, having children comply with the gendered allocation of care duties in the parental household is seen as important life skills for their future roles, including for life after marriage.²⁵ According to the data gathered in Nigeria, parents believe that care work adds to a stronger sense of responsibility and increased functional ability among adolescents. This gendered division is observed and mastered by adolescent children in the parental home in preparation of their marriage.²⁶ Evidence from Bangladesh also suggests a similar approach.27 A few women in Bincheratanga and Daboya, Ghana also explained that this prepared their children for further formal education outside their houses and hometowns, i.e. when they will start living independently.²⁸

"Men do not share the housework equally because they are ashamed to be seen doing it by their friends and being called weak."

WOMEN FGD, KEDOUGOU, SENEGAL

Overstepping culturally established gender boundaries often makes men and women targets of social ridicule and stigmatization. Some respondents indicated that the pressures of social ridicule and stigmatization deterred them from sharing UPCW.²⁹

The inferior status of women and girls.

Women's disadvantaged position in their own house and lack of awareness of women's and girls' rights also contribute to the perpetuation of unequal UPCW distribution. Decision-making has traditionally been an all-male prerogative and women are considered inferior. Many women across four sample countries suggested that women needed increased awareness about their rights. The communities in Nigeria also mentioned that for those who are married, a factor affecting conversations with men around gender inequality and UPCW is women's fear of separation/divorce, given the broader disadvantaged socio-economic status of women and girls and their dependency on male relatives for financial and socio-cultural security. In the suggestion of the security of the security

"Despite the fact that women do so many things, they do not get paid for them. [...] Our work is worthless because we (women) have no value."

FEMALE COMMUNITY FACILITATOR, KISHOREGONJ, BANGLADESH

In Ghana, the perception is that women are overworked, but they also understand the constraining effect of culture on them and therefore avoid disputing this inequitable distribution.³² In Bangladesh also, women shared that men's attitude of superiority makes communication between spouses difficult, as women seek to avoid any situation that might provoke men's anger, shouting, and aggression towards them.³³ A few women also communicated a sense of inferiority that emerges from the fact that all the work they do in the household is not recognized nor valued.³⁴ Adolescent girls too felt the repercussions of gender inequality. Their data highlight that

domestic responsibilities were not equally allocated among men and women, or girls and boys.35 In Bangladesh, a few adolescent girls indicated that the inequitable nature and low status of UPCW along with women's lack of economic empowerment led to gender inequality. However, other adolescent girls underlined that women's subjugation was due to their culturally disadvantaged position within patriarchal contexts. These respondents argued that there were women contributing to household income and were still required to meet UPCW obligations, but men did nothing after coming home from work.36 In Bangladesh, some married women described that they had to conform to socio-culturally assigned gender roles inside the household, particularly while living with their in-laws.



▲ Man not helping with household chores

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Bangladesh

3.2 IMPLICATIONS OF UNEQUITABLE DIVISION OF CARE ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

3.2.1 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF THE GENDERED DIVISION OF CARE WORK

Raising responsible children.

"[Boys help with farming] so that in future when the head (i.e. father) is weak and old, the boys will be able to take over from him and continue to work and feed the family and the family will not beg on the streets."

WOMEN FGD. LANGOGU. GHANA

Fulfilling care work responsibilities in the parental home is considered important to prepare adolescent children, especially girls, to become responsible individuals that can adapt to their future roles as adults. This grants them more maturity and stability and prepares them well for their married life. Evidence from Nigeria and Ghana is very similar. In Senegal, an adolescent girl voiced a similar opinion. In both Ghana and Bangladesh, UPCW is also considered important to prepare children to take charge of the household in case anything unforeseen happens to their parents.³⁷ In Nigeria, overall conformity to widely accepted cultural norms is considered to be beneficial, as it contributes to the smooth functioning of households.³⁸

Men and boys have time to relax and study.

A few respondents in Ghana and Bangladesh idealized this unequal gendered division of care roles and responsibilities as according to them this allowed boys ample time to study and men to feel less burdened.³⁹ Some men maintained that the unequitable distribution of UPCW had no negative consequences for women and girls because home tasks were easy.⁴⁰ This finding is distinctive to

Bangladesh, and has not been voiced clearly in Ghana, Nigeria, or Senegal.

"The care workload falls on the girls because they are expected to marry and join the in-laws, so if you are used to working in the home, you won't have a problem with your in-laws."

ADOLESCENT GIRLS FGD, PIKINE, SENEGAL

3.2.2 NEGATIVE IMPLICATIONS

Health.

Many respondents indicated the deteriorating physical⁴¹, psychological and emotional health of women and adolescent girls and its links with excessive workload of UPCW. Other than physical aches, pains and fatigue, maternal health concerns⁴² and psychological/emotional stress (including, low self-esteem⁴³ feelings of worthlessness) appear prominently. One adolescent girl in Nangunkpung, Ghana, captures the gravity of the issue with this quote: "Too much workload shortens our lives".

"I am having physical complications due to the [household] workload. I have no time to rest. So, I am having fatigue and feeling weak."

WOMEN FGD, BOTLAGARI, SAIDPUR, BANGLADESH

In Bangladesh and Nigeria, a few participants focused on health issues of men and boys also. They indicated that overwork could lead to sickness and psychological stress. 44 Ghana's data set demonstrates that as women become overworked and their health weakens, some may be less responsive to sexual intimacy, which may lead to frustration and arguments between spouses. This can sometimes lead to sexual violence 45 (consult section 3.4.2).

"It [the burden of UPCW] affects sexual intimacy since they [women] already are stressed."

WOMEN FGD, MAKAYILLI, GHANA

Time poverty, girls' education and women's income.

In all four sample countries, women and adolescent girls mentioned that they do not have time for leisure, rest or socializing.46 Several men also mentioned this, however many among them specified that they had realized the importance of rest and relaxation for women only after participating in SHOW and UPCW activities⁴⁷ (consult section 3.5.1). There is substantive evidence from Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria that shows that due to care responsibilities, girls also suffer from time poverty and struggle to attend and do well in school. In these three countries, the issue was widely reported by men, women and adolescent children alike.48 Furthermore, some women struggle to allocate time to income generating activities such as petty trade and farming in Senegal and Ghana. 49 There are exceptions in households where men are supportive and helpful around the house.

"After the rainy season when cultivation starts, the men or boys will be busy, but after the harvest, they turn to sit idle leaving all the household chores on us, the women. This is tiresome, because, we also help with the farm work."

WOMAN FGD, LANGODOU, GHANA

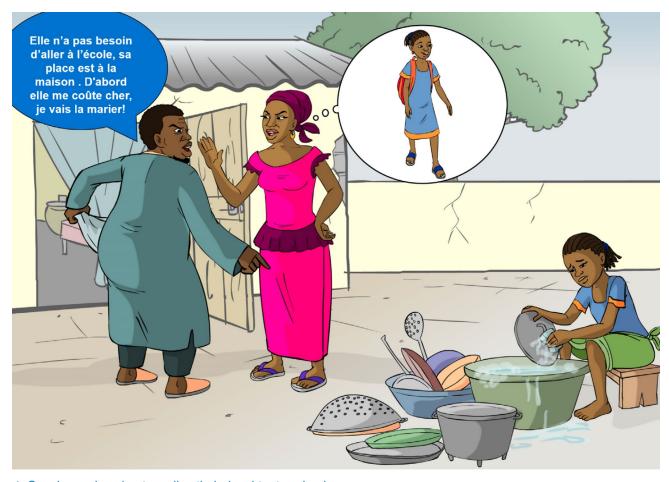


Perpetuation of gender inequality and its impact.

Evidence from Senegal and Nigeria suggests that the gendered division of care roles and responsibilities leads to the intergenerational transfer and perpetuation of gender inequality as boys grow up to be authoritarian and oppressive towards women and girls restricting their opportunities to gain empowerment.⁵⁰

Gender roles and norms place women and girls on a weaker footing. Many find it difficult to communicate with men and to ask them to take on more care responsibilities. Women reported that they are taken for granted to fulfil care work responsibilities. For granted to fulfil care work responsibilities. For arguments between couples; sibling rivalry; interpersonal resentment; and rivalry among women all could be the result of rigid gendered division and implementation of

care roles and responsibilities.⁵² Family peace and harmony gets disturbed.⁵³ In some cases, these arguments and interpersonal rivalries have led to separations or divorces.⁵⁴ Increase in male anger and intimate partner violence can also occur.55 In this regard, data collected in Senegal shows that there is a connection between challenging gendered norms and intimate partner physical and sexual violence. Data sets based on information in Ghana and Nigeria show similar patterns but mainly in the context of COVID-19. In Bangladesh a few references to physical violence against wives could be found. 56 Some research participants in Senegal noted women's stress and exhaustion resulting from UPCW on the one hand, and men's tendency to see women as constantly emotionally available to them, as reasons that contribute to marital problems, and in cases lead to intimate partner violence, physical and sexual abuse.



▲ Couple arguing about sending their daughter to school

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

Implications for adolescent boys.

Ghana and Nigeria data also highlights how conforming to allocated gender roles can be consequential for men and boys. Communities consider inside household care roles and responsibilities as important life skills required for basic survival, personal and family care. Participants highlighted that, for example by not learning cooking, boys and men are compelled to spend money on buying prepared meals or eat unhealthy food. Also, in case of need, they may lack the necessary skills to look after their wife or children.⁵⁷ In Ghana, the link between lack of participation in UPCW and the likelihood of acquiring negative societal influences or wasting time sitting idly was also emphasized.⁵⁸



▲ Women's Group meeting

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Bangladesh

3.3 CHALLENGES ON THE ROAD TO GENDER TRANSFORMATIVE CHANGE

Based on the findings, different types of challenges to gender transformative change were identified in Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Bangladesh. These challenges are described as follows.

3.3.1 BARRIERS WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

Study results show that men value themselves as being heads of households and financial providers. Some anxieties stem from men's and boys' feelings of superiority over women/girls, which inhibit them from sharing care tasks equally within the home.⁵⁹ Their self-image, particularly in relation to women, is at times a barrier to equitable sharing of care roles and responsibilities. Men also associate care responsibilities inside the household as a symbol of weakness, and therefore do not agree with helping or assisting women with the household tasks. 60 A few men in Ghana also admitted that they did not want to perform certain tasks, such as washing women's clothes, because of their biological functions, as this quote indicates: "Washing my wife's clothing would be tough for me since she menstruates" (Man, Langogu, Ghana).

"Work like cleaning and washing is viewed as humiliating to us, males."

MEN FGD, MAKAYILLI, GHANA

Role of extended family relations and spouses.

Sometimes, immediate family members pressure men and boys to maintain the status quo. Some respondents identified a lack of support from extended family members as an obstacle to accepting change. According to the data, several women across the sampled countries prevent their husbands from participating in care work to avoid social and family (in-law) criticism. Data from Bangladesh reveals that women may also stop their

husbands from helping around the house out of kindness and care for the husband whom they have been socialized to accept as the financial provider. Due to religious beliefs, Senegalese women may prefer to serve their husbands rather than have them engage in unpaid care chores. Some men stated that even if they are willing to practice fair sharing of UPCW, their wives' reluctance causes them to reconsider, and so they leave the care work to the women.⁶²

"He was carrying water to support his wife, and the extended family members mocked him and ordered him not to ruin the family's image or make their family a laughing stock."

WOMAN, BINCHERATANGA, GHANA

Men, women, adolescent boys and adolescent girls explained that in Senegal, Ghana and Nigeria men are also reluctant to adopt care roles within the household because they think their wives will be disrespectful to them and mock them publicly. 63 In Senegal, a few men also highlighted that at times a wife herself may stop her husband from practicing equitable sharing of care work in order to remain culturally acceptable.⁶⁴ The research data highlights the importance of engaging with people at the center of relational power structures at the household level in order to introduce gender transformative changes: "If the outreach is expanded to include mothers-in-law, change would be easier and more widespread" (Male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal).

"My mother-in-law reacts badly [when my spouse helps with UPCW] and asks me why is he is doing this work despite having a wife?"

WOMAN, CHADKHANA, KISHOREGONJ BANGLADESH

"One day, returning from the SHOW UPCW session, I talked to my wife about the support I should give her, especially in times of pregnancy. She was very happy and agreed on the principle but asked me not to do these tasks in front of other people for this would appear as if she dominates her husband and that is not good for a married woman."

MAN, KAOLACK, SENEGAL

Gendered socialization and intergenerational transfer of social norms.

In Bangladesh many respondents mentioned gendered socialization and parent-to-child transfer of social norms while discussing the barriers to gender transformative change: "From my childhood, I've seen my grandfather and also my father never share household chores with their counterparts (grandmother/mother), so I also think that it is not necessary to share those with my wife" (Man, Nilpharmi, Bangladesh).⁶⁵

3.3.2 BARRIERS OUTSIDE THE HOUSEHOLD: STIGMATIZATION AND COMMUNITY DISAPPROVAL

Many respondents identified external factors, particularly scorn from society, friends, and neighbours, as key impediments to boys and men embracing these changes despite participation in the SHOW and UPCW sensitization sessions. Respondents from the four sample countries indicated the use of stigmatizing language for men and women who practice equitable sharing of care responsibilities and challenge the culturally established gendered division of roles. However, such language appears to be less common in Senegal and more common in Nigeria and Bangladesh. 66 Communities may gossip and even question those couples that over-step gendered boundaries. At times, women and adolescent girls too make fun of men who carry out household chores.⁶⁷ For example, in Ghana, even the



female respondents explained that men who help women at home will be the cause of gossip in the community. Those that perform UPCW are often looked down upon and not considered real men. A man who helps his wife is perceived as one who is dominated by his wife and that can be a source of embarrassment for him. 68 Community gossip may even involve labeling such men and boys 'impotent'. 69 Some participants prefer opting for practicing equitable care work sharing in their private sphere without having to face external community reprimands. 70

"If you are a man helping your wife at home, then it means that she is controlling you and that you are not man enough."

WOMEN FGD, LINGBINSI, GHANA

3.3.3 WIDER CONTEXTUAL BARRIERS

Customs and cultural and religious beliefs.

"Our Prophet teaches us to help our spouse."

MEN FGD, NIGERIA

Respondents mentioned the influence of cultural and religious norms that can pose potent barriers to gender transformative change. For example, according to some respondents, Senegal's Mandinka culture inhibits women to approach men to help in household chores. Several men affirmed that the cultural norm stipulates women should serve men.⁷¹ Study findings suggest that religion can be sometimes understood and interpreted differently by men and women and across cultures, and can be used to both support and oppose men's engagement in UPCW. For example, in Senegal,

some Mandinka men referred to religion to justify the gendered division of labour⁷², while some women used it to support equitable distribution of care work.⁷³ In Nigeria, the respondents felt that the local Hausa culture and customs dominate regardless of religion. However, both men and women utilize religion to encourage the practice of equitable sharing of care work.⁷⁴ According to some respondents in Ghana, within the Dagomba culture, care work is perceived to endanger boys' and men's masculinity.⁷⁵

"The Prophet (Muhammad) used to cook and do household chores but in our society today, men find this difficult to do."

WOMEN FGD, PIKINE, SENEGAL

Family structure and organization.

The results obtained from the study show that extended families are often considered as barriers in equitable sharing of care roles and responsibilities. Within extended family environments, it becomes difficult for not only men but also women to escape censure in crossing or supporting the crossing of gendered boundaries.⁷⁶ Extended and joint family systems were also indicated as an issue in Bangladesh, where other family members interfered in each other's affairs. More women and adolescent groups focused on the issue in comparison to men. Polygynous family structures and organization were also highlighted as an issue in Ghana as it allows men not to feel compelled to contribute in housework, mostly redistributing it among co-wives and daughters.77

"(...) if you are in an extended family where there are your brothers and their wives, your aunts and grandfather, it will be very difficult for a man to participate in the housework."

MEN FGD, SANSAMBA, SENEGAL

Economic barriers.

Across study countries, men, women and few adolescents ascribed men's lack of participation in unpaid care work to their economic and financial responsibilities outside the household.⁷⁸ Men and boys expressed their reservations over adding unpaid care work to their to-do list on top of the physical labour that they conducted to earn for the household. The respondents maintained that in traditional (patriarchal) cultures, women and girls were not assigned responsibilities as heads of the household or financial providers. Conversely, women stated that their low economic engagement is due to the responsibilities of unpaid care labour. Some respondents appear to have reached an equitable care work sharing arrangement, and have been able to engage in small-scale economic activities (selling and trading), as this quote shows: "I use not to have money and because of that I was not able to give support in the household expenditure, but now am doing some small trading due to the sharing of household chores, therefore, I can now contribute to the household expenditure and my husband is very happy and has also started helping me" (Women FGD, Lingbinsi, Ghana). However, women (and girls) continue to be primarily responsible for unpaid care work and have limited access to engage in income-generating activities. In Bangladesh, both men and women respondents explained that economic hardships restricted flexibility in gender roles. They maintained men had no choice but to prioritize earnings of the household, while women fulfil care work roles.79

"My husband is a poor man; he needs to go out to work. It will be a lot of burden on him if he has to do the household chores after returning home."

WOMEN FGD, SINGRIA, JALDHAKA, BANGLADESH

3.4 IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON UNPAID CARE WORK AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

3.4.1 INCREASED VOLUME OF UNPAID CARE WORK

"The COVID pandemic has increased the workload of all the members of the family. But mothers have to bear the lion's share[...]."

ADOLESCENT BOYS FGD, BANGLADESH

Research participants across countries, age and sex categories, stated that the pandemic increased care responsibilities in their households. Caregiving tasks intensified, mostly for women, adolescent girls, and adolescent boys. All respondents elucidated that the amount of work inside the household (for example cooking, cleaning and washing for large locked-down families), and outside the household (fetching water, firewood, gas cylinders, grocery, doctor visits) increased tremendously.⁸⁰ In general, men helped only occasionally but many men recognized that women and girls were

particularly overworked during the pandemic. Some women also reported that their husband's presence at home during the pandemic increased the workload for them (due to culturally defined gender roles privileges, as already documented in section 3.1.1). At times, women and adolescent respondents perceived the husband/father's presence as unnecessarily dominating, interfering and demanding.⁸¹

"Due to COVID-19, the work load increased and I went more to the farm and cooked more since school was closed and everyone was home."

ADOLESCENT GIRLS FGD, MAKAYILLI, GHANA

"When the husband is at home, he criticizes his wife for every move she makes so there is argument."

ADOLESCENT BOYS FGD, DHORMOPAL, BANGLADESH





▲ Man not helping spouse to carry items + man helping spouse to carry items

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

3.4.1.1 CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD INCOME

There is also research evidence on women's financial contribution to their household during the pandemic. For example, in Ghana, several adolescent girls had to become additional financial providers and become migrant workers moving to other cities to find work.82 Women in Senegal also provided details that they were not only working inside the household but were also under tremendous pressure to generate income for the household during the pandemic, as reflected in this quote: "With COVID-19, I do a double job, with the restrictions everyone has to stay home which increases the housework. I used to cook less than two kilos per day and now I cook more than three kilos while the expense has not changed because my husband does not go to work. Sometimes I have to borrow money to complete the shopping" (Women FGD, Pikine, Senegal). Women also raised money through small scale trading and selling activities in Ghana and Senegal.

3.4.2 CONFLICTS AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

In Senegal only, some respondents reported that the pandemic strengthened family unity and solidarity, as family members began to more equitably share household tasks.⁸³

"I think that the pandemic has been beneficial for women, in the sense that many men have become aware of the magnitude of household chores and have started to get involved in relieving women of this burden."

FEMALE COMMUNITY FACILITATOR, PIKINE, SENEGAL

Most other respondents, men and women in Senegal as well as in Bangladesh, Nigeria and Ghana referred to the COVID-19 context, and particularly the financial crisis that it brought along, as a source of increased arguments, disagreements and conflicts within couples and families.⁸⁴ Relationship troubles and separations/

divorces increased during the pandemic due to financial crisis, as respondents in Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal highlighted.⁸⁵ In Bangladesh, this was reported much less.⁸⁶

"During the pandemic, their husbands were in a terrible mood because of poor income, so they used harsh words."

WOMEN FGD, BOTLAGARI, SAIDPUR, BANGLADESH

Overall, violence against women and children increased during the pandemic as reported by the respondents. Research findings also indicate that Child, Early and Forced Marriage (CEFM) increased during COVID-19.87 In Nigeria, mostly women reported this was the case. In Bangladesh, there was discussion over the practice with some insisting that it did not exist and that some school teachers (for example in Gragram) even tried to prevent it.88 Violence against child brides was indicated by adolescent girls and women who explained that young girls suffered violence while living with in-laws because they could not handle care work.89 Respondents in Ghana shared their observations of an increase in socially unacceptable unwed pregnancies during the pandemic, which led to early and forced marriages of some young girls. Notwithstanding, pregnancies were not the only reason for early marriage; some families tried to alleviate financial problems by marrying away their children. In Senegal, some respondents noted that overall violence against children increased, 90 however CEFM was reported much less.

"During COVID-19, we saw many cases of gender-based violence such as physical and verbal abuse and divorce in our families."

WOMAN, KEBEMER, SENEGAL

Physical intimate partner violence ('wife beating') was reported across all four countries and all respondent categories. Sexual violence primarily features in Senegal and Ghana field data. In Ghana, physical and sexual abuse was mentioned and discussed by a few men, many adolescent boys and girls. In both countries, men respondents reported engaging in intimate partner violence during the pandemic on grounds that either she was not 'receptive' or that she 'refused' their sexual advances, and this sometimes led to violence. The men respondent also talked about the financial crisis and their presence at home during lockdown in order to grant legitimacy to the violence they committed against women⁹¹. In Senegal relatively, more evidence on the issue could be gathered from men, than in Ghana. In Bangladesh, there were cases of women suffering violence and abuse because they did not bring a heavy dowry.92

"Child marriage has increased significantly. Parents prefer to arrange a marriage for the young girl than to feed her as they were in financial crisis."

MEN FGD, DAWABARI, NILPHAMARI, BANGLADES

In Nigeria, more women and adolescent girls than men reported that COVID-19 caused an increase in rape incidences as boys were out of school and had returned home from hostels located outside the communities. According to some respondents, idle men and boys (whom were out of work or out of school due to Covid-19) formed street gangs and harassed women, girls and small children in the communities.



▲ Couple arguing in front of child

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

3.5 IMPACT OF SHOW UPCW ACTIVITIES IN THE COMMUNITIES

COVID-19 and its gendered impact on UPCW motivated Plan International to introduce targeted interventions and strengthen existing gender transformative programming within the SHOW project. As reported by the study respondents, this programming contributed to noticeable changes in participants attitudes and increased community acceptability of gender equality. The value of equitable sharing of care tasks and responsibilities, as well as joint decision-making, were core components of the content that participants were exposed to through the UPCW reflective sessions. The research findings suggest that this initiative has contributed to support enabling environments for promoting the wellbeing and agency of women and girls and the engagement of boys and men in promoting gender equality, detailed as follows.

3.5.1 CHANGES IN MALE KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS

Many respondents in Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal agreed that equitable sharing of care tasks and responsibilities would lead to the establishment of intra-household harmonious relationships, provide psychological and physical respite from care work to women and girls, and improve their health and wellbeing. Data from all countries reveals that fair sharing of care tasks and obligations can lead to stronger bonding between spouses.

Data collected from all four countries provide information on men's efforts towards gender equality by addressing the gendered and inequitable nature of the care work. For example, more men and adolescent boys are increasingly 'responding' to women's needs, particularly their health and rest time needs. Therefore, there are more men and boys who are accompanying women to medical



▲ Man not helping spouse to carry items & man helping spouse to carry items Illustration from Ghana's Women's Groups Manual on Gender Equality and UPCW



facilities and letting them have more rest time and even socialize. Evidence also suggests that men have taken a keen interest in trying to reduce the workload of women and girls and also redistribute it among themselves and the boys by offering to support women and girls both inside and outside the house.

"Being [a member] of the Husband School of Sansamba, we are conducting talks and advocacy activities in the framework of the SHOW project. So, the objective of these activities is to help women, to make them aware so that they have a happy life in their households. We discuss cases of GBV, pre-postnatal visits, men's participation in housework, etc."

MEN FGD. SANSAMBA. SENEGAL



▲ Man stepping out of the gender box Illustration from Nigeria Men's Club Manual on Gender Equality and UPCW

Some men and adolescent boys are also increasingly advocating for gender equality and protection of women's and child rights. ⁹³ There were respondents who provided details about their efforts within immediate and extended families. Many respondents also mentioned their advocacy work in public, in the neighbourhood and wider communities despite the risk of social ridicule and censure. A few men have also helped the women in their families to explore economic opportunities and have collabourated with them to set up small businesses. The evidence is provided in the paragraphs that follow.

Increased recognition of gendered and inequitable aspects of care work.⁹⁴

In selected areas, even the older generation is willing to critically evaluate the gendered division of care roles. Some of the elders among the respondents are beginning to question traditional ways for the benefit of the younger generation.

Increased recognition of link between UPCW and women's and girls' health and wellbeing.

Data collected for this qualitative study shows that men are now more involved in maternal **health care**. Men have consciously started caring for their spouses during their pregnancy after participation in SHOW UPCW activities and several women confirmed this. 95 "It was important to take care of pregnant women; help them in household chores and also take them to health facility when needed." A young man from Daboya, Ghana explained how he was able to correlate the high workload of UPCW with difficult pregnancy and counselled his friend. 96

Increased recognition of the link between UPCW, time poverty and women's and adolescent girls' need to rest.

"I used to leave her doing a lot of housework before, but now I support her."

MEN FGD, GADA, NIGERIA

Men are being more respectful of women's time and are learning not to impose themselves. The male facilitator in Napolgu, Ghana shared that men are beginning to realize that they have demanding attitudes towards wives which is not right: "Now (after UPCW training) more men are realizing that staying home does not mean that she is not doing anything". Men are being respectful of women's and girls' schedules and are beginning to recognize that she should have time for rest, leisure, and visiting friends and family.⁹⁷



▲ Woman stepping out of the gender box Illustration from Nigeria Women's Club Manual on Gender Equality and UPCW

"Now he says to me: sleep, relax, and let me handle the work."

WOMAN, DANGE SHUNI, NIGERIA

Recognizing the link between sharing UPCW and family relationships.

"The [SHOW] activities allowed me to understand that the main way to have a happy family is to have the habit of discussion with your wife and to involve her in the decision-making process."

MEN FGD, SANSAMBA, SENEGAL

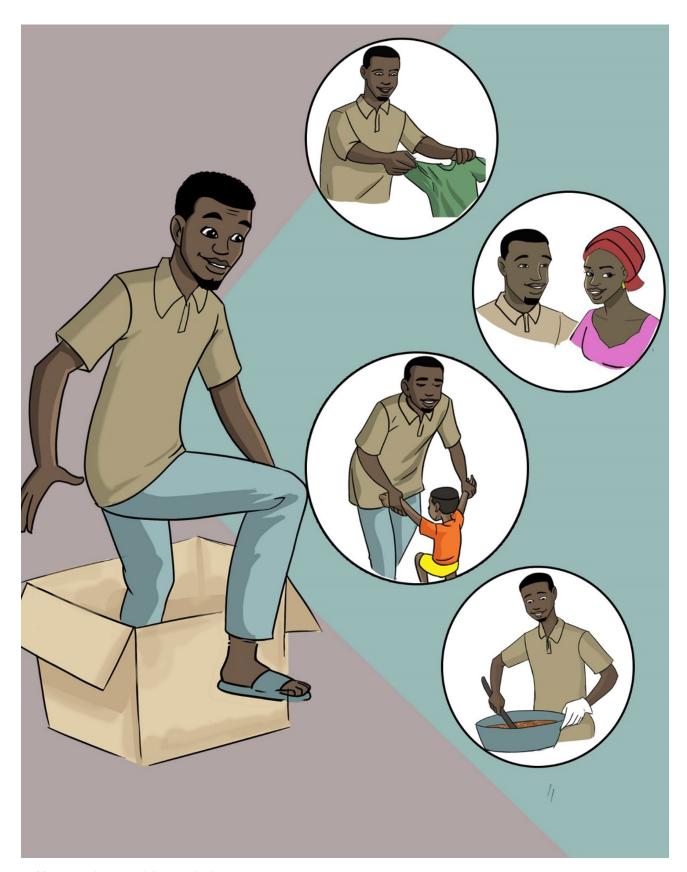
Men are growing more concerned about improving their domestic relationships. Some respondents are beginning to associate household peace with women's role in decision making and overall gender equality. In Bangladesh, sharing household chores led to improved family bonds as indicated by some participants. For many men and adolescent boys, improving household peace and harmony is the goal (for more on this, see section 3.6).

"If the husband shares household chores, then the wife becomes devoted to him."

ADOLESCENT BOYS FGD, DHORMOPAL, JALDHAKA, BANGLADESH

Support inside the household.

The data collected shows that men across the four countries are increasingly involved in household tasks. Adolescent boys are also providing increased and diversified support to women and girls both inside and outside the household, including childcare.¹⁰⁰



▲ Man stepping out of the gender box

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

"I now wash my mother's and the children's (little siblings) clothes to relieve the load on my mother so that she may have time for other household duties."

ADOLESCENT BOYS FGD, LANGOGU, GHANA

Advocating for gender equality, women's and girls' rights.

Participants have raised awareness in their own families and wider communities about critical issues such as gender-based violence, pre-postnatal visits and men's participation in housework. Adolescent boys are being instrumental in making their parents rethink the gender inequalities around care responsibilities.¹⁰¹ The participants used their experience of advocacy within the SHOW project to disseminate what they have learned to the wider community. In Senegal, respondents shared success stories such as the reduction of GBV complaints in some areas such as Bignona and Nioro.¹⁰² In Nigeria, members of the Sokoto South community have been educating one another on how to assist their spouses with domestic duties. 103 In Bangladesh, the sessions raised awareness about the disadvantages of child marriage, including increased violence against women and girls due to early marriage. Some were unaware of these concerns before the SHOW activities, writes the note taker regarding boys' groups from South Rajib, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh. An adolescent boy in Dhormopal, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh shared details of a situation where child marriage was avoided due to the SHOW project.

Income generation.

A few men in Ghana and Senegal have made efforts to successfully support their spouses to increase economic productivity¹⁰⁴ and even set up small businesses.¹⁰⁵

"(...) it was after the UPCW training that I was able to have a discussion with my wife about how to help her. And as a result we found the solution to set up a chicken coop, which today allows us to earn money. So we shared the lessons learned from these activities and implemented them well."

MEN FGD, SANSAMBA, SENEGAL

Overcoming stigma.

Furthermore, some men and women have chosen to continue sharing UPCW, despite social stigmatization.¹⁰⁶

Exceptions.

Although some positive shifts in attitudes and behaviours were reported, there were also exceptions. Some men insist on their culturally legitimatized superior status relative to women and remain hesitant to recognize women's rights and share care work¹⁰⁷ or are selective in which task they would adopt. Data shows that predominantly, men wash only their personal clothing but avoid doing so for their wife and children. 108 Some adolescent boys and men in Bangladesh view the unequitable division of labour as normal and inconsequential for women.¹⁰⁹ Several men, particularly in Senegal and Ghana admitted their tendencies to become angry or violent towards their partner, when some household chores were not completed, for example if meals were not ready on time (see section 3.4.2, including **Endnotes**).



▲ Woman stepping out of the gender box

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

3.5.2 CHANGES IN FEMALE KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS

Advocating for gender equality and women's and girls' rights while engaging men.

Women and adolescent girls described that the SHOW UPCW sessions have contributed to increase their awareness on gender equality and women's and girls' rights, as they feel more confident in advocating for women's and child rights, as well as disseminating relevant messages and knowledge in the larger community. In this regard, some informal and formal local initiatives⁵⁵ were highlighted by respondents. For example, some women in Illela, Nigeria shared that they were collabourating with their husbands in regularly organizing awareness raising sessions at home. The women in Bincheratanga, Ghana, are changing the way men see women by showing them some of the project's awareness-raising material and convincing them to practice gender equality by sharing household work. In Daboya, Ghana women"acted it out in a drama, explaining the benefits of sharing care job tasks". Similar social activism and advocacy efforts are underway in Senegal too. 110 All this is also contributing to solidarity among women to talk about issues and address them collectively.111

The results obtained from the research confirm that women and adolescent girls are engaging and influencing men both inside and outside the household in multiple ways and at multiple levels. Evidence clearly shows that women and girls are engaging men and boys in these substantive ways (i) during local advocacy activities, particularly in Ghana¹¹² (ii) by urging male relatives (fathers, brothers, married brothers, husband) to help redistribute UPCW¹¹³, (iii) by educating the younger generation of boys and contributing towards transforming the next generation¹¹⁴, and (iv) as wives

by assertively and persuasively communicating with their husband to recognize the impact of UPCW on women and redistribute it.¹¹⁵

"I persuaded several of my male classmates to assist their sisters with housework, which they now do."

ADOLESCENT GIRL FGD, LINGBINSI, GHANA

The data set shows that the value of engaging men in gender equality and women's rights initiatives is increasingly being recognized in project communities in the four countries. Almost all community facilitators interviewed for this study also highlighted this aspect. For example, a female community facilitator in Pikine, Senegal noted: "We were only popularizing women's rights,[...] but thanks to this (SHOW UPCW activities), we were able to solve problems that had no solution as we were able to raise awareness among men so that they would decide to do housework, and this has created cohesion between spouses".

Assertive communication: learning to communicate in public and within relationships.

SHOW UPCW sessions have made two major contributions for women and girls according to findings based on respondent statements. Both contributions have to do with forms of communication. One form has provided women and girls the confidence to represent themselves and their views in public. The other form is about communicating within relationships. Focusing on the context within which these trainings were introduced the female community facilitator from Pikine, Senegal noted: "(a community) where [...] some women even had problems just asking their

^{54.} The words informal and formal are used here to focus on advocacy initiatives where community members get together on their own parallel to initiatives that are managed by grassroots level organizations as in Senegal.



▲ Man not helping spouse with household chores & man helping spouse with household chores Illustrations from Nigeria Men's and Women's Clubs Manuals on Gender Equality and UPCW

husbands to help them with the children [...] but in the end they had the courage to talk about it with their husbands". Effective communication, which was challenging for many women, was strengthened through the UPCW sessions by building assertiveness and communication capacities, she explained. In Bangladesh too, relying on assertive communication skills gained during UPCW sessions. some women have successfully negotiated, for example, to continue their studies after marriage, and gain a certain level of freedom of mobility. A respondent described how she persuaded her spouse to give her freedom of movement while following "purdah" (veiling)117. Many respondents linked effective communication practices to peaceful and harmonious spousal relationship and households. Men's data present similar findings. 118

"Before joining this [SHOW activity], I lacked confidence in addressing a group of people, but now I can talk to them confidently."

ADOLESCENT GIRL FGD, TAMBUWAL, NIGERIA

Understanding and practicing gender equality.

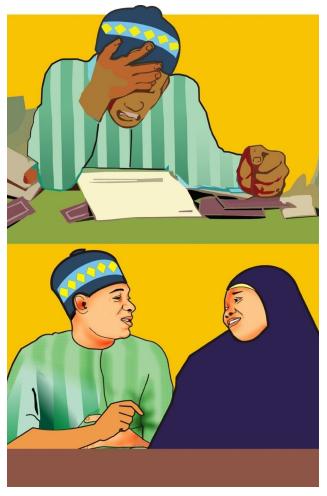
Women benefited from the sessions on gender equality in several ways, and some were even introspective: "I have not always treated my children equally. I learned that all children are equal after participating in these sessions. Everyone must be treated fairly. Now I treat all three children equally. I used to believe that my son would care for me when I was older, but now I realize that if I properly educate my daughter, she too can take my responsibility (in old age)" (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh).

More time for income-generating activities.

The community facilitator in Napolgu, Ghana, said that a few participants from the UPCW session were able to reduce their time poverty and effectively use time to "think, organize, and arrange (small-scale) trade activities." In Senegal, Ghana and Bangladesh, evidence shows that women, while renegotiating care roles with their relatives inside the household, (not always just limited to men but also extended family members such as mothers-in-law¹¹⁹), have made successful efforts towards earning some money.¹²⁰

3.6 COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE OF EQUITABLE SHARING OF CARE RESPONSIBILITIES, AND ITS FUTURE

The COVID-19 pandemic and its gendered impact on UPCW allowed Plan International to scale up relevant programming under the SHOW project. This has led to noticeable changes in participant perceptions and increased community acceptability of equitable sharing of care responsibilities within and outside households. Through Plan International's COVID-19 response programming focusing on UPCW, men and boys were encouraged to reflect on positive masculinities and their role in care work and adopt equitable attitudes



▲ Man and woman making decisions together.

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Nigeria

and behaviours that are supportive of women and girls. The study data suggests that men and boys embraced a range of activities and plan to adopt more. Men and boys, women and girls can notice and explain the impact of this redistribution of care work on women (Box 2). These changes and redistribution of care duties are perceived to have a range of benefits to everyone.

3.6.1 EQUITABLE SHARING DURING COVID-19 LOCKDOWNS

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the UPCW workload increased for many women and adolescent girls, and to a certain extent, adolescent boys (as explained in section 3.4.1). Some men participated in household work and shared their experiences during data collection. A few men also explained that their contributions were not as substantial as they could have been. 121 The research findings suggest that the pandemic context and assistance that men made during this time made all respondent categories recognize the tasks that men and boys could easily adopt outside and inside the household (including childcare) which were deemed as "women's work" previously. Data collected also reveals that men were willing to take up some tasks, even those that required a certain level of skill (such as cooking). A short note documenting activities that men can easily adopt outside and inside the household, as indicated by respondents, is available in Box 1.

During the COVID-19 lockdown, equitable sharing of UPCW proved to be critical in reducing tension and promoting bonding within couples and family members and for promoting overall household harmony and mutual support, according to many respondents. Challenges experienced by those who did not adopt equitable sharing are noted in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. Many respondents believe that the importance of equitable sharing cannot be undermined and that the practice will continue even after the COVID pandemic.

box 1. Outside/inside household activities that men can adopt based on multi-country information

Across respondent all categories, it was reported that outside household tasks which men can easily adopt include:

- Fetching firewood and water
- Farming and livestock management
- Cleaning of large areas and garbage tanks
- Accompanying women to health care facilities
- Building/repairing fences
- Arranging reliable household sanitation facilities
- Accompanying women as their guardians/chaperone

Regarding household activities inside the household that men can easily adopt, there are tasks such as repairing roof leaks and installing mosquito nets that were identified in Senegal and Bangladesh as activities that are easy for men¹²² to adopt. Many respondents identified cooking to be most difficult for men. The study data also shows washing dishes and washing clothes of other family members, particularly women's, are generally not considered activities that men could easily adopt. Regarding childcare, data suggests that men's roles are generally limited to school pickups and drop offs, school lessons, overall disciplining of children, child medical care, and playtime when possible. Bathing was also identified as an activity that men could adopt in Nigeria and Ghana. In Senegal, men did not identify this, but other respondent categories did so. In Bangladesh men indicated it but women said that men could only hold a baby. Also, adolescent boys in Bangladesh indicated accompanying younger sisters to school as their guardian.¹²³

3.6.2 FUTURE OF EQUITABLE SHARING OF UPCW

Results shared in section 3.5 show that many respondents are willing to advocate for equitable sharing and in this regard are reducing the impact of intergenerational transfer of unequal gendered care roles and nurturing positive practices in masculinities. Respondents provided information on their efforts to present good examples at home that children will follow. 124 Some female respondents believe that by observing their fathers participate in house work, boys will have a good role model and become better and supportive companions to their wives in the future. There is ample evidence to suggest that gender transformative change is possible as stigmatization begins to dissipate, opening the way for a culture of long-term equitable sharing of UPCW.125

3.6.2.1 PERCEIVED BENEFITS OF PRACTICING EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF UPCW

Research participants from all categories indicated that they value equitable sharing and recognize its positive impact on women's and girls' wellbeing. Several respondents think that physical, maternal, and psychological health will improve as a result of equitable sharing of UPCW. 126 Women and girls' statements in particular, indicate that they associate equitable sharing of UPCW with their sense of self, self-esteem and agency. Evidence suggests that equitable distribution of UPCW makes it possible to recognize women's work and value and their contribution to the household as a person, i.e. beyond their reproductive function 127. Women's sense of personhood and belonging to her family, also increases.

"If we shared the work equally in the family, things would be much simpler and easier to do. Therefore, we women will have our free time to rest, take care of ourselves, our bodies, and we will be in good health."

WOMEN FGD, BIGNONA, SENEGAL

Data shows that respondents value equitable sharing of UPCW as with this, children, especially girls, will be able to focus on education¹²⁸ and will not suffer from time poverty. For example, men in Senegal recognize the negative impact that UPCW has on women when it is gendered and unequal and, that it can be a factor that limits women and girls' access to education. Therefore, many men highlighted the importance of equitable distribution of tasks and that this could have a positive impact on girls and women's educational opportunities. Women and girls had similar views. 129 Equitable sharing of UPCW is also seen as a context within which income generation becomes a possibility for women as time poverty reduces.¹³⁰ In Nigeria, a few adolescent girls interpreted equitable distribution of household tasks as not just that men should contribute inside the household, but that women should have equal opportunities in getting work done outside the household and reduce their dependency on men.¹³¹

Respondents statements across countries, sex and age groups suggest that equitable sharing of care roles and responsibilities is perceived to be a factor that improves the household environment: making it more peaceful and harmonious¹³², as well as strengthening marital and interpersonal communication. An adolescent boy in Dange Shuni, Nigeria, expressed optimism that even after COVID-19, equitable sharing of care roles will continue as "sharing care work improves love, unity and (family) bonding is stronger." Notwithstanding, many respondents also believe that changes in attitudes and practices may not be sustainable as normal life resumes after Covid-19 restrictions have been lifted.

Equitable sharing of UPCW also provides a context within which positive masculinities can be promoted. Otherwise, as perceived by some respondents, there is an increased risk that adolescent boys with more time on their hands will engage in negative behaviours. Some respondents, particularly women and adolescent boys and girls, also value equitable work distribution at home as it equips men and adolescent boys to gain essential life skills, such as learning to cook.¹³³

box 2. Impacts of equitable distribution of unpaid care work on women and girls, by country and respondent category

WOMEN					
SENEGAL	GHANA	NIGERIA	BANGLADESH		
Tension-free atmosphere and improved communication at home/ conjugal and sexual relationship will improve due to stress free environment	Peace, harmony and love within family	Reduced stress	Reduced stress - good physical and psychological health that also leads to improved family relations		
Unity among children/girls will have time to study	Opportunity to rest	Regain self-worth ¹³⁴	We can play Ludo and watch TV in our spare time		
Regain self-esteem		Regain health	Take a meal at the right time (if men help us with household work)		
Regain health		Rest	Rest, leisure, relax, watch TV		
Rest/visit parents		Happiness, children too will be happy			
Happiness, children too will be happy		Trading opportunities			
Income-generation activities can be taken up		Joint decision making becomes possible 135			
Women will focus on husband and take care of him more					

GIRLS				
SENEGAL	GHANA	NIGERIA	BANGLADESH	
Increase family bonding, peace and harmony/ good communication with family-	Mothers get opportunity to socialize	Opportunity to socialize	Opportunity to socialize and take up leisure activities; visit relatives	
Wife can take better care of husband/spousal relationship will improve and sharing leads to love between couples.	Girls' opportunity to sleep early, attend school on time and study hard – improve academic performance	Girls' opportunity to rest	Opportunity to rest	
Opportunity to rest, take care of oneself.	Increase family bonding	Increase family bonding	Increase family bonding; reduced conflict	
	Peace and harmony in household	Improve health/gain weight	Eat proper food, stay physically healthy	
	Improve health	Start a business		
	Men and women will respect each other	Peace and harmony in household		
	Reduction of stress			

MEN				
SENEGAL	GHANA	NIGERIA	BANGLADESH	
Regains health/weight/ physical beauty (that diminishes with hard work)	Regains health/ miscarriages reduces	Increases bonding and understanding with family	Increases bonding and understanding with family – overall domestic environment improves	
She may start a business/income generation/financially independent	Increases bonding, love and understanding with family – no quarreling	She can rest	Women can rest and be happy; take some leisure activity	
She can rest, be peaceful, happy and stress free	Girls can attend school on time and focus on schoolwork	She may start a business	Regains health, physical and mental	
Increases bonding and understanding with family	Decreasing levels of stress and irritability.	Regains health		
Sexual violence against wives will decrease (when women are overworked, they refuse and that leads to violence)		She can trade		

BOYS				
SENEGAL	GHANA	NIGERIA	BANGLADESH	
There will be harmony and happiness in the family	She will be happy	She will be happy	She will gain a sense of belonging to her family and to the neighbourhood. She will socialize more and that will give her a sound (i.e. stable) mind.	
She will have time to rest	She will be healthy and safe from illnesses	She will be healthy	She will be comfortable and healthy, less fatigues and less stressed	
Girl children can focus on school lessons	Girls gain development opportunities, attend school, learn other skills	She may start a business	She can do what she loves doing, for example embroidery	
Boys can have good relationship with sisters.	Family bonding increases	She will learn to respect me (if I help her) ¹³⁶	She will get time to rest	
Her health will improve	Personal hygiene improves		Her temperament will improve, and she will spend quality time with children	
			Her relationship with husband will improve	

Key findings.

The multicounty data set confirms that all respondent categories associate equitable redistribution of care work with multiple benefits for women and adolescent girls. The women's data set from the four countries mainly highlighted benefits such as: the opportunity to rest; reduced stress; good health; and peaceful family/bonding within family. Adolescent girls, along with men and adolescent boys also highlight these outputs. In addition, men, women and adolescent boys and

girls from Senegal and Nigeria indicated income generation and trading/business opportunities; Adolescent boys and girls mentioned opportunities for women to socialize. Respondents in Senegal and Ghana also indicated improved school attendance and academic performance. Men in Senegal noted that sexual violence against women will decrease. Adolescent boys in Nigeria said redistribution of care roles could lead to good sister- brother relationships.



▲ Man not helping with household chores

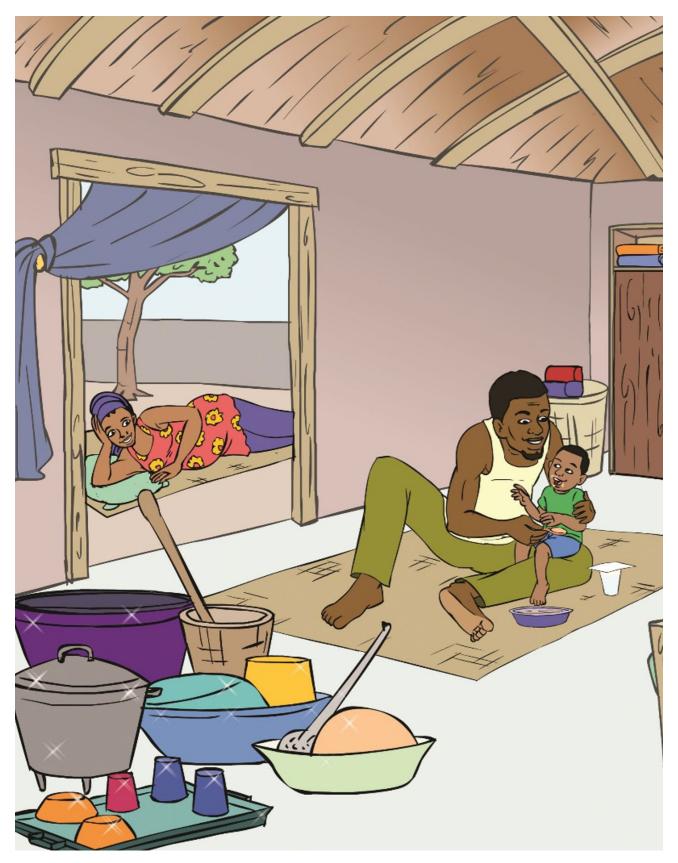
Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

3.6.2.2. COMMUNITY RESERVATIONS ABOUT PRACTICING EQUITABLE SHARING OF UPCW.

Those who shared reservations about more equitable distribution of UPCW mostly emphasized the value of local culture, which should be sustained out of respect for elders. The qualitative data set indicates that the few respondents who insist on the gendered division of care roles largely do so due to gendered cultural/economic expectations and consider these to be the regular housekeeping arrangement. Boys and a few men are concerned that they will become overworked as they are already responsible for outside tasks that adolescent girls are not expected to perform. Some respondents also maintained that men's primary responsibility is to earn income and that he should

be respected as the head of the household with others serving him, i.e. his culturally allocated status should be preserved. ¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the prevalent understanding is that equitable sharing is difficult to establish inside families since men and boys will quickly return to the public domain following the removal of COVID-19 imposed restrictions, and their major focus will be to earn income. ¹⁴¹

In Senegal, only a few men expressed reservations. Some men who were/are active in Father's Clubs and Husband's Schools insisted that gender roles are already being transformed but that some women¹⁴² continued to adhere to gendered and inequitable care roles and responsibilities. In Bangladesh, concerns largely stem from patriarchal beliefs and culturally entrenched gender norms.



▲ Man helping with household chores

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

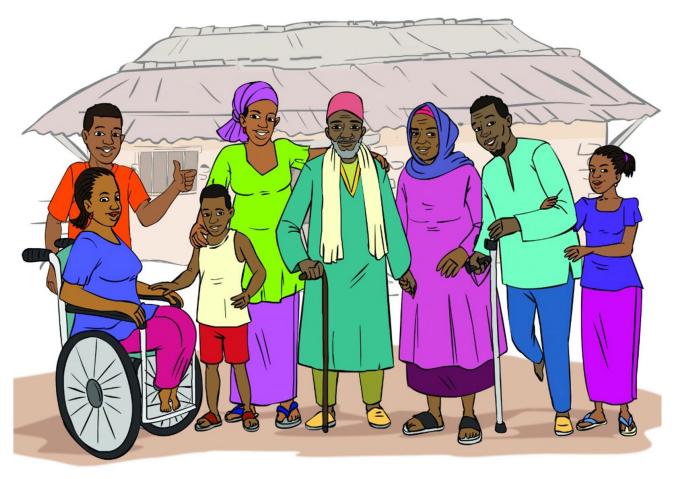
4

Discussion, Challenges and Recommendations



Discussion, Challenges and Recommendations

The study results suggest that SHOW activities have contributed to shifts in men's, women's, adolescent girls' and boys' knowledge of social norms and gender roles. Findings confirm a considerable increase in participants' recognition and awareness about the gendered dimensions and inequitable nature of UPCW. Participants have begun to realize the importance of stepping out of established gender norms and exploring new possibilities centered around gender equality. The impact of UPCW on women and girls in communities is increasingly being 'recognized' in the communities and is gradually being 'reduced' owing to its greater 'redistribution' between women/girls and men/ boys. Also, more men and boys are responding to requests of women and girls to increasingly participate in fulfilling care roles and responsibilities. Time poverty for some women and girls is perceived to be declining. Across countries, sex and age groups, several respondents are actively advocating for women's and girls' 'rights and addressing their needs.



▲ Group with diverse individuals looking happy

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

Research findings suggest that some men want to enable women to become more independent and realize their economic potential. A few men have collabourated with their spouses in starting small businesses and are also supporting them in trading activities. These men are keen on participating in household tasks and recognize the importance of sharing UPCW with their spouse so that work at home is completed in less time and more time is available to plan and implement income generation activities for the household. However, information gathered from this research also suggests that the driving force behind this approach is a concern for the economic status of the household more than improving the financial independence of women. In relation to this, it is important to highlight the patriarchal context underpinning these gender inequalities. For example, the data set on women and adolescent girls revealed that regardless of a

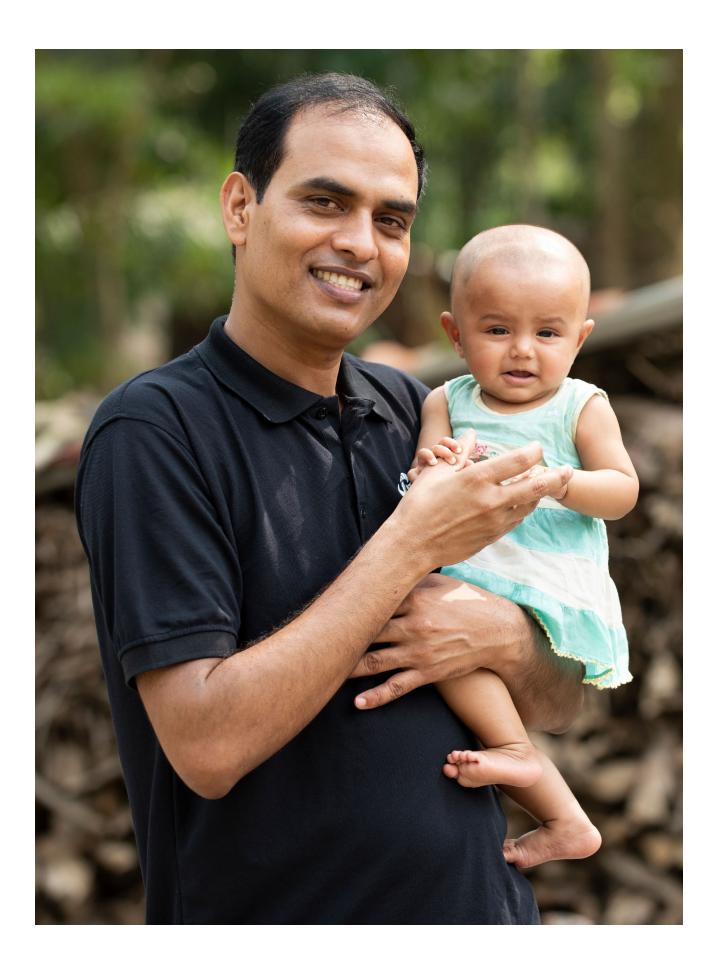
woman's financial contribution in the household, male superiority over her is maintained owing to the broader patriarchal gender relations that govern cultural ideas and behaviours. Within patriarchal contexts, a woman's social position inside the family remains lower than her husband's, and she continues to bear the load of UPCW while also being vulnerable to becoming a victim of intimate partner violence. Both issues, the inequitable distribution of UPCW and GBV, being structural and widespread pre-existed the COVID-19 pandemic and were exacerbated during this period. The research findings are a strong reminder that in patriarchal contexts, the concept of masculinity that centers around men being 'head of the household', 'financial providers' with 'physical strength' who 'command' over the house and 'discipline' children, at times even resorting to violence, continue to exist and can pose potent barriers for women and

girls to effectively communicate their needs to men and their extended families within which they reside. Women and children generally have low decision-making power within households, where decisions are mostly determined by men and seniors i.e., elders of the family and communities. The socio-cultural values, gender norms and roles are purposefully and inter-generationally transferred and individual positional advantages/disadvantages are rationalized accordingly. Men and women, who cross cultural boundaries are often socially stigmatized and reprimanded.

Introducing a gender transformative agenda within such contexts can therefore be challenging. Based on this study, it can be surmised that the key is in finding and leveraging the most effective entry-points that in this case, the SHOW project (an initiative that focused on maternal, newborn, child, and reproductive health and rights) readily provided. Gender transformative development approaches, if embedded within the overall theory of change, can be successfully transferred and utilized across sectors. If efforts are built on evidence and are thoroughly contextualized, i.e., premised on local perceptions regarding deeply ingrained gendered norms, beliefs, and practices, it is possible to achieve gender transformative shifts in attitudes and behaviours benefitting everyone involved. Facilitators working directly with the local communities emphasized the importance of continuing to engage men and boys in order to address UPCW.

The empirical evidence illustrates that communities are not stagnant but within their contexts are cautiously progressing on the 5Rs spectrum which focuses on recognizing, reducing and redistributing UPCW; along with responding to the needs and rights of unpaid care workers and representing them. Reconsidering the real world patriarchal contexts explained previously, based on empirical evidence from Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Bangladesh, one of the project's major contribution concerns successfully equipping women and adolescent girls with the tools to effectively and proactively

exercise their inherent agency and communicate about UPCW in public and within relationships. The reflective sessions on UPCW and gender equality have raised awareness in all respondent categories, and particularly men and boys, to recognize the gendered and inequitable nature of UPCW; increasingly respond to women and girls' needs; contribute towards reducing workload by redistributing it and, to an extent, representing the cause of gender equality and advocating for equitable sharing of care work through persuasive communication in extended families, and wider communities. The findings based on the data collected clearly demonstrate that all respondent categories have benefited from the SHOW UPCW sessions which have enabled them to recognize and value the importance of equitable sharing of UPCW and its links with improved family and household relationships; improved health outcomes for everyone (particularly women and children); and reduction of time poverty for women and girls so that they can rest, enjoy leisure time and/or pursue economic and educational opportunities.



CHALLENGES

Despite important shifts in attitudes and behaviours as noted previously, some challenges remain.

- The pressure of culturally assigned gender roles. Many men continue to rationalize the gendered division of care tasks and obligations in the name of respect for culture, or occupations outside the household (consult 3.5.1). Several women avoid involving men in care work as among other factors described in 3.3.1, it makes them and/or the couple vulnerable to social criticism and insults.
- Gender Inequality. This causes an
 overemphasis on gendered divisions of care
 tasks and obligations within households. The
 patriarchal framework is perpetuated by
 community and family structure, organization,
 and customs. Gender norms and roles are
 passed down from generation to generation,
 making it difficult for women to challenge men
 and adolescents to take a different direction
 than the one elders dictate.
- Violence against women. Intimate partner
 violence is widespread requiring integrated
 human rights and development efforts. Women
 and girls are often unaware of their rights, and
 how it affects them. This, in turn, exposes
 women and girls to exploitation, violence, and
 abuse.
- Denying child rights. Data from the field confirms that girls' education is often downplayed as girls are expected to prioritize UPCW over education.
- Sensitive research. One of the challenges is to collect relevant data on sensitive and difficult subject matters such as the ones at the nexus of UPCW and violence. For example, it is difficult to carry out data collection on child brides and those forced into marriage due to unwed pregnancies, some of whom are surviving heavy loads of UPCW.

RECOMMENDATIONS

These recommendations are offered to civil society, public and private sector stakeholders that are seeking to tackle the inequitable distribution of UPCW and promote gender transformative change through policy and programs. The recommendations have been organized based on the 5Rs framework on care work.

Recognizing unpaid care work.

- Recognize that care work is deeply entrenched in the social value of women and girls, as well as the way their roles are defined. Gender roles are intrinsically related to other areas, such as access to and control over resources, decisionmaking power, autonomous mobility, and challenges such as gender-based violence¹⁴³ and child, early, and forced marriage (CEFM).
- Recognize the importance of increasing community involvement and ensuring that men and adolescent boys are enabled to fully internalize equitable sharing of care roles and responsibilities. Most respondents refer to men and boys' involvement in care work as "assistance," indicating that care labour is still gendered.
- Recognize the importance of involving all household members, in both nuclear and extended family (including parents, grandparents, in-laws, other elders, and siblings), sensitizing them on issues around UPCW redistribution and broader gender equality.



▲ Happy family

Illustration from the SHOW project's Men's clubs and Women groups manuals on Gender Equality and Unpaid Care Work in Senegal

Responding to the rights and needs of unpaid care givers.

- Respond by developing initiatives engaging parents, teachers, civil society, and policymakers to prevent girls from dropping out of school due to UPCW and ensure their attendance is equal to that of boys. Ensure that during formative years children are not socialized and influenced to perpetuate gender inequality.¹⁴⁴ Instead the need is to "promote an ethic of male care in schools and other key institutions in which social norms are created and reinforced."¹⁴⁵
- Respond by focusing on designing contextually relevant and organic programs as these are most likely to be successful and sustainable as modifying culturally embedded practices is difficult and requires long-term interventions

- Respond by co-creating with women and girls activities for learning, income-generating and/or leisure. Community members can be supported to identify relevant economic empowerment opportunities, and be further supported through capacity development.¹⁴⁶
- Respond through combined efforts of development and humanitarian practitioners to integrate gender transformative strategies across sectors.
- Respond through collective action of government stakeholders and local women's rights organizations to produce effective, efficient and relevant family friendly policies, action plans, and data.

 Respond by offering extended awareness raising that is required to help community members integrate the value of equitable sharing and redistribution of care work in their daily routine even after COVID-19.¹⁴⁷

Reducing and Redistributing responsibility of care work more equitably.

- Reduce and equitably redistribute
 responsibilities of care work by advancing
 UPCW programming in such a manner that, for
 example, it allows men to go from supporting
 roles in childcare to being autonomous and selfsufficient fathers who enjoy spending time with
 their children.¹⁴⁸
- Reduce and redistribute care roles and responsibilities by directly engaging men and boys. It is important that men and boys take ownership of equitable sharing and feel comfortable in fully accepting care roles and responsibilities rather than continue to perceive it as some support and help that they may (or may not) extend to the women and adolescent girls in their families.¹⁴⁹

Representing women and girls involved in UPCW.

- Represent vulnerable social groups through both social and intellectual activism for gender transformative change. Future research must adopt a more intersectional approach, emphasizing the care burden and socioeconomic disadvantages encountered by diverse groups of women and girls.¹⁵⁰ Statistics i.e., evidence on UPCW should be made available in accordance to the SDG indicators that have been established.¹⁵¹ In order to better understand how identity and exclusion influence women and girls in patriarchal societies on the issue of UPCW, it is important to produce knowledge on these topics.
- Address gendered norms and practices through effective advocacy strategies to highlight the needs and rights of unpaid care givers; making the recognition of UPCW a central concern in national policies and data collection initiatives.
- Represent vulnerable social groups by advocating for, and where already present, strengthening relevant social protection mechanisms and safeguard frameworks.¹⁵²
 On a wider scale existing policies/laws need to be reviewed in case these reinforce gender stereotypes that potentially contribute to the unequal distribution of care work, such as parental/maternity leave policies excluding fathers, etc.

ADDITIONAL QUOTES

- "The men go out to look for money and the women take care of the housework." (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal); They always say ("mace ai 'yarzamangidace") that a woman's role is at home and a man's function is outside the house (Adolescent girl, Tambuwal, Nigeria).
- A 52 year old woman in Kedougou, Senegal noted: "My husband makes sure the house rules are observed and looks after the expenses"; "I decide on how the work at home should be divided because I am the landlord of the house" (Man, Makayilli, Ghana).
- 3. "Unpaid care work is what we generally do (for the house) 24 hours a day. In their opinion, these tasks are not restricted to the house premises only". (Note taker's notes about adolescent boys in South Rajib, Kishoregonj).) "Mothers do this work for free. That is why this is unpaid work". (Adolescent girls, Botlagari, Saidqur) "Household chores are countless. Something new appears every now and then. However, we now provide some assistance (to the women)" (Man, Gragram, Kishoregonj)
- "My wife takes care of my children. I am responsible for their health" (Man, Napolgu, Ghana).
- "As a husband, I take care of the children before going to work; my wife goes to the market [...]" (Man, Kebemer, Senegal).
- 6. According to a woman in Yabo, Nigeria "men understand children better and can tell the difference between well-behaved and difficult youngsters". "The male (i.e. father) of the home instructs the boys to get firewood for cooking" (Adolescent girl, Langogu, Ghana). "The men do not directly involve themselves in the care work, but they always ensure that, the boys [...]support the household" (Women, Langogu, Ghana).
- 7. "[...]When your husband has not left for work, then it is your job to take care of him (fetch water for him to wash, make him breakfast, shine his shoes etc., so to say that these are small services that, had he left home we would not have done. But now that he is here so all this become additional burden" (Woman, Bignona, Senegal).
- 8. "My daughters are responsible for fetching water into the house", Bincheratanga man shared informing that his sons are busy with the animals. Lingbinsi data shows that at times females, including adolescent girls as young as sixteen go to the farm as captured in this quote: "going to the farm is my regular activity. I also fetch water from the borehole every day" (Adolescent girl, Makayilli). "Cutting firewood, harvesting yam and other vegetables and then women carry it home for cooking or a few men also bring it home. Fetching water for bathing is done by women", described a man from Napolgu.
- "It is society that determine the role of each person. Therefore, it is rare to see a person who does not respect them (i.e., local customs)". (Man, Bignona)
- 10. Adolescent girls play a major part in child care as well. "There are young girls who have been assigned to look after the babies" (Man, Sokoto North, Nigeria). Adolescent boys may act as guardians to younger siblings outside the home, "getting a sense of" habits and attitudes and checking to see if youngsters are praying on time. (Adolescent boy, Sokoto South, Nigeria) "I look after my younger siblings while my mother cooks" (Adolescent boy, Gonesh, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh).
- For example, "My mother ignites fire (under the cooking pot), I bathe the children, clean the room, wash utensils and sweep the compound (courtyard)" (a 12 year old girl, Nangungpung, Ghana).
- "My daughter bathes young children and washes our clothing." (Man, Bincheratanga, Ghana)

- 13. A 19 year old boy from Napolgu, Ghana shared: "I have been carrying sick family members to the nearby health facility on my bicycle". "I look after the elderly and cook for them", told a woman from Daboya, Ghana. "I make it a point to look after any sick people in the house rather than leaving it to my wife, who will be busy cooking and shopping for groceries so (I do this so) that her load of unpaid care labour is reduced". "Men are obliged to check on the health of family members while the women cook." (Men, Langogu, Ghana). "We take care of our parents" (Woman, Kebemer, Senegal); "take care of handicapped or sick people" (Man, Bignona, Senegal); "I have to do the household chores because my wife is sick", "I need to take care of her, take care of the children" (Man, Gragram, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh), "When my wife or children are sick, I take them to the hospital" (Man, Dungar Para, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- 14. For example, "A man accompanies his wife to the hospital; takes care of her, checks her medication and in case she is pregnant, does all the housework" (female facilitator, Pikine, Senegal). A 27 year-old pregnant woman in Bignona, Senegal shared: "Concerning the housework [...] I share it with my husband. Sometimes I get sick and he takes care of everything. He is in charge of taking care of the children and helping them. I really thank him for that".
- 15. "In the morning, I wake up my daughter to help me with the chores before she goes to school and the boys wake up only to wash, have breakfast and then go to school. The woman is the first to get up in the morning and the last to go to bed at night" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal); "Women do more household chores than us." (Adolescent boys, Dhormopal) "Women and girls become weak due to too much work on them" (Man, Bincheratanga, Ghana); "Care work responsibilities are more on women and girls" (Adolescent girl, Binji, Nigeria); "If you list twenty care works, you will notice that only five are for men, indicating that they have time to relax due to our culture" (Women, Dange Shuni, Nigeria)
- "Sometimes the husband washes his own work clothes." (Man, Kaolack); "boys do wash their own clothes" (male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal)
- 17. "They (men) do it occasionally when they think it is essential" (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh). "women that are pregnant need to have a helping hand" (Man, Gada, Nigeria); "husbands helping their wives, pregnant wives" (Man, Wamakko, Nigeria); "Some men do any work when his wife is pregnant" (Adolescent boy, Illela, Nigeria); I fetch water for her and take care of her health especially when she pregnant" (Man, Langogu, Ghana); "Look after my wife when she is pregnant" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal)
- "Any work that requires strength is for men, it is very rare to see a man in my house doing the cleaning. Women and girls have more responsibility in the house" (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal); "Man is stronger than the woman so he helps in work that requires strength like buying and (carrying) gas (cylinders)"; (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal). "It is the men who fetch dead wood and do all the heavy work that requires strength"; "I want to specify that when I am not available she fills up water barrels and leave these there (at the water point) and return home. Then it will be up to me or the children to carry these back home dragging the cart" (Men, Sansamba, Senegal). "As I said, men do the muscle work, like lifting bags of rice and so on; it is risky to leave the heavy work to a sister or mother because it can cause her health problems" (Man, Kedougou, Senegal); "It depends on the type of work: the heaviest work is for boys and the girls the lightest work. (Man, Kedougou, Senegal). Men are stronger in terms of doing difficult work example; farming, cutting firewood. Women do less or soft work such as washing, cooking etc" (Man, Bincheratanga, Ghana). "Women or girls are not strong enough to go to the farm" (Adolescent boy, Langogu, Ghana).
- 19. These are the social constructs that result from the repetition of our parents' habits and customs" (Man, Bignona, Senegal). "Even if a boy wants to help his mother with some work, society tells him that it is not a man's job" (Nioro, Senegal). "From a historical point of view, the woman is the one who has to take care of the house, as we say "housewife" naturally she has to take care of the household chores". (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal).
- "I think it is because of the Senegalese culture that women work more than men who are often slow to help women" (Woman, Louga, Senegal).
- 21. For example, "Our father did not participate in domestic tasks, so we do not." (Adolescent boy, Dhormopal, Bangladesh).

- 22. The division is "a divine will, a custom to see the woman as always being the only one responsible for the household tasks. You can see a husband is completely available (to lend a hand), yet he will leave the wife to work/handle on her own all day" (a 52 year old woman in Bignona, Senegal); "The reason is that Allah has made it that way. Women will be at home and man is the source of food (i.e. breadwinner)" (Woman, Yabo, Nigeria). In Sokoto South, Nigeria an 18-year-old boy remarked: "Women must stay at home as full-time housewives."
- 23. "It is necessary that others (parents and society) tells boys to give a helping hand to girls and that this would not change the status of a boy" (Adolescent girl, Wamakko, Nigeria); "If you list twenty care works, you will notice that only five are for men, indicating that they have time to relax due to our culture" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria); "Even if a boy wants to help his mother with some work, society tells him that it is not a man's job" (male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal); "it is because of the Senegalese culture that women work more than men who are often slow to help women" (Woman, Louga, Senegal); "Our father did not participate in domestic tasks, so we do not" (Adolescent boy, Dhormopal, Bangladesh); "My husband constantly supports the boys for not assisting with the care work and typically says it is the women's/girls' responsibility" (Woman, Daboya, Ghana)
- 24. For example, 'Our parents taught us growing up what men are supposed to be engaged in such as the man farming to provide food for the family while the women take the rest of the household work' (Men, Makayilli, Ghana).
- 25. For example, in Ghana: "The gender role for girls ensures that when they get married, they can be good wives" (Man, Langogu). "It is a must (compulsory) for women to do this because we will marry ...so we have to practice care work before we get married" (Adolescent girl. Daboya).
- 26. They prepare them (boys/men) to head and girls/women to manage their own households after marriage. "As a woman, it is mandatory for us to learn before marriage because one day, we will definitely get married," said a young girl in Gada, Nigeria
- 27. "My mother says household chores are your responsibilities. If your brother doesn't, you have to finish these tasks because you are a girl (and) you have to go to your in-law's house (i.e., you will get married and leave). So, you must learn all this" (Adolescent girl, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- 28. "My boys and girls are in school, and when they reach the tertiary level and their parents or guardians are no longer around to guide them, the children will be able to apply whatever skills they have gained now" (Woman, Bincheratanga, Ghana)
- 29. "People call those men 'half ladies' who share household chores. So, they do not want to get involved" (Adolescent girl, Khatamodhupur, Saidpur, Bangladesh). "Men do not share the housework equally because they are ashamed to be seen doing it by their friends and being called weak" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal): "There are several reasons why the work weighs more on women: for example, in our country, when a man helps his wife, it can be viewed or interpreted wrongly. Some will even say that the husband[...] is afraid of his wife" (Woman, Bignona, Senegal).
- For example, "The husband gives command to everyone at home" (Man, Sokoto North, Nigeria). "women are not valued by men and they don't appreciate them" (Women, Sokoto South, Nigeria).
- 31. The profiles of research participants who mentioned divorce are broader than expected: Man 48 years; Woman 37 years old with many children and living in an extended family; Woman, 40 years, with children aged between 14-18 and living in a nuclear family; Woman, 58, children aged between 6 to 18 and living in a nuclear family; Girl 19 years old, and a Boy aged 16 living in extended families. These respondents belonged to Gada, Tambuwal, Dange Shuni, Yabo, Sokoto South and Illela. The female community facilitators also mentioned divorce as a factor.
- 32. Gendered care work is perceived to be distributed in this way "to reduce fighting" among family members, an adolescent boy in Makayilli, Ghana explained: "it could cause fighting because women's work is plenty and men's own share in it is small.... so women would not agree to it and there will be fighting."
- 33. "My husband reacts badly if he does not get food in time. He yells at me, 'why have you not cooked yet? what will I eat?" (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh). "Men want to keep women under their control" (Woman, Gragram, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh).

- 34. "Despite the fact that women do so many things, they do not get paid for them." "Our work is worthless because we (women) have no value" (Female community facilitator, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh).
- 35. For example: "I've been seeing my mother wash everyone's clothes since I was a child. So, I assumed I had to do the same."; "fathers will never be involved in this" (Adolescent girls, Gragram, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh); "I have male and female siblings but I do everything alone ...my mom doesn't work. I wash plates and sweep. The male is my twin but he doesn't work if am around... and our mother will say why will he work while you are around. My brother only goes to school and the bushes (to collect firewood)" (Adolescent girl, Binji, Nigeria).
- An interesting excerpt from the adolescent girls FGD session at Bahagili, Kishoregoni, Bangladesh demonstrates these dynamics. (provided in country report)
- 37. "The care workload falls on the girls because they are expected to marry and join the in-laws, so if you are used to working at home, you won't have a problem with your in-laws" (Adolescent girl, Pikine, Senegal); "The girls become hard working and can fit in any environment that they find themselves in" (Woman, Bincheratanga, Ghana). "Similarly boys are supposed to help in their farm" (Adolescent girl, Bincheratanga, Ghana) "so that in future when the head (i.e. father) is weak and old, the boys will be able to take over from him and continue to work and feed the family and the family will not beg on the streets." (Woman, Langogu, Ghana); "Boys learn from fathers, and girls learn from mothers" (Man, Sokoto North, Nigeria), and do the same as married adults. Young women in Dange Shuni, Nigeria defended: "we have to teach girls about how to cook and do other care work which will help them a lot when they marry".
- 38. "Everyone knows what they are supposed to do. Therefore, work is done smoothly" (Man, Sokoto North, Nigeria).
- 39. "Boys have more time to read and perform better in school than girls because girls spend more time to do care work like fetching of water, washing utensils". (Adolescent boy, Bincheratanga, Ghana). "[...] the boy is going forward and higher in education" (Woman, Lingbinsi, Ghana); Also, a man in Chadkhana, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh noted: "As we do not have the responsibility to accomplish anything, we do not feel the stress."
- 40. Some men also stated that unpaid care work is a basic role of women, and so they perceive no repercussions for women from these activities. "As these are not tough jobs (washing clothes, playing with children), I don't think that they have any implications" (Man, Uttor Moza para, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- 41. "if there is heavy work load, she (women and adolescent girls) will not rest and fall sick" (Man, Binji, Nigeria). "I am having physical complications due to the workload. I have no time to rest. So, I am having fatigue and feeling weak." (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh); "Mothers and sisters are overloaded by domestic works which make them tired" (Adolescent boys, Gonesh, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh); "If the housework is not equitably shared, it can impact the woman's health. She spends all her time working and is tired all the time" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal).
- 42. "Overburdened pregnant women often get miscarriages" (Man, Daboya, Ghana); "gender roles make it difficult for women to do certain work when they are pregnant" (Man, Langogu, Ghana). "This (i.e. UPCW) cause pregnant women to experience miscarriages. This is because, a woman may be pregnant at an early stage and may not be aware of it and will be lifting heavy loads which can lead to miscarriage" (Woman, Nangunkpung, Ghana); "For pregnant women, there are risks of complications with the overload of work, which can lead to operations: cesarean sections or miscarriages [...]" (Woman Kedougou, Senegal).
- 43. These gender stereotypes make "girls feel inferior" and "boys feel superior and are rude towards girls." (Adolescent girl, Sokoto North, Nigeria). "'Fifiko' in equality that means young women feel inferior" (Woman, Sokoto South, Nigeria).
- 44. "Men have to go to work every day. Nobody shares their job. They also face physical and mental pressure. Working all day under the sun may make them physically sick" (Adolescent boy, South Rajib, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh); "Boys can become ill if the work load is high" (Adolescent girl, Wamakko, Nigeria).

- 45. A twenty three year old woman in Makayilli, Ghana living in an extended family noted: "It affects sexual intimacy since they (women) already are stressed". The female community facilitator in Langogu had similar observation: "It makes the women in the community sometimes sexually unresponsive (to their spouse)." The facilitator also noted that even though people are in a marriage "but they don't feel attracted". Women's refusal to sex within marriage often leads to violence against them and even adolescent children have mentioned this issue. Within a failed marriage a woman is more vulnerable and is quite often a victim of violence. The demographic health survey mentioned in the introduction section of this report also documents this issue.
- 46. "Practically the biggest burden is that the woman cannot rest" (Female community facilitator, Pikine, Senegall). "Women and girls are overburdened with care work and they don't get rest for themselves [...]" (male facilitator, Napolgu, Ghana); "work stress prevents women from getting enough rest or participating in other social activities. Women stated that owing to their tremendous workload, they were unable to rest, watch television, or spend time with their spouses" (note taker about women in Dangar para, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- For example, "Now he says to me: sleep, relax, and let me handle the work" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria)
- "It can also make girls perform poorly in school because they have to work in the morning even before going to school. Even if they go to school, they cannot concentrate. Ultimately, this leads to school dropouts." (male facilitator, Napolgu, Ghana); "There is increase in absenteeism and school dropout. Many girls do house chores in the morning (fetching of water, washing of bowls) which results in them going to school late and some times they decide not to go to school. Such a child may finally decide not to go to school ever again and hence dropout" (a thirteen year old boy in Bincheratanga, Ghana) "My little girls do all the work. And I must admit that this has a negative impact on their studies. This may prevent them from studying (i.e. performing) well" (Woman, Bignona, Senegal). "The girls do not have the chance to continue their studies" (Man, Kedougou, Senegal). "Care work affects her educational attainment" (Adolescent girl, Tambuwal). "It can deny the girl child access to education as she will be busy doing all the house work and do not have time to go to school" (Adolescent girl, Wamakko, Nigeria).
- 49. "Due to this (i.e. occupation in gendered UPCW), there is lack of opportunity for young girls to engage in income-generating activities. This situation can hinder the empowerment of women and girls" (Male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal); "I am a farmer, and at the same time, I do almost all the household chores before I can go to my farm and work. This makes the productivity of my farm very low as I spend more of my time in doing the household chores and less time to attend to my farm. I give more time to the household chores and less time to attend to the farm" (Woman, Bincheratanga, Ghana).
- 50. "the suffering and oppression that boys see between their parent will make them repeat the same treatment with their wives in future" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal). "The impacts of unequal sharing of care work among men and boys lead them to be authoritarian when they marry" (Adolescent girl, Kedougou, Senegal). "This situation can hinder the empowerment of women and girls, and also diminish the harmony that should exist between couples or partners" (Male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal).
- 51. "Women don't even know how to face their husbands and ask them to help in house-hold activities...they are just sitting (idly)" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria); "I constantly perform chores by myself, with no help from the males who are always outside doing nothing (sharholiya)" (Adolescent girl, Tambuwal, Nigeria); Even when women provide help to men in the public domain, such as helping him in farming, men do not provide help after returning home. A 28 year old mother living in an extended family in Langogu explained: "After the rainy season when cultivation starts, the men or boys will be busy, but after the harvest, they turn to sit idle leaving all the household chores on us, the women. This is tiresome, because, we also help with the farm work".
- 52. "Before (i.e., before program implementation), when men and women did not collabourate, there was misunderstanding... and women try to seek revenge among them." "Not aiding members of the family contributes to the resentment level. It also adds to children's misbehaviour." Both men are in their forties and live in Tambuwal (Nigeria) with extended families.

- **53.** "This situation (UPCW as burden on women) diminishes harmony that should exist between couples or partners" (Male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal).
- 54. "I have noticed many problems in couples and especially an increase in divorce cases" (Man, Kebemer, Senegal). "She (i.e. any woman) will say that since I am the one who does everything in the house, this can push her to say that I ask for a divorce" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal).
- 55. Women and the female community facilitator in LGA Gada mentioned that arguments over care responsibilities are avoided because women are afraid of angering their spouse.
- "Men beat wives for dowry" (Adolescent girl, Botlagari, Saidpur). For more consult 3.4.2
- 57. "Boys suffer when they do not learn"; "He cannot cook for himself." For example, if his wife is admitted to the hospital and they have children, he is unable to cook for them." (Adolescent girls, Sokoto North, Nigeria). "when they go to school because they cannot cook and be forced to buy food every time" (Adolescent girl, Daboya, Ghana); "boys can assist themselves if they learn" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria); "boys do suffer when they travel and there is nobody to cook for them. This is because they are not used to cooking" (Adolescent boy, Makayilli, Ghana)
- 58. "The boys may become wayward and loiter around doing unnecessary things" i.e. if they are not engaged in household chores. (Adolescent girl, Nangunkpung, Ghana), also women in Lingbinsi who could perceive an increase in boys laziness and waywardness: "The male child can become wayward".
- 59. "You will meet a man who will say, [...], how can I marry a lady and begin worshipping her? Man's ego will not enable him to share and participate in caring work" (Woman, Langogu, Ghana). "Work like cleaning and washing is viewed as humiliating to us, males" (Man, Makayilli, Ghana); "We earn money, but women do not. So they should be responsible for household chores" (Man, Chadkhana, Kishoregoni, Bangladesh).
- 60. "Many African men believe that sharing and assisting their wives with caregiving will make them look weak in the eyes of friends, relatives, and other community members" (Woman, Nangunkpung, Ghana). "A man playing with a child was perceived as (he is) weak (i.e. not having anything better to do)" (male community facilitator, Napolgu, Ghana).
- 61. "Even I [..] prevented my son from cooking for his wife because it felt odd [...]" (Woman, Yabo, Nigeria). "Why? my mother-in-law asks her son. Your father never helped me, she tells him if she notices my husband helping me" (Woman, Singria, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh). "My mother-in-law says offensive words to me if my husband ever helps me. She screams at me: Why have I brought you to this house? As a result, my husband refuses to help". (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- "My mother-in-law reacts badly and asks me why is he is doing this work despite having a wife?" (Woman, Chadkhana, Kishoregon) Bangladesh). "One day, returning from the SHOW-UPCW training session, I talked to my wife about the support I should give her, especially in times of pregnancy. She was very happy and agreed on the principle but asked me not to do these tasks in front of other people for this would appear as if she dominates her husband and that is not good for a married woman." (Man, Kaolack, Senegal). "It is interesting to note that social stigmatization also prevents both women and men from practicing equitable sharing in Nigeria and Ghana." "I will feel bad if my husband participates in household chores after his work because he has worked outside for the whole day" (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh). "[...]When one (individual and/or couple) believes that the key to a woman's paradise is in her husband's hands, it will be difficult for him to do any work [...]" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal)
- 63. "Disrespect might arise when we always perform these care tasks for them (women)" "breach of trust where she tells her acquaintances that her spouse does some domestic duties as if she had hired a slave" ("kamar ta samubawa" [...] some women start bragging if the husband helps with housework, and they may go about telling acquaintances that the husband dances to their tune." (Adolescent girls in Tambuwal, Nigeria); "she will go around portraying him as someone who is afraid of her. This can also limit a man's participation in care work" (Adolescent girl, Makayilli, Ghana).

- 64. For example a thirty three year old man in Kaolack shared: "One day, returning from the SHOW-UPCW training session, I talked to my wife about the support I should give her, especially in times of pregnancy. She was very happy and agreed on the principle but asked me not to do these tasks in front of other people for this would appear as if she dominates her husband and that is not good for a married woman."
- 65. "Inequality begins in our childhood. Our family buys sporting equipment for the boys and provides utensils for the girls to play with. As a result, males are thought to work (outside), while females are to stay at home" (Adolescent girl, Shimalbag, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh); "From my childhood, I've seen my grandfather and also my father never share household chores with their counterparts (grandmother/mother), so I also think that it is not necessary to share those with my wife." (Man, Nilpharmi, Bangladesh)
- 66. A few stigmatizing words and sentences: Bangladesh: Bou Varua' (wife's subordinate), bou pagla (wife-obsessed). "If a man cooks, people refer to his wife as 'chakula', which means 'crippled or disabled'; 'maiyalu' (effeminate); 'Hijra'- (transgender). "If men do household chores people call them 'ghorer lokkhi' (bride of the family)" Senegal. A thirty year old man in Kedougou, Senegal asked: "You know why they call me baby, it's because I used to share activities with the women at home [...]". Nigeria: They say she has gotten a slave 'kamar ta samubawa', 'maidashi dan daudu' i.e. he behaves like women; and Ghana: 'manwoman'; 'Mariyama' or 'Adishetu' and 'impotent'.
- 67. Adolescent girls in Nigeria and adolescent boys in Bangladesh provided information on this.
- 68. "if you are a man helping your wife at home, then it means that she is controlling you and that you are not man enough" (Women, Lingbinsi, Ghana)
- "Some of us find it difficult to sweep the yard because girls and women would (mock) call you impotent." (Adolescent boys, Napolgu, Ghana)
- 70. For example in Nigeria two men from Tambuwal and Wamakko stated: "I lock my house to help my wife escape any negative comments from society, because I don't like it."; "Don't let anyone into your house so they don't mock you or prevent you from helping out."
- For example, "[...] culturally Mandinka man is not asked (by the women) to sweep or to wash dishes [...] but now we are seeing changes." (Man, Sansamba.
- 72. For example, "[...] When one (individual and/or couple) believes that the key to a woman's paradise is in her husband's hands, it will be difficult for him to do any work [...]" (Man, Sansamba)
- 73. A seventy-year-old female respondent from Pikine specifically mentioned Prophet Muhammad's manner of life, emphasizing that the issue was not religion but local culture. "The Prophet (Muhammad) used to cook and do household chores but in our society today, men find this difficult to do".
- 74. "they (men) feel why a man would sweep or a wife would tell/command him to work [...] even though Islam does not exclude males from assisting at home, our traditions do." (Woman, Gwadabawa, Nigeria). "A few men in Sokoto North are trying to justify and rationalise their interest and contribution in household chores through Islam." "Our Prophet teaches us to help our spouse", "My husband stated: even the Prophet helped his wives with care work, so I should not be excused" (Woman, Yabo, Nigeria).
- 75. "A guy goes out for juju and he is ordered never to touch a stirring stick or bring water for his family; if he fails, he will go angry, be impotent, or lose something essential that belongs to him" (several women and adolescent girls respondents, in Makayilli, Nangunkpung. Lingbinsi shared various versions of the same concept). "[...] They believe that the spiritual powers will spoil or will not work when they wash their spouse's or women's clothing". (Adolescent boy, Langogu). "they will lose their reproductive organ (if the cook or wash or sweep etc.)" (adolescent boy, Napolgu)
- 76. "But if you are in an extended family where there are your brothers and their wives, your aunts and grandfather, it will be very difficult for a man to participate in the housework" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal); "The extended family environment is not conducive [...]" (Woman, Bignona, Senegal); and "life in a large family is a hindrance to the fair sharing of household chores" (male community facilitator, Nioro, Senegal). "Because some of us live in extended families, there is workload... and in-laws are there... which limits the activities of your husband in the house." (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria).

- "My husband distributes household chores. One wife is in charge of breakfast, the other of lunch, and we all make supper together in the evening." (Woman, Nanpunkgung)
- 78. "Lack of time is a major obstacle to our participation. Because let's face it, it's not as easy to go to work...to be able to support your family financially... and still come home to do housework" (Man, Bignona, Senegal)
- 79. "We are very poor and have to work all day on the farm. We do not have time to do household work" (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh). Women too endorse this view: "My husband is a poor man; he needs to go out to work. It will be a lot of burden on him if he has to do the household chores after returning home" (Woman, Singria, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh).
- 80. An eighteen-year-old girl in Tambuwal, Nigeria with siblings aged under five shared: "I sweep more than three times a day. It is tiring". Similarly in Bangladesh: "Because men and boys were at home, women washed more clothing." "COVID pandemic has increased the workload of all the members of the family. But mothers have to bear the lion's share[...]." "Boys were not familiar with these jobs but tried to share." (Adolescent boys, Rajib and Gonesh, Kishoregonj). "My brother lived away from home. He returned home during the pandemic. Now I have to wash his clothes that I have not done before." (Adolescent girl, Shimulbag, Jaldhaka); "Due to COVID19, the work load increased and I went more to the farm and cooked more since school was closed and everyone was home." (Adolescent girl, Makayilli, Ghana); "The male children in the household have adopted to fetching water, sweeping outside and also bringing firewood" (Woman, Bincheratanga, Ghana).
- 81. "he (her father) puts eyes in anything she (her mother) does" i.e., needlessly interferes (Adolescent girl, Wamakko, Nigeria); For example, women in Kedougou, Senegal shared: "[...] and she must also endure the stress of her husband in times of confinement"; "It was very difficult to manage the moods of the men during the COVID 19 period because their nerves were tense."; "When the husband is at home, he criticizes his wife for every move she makes so there is argument." (Adolescent boys, Dhormopal, Bangladesh).
- 82. "Due to poverty and financial difficulties many girls were forced into being kayayei [i.e. women porters in Accra]" (Adolescent boy, Langogu, Ghana).
- 83. "I help my daughter-in-law with the work by sweeping the yard every morning before preparing the millet porridge that I sell." (Woman, Bignona, Senegal). "My husband made sure sanitary measures were observed and children wash their hands when leaving the toilet" (Woman, Nioro, Senegal). "I think that the pandemic has been beneficial for women, in the sense that many men have become aware of the magnitude of household chores and have started to get involved in relieving women of this burden" (Female Community facilitator, Pikine, Senegal). "COVID 19 allowed me to see that women were doing a lot of the work, so I decided to do some of the work for them like cleaning the house" (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal).
- 84. Couples fought over disciplining their children and at times men blamed women for sending daughters away as "kayayei". Teenagers lost the zeal to go back to schools after the pandemic and subsequently went on to become 'kayaye' (Male community facilitator, Napolgu, Ghana); "During the pandemic, their husbands were in a terrible mood because of poor income, so they used harsh words" (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh); "sometimes the cause is when your wife asks you for money knowing that you have not worked for a while, then the man may be angry and this is the cause of many instances of verbal and even physical abuse" (Adolescent girl, Pikine, Senegal)
- 85. "During COVID 19, we saw many cases of gender-based violence such as physical and verbal abuse and divorce in our families" (Woman, Kebemer, Senegal); "I have noticed many problems in couples and especially an increase in divorce cases" (Man, Kebemer, Senegal); "It created confusion and even divorce because some children went wayward. Others also got pregnant. And their mothers were blamed for it and were divorced." (Adolescent girl, Langogu, Ghana); "it increased fighting among couples because staying with husband always is another challenge which lead to divorce" (Woman, South Sokoto, Nigeria); "[...] in cases where food is finished. Men feel they are not being fair. It even lead to divorce." (Female facilitator, Gada, Nigeria); "It bring divorce due to huge consumption of food and men could not go out like to look for more food" (Adolescent boy, Yabo, Nigeria).

- 86. "[...] There have also been incidents of wife-beating and divorce due to dowry [...]" (Adolescent girl, Khamtamodhupur, Bangladesh). In Chadkhana, Bangladesh two women discussed about another woman from a neighbouring village who was divorced during the pandemic.
- 87. Plan International's previous research work also confirms that practices such as child early and forced marriages and unions) are based on patriarchal ideas and honour codes that control girls' sexuality. Child marriage is seen as a way to cope with greater economic hardships and as a means to protect girls from increasing instability, uncertainty, and violence through a husband and his perceived guardianship (for more consult: Plan International's Child, Early and Forced Marriage and Unions; Policy Brief -Oct, 2021 https://plan-international.org/uploads/2022/02/glo-cefmu_policy_brief-final-io-eng-jan21-1.pdf)
- 88. "Child marriage has increased significantly. Parents prefer to arrange a marriage for the young girl than to feed her as they were in financial crisis." (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh).
- "child brides who cannot do much work are often beaten up by the husbands" (Adolescent girl, Shimalbag, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh)
- 90. "In other areas (i.e. not in Bignona, Senegal) one could see parents who gave their daughters in marriage just because a rich person was the applicant or just to reduce the burden. So this was done without the girl's consent." (Man, Bignona, Senegal). "With the lack of means, I have seen parents wanting to get rid of their daughters by giving them in marriage in order" (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal). Other than this, "sexual violence on young girls was also noted because of promiscuity" (Adolescent girl, Pikine, Senegal), and so were "cases of rape" (Man, Bignona, Senegal).
- 91. "because during COVID we were home all the time. So, on the one hand, with the lack of financial means as well as our constant presence in the house made it so that there was verbal and sexual violence, even physical violence" (Man, Bignona, Senegal); "[...] she will not be receptive (to demands for sex) [...] This may be the beginning of violence in the relationship. Insults, assault and battery, sexual violence, etc." (Man, Sansamba, Senegal). "COVID increased gender-based violence in a sense that [...] I want to have sex with her she sometimes refuses so I become angry and beat her at times" (Man, Daboya, Ghana).
- 92. "If the parents fail to pay dowry the in-laws insult the daughter saying, "you are the 'free-bride' (i.e. unpaid and profitless) [...] so you have to work for 24 hours a day." (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- 93. "Already being the Husband School of Sansamba, we are conducting talks and advocacy activities in the framework of the SHOW project. So, the objective of these activities is to help women, to make them aware so that they have a happy life in their households. We discuss cases of GBV, pre-postnatal visits, men's participation in housework" etc. (Man, Sansamba, Senegal)
- 94. "I think I should be doing majority of the work since I brought my wife from her house (i.e. parental house), into my house and she has given birth to my children", reflected a thirty two year old man from Napolgu, Ghana; "these (UPCW training session) activities also helped us a lot because these allowed us to be much more aware of the difficulties encountered by our wives" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal); "I used to leave her doing a lot of housework before, but now I support her" (Man, Gada, Nigeria).
- 95. "now men accompany us more often. During my last pregnancy, my husband accompanied me every day especially during my visits to the health post" (Woman, Louga, Senegal). A sixty year old man in Bignona, Senegal shared "during the awareness activities, we had a good discussion about housework. We assisted pregnant women by accompanying them during their prenatal visits. We have made husbands aware to better support their wives by helping them with housework."
- 96. "My friend's wife used to experience a lot of miscarriages due to the work load on her and I asked him to relieve her of some of the domestic tasks. And the wife has just given birth without complications."

- 97. "They are not getting any help or time to rest from their work" (Man, Bincheratanga, Ghana); "We are now enlightened to know the benefit of sharing care work at home by Plan Ghana, so now women can rest" (Man, Daboya); "Now he says to me: sleep, relax, and let me handle the work" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria); "this arrangement (i.e. equitable sharing of carework based on curriculum) is important because this has "yayi min daidai" provides way of resting for girls and I support it 100%" (Adolescent girl, Gada, Nigeria). "Since yesterday my wife went to Dakar to visit her parents and it is me who prepares the meals for the children. So as 'Club' members, we are very supportive of our spouses. It is now natural for me to go and fetch water or wash the dishes or sweep up, etc." (Man, Sansamba, Senegal).
- 98. 'If the husband shares household chores, then the wife becomes devoted to him' (Adolescent boys, Dhormopal, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh). "My wife is caring for me more than she cared when she was younger" (Man, Chadkhana, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh)
- 99. "the activities allowed me to understand that the main way to have a happy family is to have the habit of discussion with your wife and to involve her in the decision-making process" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal).
- 100. "I help my wife with everything except cooking and sweeping the yard and front of the house" (Men, Kaolack, Senegal); "change is happening in our house. My brothers used to spend all their time elsewhere; now they are there to deal with any problems the children have at school or at parent meetings and in case of illness" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal); "My son has learned how to cook food for the family" (Man, Bincheratanga, Ghana). "I now support my wife in cooking, for example: rice, yam and soup" (Man, Daboya, Ghana). Females have noted these supportive behaviour changes too. "Anytime my mother and I go to the market or farm and return late (in the meantime), my brother starts cooking and we help him finish on our return." (Adolescent girl, Lingbinsi, Ghana). "I now wash my mother and children's (little siblings) clothes to relieve the load on my mother so that she may have time for other household duties", expressed a boy in Langogu, Ghana; "[...] boys and myself engage in fetching water for household use. This is because of the SHOW awareness creation on household unpaid care work" (Man, Makayilli, Ghana); "Men were no longer embarrassed to assist their wives with housework" (Woman, South Sokoto, Nigeria). "My aunt's husband now sweeps and boils water before she wakes up' (Adolescent girl, Gada, Nigeria). "We didn't share domestic tasks since we were in the man box." (Man, Chadkhana, Kishoregoni, Bangladesh) Their comprehension has changed as a result of their participation in all sessions. They understood that they were also responsible for these chores. "it is my responsibility as it is my family too." (Man, Dangar para, Saidpur, Bangladesh)
- 101. "I educated my mother about unpaid care labour [...] after receiving education from Plan Ghana," stated an 18-year-old boy from Daboya, Ghana, "I teach my parents how to share care work which makes me develop the confidence to speak to elderly people" (Adolescent boy, Binchertanga); Adolescent boys in Khatamodhupur, Bangladesh indicated a wish to share their knowledge with their mothers after obtaining training. "In our village, mother's work is called 'maial' (like women). However, after attending training sessions, we have learnt to share it." "our grandparents would overcome superstition (myths) if they could be informed" (Adolescent boy, Dhormopal, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh).
- 102. "we have made changes because, first of all, we are a 'Father's Club,' so we have always aspired to be 'role models', for our wives and, also for the community. In addition, we did focus group sessions in the village to discuss with the husbands and to raise awareness in them (on GBV). And sincerely, it has borne fruit, since today we note a decrease in the number of complaints concerning the violence suffered by women". (Man, Bignona, Senegal)
- 103. "We advocate for this UPCW programme in certain (geographic) regions, and some of them inform us that they are already implementing it" (Male community facilitator, Sokoto South, Nigeria). An adolescent boy from Yabo, Nigeria told, "I was asked to make a speech in class and give awareness about Plan international and on how to help our mothers and sisters with the household chores."
- 104. For example, a woman in Lingbinsi shared: "I used not to have money and because of that I was not able to give support in the household expenditure, but now am doing some small trading due to the sharing of household chores, therefore, I can now contribute to the household expenditure and my husband is very happy and has also starting helping me in so many ways especially fetching of firewood from farm".

- 105. "Personally, I must admit that [...] it was after the UPCW training that I was able to have a discussion with my wife about how to help her. And as a result we found the solution to set up a chicken coop which today this allows us to earn money. So we shared the lessons learned from these activities and implemented them well". (Man, Sansamba, Senegal)
- 106. "I totally support this program even if people call me a submissive husband" (Man, Gada, Nigeria). "She asked her husband to share house work and he said: do you want people to call me "mijin hajiya" or "ta ci karhi nai" and she said: let them say [...] He then agreed to support her." (Female community facilitator, Sokoto North, Nigeria).
- 107. For example, "We help women but what is sad is that at one point they abuse it and claim it as a right [...]" (Kaolack, Senegal).
- 108. "Washing my wife's clothing would be tough for me since she menstruates" (Man, Langogu,Ghana); A few girls in Daboya and Lingbinsi in Ghana noted that men still avoided messy baby garments and expected women and girls to manage.
- 109. Few men and boys do not recognize the impact of careburden on women and consider it women's duty and/or privilege that allows her to be at home and her children. For example, "As women do not work outside, they should work at home" (Men, Uttor Moza Para, Saidpur, Bangladesh); "Women [...] have the opportunity to stay at home and care for their children." (Adolescent boy, Rajib, Kishoregoni)
- 110. "A woman from a community organization in Senegal noted: "We have made many people aware because since the SHOW project trained us on gender-based violence and unpaid housework, we can easily address the subject everywhere."
- 111. For example "I told my daughter-in-law to stop washing his (i.e. the respondent's son) clothes [...]" (Woman, Dange Shuni, Nigeria).
- 112. "This man informed me that his wife stepped out of the house leaving him instructions to wash and boil the rice. So, he questioned me whether I was influencing her. I stated that not only I, but even Muhammad Sall Allāhu ʿalay-hi wa-sallam has sayings on this (i.e., men participating in house work)." (Woman, Yabo, Nigeria); "We display photographs of a man sitting alone on a bicycle while a woman is carrying a load and supporting a child to highlight how unjustly women are treated." they told "We educate them (men) to be more sensitive to women, and we are noticing some progress. (Woman, Lingbinsi, Ghana); "we involve men in our talks, we take about ten or more men to make them aware of the importance of supporting their wives [...]" (Woman Kedougou, Senegal). "I persuaded several of my male classmates to assist their sisters with housework, which they now do." (Adolescent girl, Lingbinsi, Ghana) "After sitting for the UPCW session, I taught my male friends about care work and raised their understanding that care work is not just the responsibility of women/girls" (Adolescent girl, Langogu, Ghana).
- 113. "My father once stopped my brother from sweeping, but I informed my father about I had learnt in Plan's project and then he also said: OK, he (i.e., the brother) should help in care work" (Adolescent girl, Wamakko, Nigeria); "I have a young brother who is authoritarian in front of his wife, I often approach him to make him understand that the home is managed by two in a couple and that the children belong to both parties, if you find your wife doing something, you can help her by doing the rest of her work" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal); "After attending the mother's group session, I advised my husband on sharing domestic tasks", one participant stated (Woman, Botlagari, Bangladesh)
- 114. "The proof is that in my house, on Sundays, it is the boys who wash their clothes so that my daughter can finish cooking and doing her laundry, if you don't make your family aware of this, the boys only wait to eat and go to play soccer". "I have three boys whom I teach to share unpaid housework because I only have boys" (Women, Kedougou, Senegal)

- 115. "I explained to my husband that if I study and then start tutoring in my spare time, I can contribute my earnings to meet the needs of our family. My husband helps me with housework whenever he has time and I can study." (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh); A woman mentioned that the UPCW training session made her recognize the value of being strategic: "You can't ask the men/boys to help you cook when they just returned from the farm or bring in firewood, they can even refuse or get angry" (Woman, Makayilli, Ghana): "At SHOW Project, UPCW meeting we were taught to be respectful towards our husband and also know how to talk to them i.e. not be submissive and not be hostile. Now my husband helps with care work." (Langogu, Ghana) "My husband had asked me to get up and prepare lunch for the household and I told him that, I am not feeling very well [..] and that the house care is too much of a load on my shoulders and for that reason, my health is failing me day by day. I therefore told my husband to start helping me in the house care duties so that we will be able to analyze and see if my failing health is due to stress or if I am just a sick person from the beginning. My husband started helping with some little house care work" (Woman, Langogu, Ghana)
- 116. "Before joining this course, I lacked confidence in addressing a group of people, but now I can talk to them confidently" (Adolescent girl, Tambuwal, Nigeria). "I can now speak in public and know what kind of people to stick around." (Adolescent girl, Binji, Nigeria) "the project session taught me how to speak in public." (Adolescent girl, Gragram, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh); A twenty one year old young woman in Pikine shared: "my participation in the SHOW project has given me more knowledge about unpaid work and communication techniques. I didn't know how to give a talk or conduct a home visit, but thanks to this project I am now able to educate my peers".
- 117. "My relationship with my husband has improved. He did not help me with household chores before. After attending the sessions, I shared lessons with him and he realizes" (Woman, Ronochondi, Kishoregonj, Bangladesh)
- 118. "Previously, my wife could not seek support from me (since it was not expected), but now she has the freedom to do so. She is now free to seek help from me." (Man, Gada, Nigeria). "There is love, peace, and unity in the households [...] overburdened women were tired of housework, which invariably resulted in quarrels and misunderstandings between spouses" (male community facilitator, Langogu, Ghana).
- 119. "I have shared this information (i.e. UPCW training) with my mother-in-law, who never assisted me before but now I can see that if I am cooking while caring for the child, she takes the child and looks after her so that I can cook without interruptions." (Woman, Nangunkoung, Ghana)
- 120. "I had never considered becoming self-sufficient before. I assumed that because my spouse works, I would be able to support myself. Now I'm earning a living by sewing" a participant shared (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh). Women in Senegal appreciated the Village Savings and Loan Association (VSLA)'s role in granting financial independence to women in the sample communities. "I did not have money (before), so I couldn't help with home expenses, but now I'm managing doing some modest trading [...]" (Woman, Lingbinsi, Ghana)
- 121. "though we stayed at home during the COVID-19 outbreak, we did not share household tasks with our wives as much as we should have had" (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh).
- 122. This might be due to cooking being actually tough, needing a set of skills that no untrained individual can suddenly decide to start performing, as women in Nangunpung, Ghana indicated or there might also be more nuanced explanations, such as men believing cooking is spiritually harmful to them (consult section 3.3 'barriers')
- 123. "the brother accompanies younger sisters to school to ensure safeguard from teasing and violence" (South Rajib, Bangladesh).
- 124. For example, "I regard everything as culture. But I think that if the children are raised watching their father work around the house, they will do the same"; "not only that, but they will be able to care for themselves if the wife becomes ill." (Women, Dange Shuni, Nigeria). We are the mothers; therefore, we must teach our children, both boys and girls, how to cook [...] else they would never learn to help around the house"; "It is important to share labour from childhood. When they reach adulthood, they will be able to continue" (Women, Gwadabawa, Nigeria).

- 125. Respondents with married siblings confirmed that men were helping their wives inside the house. "I informed my brothers and I saw with my own eyes that they are practicing it by helping their wives"; "I informed my brother in-law who is now helping my sister with house chores" (Adolescent girls, Sokoto North, Nigeria). Such examples and statements where men are ignoring stigmatization and making effort to support women appear throughout this report and particularly in section 3.5.
- 126. "Our mothers will become healthy" (Adolescent girl, Nangunpung, Ghana). "I'll feel glad for it would promote good health for me as a girl." (Adolescent girl, Makayilli, Ghana); "if we shared the work equally in the family, things would be much simpler and easier to do. Therefore, we women will have our free time to rest, take care of ourselves, our bodies, and we will be in good health" (Woman, Bignona, Senegal). "The sharing of household chores in our families will have a positive impact on the health of the woman" (Woman, Louga, Senegal).
- 127. "I will feel loved since I will have other family members around who usually assist with housework." It will make me feel better since I would have more time to think (Adolescent girls, Langogu and Makayilli). A 57-year-old woman living within an extended family in Langogu explained: "It will give us a sense of belonging in the household in the sense that fair sharing among family members (men, women, girls, and boys) will make us feel that we, the women, belong and have a role in the family and are not just objects or babymaking machines for the males"; "We will find fulfillment and this proves that your partner cares about your wellbeing, as well as the health of your family". (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal).
- 128. "The boys and the girls will be given equal opportunity to study, as the case of boys studying and girls being in the kitchen ceases. Both the boys and girls will all take part in the house care work as well as sit together and study their books" (Woman, Nangunpung).
- 129. "When we were young, household chores weren't shared and today almost all our sisters didn't have the chance to succeed in school" (Men, Kaolack, Senegal). "we could take advantage of this time to study at home" (Woman, Pikine, Senegal). A fourteen year old girl with several siblings and living in an extended family in Pikine shared: "if the work was shared equally, I wouldn't have to stay at school all day to study, I would rather come home to do my homework" (Adolescent girl, Pikine, Senegal).
- 130. Several men and boys spoke about this in Napolgu and Bincheratanga, Ghana "it will be very useful because time poverty will reduce, since she can channel her time into other economic activities that can bring her some income for the home." (Woman, Makayilli, Ghana); "I would have more time to do small-scale trade" (Woman, Nioro, Senegal). "If we shared the housework equally, we would have more time to do income-generating activities" (Woman, Pikine, Senegal). "If the housework was shared equally, it would allow the woman to have some free time to carry out incomegenerating activities [...]" (Adolescent boy, Pikine, Senegal).
- 131. For example, a young girl in Binji with many siblings and living in an extended family said: "if one of the children is sick... she (generically used) can take him to the hospital without waiting for the father."
- 132. For example, "the cohesion in the house is strengthened and the whole family tolerates and supports each other" (Man, Kaolack, Senegal). "It increases peace and social harmony in the family" (Woman, Louga, Senegal). Adolescent boys in Dange Shuni, Illela, and Yabo, Nigeria maintained that equitable care work sharing will continue to increase family bonding and, bring peace. "Because care work is divided equitably throughout the family, no one feels deceived, promoting peace and love among family members." (Adolescent boy, Napolgu, Ghana).
- 133. "When his wife is not there, he will be able to cook for himself and keep the place tidy" (Woman, Illela, Nigeria); "I think I will feel okay if work is equitably shared in the family because it will help me to learn how to cook which is only done by women and girls" (Adolescent boy, Makayilli, Ghana). See Section 3.2 'implications' that adolescent girls indicate for boys who do not learn life skills relevant to inside household work.
- 134. "We will know that we are being valued" (Woman, Illela, Nigeria)
- 135. "Stress will reduce which will make you healthier". "It has improved couple relationship because we have understood each other more, no more quarreling"; ":Now we take decision together" (Women FGD, Dange Shuni, Nigeria)

- 136. "Assisting women and girls will earn me respect from my younger sisters" (Adolescent boy, Dange Shuni, Nigeria).
- 137. A 16-year-old girl living in an extended family in Bincheratanga, Ghana maintained that: "it is disrespectful, to idly sit and just watch your elder brother, father, or husband wash their clothes". "I will not be at ease if work is distributed equitably in the family since it will not be comfortable for the head of the household to have the same chores as everyone else" (Adolescent boy, Makayilli, Ghana) "this (i.e., should be) discussed with others (i.e., the wider community) properly" (Adolescent boys, Dhormopal, Bangladesh)
- 138. "I don't think care work should be shared among family members because everyone has a duty or a role they play or carry out effectively and efficiently. For example, it is very easy for girls and women to stir TZ (meat stew, Tuo Zaafi) but very difficult for men and boys. It is very difficult for women and girls to weed around the house, but very easy for men to do so." (Adolescent girl, Binchertanga, Ghana)
- 139. "[...] I feel there will be too much work on men and boys because they go to farm and they work very hard but the females don't go to the farm. Sharing the work equitably will only overburden the men and boys", a fifteen year old boy from Makayilli, Ghana shared his concerns. "Since it is physically difficult for girls to perform what boys do... equal care work sharing will overwhelm boys." "We will not be happy because load will increase"; "because there is work assigned to boys that the girls cannot do. Even if distributed equitably they cannot do it" (Adolescent boys, Illela, Nigeria);" "we become tired when we return from outside, so we can't do the housework" (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh).
- "I will not feel ok if their work is shared equitably among the family. This is because you may want to go out to make money and care work in the house can make you late," an eighteen year old boy from Daboya, Ghana noted. "Men are seen highly in the family [...] they are family heads and such like this (i.e. by practicing equitable sharing) they do not want to lose their dignity (i.e. dignified status)" (Adolescent boy, Napolgu, Ghana); "the ladies will start disrespecting you in this case" (Adolescent boy, Bincheratanga, Ghana); "I find that workload cannot be shared equally. You don't take a wife and then go back to sweeping or cooking [...] she knows that housework is part of her role" (Man, Sansamba, Senegal); "I am the head of the family. Why do I (have to) share such minor activities?" (Man, Dawabari, Nilphamari, Bangladesh). "We don't share household chores equally because housework is primarily a woman's responsibility" (Man, Chadkhana Kishoregoni, Bangladesh); "I will feel bad if my husband participates in household chores after his work because he has worked outside for the whole day" (Woman, Botlagari, Saidpur, Bangladesh).
- 141. "[...] I really consider that it is only the unemployed who will be able to help their wives. Otherwise, they can only do it when they are available." (Woman, Bignona, Senegal). "After the pandemic, sharing work will be great for each family member, but that will not be feasible since boys and men will be outside for their work" (Adolescent girls, Gragram, Kishoregonjl, Bangladesh); But how will they do the household chores if they aren't at home?" (Woman, Singria, Jaldhaka, Bangladesh); "After the pandemic, with the resumption of activities, it will be difficult for the man to help the woman because he is often absent from home" (Woman, Kedougou, Senegal).
- 142. "I find that workload cannot be shared equally. [...] It is the woman herself who would not let you do this since she knows that housework is part of her "role" & just being a member of the "Club", shows that we are making a significant effort to help our wives" (Men, Sansamba, Senegal)
- 143. For example regarding Goal 5 of the SDG it has been reported: "The world is not on track to achieve gender equality by 2030 and has been pushed further off track by the socioeconomic fallout of the pandemic. Women and girls remain disproportionately affected. Women and girls remain disproportionately affected, struggling with lost jobs and livelihoods, derailed education, increased burdens of unpaid care work and domestic violence. (...) are excluded from decision-making positions." (Source: 2022. Progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals, Report of the Secretary General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Advance Unedited Version. p.11Microsoft Word SG_SDG Progress Report_0519_AUV (un.org)

- 144. Evidence collected for this research study shows that due to UPCW, girl children especially in Senegal and Ghana find it hard to continue their education. Data segments also reveal that at times teachers reprimand female students who are late to class, and this is nearly like a punishment (girlchild overwhelmed at home with care work) upon punishment (child treated harshly in school due to poor academic performance or late school attendance, or absence).
- 145. 2021. State of the World's Fathers: Structural Solutions to achieve equality in care work. pp. 60-62. Promundo and MenCare in partnership with Plan International, United Nations Foundation et. al., 210610_BLS21042_PRO_SOWF.v08.pdf (pcdn.co)
- 146. Evidence collected shows that women and a few couples are keen on establishing small businesses, also trading locally at a small scale
- 147. While gendered roles and responsibilities have always been a component of the SHOW GE Strategy and integrated into community-based group sessions with men, boys, women, girls, male and female traditional and religious leaders, more intense programming on UPCW was scaled up in response to COVID-19. This appears to have resulted in the sample communities identifying the UPCW programming with COVID-19 and in their perception primarily requiring a transient shift in behaviour, particularly in Ghana and Bangladesh. In this backdrop it is also interesting to note that, globally men tend to estimate their participation in care work more than what women report on them. "Men consistently report they are doing more than women say they are doing." (Source. 2021. State of the World's Fathers: Structural Solutions to achieve equality in care work. p.21. Promundo and MenCare in partnership with Plan International, United Nations Foundation et. al., 210610_BLS21042_ PRO_SOWF.v08.pdf (pcdn.co)
- 148. Plan International staff conducted focus group discussions with adolescent children of participants in the Fathers' Clubs. "Adolescent girls and boys in Bangladesh, Ghana, Haiti, and Nigeria. The children discussed their expectations of good fathers as those who show affection and love for their children. Adolescents explained that good fathers listen to their children when they speak, share their concerns, and provide good counsel. Adolescents place a great deal of value on fathers who spend time with their families and children instead of spending leisure time outside their family". (Source: 2019. State of the World's Fathers. Unlocking the power of Men's Care. p. 86. Promunda, Dove and Men Care. SOWF_REPORT_015_WEB.pdf (promundoglobal.org)
- 149. Following COVID-19, some men and boys look forward to returning to their previous routines regarding work, employment, incomegeneration and education, avoiding the family and its commitments, but women and girls are expected to continue providing round-theclock unpaid care.
- 150. Women such as the disabled, racialized, widowed, and divorced women; female heads of nuclear households; single women living within extended households; victims of child, early, and forced marriages (CEFM), for example in Ghana and Bangladesh, the latter also known for dowry-related violence. dowry-related violence. Also consult (2022) A Toolkit on Paid and Unpaid Care Work: from 3 Rs to 5 Rs. p.5., UN Women. https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/07/a-toolkit-on-paid-and-unpaid-care-work
- 151. Sustainable Development Goal 5 includes Target 5.4: 'recognize and value unpaid care and domestic 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'. Indicator 5.4.1: Proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work, by sex; age and location. (Source: Official website: United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Sustainable Development. Goal 5 I Department of Economic and Social Affairs (un.org)

152. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948, states: "Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security" (Art. 22), and "...to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services and the right to security in... sickness, disability, widowhood, old age [...]" (Art. 25). Social protection rights are also part of International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights (1966), other international and regional human rights instruments and national constitutions. (Sources: 2021. Extending social protection to migrant workers, refugees and their families: A guide for policymakers and practitioners. p 27. International Labour Organization. wcms_826684.pdf (ilo.org) & The Universal Declaration of Human Rights At 70. Article 22. Right to Social Security. UDHR70-30on30article22-eng.pdf (standup4humanrights.org). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) the number of countries with social protection systems reached 187 in 2015. Social protection has mostly focused on providing support through pensions, cash transfers, health insurances, disability payments etc. (Source: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights At 70. Article 22 Right to Social Security. UDHR70-30on30-article22-eng.pdf (standup4humanrights.org). Promundo's review of social protection programs revealed that only nine out of 195 countries implemented childcare support initiatives and most national governments have failed to respond to care needs during COVID-19 or to pay attention to the need for men's increased participation in unpaid care work. Source. 2021. State of the World's Fathers: Structural Solutions to achieve equality in care work. pp.53-54. Promundo and MenCare in partnership with Plan International, United Nations Foundation et. al., 210610_BLS21042_PRO_SOWF.v08.pdf (pcdn.co)

Annexes

Annex 1

Sampling by Country

This qualitative research was carried out in Bangladesh (Kishoregonj, Jaldhaka and Saidpur, regions), Nigeria (10 Local Government Areas, LGAs of Sokoto), Senegal (Kedougou, Nioro, Pikine, Louga, Sansamba, Bignona and Kaolack) and Ghana (Bincheratanga, Makayili, Nangunkpung, Daboya, Langogu, Napolgu, Lingbinsi).

	SENEGAL				
	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	RESEARCH TOOL	LOCATION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	
1	Women	FGD	Pikine	10	
2	Women	FGD	Nioro	11	
3	Women	FGD	Louga	16	
4	Women	FGD	Kedougou	16	
5	Women	FGD	Kebemer	16	
6	Women	FGD	Bignona	9	
7	Men	FGD	Kedougou	19	
8	Men	FGD	Sansamba	8	
9	Men	FGD	Kaolack	8	
10	Men	FGD	Bignona	8	
11	Men	FGD	Kebemer	8	
12	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Pikine	5	
13	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Kedougou	2	
14	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Pikine	8	
15	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Kedougou	3	
16	Female Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Pikine	1	
17	Female Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Pikine	1	
18	Male Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Nioro	1	

	NIGERIA			
	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	RESEARCH TOOL	LOCATION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
1	Women	FGD	Dange Shuni	8
2	Women	FGD	Gwadabawa	8
3	Women	FGD	Illela	8
4	Women	FGD	Sokoto South	8
5	Women	FGD	Yabo	10
6	Men	FGD	Sokoto North	6
7	Men	FGD	Binji	8
8	Men	FGD	Gada	8
9	Men	FGD	Tambuwal	8
10	Men	FGD	Wamakko	9
11	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Sokoto North	8
12	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Wamakko	10
13	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Tambuwal	10
14	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Binji	9
15	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Gada	6
16	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Dange Shuni	9
17	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Gwadabawa	7
18	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Illela	6
19	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Sokoto South	7
20	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Yabo	7
21	Female Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Gada	1
22	Female Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Sokoto North	1
23	Male Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Illela	1
24	Male Community Facilitator	IDI/KII	Sokoto South	1

	BANGLADESH			
	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	RESEARCH TOOL	LOCATION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
1	Women	FGD	Jaldhaka, Singria, Shailmari	12
2	Women	FGD	Kishorgonj, Danggapara, Chadkhana	12
3	Women	FGD	Kishorgonj, Bafla School Para, Ronochondi	12
4	Women	FGD	Saidpur, Saskandor Uttar Majhapara, Botlagari, Saidpur	12
5	Women	FGD	Saidpur, Purbo Belpukur, Dangirpara	12
6	Men	FGD	Jaldhaka, 2 No Dawabari	12
7	Men	FGD	Kishorgonj, Dizan, Gragram	12
8	Men	FGD	Saidpur, Uttor Maza Para	12
9	Men	FGD	Saidpur, Purbo Belpukur Dungirpara	12
10	Men	FGD	Kishorgonj, Baniya Para, Chadkhana	10
11	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Jaldhaka, Dokkhin berubando, Shimulbag	10
12	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Kishorgonj, Haribecapara, Bahagili	10
13	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Kishorgonj, Garagram	10
14	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Saidpur, Khordo Botlagari Dhangapara	12
15	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Saidpur, Khatamodhupur Bonkor	12
16	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Jaldhaka, Kherkati, Dhormopal	10
17	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Kishorgonj, South rajib, kishorgonj	10
18	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Saidpur, New munsipara	12
19	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Saidpur, Koipara, Khatamodhupur	12
20	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Kishorgonj, Gonesh, garagram	10
21	Female Community Facilitator	IDI	Kishorgonj, Keshba, Kishorgonj Sadar	1
22	Female Community Facilitator	IDI	Saidpur, Saidpur Municipality	1
22	Male Community Facilitator	IDI	Jaldhaka, Balagram	1
23	Male Community Facilitator	IDI	Kishorgonj, LAMB Office	1

	GHANA				
	RESPONDENT CATEGORY	RESEARCH TOOL	LOCATION	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	
1	Women	FGD	Nanumba North, Bincheratanga	10	
2	Women	FGD	Karaga, Langogu	10	
3	Women	FGD	North Gonja, Lingbinsi	10	
4	Women	FGD	Nanumba North, Makayilli East	12	
5	Women	FGD	Karaga, Nagunkpang	10	
6	Women	FGD	North Gonja, Daboya	10	
7	Men	FGD	Nnaumba North, Bincheratanga	10	
8	Men	FGD	Daboya, Daboya	10	
9	Men	FGD	Karaga, Langogu	10	
10	Men	FGD	Nanumba-North, Makayilli East	10	
11	Men	FGD	Karaga, Napolgu	10	
12	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Nanumba North, Bincheratanga	10	
13	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Karaga, Langogu	10	
14	Adolescent Girls	FGD	North Gonja, Lingbinsi	5	
15	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Nanumba North, Makayili East	11	
16	Adolescent Girls	FGD	Karaga, Nangunkpung	10	
17	Adolescent Girls	FGD	North Gonja, Daboya	10	
18	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Nanumba North, Bincheratanga	10	
19	Adolescent Boys	FGD	North Gonja, Daboya	9	
20	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Karaga, Langogu	10	
21	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Nanumba North, Makayili	10	
22	Adolescent Boys	FGD	Karaga, Napolgo	10	
23	Female Community Facilitator	IDI	Karaga, Langogu	1	
24	Female Community Facilitator	IDI	Karaga, Napolgo	1	
25	Male Community Facilitator	IDI	Karaga, Langogu	1	
26	Male Community Facilitator	IDI	Karaga, Napolgo	1	

Annex 2

Focus group discussion/Key informant interview questions

SHOW QUALITATIVE STUDY: UPCW Research on Social Norms & Gender Roles

	WOMEN FGDs	GIRLS FGDs	MEN FGDs	BOYS FGDs	FACILITATOR MALE/FEMALE
1	Describe the type of unpaid care work you are familiar with?	Describe the type of unpaid care work you are familiar with?	Describe the type of unpaid care work you are familiar with?	Describe the type of unpaid care work you are familiar with?	Describe the type of unpaid care work you are familiar with?
2	How is all the care work divided up between you and your spouse? Other male & female family members? Who would do what?	How is all the care work divided up between male & female family members? Who would do what?	How is all the care work divided up between you and your spouse? Other male & female family members? Who would do what?	How is all the care work divided up between male & female family members? Who would do what?	How is all the care work divided up between women and men in this community? Other male & female family members? Who would do what?
3	Why are care work responsibilities distributed among women/girls and men and boys the way you described?	Why are care work responsibilities distributed among women/girls and men and boys the way you described?	Why are care work responsibilities distributed among women/girls and men and boys the way you described?	Why are care work responsibilities distributed among women/girls and men and boys the way you described?	Why are care work responsibilities distributed among women/girls and men/boys in this community the way you described?
4	What are the implications of gender roles and responsibilities around care work on women and girls?	What are the implications of gender roles and responsibilities around care work on women and girls?	What are the implications of gender roles and responsibilities around care work on women and girls?	What are the implications of gender roles and responsibilities around care work on women and girls?	What are the implications of gender roles and responsibilities around care work on women and girls in this community?

5	How would you feel if care work is equitably shared in the family among men, women, girls, and boys during the COVID19 Pandemic?	How would you feel if care work is equitably shared in the family among men, women, girls, and boys during the COVID19 Pandemic?	How would you feel if care work is equitably shared in the family among men, women, girls, and boys during the COVID19 Pandemic?	How would you feel if care work is equitably shared in the family among men, women, girls, and boys during the COVID19 Pandemic?	How would community respond/ feel if care work is equitably shared in the family among men, women, girls, and boys during the COVID19 Pandemic?
6	Describe your participation in SHOW Project awareness activities for sharing unpaid care work?	Describe your participation in SHOW Project awareness activities for sharing unpaid care work?	Describe your participation in SHOW Project awareness activities for sharing unpaid care work?	Describe your participation in SHOW Project awareness activities for sharing unpaid care work?	How was your experience of delivering training on gender equality and care work under SHOW Project?
7	Have you made any change to support/ encourage your spouse's participation in care work in the household since taking part in the UPCW sessions? If yes, what has changed?	-	Have you made any changes to support your spouse in unpaid care work or otherwise in the household since taking part in the UPCW sessions? If yes, what changes have you made?	-	Have your participants reported any changes in their activities about care work or otherwise in the household since taking part in the [UPCW sessions]? If yes, describe the changes?
8	What unpaid care activities could men and boys easily adopt?	What unpaid care activities could men and boys easily adopt?	What unpaid care activities could men and boys easily adopt?	What unpaid care activities could men and boys easily adopt?	What care activities could men and boys easily adopt in this community?
9	What unpaid care activities have men and boys already adopted, for example within last month?	What unpaid care activities have men and boys already adopted, for example within last month?	What unpaid care activities have men and boys already adopted, for example within last month?	What unpaid care activities have men and boys already adopted, for example within last month?	What care activities have men and boys already adopted, for example within last month in this community?

10	If men are sharing care work, what are its effect on women and girls?	If men are sharing care work, what are its effect on women and girls?	If men are sharing care work, what are its effect on women and girls?	If men are sharing care work, what are its effect on women and girls?	If in this community men are now sharing care work, what are its effect on women and
11	What care work activities are most difficult for men and boys to adopt	What care work activities are most difficult for men and boys to adopt	What care work activities are most difficult for men and boys to adopt	What care work activities are most difficult for men and boys to adopt	what care work activities are most difficult for men and boys to adopt in this
12	and why? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic somehow increased the incidence of gender-based violence in this community? Why?	and why? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic somehow increased the incidence of gender-based violence in this community? Why?	and why? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic somehow increased the incidence of gender-based violence in this community? Why?	and why? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic somehow increased the incidence of gender-based violence in this community? Why?	community? Why so? Has the COVID-19 Pandemic somehow increased the incidence of gender- based violence in this community? Why?
13	What are the reasons that limit men's and boys' participation in care responsibilities?	What are the reasons that limit men's and boys' participation in care responsibilities?	What are the reasons that limit men's and boys' participation in care responsibilities?	What are the reasons that limit men's and boys' participation in care responsibilities?	What are the reasons that limit men's and boys' participation in care responsibilities?







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