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Empowering Women, Supporting Children.

Early Childhood Development Centers as a Strategy to Reduce Unpaid Care Work and Promote Women's Economic Empowerment in Nyanza, Rwanda.

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Abstract: This thesis examines the effects of early childhood development centers (ECDC) on unpaid care work (UCW) and women's economic empowerment in Rwanda. Thanks to the collaboration of ActionAid Rwanda (AAR), data from a sample of women in Nyanza district was collected and analyzed to gain insights into UCW dynamics and the role of ECDCs in women's lives. The findings indicate that ECDCs have significantly reduced the time devoted to UCW for most women, allowing more time for other activities. ECDCs are found to positively influence women's economic empowerment, as participants reported improvements in their economic situations. Nevertheless, challenges related to ECDC quality and accessibility were identified. This highlights the necessity of policy interventions and investments in high-quality, accessible ECDC facilities. Enhancing availability, infrastructure, equipment, clean water access, and extended opening hours are crucial to maximizing the benefits for women. The study contributes to existing literature on gender, UCW, and women's economic empowerment and childcare facilities. Limitations include the study's specific timeframe and geographical context, potential participant misinterpretation, and the influence of internal factors. Despite limitations, this study emphasizes the importance of addressing UCW and investing in ECDCs to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment. By creating an inclusive environment and promoting gender equity, Rwanda can enable women to pursue their aspirations and contribute to socio-economic development.

Key words: Unpaid Care Work, Early Childhood Development Centers, Women's Economic Empowerment, Rwanda, Gender Equality.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1. Research Problem	1
1.2. Aim and Scope	3
1.3. Outline of the Thesis	4
2. Background and Context	5
2.1. Country Profile: Rwanda	5
2.1.1. Overview	5
2.1.2. History	5
2.1.3. Development	6
2.1.4. Gender Equality	7
2.2. ActionAid Rwanda	8
3. Previous Literature	10
4. Theory	11
4.1. Household Economics and Women Empowerment	11
4.2. Unpaid Care Work	13
4.2.1. The 5Rs of Unpaid Care Work	14
4.2.2. Unpaid Care Work and Women’s Economic Empowerment	15
4.3. Early Childhood Development Centers	17
5. Methodology	18
5.1. Research Design	18
5.2. Sampling	18
5.3. Data Collection	19
5.4. Respondents’ characteristics	20
5.5. Data Analysis	22
5.6. Data Limitations	23
5.7. Ethical Considerations	24
6. Results	24
6.1. Time Spent on Unpaid Care Work	24
6.2. Variations by Type of Unpaid Care Work Activity	26
6.3. Reliance on Other People’s Help	28
6.4. Time for Activities Unrelated to Unpaid Care Work	30
6.6. Stratification	35
6.7. ECDC Quality and Accessibility	39
7. Conclusion	43
References	45
Appendix A	52
Appendix B	55

Glossary of Abbreviations

AAR – ActionAid Rwanda

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

CSO – Civil Society Organization

EAC – East African Community

ECDC – Early Childhood Development Center

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

ICT – Information and Communication Technology

IFPRI – International Food Policy Research Institute

ILO – International Labour Organization

LRP – Local Rights Programme

MDG – Millennium Development Goal

MINECOFIN – Ministry Of Finance And Economic Planning

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

SDG – Sustainable Development Goal

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

UCW – Unpaid Care Work

UN DESA – United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UN Women – United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

List of Tables

Table 1: Respondents Characteristics.	21
Table 2: ECDCs' characteristics.....	22
Table 3: Hours spent by the respondents on UCW after and before their child's enrollment in the ECDC.....	25
Table 4: Respondents' opportunity to engage in other activities expand after the children's enrollment in the ECDC.....	31
Table 5: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category.....	41

List of Figures

Figure 1: Hours spent by the respondents on UCW after and before their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.....	26
Figure 2: Variations by type of UCW activity.....	27
Figure 3: Contribution to UCW by other people other than the respondents.	28
Figure 4: Percentage of respondents who received help for UCW and whose reliance on other’s people help reduced after their child’ enrollment in the ECDC.	29
Figure 5: Percentage of respondents who received help for UCW and whose reliance on other’s people help reduced after their child’ enrollment in the ECDC, analyzed by category.	30
Figure 6: Respondents’ opportunity to engage in other activities expand after the children’s enrollment in the ECDC.....	31
Figure 7: Respondents’ perceptions on their likeliness to join different activities after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.....	32
Figure 8: Respondents’ perceptions on their empowerment status after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC (Part 1).....	33
Figure 9: Respondents’ perceptions on their empowerment status after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC (Part 2).....	34
Figure 10: Respondents’ perceptions on their working life after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.	35
Figure 11: Variation in time dedicated to childcare by number of children in the household not attending an ECDC.	36
Figure 12: Variation in time dedicated to teaching/tutoring/training children by occupation.....	37
Figure 13: Variation in time dedicated to fuel wood collection by marital status.	38
Figure 14: Variation in time dedicated to fetching water by marital status.....	38
Figure 15: Respondents perception about their child’s safety after the enrollment in the ECDC.....	39
Figure 16: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category.....	41
Figure 17: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category by specific ECDC.....	42

1. Introduction

1.1. Research Problem

As recognized by the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the disproportionate distribution of unpaid care work (UCW) is among the several roots of gender inequality. More specifically, target 5.4 indicates to “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” (UN, 2015). The burden of unpaid tasks, such as cooking, cleaning, fetching water and firewood, childcare, and elderly care, is one of the most relevant and influential (UN Women, 2016). According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) (2021), On an average day, women devote approximately three times the amount of time that men invest in unpaid domestic and care work. According to the same source, this inequality trend is more remarkable in developing regions. Nevertheless, even in the countries with the highest gender equality, women perform more than 20% more unpaid work than men (Alonso et al., 2019). As a result, women either have less time available for paid work or are compelled to work longer hours in order to fulfill their unpaid domestic and care responsibilities (UN Women, 2016). However, the value of unpaid work is rarely recognized, especially when compared to paid labor. It is estimated that unpaid work can take up to 60% of certain countries' gross domestic product (GDP) (UN DESA, 2021). Moreover, according to (Alonso et al., 2019), policies that aim to reduce UCW could produce gains amounting to up to 4% of GDP. The lack of recognition and the disproportionate division of unpaid labor prevents women from accessing the labor market and contributes to the stagnation of women’s economic empowerment (UN Women, 2016).

In order to tackle this issue, policymakers have proposed different strategies and policies. On one side, redistribution of unpaid labor requires investments in women’s human capital, such as education, health care, women’s rights, family-friendly policies, parental leave, efficiency of labor markets, and promotion of flexible work arrangements (Alonso et al., 2019). On the other side, government investments are also required in practical solutions such as public provision of childcare and elderly care, which allow the replacement of unpaid work with paid work (UN Women, 2016; Alonso et al., 2019).

Among the many tasks that make up UCW, childcare is one of the most pressing concerns for parents (Cassirer & Addati, 2007). However, in most of the Global South, quality childcare services are available mainly to the middle-class and the upper-class (Moussié & Alfes, 2018). In reference to the country of Rwanda, the case study of this work, only a limited number of mothers have access to childcare facilities. According to UNICEF (2022), only 18% of children aged 3 to 6 have access to pre-school programs, daycare, or other early childcare facilities. Those mothers whose children do not have access must either not work, take their child to work, or rely on family members (Rohwerder et al., 2017). Nevertheless, thanks to government efforts and the support of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) such as ActionAid Rwanda (AAR), the establishment of childcare facilities is becoming increasingly more common in the country (AAR, 2021a). More particularly, AAR has contributed to the establishment of more than twelve Early Childhood Development Centers (ECDCs) in Rwanda (AAR, 2019). These facilities provide care for children aged three to six years old, an age group that generally is taken care of by mothers.

Similarly to the rest of the world, in Rwanda, the amount of UCW done by women and men is highly disproportionate. It is estimated that women spend an average of four hours per day on UCW, in contrast to one hour per day spent by men (AAR, 2021a). However, this problem takes on a further layer as it is firmly integrated into the country's culture. Commonly, a woman is perceived as a "mother of the house" who is expected to provide care for all the family members in the household and even neighbors (AAR, 2021a). Additionally, when they have very young children in pre-school age, the burden becomes exceptionally heavier (AAR, 2019).

The growing presence of childcare facilities in Rwanda bodes well for at least a partial reduction of the burden of UCW for women and therefore improved economic participation. However, childcare is only one of the many unpaid tasks that women are required to complete. Therefore, whether the establishment of such facilities is truly making a difference, it is still unclear. Thus, the question this thesis attempts to answer is the following:

To what extent can early childhood development centers reduce the burden of unpaid care work and promote women's economic empowerment?

1.2. Aim and Scope

This study aims to understand to what degree the establishment of early childcare facilities can allow mothers to diminish the time dedicated to unpaid care work. In addition, the study attempts to comprehend whether this reduction can leave space for income-generating activities and contribute to women's economic empowerment, allowing women to participate equally in the economy.

The context of the research will be the country of Rwanda. Rwanda makes a good fit for the case as it has demonstrated having a conducive environment for the matter in spite of the existence of certain issues. More specifically, Rwanda has the highest percentage of women in the parliament in the world, and it has promising potential in its legal framework concerning women's rights (ActionAid UK, 2023; World Bank, 2023a). However, women in the country are still affected by several issues, such as domestic violence, sexual violence, lack of economic empowerment, and disproportion in the distribution of UCW (AAR 2022a; ActionAid UK, 2023; UN Women, n.d.). A similar discussion can be done regarding childhood development centers. As mentioned earlier, very few children in Rwanda have access to such facilities. Nevertheless, the government has shown serious commitment to improving this emerging sector (UNICEF, 2022). The above reasons make Rwanda a suitable case for investigation as it portrays a context in which a problem is present, and efforts are being made to address it. Moreover, as I was engaged in an academic internship at ActionAid Rwanda¹ (AAR) from January to March 2023, I was able to personally collect data on the field for the study. ActionAid Rwanda has agreed to assist me in the data collection process, which involved interviews with the right-holders involved in their projects about ECDCs and UCW.

In order to answer the research question, firstly, a theoretical framework is presented. This attempts to explain in what way ECDCs can cut back a relevant portion of UCW. Moreover, it aims to highlight how such reductions could potentially pave the way for women to spend more time on income-generating activities. Lastly, the significance of women's economic empowerment in addressing gender inequality and reducing gender-based violence is emphasized. Most importantly, a mixed-methods analysis is conducted. The research question is divided into seven sub-questions which are answered with the data previously collected. Thanks to the assistance of ActionAid Rwanda (AAR) and the members of its staff, I was able to conduct semi-structured interviews in five

¹ ActionAid Rwanda is a non-governmental organization, associate member of ActionAid Global Federation. ActionAid is a global federation which attempts to eradicate poverty and injustice (AAR, 2018)

ECDCs which were built with the contribution of AAR. Fifty mothers whose children attend an ECDC in Rwanda were interviewed through questionnaires. The answers are analyzed with the purpose of answering the sub-questions and the research question.

This work contributes to the literature concerning UCW and gender inequality. More specifically, it contributes to the studies concerning the weight of childcare on women's economic empowerment. From a policymaking point of view, this analysis can be useful in order to understand the relevance of ECDCs. For the same reason, it can be useful to understand priority levels on the topic by civil society organizations. The issues concerning UCW are globally widespread. Therefore, this analysis can still be helpful to draw lessons in various contexts having similar settings as Rwanda.

1.3. Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is structured as follows: Section 2 provides background and context to the thesis. A country profile is presented, including an overview, history, and development of Rwanda. Furthermore, ActionAid Rwanda and its relevance to the research are introduced. Section 3 reviews the existing literature related to the research problem. Section 4 discusses the theoretical framework. Firstly, a framework for the relations between household economics and women empowerment is provided. Following, the concept of UCW is explored and, a framework linking it to women's economic empowerment is presented. Lastly, an overview of ECDCs and their significance concludes the section. Thereafter, section 5 concerns methodology and data. This section describes the research design used in the study, the sampling strategy applied, the data collection tools utilized, and the data analysis techniques employed. In addition, a detailed description of the collected data is provided, and the limitations concerning data and methodology are acknowledged. Consequently, in Section 6, the findings of the study are presented according to the different sub-questions employed to answer the main research question. Finally, Section 7 interprets the results and discusses their implication and their relation to the theory. The research objectives and main findings are summarized, and recommendations for future research conclude the study.

2. Background and Context

2.1. Country Profile: Rwanda

2.1.1. Overview

Rwanda is a small, landlocked country located in East Africa. It is bordered by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Kinyarwanda is its official language, and it is spoken by over 90% of its population. However, French, English and Swahili are also official and considerably spoken. It is part of the East African Community (EAC), and its capital and largest city is Kigali. Its population of about 13 million people makes it the most densely populated country in mainland Africa (Central Intelligence Agency, 2023).

The agriculture sector holds an important role in the country's economy. It contributes to about 35% of the national GDP, and it employs approximately 70% of the population (Republic of Rwanda, 2023). Moreover, it has been the most important source of economic growth and poverty reduction (Republic of Rwanda, 2023). Rwanda has experienced considerable economic growth in the last years: over the decade leading up to 2019, the growth rate averaged 7.2% annually (World Bank, 2023b). Instead, the per capita gross domestic product (GDP) experienced a growth rate of 5% (World Bank, 2023b). In addition to this, considerable improvements in living standards were reached. Life expectancy, literacy rate and percentage of the population with access to electricity have all seen significant increases in the last twenty years (Nimusima, Karuhanga & Mukarutesi, 2018). Rwanda was one of the two Sub-Saharan African countries that achieved all the health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Rwanda has experienced a significant reduction in under-five mortality rates from 2000 to 2020, as well as a decline in maternal mortality ratio (World Bank, 2023b). Additionally, considerable steps forward have been taken to ensure peace and security and providing transparency and accountability (Nimusima, Karuhanga & Mukarutesi, 2018).

2.1.2. History

Rwanda's recent history is tragically complex. Until 1962 Rwanda was under German colonization first and Belgian later. After that, fostered by colonial policy, Rwanda has lived through

a period of tension between the two major groups living in the country (BBC, 2023). Notably, in 1932 the Belgian powers introduced identity cards distinguishing between the three groups living in the country and the tensions between the two major groups became racially centered (UN, n.d.a). Rwandan society was generally divided into three groups: the Hutu, accounting for about 85% population; the Tutsi, accounting for approximately 14%; and the Twa, being less than 1% of the population. However, these are not racial or ethnic groups in a conventional sense. Rather, the meaning of the divisions has been a distinction of social status and has changed over time depending on the context of power and the role of the state (Newbury, 1995). The period of tensions culminated with the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. From the 7th of April 1994, it is estimated that approximately 800,000 to 1,000,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed by extremist Hutus and about 100,000 to 250,000 women suffered sexual violence (UN, n.d.a).

Nevertheless, in the aftermath of the genocide, Rwanda has made significant progress towards reconciliation. The rebel army led by Paul Kagame, the current president of Rwanda, put an end to the genocide in 1994. He was appointed vice president and defense minister in the same year and became president in the year 2000 (BBC, 2023).

2.1.3. Development

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, in recent years, Rwanda has made impressive steps forward in matters of development. In the year 2000, the government led by Paul Kagame has launched a development program called “Vision 2020”. The final goal of the program was to make Rwanda a middle-income country by the year 2020 (Nimusima, Karuhanga & Mukarutesi, 2018). The program’s objectives were the following: Promote macroeconomic stability and wealth creation (short-term); Move from a rural-based society to a knowledge-based society (medium-term); Boost the private sector with the aim of creating a productive middle class and promoting entrepreneurship (MINECOFIN, 2000). Vision 2020 ambitions were to be realized around six pillars and three “cross-cutting areas”. As found in MINECOFIN (2000), the six pillars are the following: good governance and a capable state; Human resource development and a knowledge-based economy; A private sector-led economy; Infrastructure development; Productive and market oriented agriculture; regional and international economic integration. As follows, the cross-cutting issues are: Gender equality; Protection of environment and sustainable natural resource management; Science and technology, including ICT.

In spite of the impressive progress made, the goal of becoming a middle-income country by 2020 was not reached. Some of the most pressing development challenges that Rwanda is still facing are increasing public debt financed by external borrowing, constraints to private investment or poverty reduction slowdown (World Bank 2023b). Nonetheless, a new development program was launched by the government in 2020 called “Vision 2050”. The program has the final goal of making Rwanda an upper-middle-income country by 2035 and a high-income country by 2050 (MINECOFIN, 2020). This program stands on the following five pillars: Human development; Competitiveness and integration; Agriculture for wealth creation; urbanization and agglomeration; Accountable and capable state institutions.

2.1.4. Gender Equality

For the scope of this study, it is still important to mention the remarks present in Vision 2020 regarding gender equality. Chapter 5.1 of Vision 2020 states:

Women make up 53% of the population and participate in subsistence agriculture more than men. They usually feed and provide care for the children and ensure their fundamental education. But until recently, girls were the minority in secondary schools, women had little access to the opportunities available to men and they were poorly represented in decision-making positions. In order to achieve gender equality and equity, Rwanda will continuously update and adapt its laws on gender. It will support education for all, eradicate all forms of discrimination, fight against poverty and practice a positive discrimination policy in favour of women. Gender will be integrated as a cross-cutting issue in all development policies and strategies (MINECOFIN, 2000).

These elements give an idea of how, in spite of the existing issues in terms of gender inequality, there is a conducive environment at government level to improve the circumstances. In fact, the matters of gender equality and women’s empowerment are also reaffirmed in Vision 2050 (MINECOFIN, 2020).

Rwanda has made outstanding progress concerning the matter of gender equality. At the moment, Rwanda has a very promising legal framework for women’s rights (ActionAid UK, 2023). Rwanda’s parliament is composed of more than 61% of women, making it the country with highest women’s

participation in the parliament in the world (World Bank, 2023a). Nevertheless, the situation did not improve in the same way for the entirety of the women in the country, and most of them still face serious problems in their daily life. Early marriages and domestic violence are, in many cases, condoned (ActionAid UK, 2023). 22% of women aged 15 to 49 years old have experienced sexual violence and many remain silent for fear of stigma by community members (UN, n.d.b). In addition, further issues are present regarding women's economic empowerment. As mentioned in UN Women (n.d.), women in Rwanda make a significant contribution to the country's economy. Despite accounting for 79% of the labor force in the agricultural sector, women farmers are regularly less productive than male farmers. Several reforms have improved women's ownership rights. However, discriminatory social and customary norms and small decision-making power at the household level do not allow women to control land and the income generated from it. Furthermore, women's profits from agriculture are also compromised by limited access to key agricultural inputs such as improved seeds, technology, extension services, finance and higher value markets (UN Women, n.d.). Moreover, as mentioned in the introduction, women spend on average four times more hours per day on unpaid care and domestic work compared to men (AAR, 2021a).

2.2. ActionAid Rwanda

Thanks to the substantial assistance of ActionAid Rwanda (AAR), I was able to collect data among their right holders who benefit from the childcare facilities which were built thanks to the support of AAR. AAR is a non-governmental organization, associate member of ActionAid Global Federation. ActionAid is a global federation that attempts to eradicate poverty and injustice (AAR, 2018). As stated in ActionAid (n.d.), ActionAid, founded in 1972, is an international organization that focuses on social, economic, and environmental justice. Its strategy is to work with people living in poverty and exclusion, civil society organizations, social movements, and supporters in order to deliver grassroots programs, provide emergency relief, and advocate for women's economic rights, tax justice, and climate justice. Its work is divided into four main areas: women, politics and economics, land and climate, and emergencies. All the areas follow a specific focus on women's rights. Furthermore, it follows a "human rights-based" approach. Its head office is in Johannesburg, South Africa and it has hubs in Asia, the Americas, and Europe.

ActionAid has been formally working in Rwanda since 1982. (ActionAid UK, 2023). Additionally, since 2016 AAR switched from being a "country program" to an "associate member".

This change allowed AAR to participate in the decision-making and direction of the organization at an international level, have a national identity, gain the ability to make strategic orientations, and access open financial sources and internal fundraising. Moreover, this allowed AAR to be registered as a national NGO (AAR, 2016). At the moment, AAR's funding comes in major part from child sponsorship programs and in minor part from institutional or individual partners and donors (AAR, 2021b). AAR works mostly in rural and marginalized areas through a decentralized structure that uses Local Rights Programs (LRPs) as its operational units. LRPs are integrated programs that focus on specific geographic areas and implement long-term programmatic interventions to address development issues in close collaboration with communities and individual right holders (AAR, 2018). Specifically, the work is currently focusing on seven LRPs, in five districts: Shingiro and Muko LRPs in Musanze District; Busasamana, Mukingo and Rwabicuma (Nyanza LRP) in Nyanza District, Muganza, Kibirizi and Gishubi (Gisagara LRP) in Gisagara District; Ruheru LRP in Nyaruguru district; Gitesi and Murundi LRPs of Karongi district (AAR, 2021b). The focus of this study is Nyanza LRP.

As stated in AAR (2018), currently, AAR's work mainly revolves around the two following strategic priorities: Address the structural causes of violence against women and girls and secure women's economic justice; Strengthen resilient livelihoods and secure climate justice. These priorities are carried on following its human rights-based approach which is composed of the following pillars: empowerment, solidarity, advocacy, and campaign (AAR, 2021b). For the scope of this study, it is useful to focus on AAR's work on UCW. In order to reduce the structural causes of violence against women and girls, AAR works towards the recognition, the reduction and the redistribution of UCW (AAR, 2021a). The goal behind this action is to break the cycle of poverty to ensure women's economic justice, and promote women and girls' participation in leadership, decision making positions and policy influence (AAR, 2018). Some of the most important actions by AAR to address the issue of UCW can be summarized as follows: Awareness raising activities; Dialogue promotion between policy makers and networks for women's rights; Advocacy for adequate implementation of policies and laws protecting women's rights; Provision of materials to practically reduce the amount of work (e.g. cooking stoves to avoid firewood collection, tap water provision for water fetching); Research conduction; Support to childcare provision (AAR, 2018, AAR, 2021b).

In this regard, AAR has been committed in supporting the provision of childcare through the establishment of several Early Childhood Development Centers (ECDCs) in collaboration with local authorities. As mentioned earlier, AAR has financially and operationally supported the establishment

of more than twelve ECDCs in Rwanda (AAR, 2019). The purpose of the ECDCs is to provide children with a safe place where to learn, play and develop, allowing mothers to have more time for different activities while being aware of their children's safety (AAR, 2019). As confirmed by the directors of the ECDCs visited during the data collection for this study, the families of the children are required to pay a small fee that varies depending on the services offered such as meals provision or longer operation hours.

3. Previous Literature

Various scholars have focused on the relationship between unpaid care work and childcare in a broad sense. Rohwerder et Al. (2017), refer to the case of Rwanda, and they underline how balancing paid work and unpaid care work is among the major struggles that women face. Similarly, Chopra & Zambelli (2017), with a study conducted in India, Nepal, Rwanda, and Tanzania during 2015-2017, find how the struggle of balancing paid work and unpaid care work has negative effects on women's economic empowerment and the quality of childcare. A study on Pakistan, Peru and ten African countries made by the World Bank (2012) finds that 40% of working mothers bring their child to work.

More specifically, Chopra (2014) underlines how there is a significant gap in linking early childhood development and unpaid care work in policies. Moreover, she highlights how the integration of unpaid care work into early childhood development policymaking is likely to trigger a positive cycle of improved women's rights and child rights. Similarly, Yanovskaya et al. (2020) states that the absence of childcare facilities is one of the main barriers to women's employment. Likewise, Apps & Rees (2004) find that affordable childcare provision increases women's employment. According to Cassirer & Addati (2007), childcare is one of the most pressuring concerns for parents who need to provide economic security while handling unpaid domestic duties.

Antonopoulos & Hirway (2010), analyzing the case of the United States, suggest that investments in social care provision including childcare services would generate new jobs for women. Likewise, Antonopoulos & Kim (2008), have similar results when studying the case of South Africa. OECD (2019b), underlines that in order to redistribute unpaid care work it is important that different actors (public, market and third sector) put effort in the provision of childcare. Chopra et Al. (2014), compares strategies to address unpaid care in Nepal and Nigeria, her findings suggest that childcare

services have in some instances been on government's agendas for policies to reduce unpaid care work. Chopra, Kelbert & Iyer (2013), examine public policies in the provision of care. Regarding childcare, they find that only 41 of 270 policies regarding childcare facilities had the intent to address unpaid care work issues, and among those that did, the focus was on redistributing care responsibilities from the family to the state. Amarante & Rossel (2018) state that, regarding the case of Latin America, the public provision of childcare services is very little and therefore women must take the responsibility of childcare.

A study conducted in the poorest neighborhoods of Guatemala City suggests 40% of mothers employed in informal work must care for their children themselves, citing childcare as one of the main reasons for not entering the formal economy (IFPRI, 2003). Similarly, for the case of the Philippines, 20% of women who participated in the study, attributed family duties as the main reason for not accessing formal work (Verceles & Beltran, 2004; Cassirer & Addati, 2007). Likewise, as found in González de la Rocha & Grinspun (2001), women in Angola tend to engage informal jobs as their flexibility allows them to carry out unpaid care responsibilities including childcare. Similar outcomes are found in studies in Zambia and Costa Rica (Cassirer & Addati, 2007). A study conducted on small enterprises in the Philippines, Tunisia, Zimbabwe, Bangladesh show that women entrepreneurs are very often constrained by their family responsibilities (Cassirer & Addati, 2007).

4. Theory

4.1. Household Economics and Women Empowerment

In order to understand the underlying causes that generated disproportions in UCW distribution between genders, it is important to investigate the dynamics of household economics and the allocation of time. Becker (1965) was among the first authors that explored the topic. In his work "A Theory of Allocation of Time", he introduces a theoretical framework in which he applies economic principles to analyze time allocation decisions for different activities, such as work, leisure, and household production. His framework highlights how the choices made by individuals are influenced by factors such as wage rates, preferences, technology, and the prices of goods and services. More specifically, in the context of market work and household production, individuals face trade-offs when deciding how to allocate their time between the two. As found in his work, changes

in relative wages, the price of market substitutes for household tasks, and technological advancements influence these trade-offs. For instance, a decrease in prices for convenience foods or cleaning services might result in more people opting to choose market substitutes and engage in market work rather than household production. Similarly, an increase in wage rates for market work, might push people to allocate more time to market work instead of household production. The work carried on by Becker has been significantly important in laying the foundations for household economics (Heckman, 2015). However, other contributions from different authors have provided further valuable insights to the topic.

Given the context of this study it is of relevant importance to explore the works of Doss & Quisumbing (2020) and Duflo (2012). As the study is conducted on women in a predominantly rural sector, the review of these two contributions facilitates the understanding of the framework.

Doss & Quisumbing (2020) mainly focus on rural household behavior in developing countries. They criticize how the traditional frameworks often assume that households' decisions are mainly based on individual optimization, and therefore, neglects the complex nature of decision-making between within rural households and its social dynamics. The framework proposed by them, includes relevant aspects such as social norms, power dynamics, institutional influence, intrahousehold decision-making and the role of communities. The authors argue that Becker's theory stating that individuals in households specialized according to social norms does not properly recognize the dynamics of production and decision-making in which both women and men participate. While agreeing on the importance that social norms have had on gender roles, Doss & Quisumbing find empirical evidence that shows that social norms exist, but they are "changeable and changing".

In connection to the changeable nature of social norms, the work by Duflo (2012) adds precious insights to the topic. More specifically, Duflo attempts to interlink women empowerment and economic development. Her framework portrays a dynamic in which in one direction economic development reduces gender inequality, and in the other direction, women empowerment can benefit economic development. The author explores different factors concerning women's empowerment, such as education, health, fertility, and employment, and analyzes how these aspects influence economic outcomes. After reviewing empirical evidence from different countries, her findings show different dynamics through which this mechanism works. She highlights how the agency makes decisions concerning assets such as education, healthcare, and financial resources leads to better

economic outcomes. As educated and healthy women can contribute more effectively to the workforce and overall productivity, improving women's education and healthcare generates better economic outcomes. Her findings suggest how better economic outcomes can derive from greater agency. More particularly, empowered women are more likely to invest money and time in the education and health of their children, enter the labor market, or engage in entrepreneurial activities. On the other hand, economic growth can have a positive impact on gender equality by reducing poverty and increasing opportunities. Nevertheless, she finally argues that the interrelationships might be too weak to be self-sustaining. Therefore, this relationship requires continuous policy commitment to equality in order to achieve sustainable change.

In addition to clarifying how the dynamics of household economics developed, the works discussed above shed light on how mechanisms in household economics are in continuous evolution. This lays the ground for the framework of this thesis, which attempts to analyze how a possible different allocation of time could benefit women's empowerment and the economy at large.

4.2. Unpaid Care Work

In order to better understand the topics explored by this study it is essential to go through their main definitions and concepts. The term “work” is generally used when referring to a broad range of activities considered to be “productive” (ILO, 2019). As argued by Reid, the concept of productivity follows the “third-party criterion” in which she states that “if an activity is of such character that it might be delegated to a paid worker, then that activity shall be deemed productive” (1934, P.11). Budlender (2007), describes unpaid care and domestic work as the direct care and domestic work for family members and other households. Similarly, Razavi (2007) emphasizes that, conversely to the terms “housework” and “domestic work”, the definition of unpaid care and domestic work highlights that no remuneration is given and the work can take place also out of the household. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines unpaid care and domestic work as “all non-market, unpaid activities carried out in households” (2019a). This definition does not consider unpaid care and domestic work performed out of the household. However, in the context where the research is carried out, unpaid care and domestic work are frequently conducted beyond the borders of the household (AAR, 2021a). Therefore, for the purpose of this study, all of those activities which are carried on without remuneration within or beyond the household, while they could potentially be performed by a paid worker, are considered unpaid care and domestic work.

ILO (2019) categorizes unpaid care work in three groups: Providing unpaid domestic services for own final use within households; Providing unpaid caregiving services to household members; Providing community services and help to other households. The tasks falling under these categories are plenty and might vary in physical effort or time required depending on factors such as location, socio-economic status, age, marital status, and number of children (OECD, 2019a). Nevertheless, for the scope of this study it is important to provide some instances of the tasks that are most prevalent among Rwandan households. For this reason, the “National-Level Research to Assess the Effect of Unpaid Care Work on Women’s Economic Participation in Rwanda” conducted by AAR (2021a) is used as a reference. Subsequently, the most common tasks falling under the definition of unpaid care and domestic care can be summarized as follows: Childcare; Child tutoring and teaching; Fuel collection; Water fetching; Food supplies collection; Meal preparation; Clothes washing; House cleaning; Community member’s care; Disabled, ill, or elderly people’s care.

Nevertheless, one of the most important characteristics of UCW is its imbalance. As mentioned earlier, women and girls spend a disproportionate amount of time for unpaid care and domestic work compared to man, making it one of the main barriers preventing women from accessing paid employment and higher quality jobs (UN Women, 2022). Therefore, different strategies have been suggested to approach the issue.

4.2.1. The 5Rs of Unpaid Care Work

In order to address the issues deriving from UCW, different organizations have considered the 5Rs approach, consisting of five different strategies to follow to tackle the problem (AAR, 2021a). Initially, the original framework included: recognize, reduce, and redistribute. Subsequently, based on the 5Rs framework by ILO (2018), represent and reward were added to the framework (UN Women, 2022; Elson 2017).

Recognition refers to the acknowledgment of UCW. More specifically, it is necessary to give appropriate value to such activities at household, community private and public level (ILO, 2018). This not only means to ensure compensation and other benefits, but also, to introduce measurements

and monitoring tools (UN Women, 2022). The goal of this strategy is to make the issue public in order to draw attention on it at a policy level as well as at a cultural level (ILO, 2018).

Reduction pertains to different actions that can be taken to practically reduce the amount of time to spend on UCW. Such actions can be of different nature. Some examples can be the implementation of childcare facilities, cooking devices that do not require fuel collection, introduction of water sources closer to homes, electrification, or implementation of public care services for the elderly (Cassirer & Addati, 2007; Dinkelman, 2011; ILO, 2018; AAR, 2021a;)

Redistribution concerns the disproportionate responsibility on UCW that is generally present between women and men. For this matter, there is necessity of a framework that allows responsibilities, time, and resources to be shared equally among women and men (ILO, 2018). If on one side sensitization about gender social norms is needed, on the other side policy transition is also required. For instance, equal parental leave, favorable fiscal policies on second earners and family-friendly labor policies are all examples of policy transformation that would benefit the redistribution of UCW (AAR, 2021a).

Representation refers to the effective representation in decision-making. Representation for UCW entails actions which make sure that women have full and effective participation in decision-making positions so that they are able to influence policies that condition their daily lives (AAR, 2021a). Furthermore, in order to stimulate social dialogue and increase power in collective agreements for the care sector, it is important that representation is satisfactory at all levels: political, economic and social (ILO, 2018).

Reward pertains to establishing and enforcing appropriate employment condition of employment (AAR, 2021aa). As found in ILO (2018), this means following actions such as: Promoting equal pay for care workers regardless of gender; Creating a safe and stimulating work environment; Implement measures to protect immigrant care workers.

4.2.2. Unpaid Care Work and Women's Economic Empowerment

The issues deriving from UCW have significant implications on human rights. Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald (2014) provide several different examples of how the disproportionate

distribution, intensity, and lack of recognition and assistance for unpaid care work not only hinders the autonomy and dignity of women caregivers but also prevents them to benefit from multiple human rights. The first aspect they mention is the right to education. Young girls often have care duties from an early age, therefore resulting in higher school abandonment rates, influencing irreparably young girls' life choices.

Moreover, they focus on the right to decent work. unpaid care responsibilities prevent women from accessing the labor market and eradicate their poverty. In several contexts, even when they access to work, it is very likely that women are obligated to accept low-waged, informal, and precarious jobs which do not provide social security and are often performed in unsafe working conditions. The reason behind this is that informal work often take place in homes or on the streets, rather than in more formal settings such as offices or factories. This type of work allows them to balance work with childcare and other responsibilities, which would otherwise be difficult in work environments where caring responsibilities are not practicable. In relation to this, also the right to social security is harmed, as these jobs have almost no access to social security benefits.

Furthermore, they highlight how the right to health is threatened. In fact, not only unpaid care work can include stressful, emotionally difficult, or even hazardous tasks, but also for women with extremely burdensome unpaid care workloads it can be challenging to access healthcare due to scarcity of time or money.

As pointed out in their study, women's right to participation is also harmed by unpaid care work. On one side there is an ideological hindrance that depicts men as workers or leaders and women as caregivers. On the other side, there is also a practical hindrance. The time spent on unpaid care responsibilities is a concrete barrier to participation in decision-making at all levels, particularly in households which cannot access other childcare options.

Lastly, they focus on how the systematic way in which unpaid care work is disproportionately distributed also hampers the right to equality and non-discrimination. This unequal distribution of reflects power imbalances between women and men and it perpetuates discriminatory gender stereotypes that assign inferior status and rights to women.

The dynamics described by Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald (2014) give a clear idea of how unpaid care work affects women's economic empowerment in different ways. All of these

implications have effects on women's life, and they show how the responsibilities deriving from UCW have serious repercussion on women's economic empowerment.

4.3. Early Childhood Development Centers

Nadeau & Hasan refer to early childhood development as a “holistic concept that refers to the physical, cognitive, socio-emotional, and linguistic development of young children until the time they transition to primary school” (2016). Early childhood is one of the most important stages of a child's development process, as for children to realize their full potential, healthcare, nutrition, security, early learning, and responsive caregiving are necessary conditions (UNICEF, 2017). Nevertheless, the world's most disadvantaged children, such as children living in poverty, children affected by conflict, children on the move, children belonging to discriminated communities, and children with disabilities often miss out on the critical period of development and growth due to a lack of opportunities (UNICEF, 2017). Therefore, the provision of childcare by facilities such as ECDCs has been proposed as a solution. As specified by Lake (2011), early childhood learning centers for children aged 3 to 6 years old, improve both school readiness and school attainment. Moreover, as children who succeed in school are more likely to earn higher incomes as adults, they generally are able to provide better nutrition, health care, stimulation, and educational opportunities to their own offspring (Lake, 2011).

Regarding the context of the study, ActionAid refers to early childhood development centers as “safe places for children aged three to six to play and learn” (ActionAid UK, 2023). Namely, the ECDCs built in collaboration with ActionAid are intended to be places where children can develop the abilities described above, in a safe environment. However, the benefits deriving from the establishment of ECDC are not limited to children. As childcare is among the most time-consuming activities that mother must carry out, the implementation of such facilities could have positive consequences on the way mothers can spend time (AAR, 2019).

According to UNICEF (2022), in Rwanda, nearly 800,000 children, which is 38% of the child population, are not able to develop cognitive, motor, language, and socio-emotional skills, preventing them from reaching their full potential. According to the same source, only 18% of children aged 3 to 6 years old have access to pre-school programs, daycare, or other early childcare facilities. However, even though early childhood development is still an emerging field in Rwanda, the government has demonstrated its commitment to develop the sector (UNICEF, 2022).

5. Methodology

5.1. Research Design

This study utilized a cross-sectional mixed method research approach which consisted in the distribution of structured questionnaires that included a majority of close-ended questions and one open-ended question. The research design aimed to gather information from a sample of participants that would allow for the examination of the relationship between ECDCs, UCW, and women's economic empowerment. The choice of this design was motivated by the fact that the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative methods can provide better understanding for the matter. More specifically, the mixed methods research design allows to generalize the findings to a population while contemporarily develop a perspective of a phenomenon for individuals (Creswell, 2009). The data was collected through questionnaires which included both close-ended and one open-ended question which respectively stand for the qualitative and quantitative part of the study. The benefits of using a survey range from the economy of design and rapid collection to the possibility to analyze a large population from a small group of individuals (Creswell, 2009; Fowler, 2009).

5.2. Sampling

The respondents were randomly selected by AAR's staff among certain individuals who met specific criteria. More specifically, the respondents are all women who are either mothers or tutors of a child aged between 3 and 6 who attends an ECDC in Nyanza district. The tutors present in the sample are grandmothers who have the full custody of their grandchild as their biological mother is unable to parent their child either for teen pregnancy, death, or lack of resources. These cases are still valuable for the study as these grandmothers have the full responsibility of the childcare and therefore, they could be affected by the establishment of an ECDC. These cases account for 4 out of 50 respondents.

As just mentioned, the sample size is of 50 respondents. The reasons behind this are mostly driven by time and budget resources. Namely, ActionAid Rwanda provided reimbursement of transportation for all the respondents. Moreover, a member of the staff of ActionAid Rwanda accompanied and assisted me throughout the whole process of data collection. Therefore, a greater

sample size would have been too costly and too time consuming to examine. Thus, as agreed with ActionAid Rwanda, the most sensitive approach from a time and resource perspective, was to interview 10 women per 5 ECDCs, for a total of 50 respondents. The 5 ECDCs included in the research approximately host 800 children in total. However, some mothers have more than one child attending an ECDC. As emerged by the interviews, the mothers interviewed have an average of 1,12 child attending an ECDC. Therefore, the approximate population size of mothers in the Nyanza district who have a child attending an ECDC established in collaboration with ActionAid Rwanda, is of roughly 715 individuals. Thus, the sample accounts for approximately 7% of the population size.

The choice of the location was similarly influenced by time and resource constraints. Firstly, I had only access to the ECDCs built with the support of ActionAid Rwanda. As mentioned earlier AAR has contributed to the establishment of more than 12 ECDCs in the 5 districts in which AAR works. However, there is several hours of driving distance to cover between the districts. Therefore, given the previously mentioned time and budget constraints, it was agreed with ActionAid Rwanda that the most suitable district for the study was the one of Nyanza. AAR has contributed to the establishment of 5 ECDCs in the district of Nyanza. Thus, this allowed me to visit a relatively high number of ECDCs in a short amount of time and while also limiting the transportation costs covered by AAR.

5.3. Data Collection

The tool employed to collect data was a questionnaire who was developed by me and later inspected by multiple members of AAR's staff (Anatole Uwiragye, Alexandre Nzeyimana, Janet Murungi, Francis Muhire and Clare Katwesigye). As the respondents do not speak English and I am not able to speak Kinyarwanda, a language barrier was present in the data collection process. Therefore, I developed the questionnaire in English, and it was later translated to Kinyarwanda by Alexandre Nzeyimana (AAR's Business Development and Donor Engagement Coordinator), my internship supervisor. In order not to lose important meaning and details in the translation process, I was involved in the translation process. Likewise, after having been filled in, the questionnaires were translated back from Kinyarwanda to English. The questionnaires were printed and handed out physically to the respondents. The respondents were invited to come to their corresponding ECDC facility where they received explanation regard the study and ethical considerations. As mentioned before, the respondents received compensation for their transport to the facility. Subsequently, they

received the questionnaires which were thoroughly explained during the process of filling them in. This process was facilitated by Francis Muhire (part of AAR's staff in Nyanza) and the different directors of the 5 ECDCs. More specifically, they were fundamental to overcome the language barrier that was present between me and the respondents. Furthermore, Francis Muhire also assisted me in transportation between the ECDCs. As a minor part of the respondents were semi-literate, further assistance was provided by other members of AAR's staff. The data collection process was completed over two days, and it took place in Nyanza district. More specifically, the 5 ECDCs of Kibinja, Busasamana, Cyarwa, Cyerezo and Nyakabuye were visited.

The questionnaire was divided in different sections: The first part concerned respondents' characteristics such as age, education, occupation, marital status, number of children, presence of a household worker; This part was followed by a section which included questions concerning time spent on UCW and possible assistance received in doing so; Following, the activities concerning UCW were divided and for each activity the respondents specified whether the amount of time dedicated to it was altered after their child enrollment in the ECDC; Consequently a Likert scale followed, in which the respondents agreed or disagreed to statements concerning UCW and women's empowerment. Lastly, an open-ended question investigated in possible policy suggestions for ECDCs. A limited number of questions were initially included in the questionnaire but were not employed in the data analysis as they proved to be either repetitive or irrelevant to the analysis. The original questions present in questionnaire are found in Appendix A.

5.4. Respondents' characteristics

The respondents' characteristics are shown in Table 1. The mean age of the 50 women who took part in the study is 37.4. However, this number is inflated by the non-biological mothers present in the study. Excluding the four of them the mean age is of 35.3. 80% of the respondents are farmers, of which approximately 6.5% are also engaged in small trade alongside farming. The rest of them are either public or private employees. 82% of the respondents are living with a partner, 64% are married legally and 14% are cohabiting. Only 16% are either single, divorced, separated or widowed. Concerning education, 32% of the participants completed only primary school and 34% attended and completed High School. 12% started attending primary but did not complete it and 14% started attending high school and not completed it. Only 3 women have obtained tertiary education. 36% of the women involved have one or more children living in the household with them, who is not

attending an ECDC. Most of the respondents (78%) does not benefit from the help of a household worker.

Table 1: Respondents Characteristics.

N= 50 women		Count	N %
Mean age ± SD (37.4±9.1)			
Marital status			
Cohabiting/living together		7	14%
Divorced/Separated/Widowed		3	6%
Married legally		34	68%
Single		5	10%
<i>missing data</i>		1	2%
Highest Level of Education			
University		1	2%
Other tertiary education		2	4%
Completed High School		14	28%
Partial High School (yr 10)		6	12%
Partial High School (yr 9)		1	2%
Completed Primary		16	32%
Partial Primary (yr 5)		4	8%
Partial Primary (yr 4)		2	4%
<i>missing data</i>		4	8%
N° Chidren currently in the household	N° Chidren currently in the household, attending ECDC		
1	1	28	56%
2	2	4	8%
	1	12	24%
3	1	3	6%
	2	1	2%
4	1	1	2%
	2	1	2%
Household worker			
NO		39	78%
YES		10	20%
<i>missing data</i>		1	2%

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Table 2 shows the most important characteristics for the 5 different ECDCs. The information was provided by the directors of each ECDC respectively. The table provides information about the year of establishment and the approximate number of children hosted in the ECDC. The ECDCs were establish between 2015 and 2023 and they host approximately from 80 to 200 children each.

Table 2: ECDCs' characteristics.

Characteristics	KIBINJA	BUSASAMANA	CYARWA	CYEREZO	NYAKABUYE
YEAR of Establishment	2021	2018	2015	2018	2023
N OF CHILDREN	200	160	160	200	80

Source: Author's own elaboration.

5.5. Data Analysis

Firstly, a descriptive analysis was conducted with the purpose of examining the characteristics of the respondents and their answers to the survey. Categorical variables were presented as absolute and relative frequencies. The continuous variable “age” was expressed as the mean \pm standard deviation and categorized into a dichotomous variable using the median age (37 years) as the cutoff. Additionally, four other characteristics of the sample were categorized as dichotomous variables: occupation (farmers versus non-farmers); education (completed high school and above versus below high school); marital status (married legally/cohabiting/living together versus divorced/separated/widowed/single); children (children in the household not attending ECDC versus no children in the household not attending ECDC). The presence of household workers was also categorized as a dichotomous variable.

To compare the responses across the five previously aggregated categories (independent samples), Pearson's Chi-square test or Fisher's Exact Test was used when appropriate. To compare two sets of answers from the same respondents (dependent samples) and investigate changes before and after the children's enrollment in the ECDC, the nonparametric Wilcoxon signed-rank test was utilized. The printed questionnaires were collected and compiled into a dataset using Microsoft Excel. Following, in order to carry out a statistical analysis, it was transferred into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, USA). The p-values < 0.05 were considered statistically significant. The qualitative data were firstly analyzed, and then similar remarks were categorized into groups.

5.6. Data Limitations

The study acknowledges its limitations and potential sources of bias, in order to ensure transparency and integrity. The data used in this study provides valuable insights into the research topic. However, certain limitations might have influenced the final findings and interpretations.

A source of influence could derive from the data collection tool. The data was collected using questionnaires, which are subject to various biases. The responses could have been influenced by their perceptions, personal interpretations, or memory limitations. There was a possibility of non-response bias, in which participants who chose not to answer certain questions might have answered differently than those who did, potentially introducing bias into the findings (Creswell, 2009). However, the missing data is relatively small.

Other practical issues might have influenced the findings. Firstly, some of the participants were semi-literate. Therefore, the chance of misinterpreting the questions might be higher for those. Moreover, some of the respondents were illiterate and therefore needed assistance in filling in the paper questionnaire. Likewise, these answers might have been exposed to misinterpretations and reduced confidentiality. Furthermore, the language barrier represented a serious obstacle. Having to translate the questionnaire from English to Kinyarwanda and the results from Kinyarwanda to English, might have resulted in some lost meaning in the translation. In addition, some of the participants had to bring their toddlers with them, which might have compromised their full attention and dedication to the questionnaire.

However, the most important bias that might have affected the research could derive from participant bias related to their vested interests (Creswell, 2009). More specifically, it is possible that some of the participant misunderstood the survey, perceiving that their responses might directly influence the future accessibility of ECDCs. This misinterpretation of the survey's purpose might have influenced the participants to provide responses that portray ECDCs in a good light. In order to avoid this, the respondents were informed meticulously about the nature and the purpose of the study. Moreover, many answers in the open-ended disclose critical remarks towards the ECDCs, indicating how this bias plausibly did not influence the respondents' answers excessively. A further important limitation might derive from AAR's influence. More specifically, given that after their child's enrollment in the ECDC all the respondents are in AAR's sphere of influence, it is possible that some

of the positive answers are a result of AAR's efforts on advocacy rather than a direct result of the establishment of an ECDC.

5.7. Ethical Considerations

Prior to the beginning of the study, permission to interview AAR's right-holders was obtained by AAR. Prior to participation, all the participants who took part in the study were provided with full information regarding the purpose of study and its procedure. Every participant was informed of the voluntary nature of the study and about their right to withdraw from the study at any moment. Informed consent was obtained verbally from each participant. Confidentiality and privacy were maintained throughout the entire duration of the study. In order to do so, identifier numbers were used instead of names or other personal information. With purpose of not causing harm or discomfort to the participants, invasive or insensitive questions were avoided. Moreover, the questionnaire was inspected and approved by AAR. Participants were reimbursed of their travel expenses to the ECDCs where the study took place. A fixed amount of 5,000 FRW was provided by AAR to each participant. The results are presented in an unbiased and unaltered manner, with the aim of maintaining objectivity and integrity.

6. Results

In order to answer to the research question "*To what extent can early childhood development centers reduce the burden of unpaid care work and promote women's economic empowerment?*", seven sub-questions were developed and are answered with the data collected through the questionnaires.

6.1. Time Spent on Unpaid Care Work

The first sub-question aims to investigate whether the enrollment of children in ECDC has influenced the amount of time dedicated to UCW by women. Thus, the sub-question is formulated as follows:

To what extent did the overall time dedicated to unpaid care work change after the children's enrollment in ECDC?

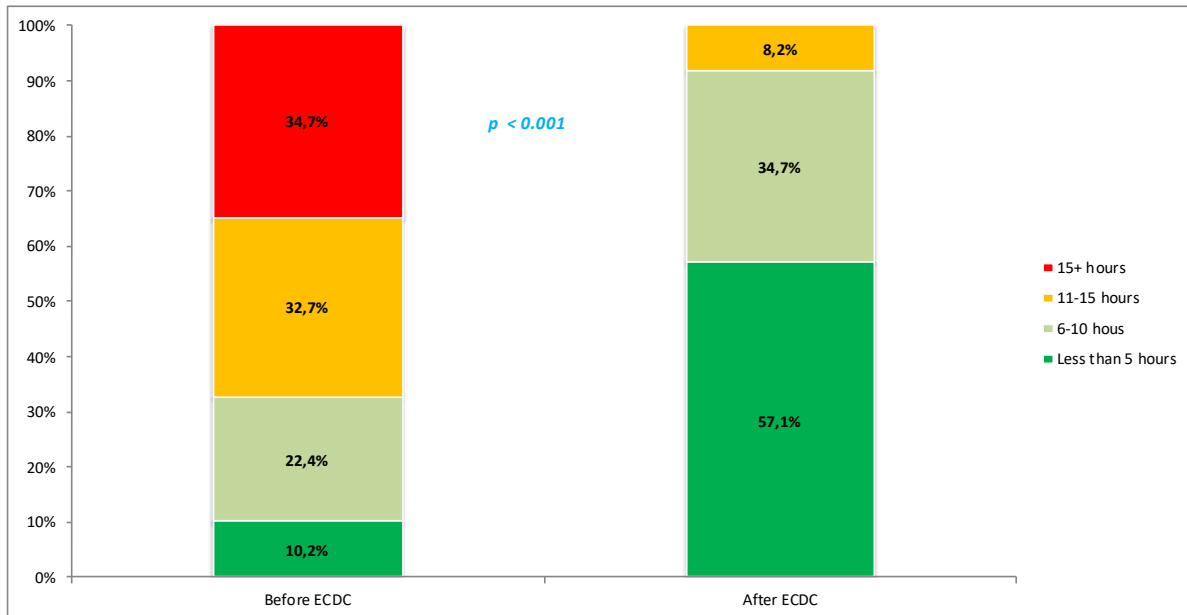
For this reason, the respondents were asked to indicate how much time they spent daily on UCW prior and after their child joining the ECDC. The answers (Table 3; Figure 1) confirm that the women interviewed started spending significantly ($p < 0,001$) less time on UCW after their children joined the ECDC. Approximately 64% of the respondents stated that they were spending more than 11 hours per day on UCW prior to their child joining the ECDC. Conversely, the percentage of women who spend more than 11 hours daily also after the enrollment amounts to 8.2%. Moreover, all the women who stated they spent more than 15 hours on UCW daily, confirmed that after the enrollment of their child they spend less than 15. Likewise, only 10.2% of respondents used to spend less than 5 hours daily on UCW, as opposed to 57.1% after their child joined the ECDC. This data demonstrates how both the amount of time dedicated to UCW and the number of women who spent an excessive amount of time on UCW generally decreased.

Table 3: Hours spent by the respondents on UCW after and before their child's enrollment in the ECDC.

Hours spent on UCW	Count	Percentage (%)
Before ECDC		
Less than 5 hours	5	10%
6-10 hours	11	22%
11-15 hours	16	33%
15+ hours	17	35%
<i>missing data</i>	1	
After ECDC		
Less than 5 hours	28	57%
6-10 hours	17	35%
11-15 hours	4	8%
15+ hours	-	-
<i>missing data</i>	1	

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Figure 1: Hours spent by the respondents on UCW after and before their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

6.2. Variations by Type of Unpaid Care Work Activity

UCW consists of several different tasks. Therefore, given that the overall time dedicated to it decreased, it is important to break down UCW into its different type of activities to understand whether the time dedicated to them has increased, decreased or remained unaltered. The second sub-question is developed as follows:

What changes occurred in the allocation of time to various unpaid care work activities after the children’s enrollment in ECDC?

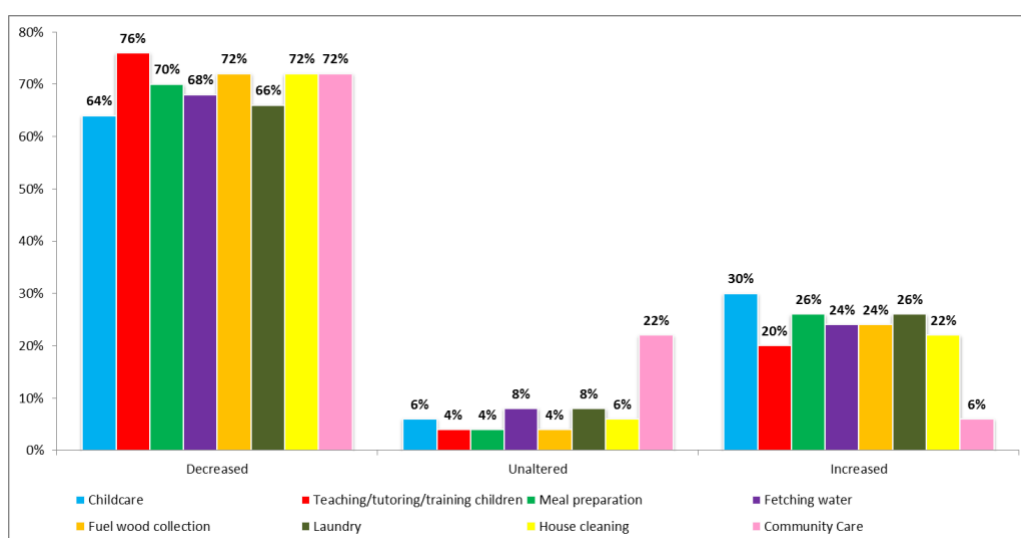
In order to answer this question, 8 types of activities were identified and categorized as follows: Childcare; Teaching/Tutoring/Training children; Meal preparation; Water fetching; Fuel wood collection; Clothes washing; House cleaning; Community care. For each activity the respondents indicated whether the amount of time dedicated to the activity increased, decreased or remained unaltered after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.

As shown Figure 2, all of the activities decreased for the majority of participants. More specifically, Teaching/Tutoring/Training children is the activity that has decreased with the highest

frequency. As the main activities carried on in the ECDCs are tutoring teaching and training, the results regarding this category are consistent and show the effectiveness of the ECDC in reducing UCW. Conversely, childcare is the activity that decreased with the lowest frequency increased for with highest frequency. The relatively lower frequency is explained by the presence of women who also have children that do not attend the ECDC. This occurrence is explained more accurately in section 6.6. The activity of meal preparation also decreased with high frequency. The trend his is most likely driven by the fact that s the ECDCs also provide food to the children.

Despite not having an immediate connection with ECDCs, the activities concerning water fetching, fuel wood collection, clothes washing, house cleaning and community care also show have “decrease” as the most frequent answer. This occurrence does not find a direct explanation. An interpretation of these results can lead to two lines of reasoning. Firstly, it is possible that given the reduction in specific tasks, some of the respondents’ might have been influenced into perceiving that the reduction occurred overall and therefore for every task. Additionally, it is possible that these results are influenced by the general efforts of ActionAid Rwanda. Namely, since their child enrollment in the ECDC, all of the respondents are in the sphere of influence of ActionAid Rwanda, which dedicates several efforts into advocating for redistribution of UCW. Therefore, it is plausible that these results are also influenced by the advocacy carried out by ActionAid Rwanda, which potentially allowed women to redistribute the amount of UCW between the household members.

Figure 2: Variations by type of UCW activity.



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

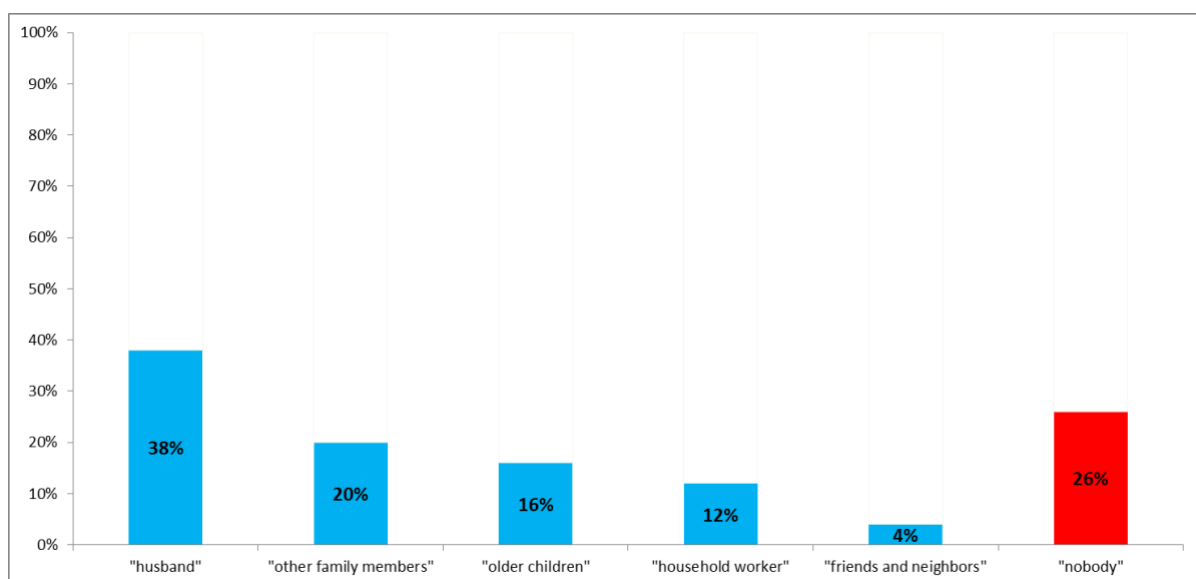
6.3 Reliance on Other People's Help

Another important aspect to consider when speaking about UCW is other people's contribution and the impact that ECDCs had on them. In this regard, the third sub-question is articulated as follows:

To what extent has reliance on other people's help in unpaid care work decreased after the children's enrollment in the ECDC?

To begin with, the investigation focused on determining whether any of the respondents contributed to UCW within their households, and if so, identifying the individuals involved. 36 women (72%) stated that they received help to fulfill UCW tasks, while 13 (26%) stated they do not, and one respondent did not answer. As portrayed in Figure 3, 19 participants (38%) receive contribution from their husband, 10 (20%) receive help from other family members, 8 (16%) receive help from older children of theirs, 6 (12%) receive help from a household worker and 1 (2%) receives help from friends or neighbors. Nevertheless, it results from the respondents' characteristics that 10 women benefit from the help of a household worker. Therefore, it is likely that 4 of the respondents misunderstood the question. It is possible that these 4 participants did not understand that they were allowed to choose more one option.

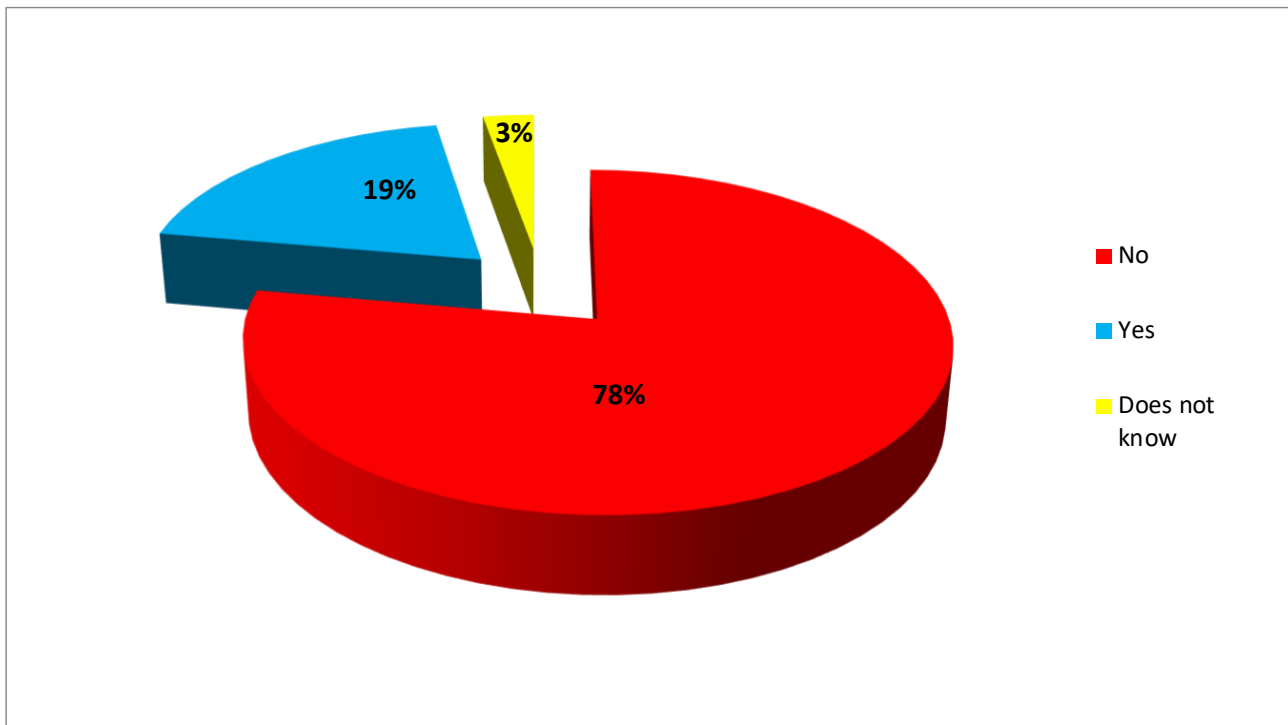
Figure 3: Contribution to UCW by other people other than the respondents.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

Consequently, it was asked whether the reliance on other people had decreased after their child's enrollment in the ECDC. As show in Figure 4, out of the 36 women which receive contribution only 7 (19%) confirmed that their reliance had decreased. Conversely, 28 participants (78%) stated their reliance on others did not decrease. 1 participant did not provide an answer for this question.

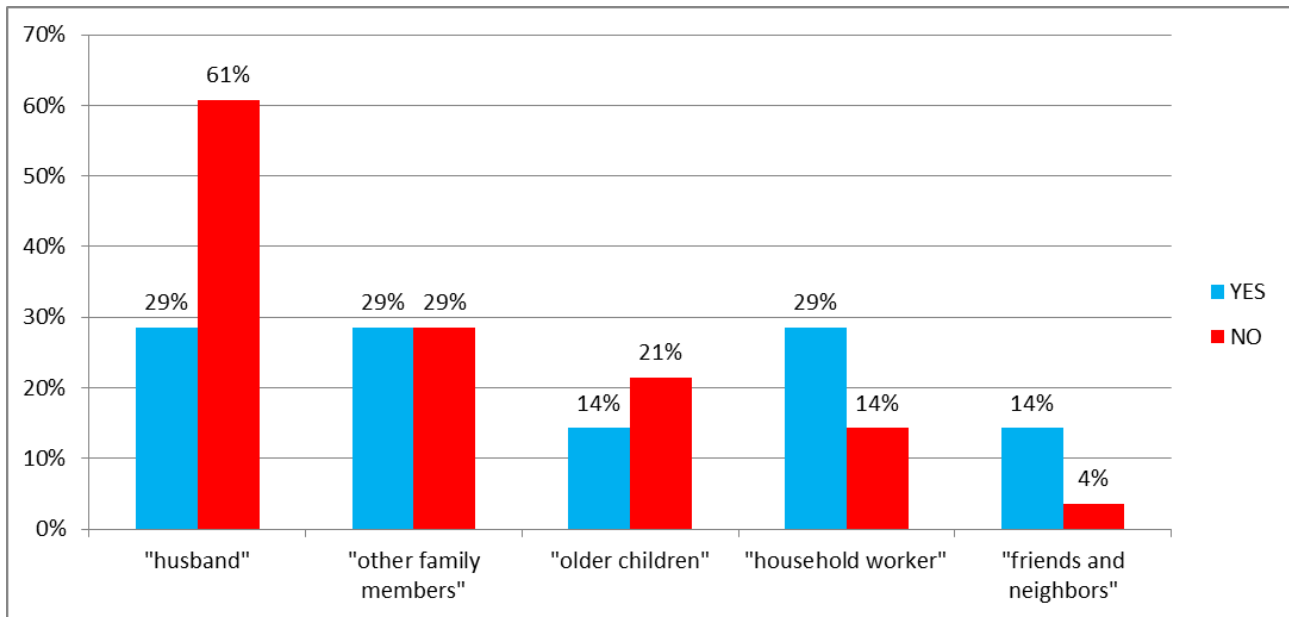
Figure 4: Percentage of respondents who received help for UCW and whose reliance on other's people help reduced after their child' enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

Excluding the participant who did not answer, the results were analyzed according to the individuals involved. For majority of respondents who received contribution by their husband the reliance did not decrease. Instead, for the majority of those who received help from a household worker or friends and neighbors the reliance decreased (Figure 5). These results indicate that the ECDC has been beneficial in reducing external help. However, they confirm how a fair distribution of UCW between household members is indispensable regardless of ECDC presence.

Figure 5: Percentage of respondents who received help for UCW and whose reliance on other's people help reduced after their child' enrollment in the ECDC, analyzed by category.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

6.4 Time for Activities Unrelated to Unpaid Care Work

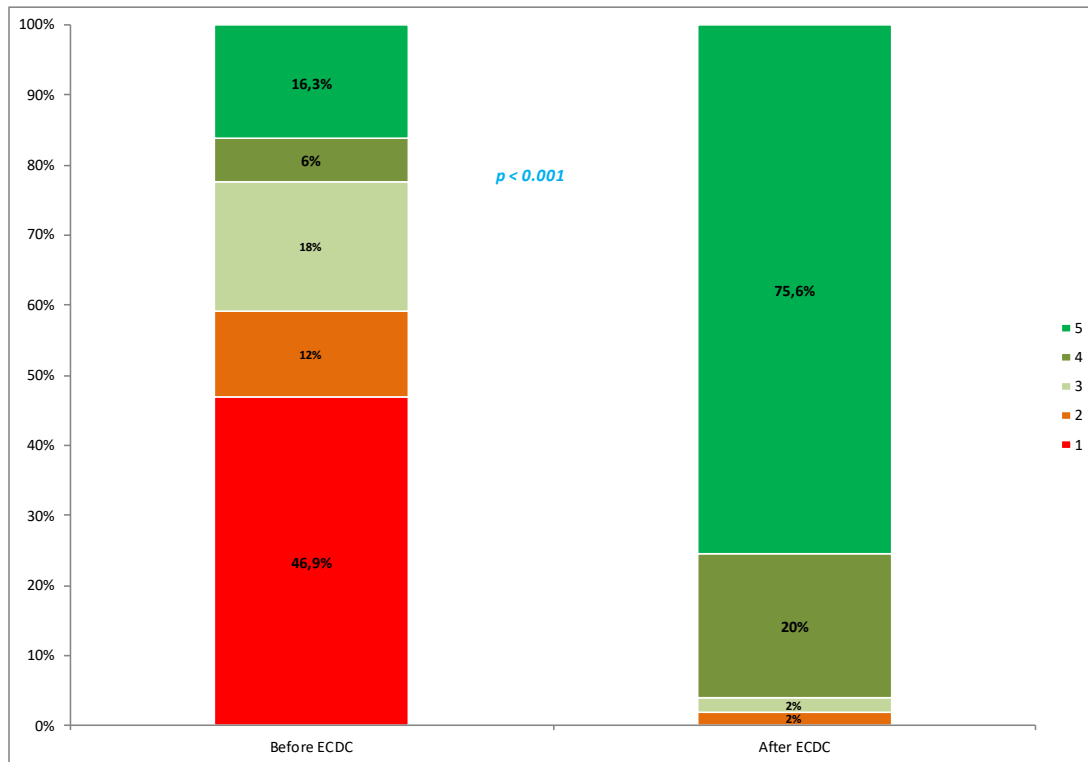
Once established the amount of time dedicated to UCW decreased, it is important to investigate whether this occurrence opened the possibility to spend time on other activities. Thus, the fourth sub-question is formulated as follows:

To what extent did the opportunity to engage in other activities expand after the children's enrollment in the ECDC?

First, in order to find an answer to this question, it was asked to the respondents to indicate on a rating scale from 1 to 5 the chance to engage in other activities before and after their child joined the ECDC (Figure 6; Table 4;). 1 represents the lowest grade of likeliness and 5 the highest. 23 respondents (47%) indicated the lowest value (1) when referring to the likeliness to have the chance to engage in other activities other than UCW prior to their child enrollment in the ECDC. Likewise, only 8 (16%) indicated the highest value (5). Conversely, none of the women indicated the lowest

value and 37 participants (76%) indicated the highest value when considering the period after the enrollment. These differences were found to be statistically significant ($p < 0,001$).

Figure 6: Respondents' opportunity to engage in other activities expand after the children's enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

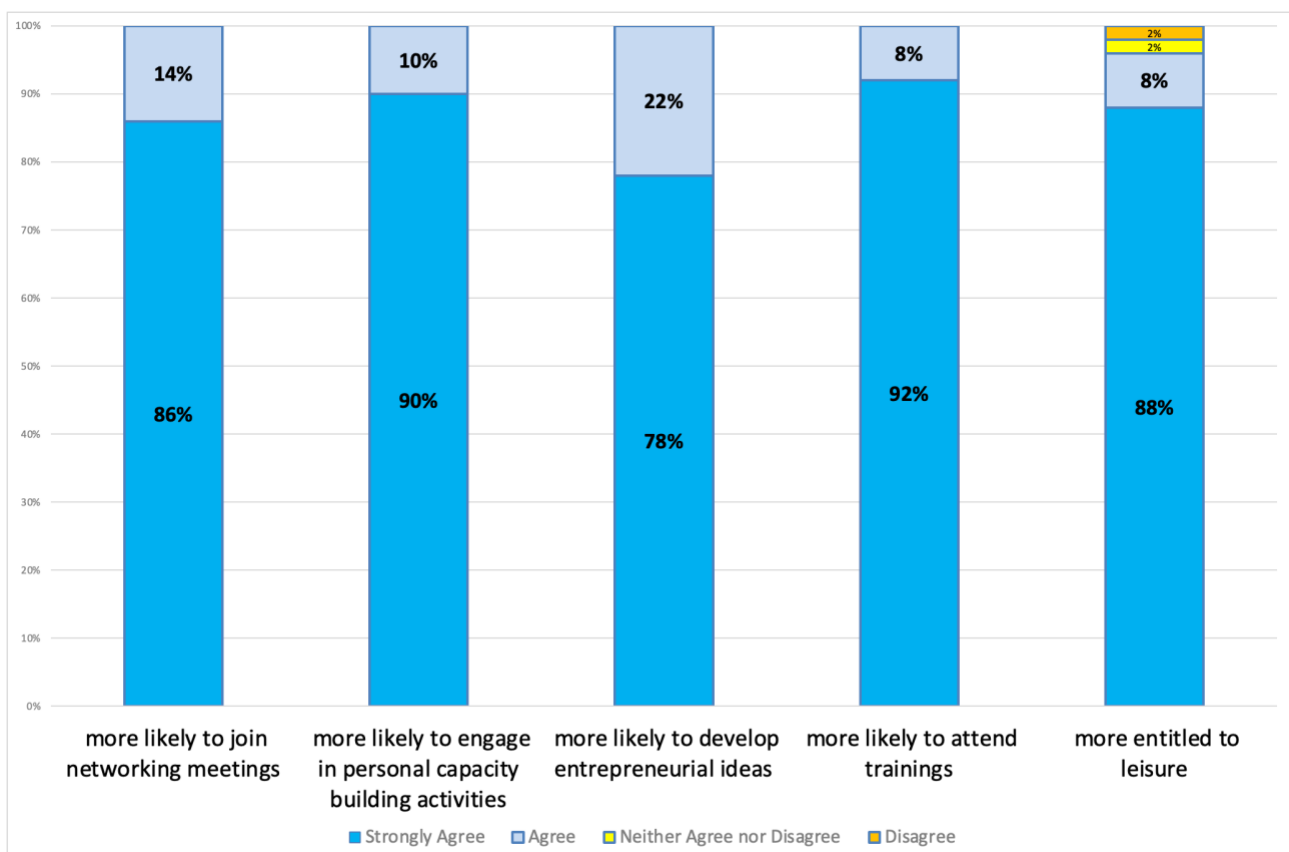
Table 4: Respondents' opportunity to engage in other activities expand after the children's enrollment in the ECDC.

Likelihood to perform other activities (1= very unlikely; 5= very likely)	N	%
Before ECD		
1	23	47%
2	6	12%
3	9	18%
4	3	6%
5	8	16%
missing data	1	
After ECD		
1		
2	1	2%
3	1	2%
4	10	20%
5	37	76%
missing data	1	

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Furthermore, with the purpose of investigating the matter more exhaustively, the participants read 6 statements regarding the topic and indicated their level or agreement or disagreement on a Likert scale. As shown in Figure 7, the entirety of the participants agreed that after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC they are more likely to join networking meetings at community level, engage in personal capacity building activities, develop entrepreneurial ideas, and attend trainings. Moreover, 96% of the participants agreed that they are feeling more entitled to leisure. These results demonstrate that the presence of the ECDC has considerably helped women to alleviate the constraints deriving from the burden of unpaid work and therefore give the opportunity to focus on different activities that contribute to enrich capacity building and personal development.

Figure 7: Respondents’ perceptions on their likeliness to join different activities after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

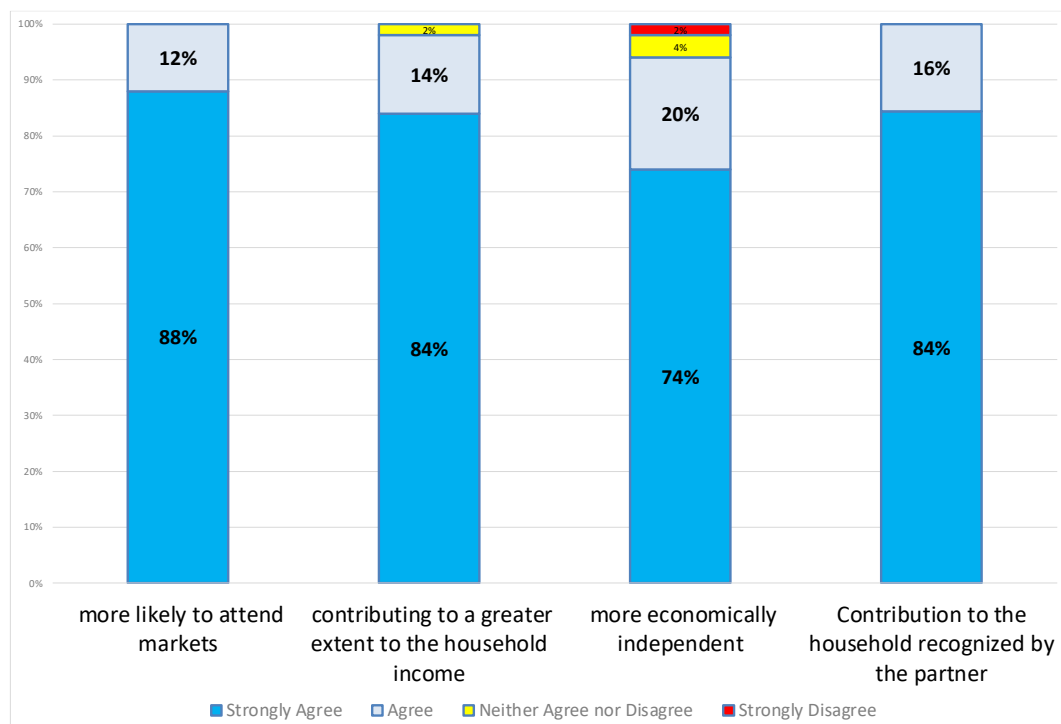
6.5 Women's Economic Empowerment

Following, it is of great relevance to understand whether the UCW reduction is factually leading to women economic empowerment. Consequently, the fifth sub-question is developed as follows:

To what extent has the children's enrollment in the ECDCs contributed to women's economic empowerment?

As done previously, different statements concerning the situation after the children's enrollment in the ECDC were presented to the respondents and their agreement was measured through a Likert scale. As portrayed in Figure 8, all of the respondents agreed to the fact that, they are more likely to attend markets. 98% percent of the respondents agreed that they feel they are contributing to the household income to a greater extent. Similarly, all of the respondents who have a partner agreed that their partner recognizes their contribution to the household to a greater extent. Moreover, 94% of the participants agreed that they feel more economically independent.

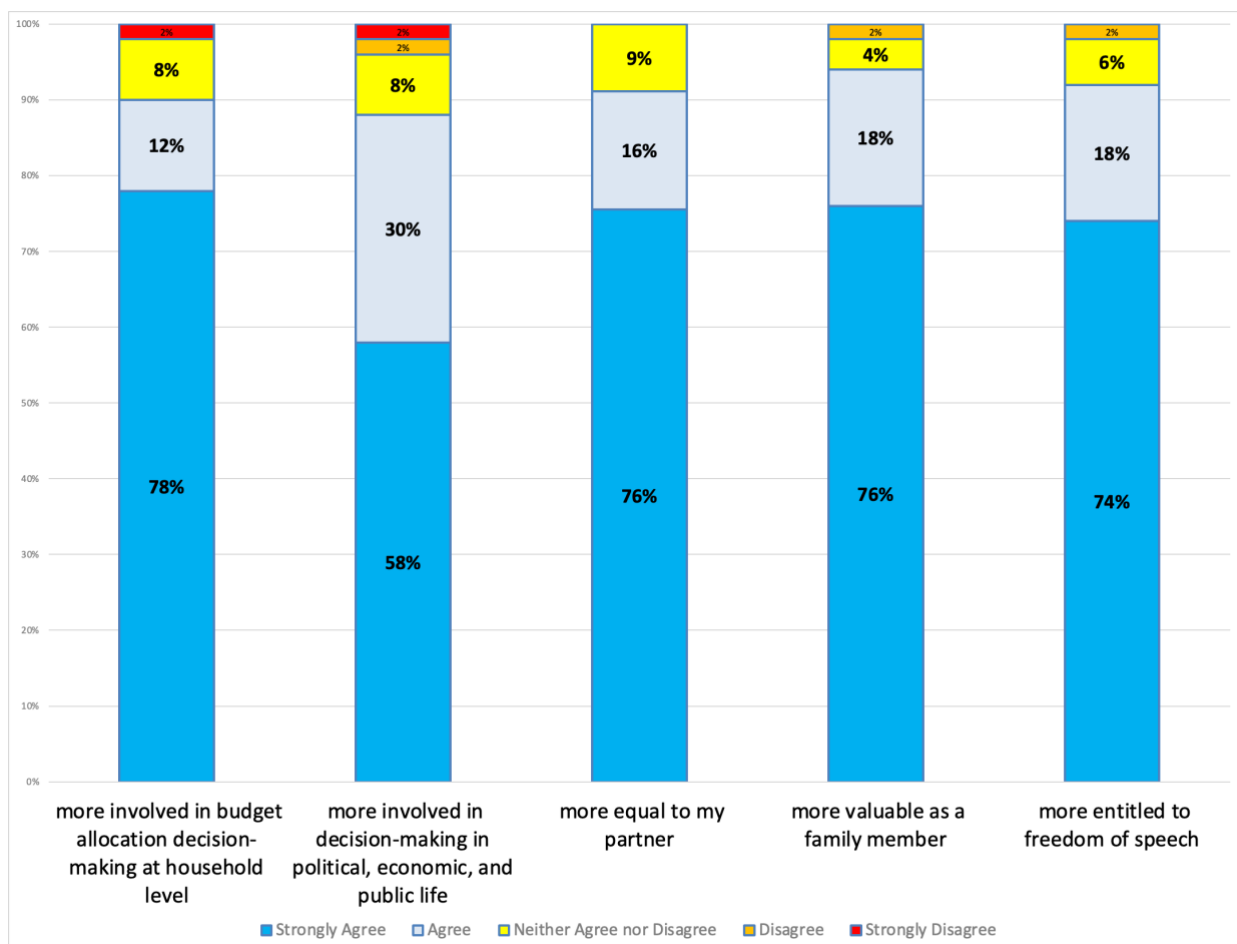
Figure 8: Respondents' perceptions on their empowerment status after their child's enrollment in the ECDC (Part 1).



Source: Author's own elaboration.

As visible in Figure 9, 92% percent of the respondents who have agreed that they feel more equal to their partner. Likewise, over 90% of the participants agreed that they feel more valuable as a family member and that they feel more entitled to freedom of speech. Furthermore, over 85% of the participants agreed that they feel more involved in budget allocation decision-making at household level and in decision-making at in political, economic, and public life. The latter statement was answered with “strongly agree” by relatively fewer respondents (58%) when compared to other statements.

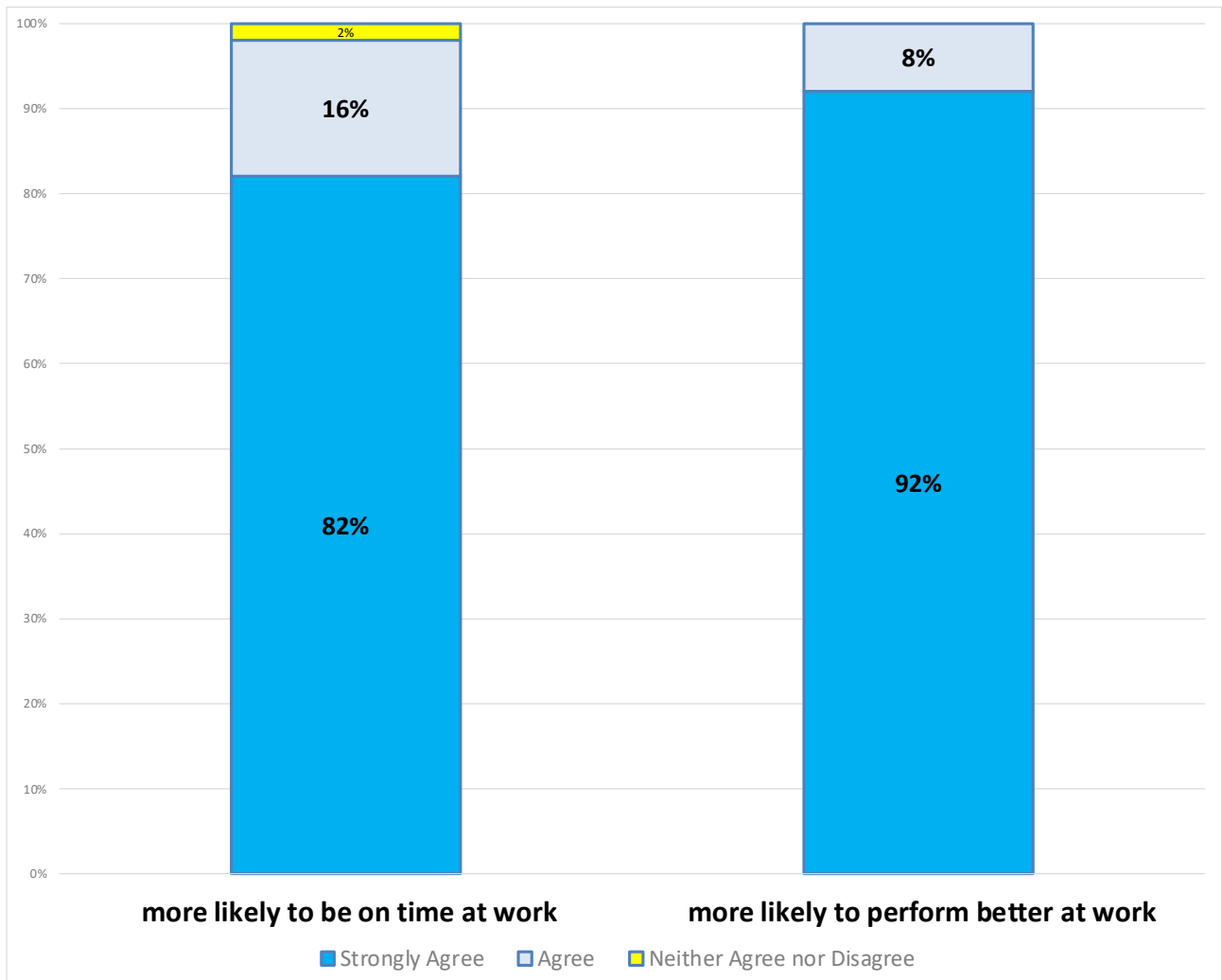
Figure 9: Respondents’ perceptions on their empowerment status after their child’s enrollment in the ECDC (Part 2).



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

Additionally, the influence of the ECDC is also allowing women to improve their working life. All of the respondents agreed that they are more likely to perform better at work and 98% agreed that they are more likely to be on time at work (Figure 10). The results just discussed show how the vast majority of the women involved agree that the ECDC has contribute to several different aspects of their life concerning economic empowerment.

Figure 10: Respondents' perceptions on their working life after their child's enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

6.6 Stratification

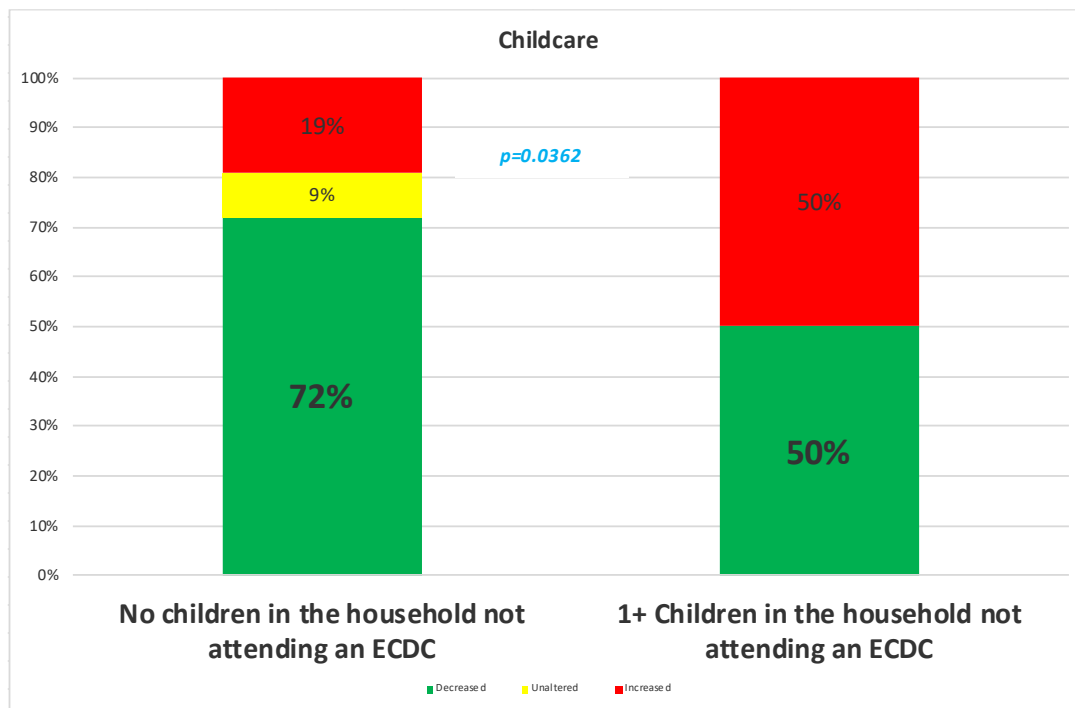
In order to investigate more deeply the above-mentioned results, the sample was stratified into different categories with the purpose of finding any potential significant correlation. The categories analyzed are the dichotomous variables previously mentioned in Section 5.5. Namely, subgroups divided by occupation, education, marital status, number of children not attending an ECDC and presence of a household worker, were analyzed in comparison to all of the close-ended answers given in the questionnaire. The objective of this investigation is to understand whether the effects of the

ECDC on UCW are equally accessible for different categories of people. The sixth sub-question is formulated as follows:

How did the effects of ECDCs on unpaid care work vary across different categories?

Firstly, there is an evident relation between the number of children in the household not attending an ECDC and the decrease of time dedicated to childcare (Figure 11). In particular, the respondents whose all children who live in the household attend an ECDC experienced a decrease observed with more frequency ($p = 0,0362$). The mechanism behind this occurrence is rather straightforward. Namely, 18 respondents have multiple children but for different reasons do not manage to have of all of them attending an ECDC. Therefore, as they are still taking care of other children, a fewer number of them has experienced a reduction of time dedicated to childcare. Instead, a larger number of those respondents whose entirety of offspring is attending an ECDC have experienced a decrease.

Figure 11: Variation in time dedicated to childcare by number of children in the household not attending an ECDC.

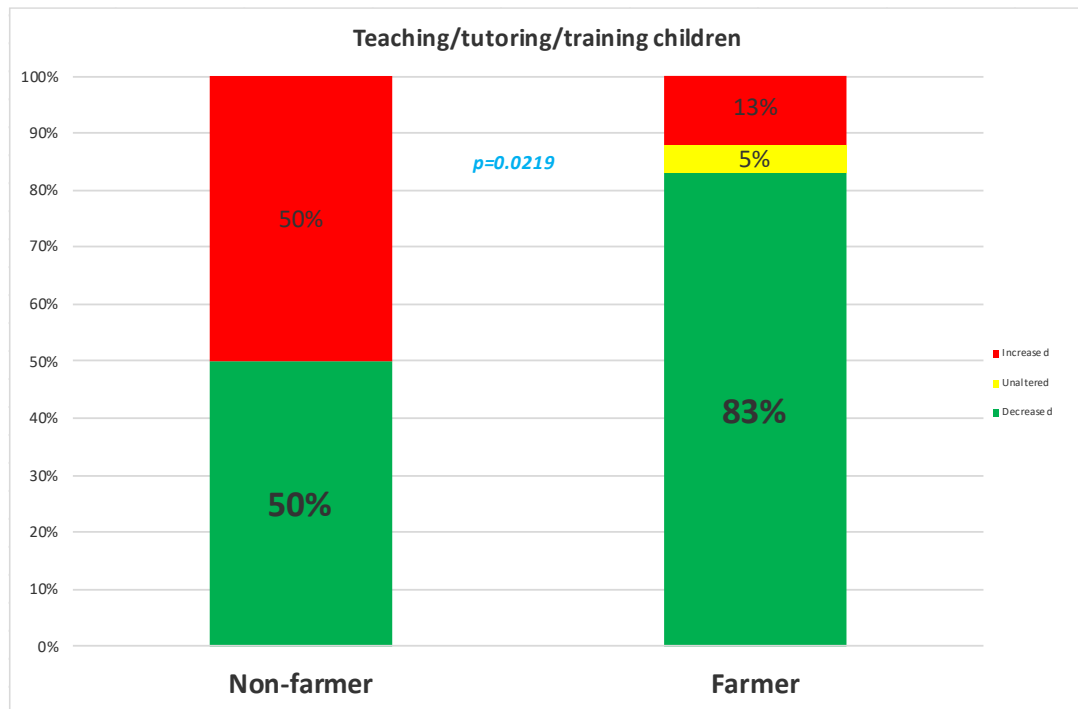


Source: Author's own elaboration.

Additionally, there is a significant relation ($p = 0.0219$) between occupation and the decrease of time dedicated to teaching, tutoring or training children (Figure 12). More specifically, the decrease

is found with greater frequency among farmers. Instead, half of the respondents employed in other sectors experienced an increase in this activity. This circumstance could be explained by a tendency to perform this activity personally in rural households. Therefore, women farmers could have particularly benefited from a reduction in the time dedicated to this activity.

Figure 12: Variation in time dedicated to teaching/tutoring/training children by occupation.

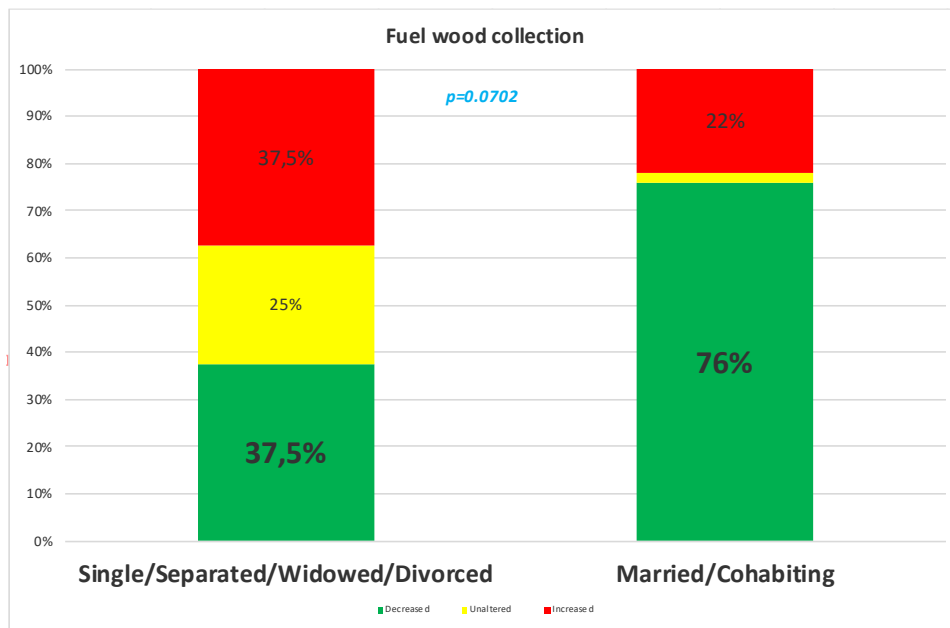


Source: Author's own elaboration.

Furthermore, a weak significant relation (0,0702) and a significant relation (0,0182) is present between marital status and a decrease in the activities concerning respectively fuel collection and water fetching (Figure 13; Figure 14). The respondents who do not have a partner have experienced a time reduction with less frequency in comparison to those who are married or cohabiting with a partner. This occurrence is likely to be connected to the nature of the activities. An assessment of women's perception of unpaid care work distribution in Rwanda is found in AAR (2021a). The finding suggests that, according to most women, the UCW activities that should be carried out by men are in fact fuel wood collection and water fetching. This might explain why women with a partner may have managed to obtain redistribution particularly for these two activities who are perceived by some as male activities. Naturally, women without a partner could not possibly benefit of such redistribution. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that addressing this occurrence to the influence of the ECDC might be too far-fetched. There is not a logical indication to believe that the

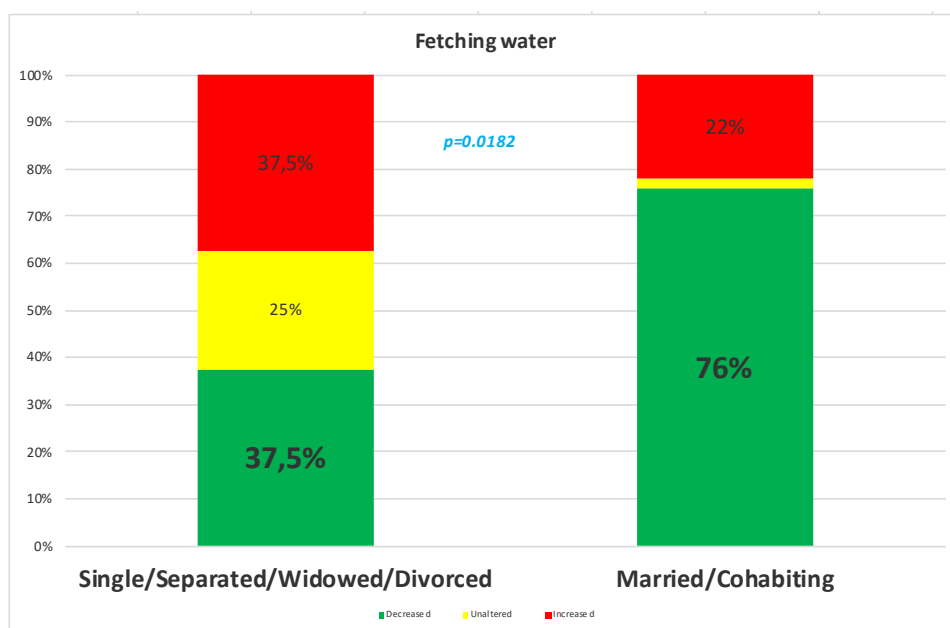
respondents have decreased the time dedicated to these two activities because of their child's enrollment to an ECDC. As mentioned earlier, it is more reasonable to suppose that it is a result of AAR's advocacy or other factors.

Figure 13: Variation in time dedicated to fuel wood collection by marital status.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

Figure 14: Variation in time dedicated to fetching water by marital status.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

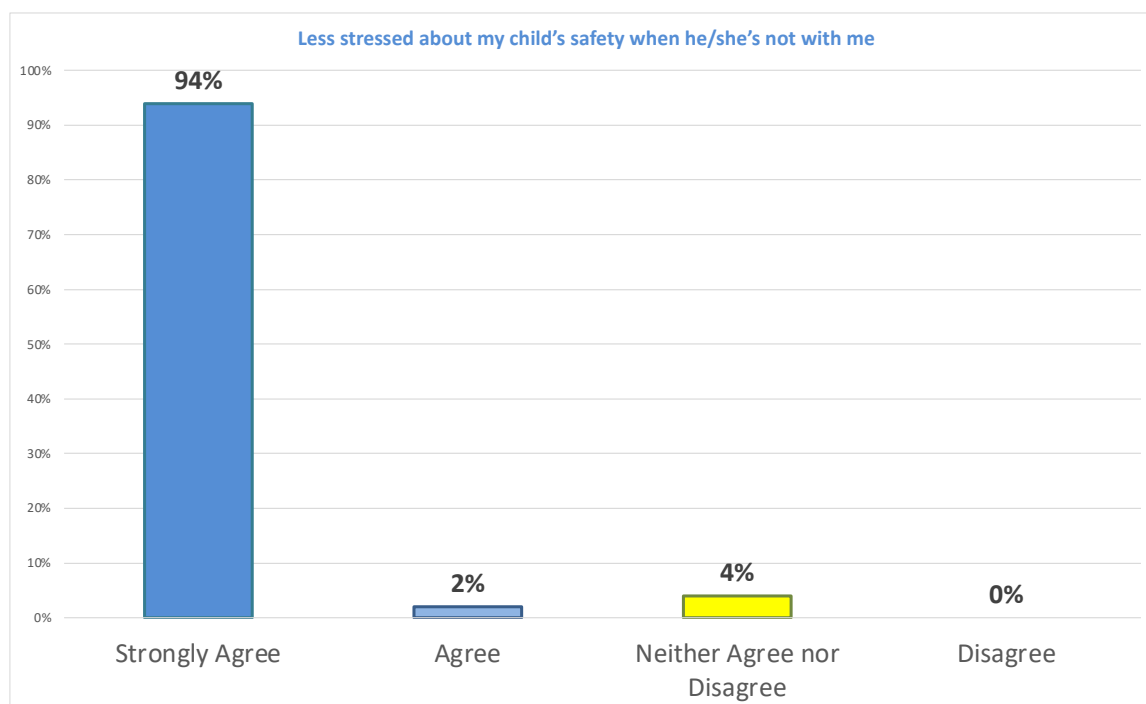
6.7 ECDC Quality and Accessibility

As mentioned previously, it is important to highlight that for women to be able to gain benefits from the presence of an ECDC must be of good quality and accessible. Therefore, it was investigated whether the respondents were satisfied with the services provided by the ECDC. The goal of this examination is to understand if there is space for improvement in regard to the quality and accessibility of ECDCs in order for women to be able to benefit from their services and decrease the time dedicated to UCW. Thus, the last sub-question is articulated as follows:

what can be done to improve the quality and accessibility of ECDCs?

Firstly, the respondents expressed their agreement to a statement through a Likert scale. As shown in Figure 15, 96% of the respondent confirmed that they are less stressed about their child's safety when he/she is not with them. This indicate that the ECDCs' function of providing a safe space for children is carried out at satisfactory level for almost the entirety of the respondents.

Figure 15: Respondents perception about their child's safety after the enrollment in the ECDC.



Source: Author's own elaboration.

Following an open-ended question concluded the questionnaire asking whether the respondents had any policy suggestion or demand concerning ECDCs. 5 respondents' answers were considered irrelevant as they were not answering to the question. Among the other answers different topics were brought up. It was possible to group them and identify 10 categories of topics mentioned.

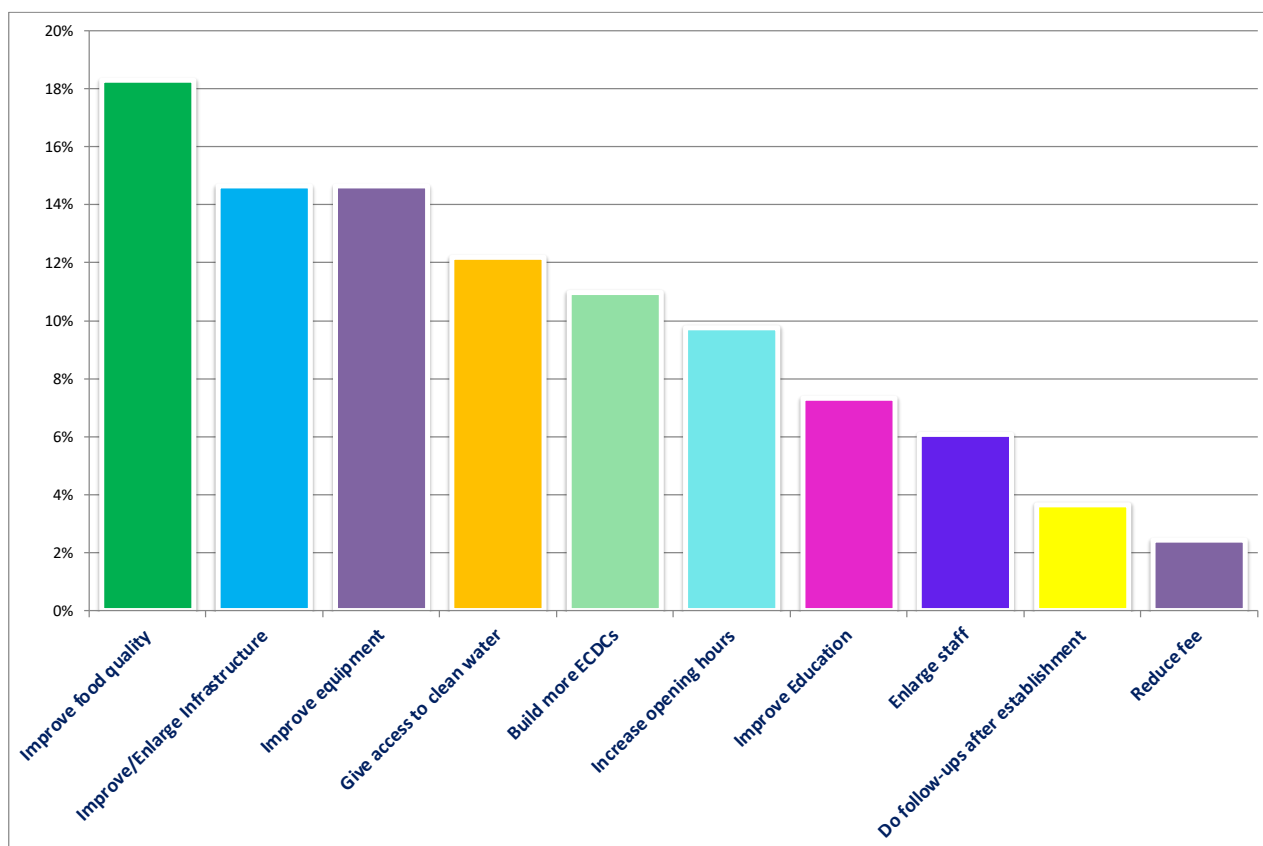
As shown in Table 5 and Figure 16, the most pressuring issue seems to be concerning food as it was mentioned 15 times. More specifically, the answers requested to improve food quality with more nutritious food or a higher frequency of meals. Following, problems regarding infrastructure were referred to 12 times. Different respondents noted that, as the number of children enrolled is growing space is as the space is lacking, and therefore there is need for an enlargement of classrooms. Moreover, some respondents suggested to build or improve the general quality of other kinds of structures such as playgrounds or resting rooms. 12 mentions were noted for issues related to equipment. Equipment mentioned included toys, clothes, books and other school materials. Specifically, 3 respondents suggested it would be positive to provide uniforms to the children in order to make the children belonging to different economic backgrounds feel equal. 10 respondents highlighted that the ECDC does not have clean water or does not have water at all. 9 participants wished for more ECDCs to be built so that more children in more locations could have access to it. 8 respondents stated they would benefit from extend opening hours. Some participants hoped to have the children in the ECDC also in the evenings and some wished the ECDC to be open also during the weekends to work more. This topic is of great interest for the context of the study. In fact, it points out how the respondents are having more time to work and performs other activities thanks to the ECDC and therefore wish for longer opening hours. 5 suggestions to the enlarge staff were noted. In particular, it was suggested to hire more teachers as the number of children enrolled is growing. In addition, different respondents advised to have a doctor or a nurse in the ECDC. Lastly, other issues concerned suggestions to improve education, carry out follow-ups on the quality of the ECDC and reduce the fee.

Table 5: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category.

Topic	n	%
Increase opening hours	8	10%
Improve Education	6	7%
Improve food quality	15	18%
Reduce fee	2	2%
Improve/Enlarge Infrastructure	12	15%
Enlarge staff	5	6%
Build more ECDCs	9	11%
Improve equipment	12	15%
Do follow-ups after establishment	3	4%
Give access to clean water	10	12%

Source: Author's own elaboration.

Figure 16: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category.

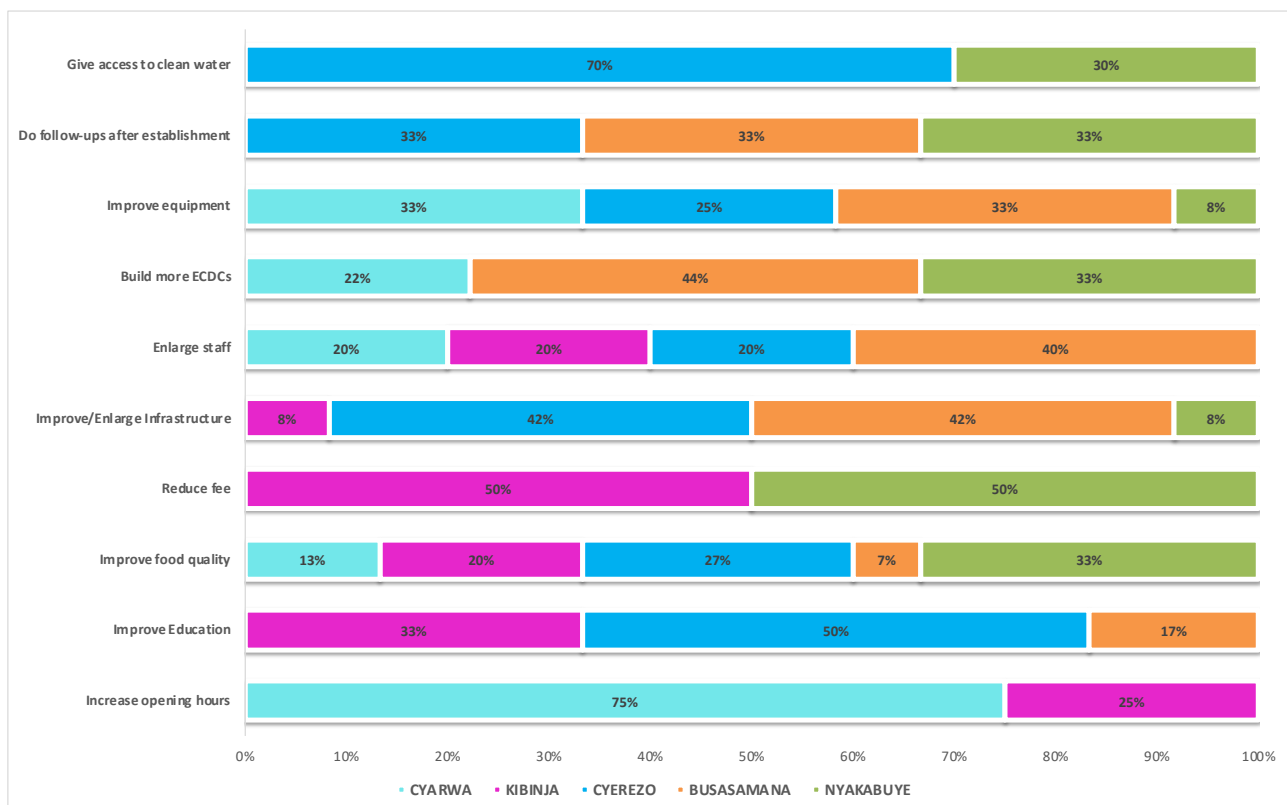


Source: Author's own elaboration.

Following, it was the analysis focused on understanding if any of these 10 categories were strictly related to a specific ECDC. As shown in Figure 17, the answers concerning access to water exclusively pertain to the ECDCs in Cyerezo and Nyakabuye (respectively 7 and 3). Therefore, it is a problem strictly related to these two facilities. Similarly, 75 % of the answers related to opening hours were coming from respondents whose children attended the ECDC of Cyarwa. Thus, suggesting that this specific ECDC has shorter opening hours.

The results coming from this section of this analysis are helpful to explore some aspects that facilities like this should consider. When aiming to reduce UCW and promote women’s economic empowerment, it is important to pay attention to the insights given by the people directly affected and involved. Thereby, adopting these adjustments can allow women and families to benefit at the greatest extent from facilities such as ECDCs.

Figure 17: ECDC policy suggestions mentioned by the respondents grouped according to topic category by specific ECDC.



Source: Author’s own elaboration.

7. Conclusion

The objective of this thesis was to examine the impact of early childhood development centers (ECDC) on unpaid care work (UCW) and women's economic empowerment in the context of Rwanda. By analyzing data from a diverse sample of women in the district of Nyanza, valuable insights were gained. A sound understanding of the dynamics and implications of unpaid care work and the role of ECDC in shaping women's lives was obtained.

Throughout the analysis, several key findings arised. Firstly, it was found that thanks to the ECDCs the amount of time dedicated to UCW decreased greatly for most of the women involved. Moreover, the results suggest that the majority of the women who have an household worker, believe their reliance on them decreased after their child' enrollment in the ECDC. Nevertheless, the need of their partners' contribution did not decrease, highlighting the importance of redistribution of UCW in the household. Furfhtermore, the study revealed that the availability and accessibility of ECDC have the potential to positively impact women's lives. Women who had access to ECDC reported more time available for activities unrelated to unpaid care work, suggesting that ECDC can alleviate the UCW burden and provide women with opportunities for personal and economic development. Similarly, it was found that almost the entirety of the respondnets agreed that their situation under several different aspects conercing economic empowerment vastly improved. In addition, as confirmed by the participants, the influence of the ECDC also allowed women to feel less stressed about heir childrens' safety.

However, limitations and challenges in terms of ECDC quality and accessibility were also identified. Firstly, it was found that a good part of the respondents have children in the household that do not attend an ECDC. For this group, the benefits conercing reduction in time dedicated to childcare obvisouly did not decreas as much. Therefore, this suggests that in order to to maximize the benefits for women it is important to increase the accessiblity of such facilities. Following, the results suggest that more rural women have benefited from a reduction in activites concernig teaching, tutoring or training children, compared to non-rural women. This points out a difference in level of necessity for individuals coming from marginalized backgrounds. Moreover, several issues were identified when investigating what is needed to improve quality and accessibility. The most pressuring concerns for the participants included the following: food quality, infrastructure and equipment improvement; increased access to clean water; greater presence of ECDCs; increased opening hours.

All of the above-mentioned limitations, underscore the need for policy interventions and investments in high-quality ECDC facilities that are accessible to all women. Improving the availability and the quality of ECDCs, along with promoting gender equality and redistributing UCW responsibilities, can have far-reaching positive effects on women's empowerment and overall societal development.

The findings contribute to the existing literature on gender, unpaid care work, and women's economic empowerment. Furthermore, they confirm the dynamics explained through the theoretical framework. More specifically, the results confirm the theories presented by Doss & Quisumbing (2020) and Duflo (2012), as well as the 5R framework indicated by ILO (2018) and the linkages between UCW and women's economic empowerment presented by Sepúlveda Carmona & Donald (2014).

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of this study. The data collection was conducted within a specific timeframe and geographical context, which may limit the generalizability of the findings. In addition, the reliance on self-reported data may introduce certain biases. Most importantly, a misinterpretation of the purpose of the study by the participants might have influenced the results. Additionally, as the ECDCs studied were built in collaboration of ActionAid Rwanda (AAR), the respondents have probably been exposed to a certain degree of advocacy and sensitization done by AAR concerning topics such as UCW and its redistribution. Therefore, it is likely that some of the positive outcomes are also a result of this, and not only of the influence of the ECDC. Therefore, future research should explore these topics in more depth and consider longitudinal studies to capture the long-term effects of ECDC on women's lives. Furthermore, the topic should be analyzed on larger samples and in different locations.

In conclusion, this thesis provides valuable insights into the impact of ECDCs on UCW and women's economic empowerment in Rwanda. The findings highlight the importance of recognizing and addressing UCW as a critical factor in achieving gender equality and women's empowerment. By investing in facilities such as ECDCs and supporting policies that promote gender equity, a more inclusive and supportive environment for women can be created, enabling them to pursue their aspirations and contribute fully to the socio-economic development of Rwanda.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire

Occupation: *Put a tick in front of the most relevant options*

- Farmer
- Small trading
- Public Employee
- Private employee
- Other: Specify _____

Marital status: *Indicate one option that most describes your marital status by a tick*

- Married legally
- Cohabiting/ living together
- Divorced/Separated/Widowed
- Single
- Other: Specify _____

What is your age in years? _____

What is the highest level of education you have completed? _____

How many children in total have been living with you for the last twelve months? _____

How many children living with you have been attending an ECDC in the last twelve months? _____

Did you have any household worker in the last twelve months? _____

1. If you have a partner, how likely is it that your partner contributes to UCW?

Not likely at all

Extremely likely

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

2. How much time in a day did you dedicate to UCW before your child joined the ECDC?

- a. Less than 5 hours
- b. 6-10 hours
- c. 11-15 hours
- d. 15+ hours

3. How much time in a day do you dedicate to UCW now that your child attends the ECDC?

- a. Less than 5 hours
- b. 6-10 hours
- c. 11-15 hours
- d. 15+ hours

4. Did anybody help you take care of the children before your child joined the ECDC? _____

- a. If no, skip the following question, and if yes who did? (You can pick more than one)
 - i. Husband
 - ii. Older children

- iii. Other family members (eg. Grandparents, siblings, cousins)
- iv. Friends or neighbors
- v. Household worker

5. If any of these categories of people helped you in childcare, do you think your reliance on them is decreased after your child joined the ECDC?
- a. Yes
 - b. I do not know
 - c. No

6. Prior to your child joining the ECDC, how likely was it for you to have any chance to do anything else other than UCW?

Not likely at all

Extremely likely

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

7. After your child joined the ECDC, how likely is it for you to have the chance to do anything else other than UCW?

Not likely at all

Extremely likely

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

8. For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECDC.

Activity	Decreased (↓)	Unaltered (-)	Increased (↑)
Childcare			
Teaching/tutoring/training children			
Meal preparation			
Fetching water			
Fuel wood collection			
Laundry			
House cleaning			
Community Care			
On-farm income generating activities			
Off-farm income generating activities			

9. The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECDC. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Strongly disagree
I am more likely to join networking meetings at community level.					
I am more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities					
I am more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas					
I am more likely to attend trainings					

I am more likely to be on time at work					
I am more likely to attend markets					
I am more likely to perform better at work					
I feel like I am contributing to a greater extent to the household income					
I feel more economically independent					
I feel I am more involved in budget allocation decision-making at household level					
I feel more involved in decision-making in political, economic, and public life					
I feel more equal to my partner					
I feel more valuable as a family member					
My partner recognizes my contribution to the household to a greater extent					
I feel more entitled to freedom of speech					
I feel more entitled to leisure					
I am less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me					
I have less need of a household worker					

10. Do you have any policy demands/suggestions pertaining to ECDCs you would like to share?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

Appendix B

Question 8

Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		AGE				p value
		< 37 yrs		≥ 37 yrs		
		n=26		n=24		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	16	62	16	67	ns
	Increased	9	35	6	25	
	Unaltered	1	4	2	8	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	19	73	19	79	ns
	Increased	5	19	5	21	
	Unaltered	2	8	0	0	
Meal preparation	Decreased	17	65	18	75	ns
	Increased	7	27	6	25	
	Unaltered	2	8	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	17	65	17	71	ns
	Increased	6	23	6	25	
	Unaltered	3	12	1	4	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	18	69	18	75	ns
	Increased	6	23	6	25	
	Unaltered	2	8	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	16	62	17	71	ns
	Increased	7	27	6	25	
	Unaltered	3	12	1	4	
House cleaning	Decreased	19	73	17	71	ns
	Increased	5	19	6	25	
	Unaltered	2	8	1	4	
Community Care	Decreased	17	65	19	79	ns
	Increased	2	8	1	4	
	Unaltered	7	27	4	17	
Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		OCCUPATION				p value
		no Farmers		Farmers		
		n=10		n=40		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	4	40	28	70	ns
	Increased	5	50	10	25	
	Unaltered	1	10	2	5	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	5	50	33	83	0,0219
	Increased	5	50	5	13	
	Unaltered	0	0	2	5	
Meal preparation	Decreased	5	50	30	75	ns
	Increased	5	50	8	20	
	Unaltered	0	0	2	5	
Fetching water	Decreased	5	50	29	73	ns
	Increased	4	40	8	20	
	Unaltered	1	10	3	8	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	6	60	30	75	ns
	Increased	4	40	8	20	
	Unaltered	0	0	2	5	
Laundry	Decreased	4	40	29	73	ns
	Increased	5	50	8	20	
	Unaltered	1	10	3	8	
House cleaning	Decreased	6	60	30	75	ns
	Increased	3	30	8	20	
	Unaltered	1	10	2	5	
Community Care	Decreased	6	60	30	75	ns
	Increased	0	0	3	8	
	Unaltered	4	40	7	18	

Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		EDUCATION (4 missing data)				p value
		others		HS completed + Diploma + University		
		n=29		n=17		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	22	76	10	59	ns
	Increased	6	21	7	41	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	22	76	14	82	ns
	Increased	6	21	3	18	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Meal preparation	Decreased	21	72	12	71	ns
	Increased	7	24	5	29	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	21	72	11	65	ns
	Increased	7	24	5	29	
	Unaltered	1	3	1	6	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	21	72	12	71	ns
	Increased	7	24	5	29	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	21	72	11	65	ns
	Increased	7	24	5	29	
	Unaltered	1	3	1	6	
House cleaning	Decreased	23	79	12	71	ns
	Increased	5	17	5	29	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Community Care	Decreased	22	76	13	76	ns
	Increased	2	7	1	6	
	Unaltered	5	17	3	18	
Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		MARITAL STATUS (1 missing data)				p value
		Single		Married or living together		
		n=8		n=41		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	3	38	29	71	ns
	Increased	4	50	10	24	
	Unaltered	1	13	2	5	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	6	75	32	78	ns
	Increased	2	25	8	20	
	Unaltered	0	0	1	2	
Meal preparation	Decreased	4	50	31	76	ns
	Increased	3	38	10	24	
	Unaltered	1	13	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	3	38	31	76	0.0182
	Increased	3	38	9	22	
	Unaltered	2	25	1	2	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	4	50	32	78	0.0702
	Increased	3	38	9	22	
	Unaltered	1	13	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	3	38	30	73	ns
	Increased	4	50	9	22	
	Unaltered	1	13	2	5	
House cleaning	Decreased	4	50	32	78	ns
	Increased	3	38	8	20	
	Unaltered	1	13	1	2	
Community Care	Decreased	5	63	31	76	ns
	Increased	1	13	2	5	
	Unaltered	2	25	8	20	

Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		CHILD				p value
		0 children		more than 1 child		
		n=32		n=18		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	23	72	9	50	0,0362
	Increased	6	19	9	50	
	Unaltered	3	9	0	0	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	26	81	12	67	ns
	Increased	4	13	6	33	
	Unaltered	2	6	0	0	
Meal preparation	Decreased	25	78	10	56	ns
	Increased	5	16	8	44	
	Unaltered	2	6	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	23	72	11	61	ns
	Increased	6	19	6	33	
	Unaltered	3	9	1	6	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	24	75	12	67	ns
	Increased	6	19	6	33	
	Unaltered	2	6	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	23	72	10	56	ns
	Increased	6	19	7	39	
	Unaltered	3	9	1	6	
House cleaning	Decreased	25	78	11	61	ns
	Increased	4	13	7	39	
	Unaltered	3	9	0	0	
Community Care	Decreased	22	69	14	78	ns
	Increased	2	6	1	6	
	Unaltered	8	25	3	17	
Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		HOUSEHOLD WORKERS (1 missing data)				p value
		no		yes		
		n=39		n=10		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	25	64	7	70	ns
	Increased	11	28	3	30	
	Unaltered	3	8	0	0	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	30	77	8	80	ns
	Increased	8	21	2	20	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Meal preparation	Decreased	28	72	7	70	ns
	Increased	10	26	3	30	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	26	67	8	80	ns
	Increased	10	26	2	20	
	Unaltered	3	8	0	0	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	28	72	8	80	ns
	Increased	10	26	2	20	
	Unaltered	1	3	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	26	67	7	70	ns
	Increased	10	26	3	30	
	Unaltered	3	8	0	0	
House cleaning	Decreased	29	74	7	70	ns
	Increased	8	21	3	30	
	Unaltered	2	5	0	0	
Community Care	Decreased	27	69	9	90	ns
	Increased	3	8	0	0	
	Unaltered	9	23	1	10	

Q8 For each of these activities, indicate whether the time you dedicate to it has increased, decreased, or remained unaltered, in consideration to when you children did not attend the ECD.		ECD										p value
		BUSASAMANA		CYARWA		CYEREZO		KIBINJA		NYAKABUYE		
		n=10		n=10		n=10		n=10		n=10		
		n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %	
Childcare	Decreased	5	50	10	100	3	30	9	90	5	50	ns
	Increased	5	50	0	0	5	50	0	0	5	50	
	Unaltered	0	0	0	0	2	20	1	10	0	0	
Teaching/tutoring/training children	Decreased	7	70	10	100	8	80	7	70	6	60	ns
	Increased	3	30	0	0	1	10	2	20	4	40	
	Unaltered	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	10	0	0	
Meal preparation	Decreased	7	70	10	100	5	50	8	80	5	50	ns
	Increased	3	30	0	0	3	30	2	20	5	50	
	Unaltered	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	0	0	
Fetching water	Decreased	7	70	10	100	4	40	7	70	6	60	ns
	Increased	2	20	0	0	3	30	3	30	4	40	
	Unaltered	1	10	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0	
Fuel wood collection	Decreased	8	80	10	100	5	50	7	70	6	60	ns
	Increased	2	20	0	0	3	30	3	30	4	40	
	Unaltered	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	0	0	
Laundry	Decreased	6	60	10	100	4	40	7	70	6	60	ns
	Increased	3	30	0	0	4	40	2	20	4	40	
	Unaltered	1	10	0	0	2	20	1	10	0	0	
House cleaning	Decreased	8	80	10	100	4	40	8	80	6	60	ns
	Increased	2	20	0	0	4	40	1	10	4	40	
	Unaltered	0	0	0	0	2	20	1	10	0	0	
Community Care	Decreased	9	90	10	100	3	30	8	80	6	60	ns
	Increased	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	10	1	10	
	Unaltered	1	10	0	0	6	60	1	10	3	30	

Appendix C

Question 9

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	AGE				p value	
	< 37 yrs		≥ 37 yrs			
	n=26		n=24			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	4	15	3	13	ns
	Strongly Agree	22	85	21	88	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	3	12	2	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	23	88	22	92	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	7	27	4	17	ns
	Strongly Agree	19	73	20	83	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	2	8	2	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	24	92	22	92	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	5	19	3	13	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	4	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	20	77	21	88	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	4	15	2	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	22	85	22	92	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	2	8	2	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	24	92	22	92	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	4	15	3	13	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	4	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	21	81	21	88	
more economically independent	Agree	6	23	4	17	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	4	1	4	
	Strongly Agree	18	69	19	79	
	Strongly Disagree	1	4	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree	5	19	1	4	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	4	3	13	
	Strongly Agree	19	73	20	83	
	Strongly Disagree	1	4	0	0	
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree	12	46	3	13	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	4	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	8	2	8	
	Strongly Agree	11	42	18	75	
	Strongly Disagree	1	4	0	0	
more equal to my partner	Agree	3	12	2	8	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	6	23	1	4	
	Strongly Agree	1	4	3	13	
	Strongly Disagree	16	62	18	75	
more valuable as a family member	Agree	7	27	2	8	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	4	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	2	8	
	Strongly Agree	19	73	19	79	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	3	12	2	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	4	15	3	13	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	19	73	19	79	ns
	Disagree	7	27	2	8	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	1	4	
	Strongly Agree	1	4	2	8	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	18	69	19	79	ns
	Disagree	3	12	1	4	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	1	4	
	Strongly Agree	0	0	1	4	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	23	88	21	88	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	4	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	2	8	
	Strongly Agree	26	100	21	88	

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	OCCUPATION					p value
	no Farmers		Farmers			
	n=10		n=40			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	1	10	6	15	ns
	Strongly Agree	9	90	34	85	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	0	0	5	13	ns
	Strongly Agree	10	100	35	88	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	3	30	8	20	ns
	Strongly Agree	7	70	32	80	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	0	0	4	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	10	100	36	90	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	0	0	8	20	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Strongly Agree	10	100	31	78	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	0	0	6	15	ns
	Strongly Agree	10	100	34	85	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	1	10	3	8	ns
	Strongly Agree	9	90	37	93	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	0	0	7	18	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	9	90	33	83	
more economically independent	Agree	1	10	9	23	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	2	5	
	Strongly Agree	8	80	29	73	
	Strongly Disagree	1	10	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree	0	0	6	15	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	4	10	
	Strongly Agree	9	90	30	75	
	Strongly Disagree	1	10	0	0	
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree	4	40	11	28	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	3	8	
	Strongly Agree	5	50	24	60	
	Strongly Disagree	0	0	1	3	
more equal to my partner	Agree	1	10	4	10	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	20	5	13	
	Strongly Agree	0	0	4	10	
	Strongly Disagree	7	70	27	68	
more valuable as a family member	Agree	1	10	8	20	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	2	5	
	Strongly Agree	9	90	29	73	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	1	10	4	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	1	10	6	15	
	Strongly Disagree	8	80	30	75	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	2	20	7	18	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	3	8	
	Strongly Agree	8	80	29	73	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	0	0	4	10	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	1	3	
	Strongly Agree	10	100	34	85	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	0	0	1	3	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	2	5	
	Strongly Agree	10	100	37	93	

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	EDUCATION (4 missing data)					p value
	others		HS completed + Diploma + University			
	n=29		n=17			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	5	17	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	24	83	16	94	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	4	14	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	25	86	16	94	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	5	17	4	24	ns
	Strongly Agree	24	83	13	76	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	4	14	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	25	86	17	100	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	5	17	2	12	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	24	83	15	88	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	3	10	2	12	ns
	Strongly Agree	26	90	15	88	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	3	10	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	26	90	17	100	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	6	21	1	6	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	22	76	16	94	
more economically independent	Agree	7	24	3	18	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	7	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	19	66	14	82	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree	4	14	2	12	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	21	72	15	88	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree	7	24	6	35	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	7	1	6	
	Strongly Agree	19	66	9	53	
	Strongly Disagree	0	0	1	6	
more equal to my partner	Agree	4	14	1	6	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	10	4	24	
	Strongly Agree	4	14	0	0	
	Strongly Disagree	18	62	12	71	
more valuable as a family member	Agree	7	24	2	12	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	7	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	19	66	15	88	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	4	14	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	4	14	2	12	
	Strongly Disagree	21	72	14	82	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	4	14	5	29	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	21	72	12	71	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	3	10	1	6	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	24	83	16	94	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	1	3	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	7	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	26	90	17	100	

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	MARITAL STATUS (1 missing data)					
	Single		Married or living together		p value	
	n=8		n=41			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree Strongly Agree	2 6	25 75	5 36	12 88	ns
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree Strongly Agree	2 6	25 75	3 38	7 93	ns
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree Strongly Agree	3 5	38 63	8 33	20 80	ns
more likely to attend trainings	Agree Strongly Agree	1 7	13 88	3 38	7 93	ns
more likely to be on time at work	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	1 0 7	13 0 88	7 0 34	17 0 83	ns
more likely to attend markets	Agree Strongly Agree	1 7	13 88	5 36	12 88	ns
more likely to perform better at work	Agree Strongly Agree	2 6	25 75	2 39	5 95	ns
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	2 0 6	25 0 75	5 1 35	12 2 85	ns
more economically independent	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree	2 0 6 0	25 0 75 0	8 2 30 1	20 5 73 2	ns
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree	1 1 6 0	13 13 75 0	5 2 33 1	12 5 80 2	ns
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree	3 0 0 4 1	38 0 0 50 13	12 1 3 25 0	29 2 7 61 0	ns
more equal to my partner	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree					ns
more valuable as a family member	Agree Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	2 0 0 6	25 0 0 75	7 1 2 31	17 2 5 76	ns
Recognition of the partner	Agree Strongly Agree					ns
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	4 0 0 4	50 0 0 50	5 1 3 32	12 2 7 78	ns
more entitled to leisure	Agree Disagree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	1 0 0 7	13 0 0 88	3 1 1 36	7 2 2 88	ns
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree Neither Agree nor Disagree Strongly Agree	0 0 8	0 0 100	1 2 38	2 5 93	ns

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	CHILD					
	0 children		more than 1 child		p value	
	n=32		n=18			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	6	19	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	26	81	17	94	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	5	16	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	27	84	18	100	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	7	22	4	22	ns
	Strongly Agree	25	78	14	78	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	4	13	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	28	88	18	100	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	7	22	1	6	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	24	75	17	94	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	6	19	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	26	81	18	100	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	3	9	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	29	91	17	94	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	7	22	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	24	75	18	100	
more economically independent	Agree	8	25	2	11	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	2	6	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	21	66	16	89	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree	6	19	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	3	9	1	6	
	Strongly Agree	22	69	17	94	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree	11	34	4	22	ns
	Disagree	0	0	1	6	
	Neither Agree or Disagree	3	9	1	6	
	Strongly Agree	17	53	12	67	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more equal to my partner	Agree	4	13	1	6	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	5	16	2	11	
	Strongly Agree	3	9	1	6	
	Strongly Disagree	20	63	14	78	
more valuable asa family member	Agree	8	25	1	6	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree or Disagree	1	3	1	6	
	Strongly Agree	22	69	16	89	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	4	13	1	6	ns
	Strongly Agree	6	19	1	6	
	Strongly Disagree	22	69	16	89	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	6	19	3	17	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree or Disagree	2	6	1	6	
	Strongly Agree	23	72	14	78	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	3	9	1	6	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree or Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	27	84	17	94	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	0	0	1	6	ns
	Neither Agree or Disagree	2	6	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	30	94	17	94	

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	HOUSEHOLD WORKERS (1 missing data)					p value
	no		yes			
	n=39		n=10			
	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	6	15	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	33	85	9	90	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	5	13	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	34	87	10	100	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	8	21	3	30	ns
	Strongly Agree	31	79	7	70	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	4	10	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	35	90	10	100	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	8	21	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	31	79	10	100	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	6	15	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	33	85	10	100	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	3	8	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	36	92	9	90	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	7	18	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	31	79	10	100	
more economically independent	Agree	8	21	2	20	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	5	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	28	72	8	80	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decisionmaking at household	Agree	5	13	1	10	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	8	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	30	77	9	90	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more involved in decisionmaking in political economic and pub	Agree	11	28	4	40	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	5	1	10	
	Strongly Agree	24	62	5	50	
	Strongly Disagree	1	3	0	0	
more equal to my partner	Agree	5	13	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	4	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	25	64	8	80	
more valuable as a family member	Agree	8	21	1	10	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	5	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	28	72	9	90	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	5	13	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	27	69	10	100	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	7	18	2	20	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	3	8	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	28	72	8	80	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	4	10	0	0	ns
	Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	3	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	33	85	10	100	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	1	3	0	0	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	5	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	36	92	10	100	

Q9 The following statements will concern your situation after your child joined the ECD. For each of the statements please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.	ECD										p value	
	BUSASAMANA		CYARWA		CYEREZO		KIBINJA		NYAKABUYE			
	n=10		n=10		n=10		n=10		n=10			
	n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %	n	Column %		
more likely to join networking meetings	Agree	1	10	1	10	3	30	1	10	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	9	90	9	90	7	70	9	90	9	90	
more likely to engage in personal capacity building activities	Agree	0	0	0	0	3	30	1	10	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	10	100	10	100	7	70	9	90	9	90	
more likely to develop entrepreneurial ideas	Agree	3	30	0	0	5	50	2	20	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	7	70	10	100	5	50	8	80	9	90	
more likely to attend trainings	Agree	0	0	0	0	2	20	2	20	0	0	ns
	Strongly Agree	10	100	10	100	8	80	8	80	10	100	
more likely to be on time at work	Agree	0	0	2	20	5	50	1	10	0	0	0,0230
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	10	100	8	80	4	40	9	90	10	100	
more likely to attend markets	Agree	0	0	0	0	5	50	1	10	0	0	0,0013
	Strongly Agree	10	100	10	100	5	50	9	90	10	100	
more likely to perform better at work	Agree	1	10	0	0	2	20	0	0	1	10	ns
	Strongly Agree	9	90	10	100	8	80	10	100	9	90	
contributing to a greater extent to the household income	Agree	1	10	0	0	3	30	2	20	1	10	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	8	80	10	100	7	70	8	80	9	90	
more economically independent	Agree	2	20	1	10	3	30	1	10	3	30	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	7	70	9	90	7	70	7	70	7	70	
	Strongly Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
more involved in budget allocation decision making at household	Agree	0	0	0	0	3	30	1	10	2	20	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	0	0	1	10	0	0	2	20	
	Strongly Agree	8	80	10	100	6	60	9	90	6	60	
	Strongly Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
more involved in decision making in political economic and pub	Agree	3	30	0	0	7	70	2	20	3	30	ns
	Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	20	0	0	1	10	1	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	5	50	10	100	2	20	6	60	6	60	
	Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	
more equal to my partner	Agree	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	20	2	20	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	20	0	0	4	40	1	10	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	20	
	Strongly Disagree	7	70	10	100	5	50	6	60	6	60	
more valuable as a family member	Agree	1	10	0	0	4	40	2	20	2	20	ns
	Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	1	10	
	Strongly Agree	8	80	10	100	6	60	7	70	7	70	
Recognition of the partner	Agree	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	20	2	20	ns
	Strongly Agree	2	20	0	0	3	30	0	0	2	20	
more entitled to freedom of speech	Agree	8	80	10	100	6	60	8	80	6	60	ns
	Disagree	3	30	0	0	4	40	1	10	1	10	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	2	20	
more entitled to leisure	Agree	6	60	10	100	6	60	8	80	7	70	ns
	Disagree	0	0	0	0	2	20	0	0	2	20	
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
	Strongly Agree	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	
less stressed about my child's safety when he/she's not with me	Agree	9	90	10	100	8	80	9	90	8	80	ns
	Neither Agree nor Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	
	Strongly Agree	1	10	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0	
		9	90	10	100	10	100	9	90	9	90	