

SHIFTING NARRATIVES TO VALUE UNPAID AND INFORMAL WORK IN KENYA

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Unpaid Care and Domestic Work (UCDW) and Paid Domestic Work (PDW) are essential to societal wellbeing. However, these activities often carry negative perceptions, attitudes and beliefs when performed by men and boys. As a result, women and girls typically shoulder the primary responsibility for performing UCDW. Similarly, society often undervalues PDW by perceiving it as low-skilled work, as demonstrated through low remuneration and unfair employment practices. The narratives many cultures embrace concerning UCDW and PDW partly explain why these essential activities frequently fall on women and girls, and why society often undervalues PDW. This report documents a collaborative research project between Busara Center for Behavioral Economics and Oxfam to investigate existing narratives on UCDW and PDW in Kenya, and test potentially transformative narratives that could shift societal attitudes.

This research report was written to share research results, to contribute to public debate and to invite feedback on development and humanitarian policy and practice. They do not necessarily reflect Oxfam policy positions. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of Oxfam.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CTA	Call to Action
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDI	In-depth Interviews
ILO	International Labor Organization
KII	Key Informant Interview
KSh	Kenyan Shilling
OECD	The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDW	Paid Domestic Work
PTA	Parent Teacher Conference Attendance
UCDW	Unpaid Care and Domestic Work

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Unpaid Care and Domestic Work (UCDW) and Paid Domestic Work (PDW) form an essential part of societal wellbeing. However, these activities often carry negative perceptions, attitudes and beliefs when performed by men and boys. As a result, women and girls typically shoulder the primary responsibility for performing UCDW. Similarly, society often undervalues PDW by perceiving it as low-skilled work, as demonstrated through low remuneration and unfair employment practices. The narratives and mental models many cultures embrace concerning UCDW and PDW partly explain why these essential activities frequently fall on women and girls, and why society often undervalues PDW. Although these narratives are rooted deeply in social and gender norms, making them challenging to dismantle, several communication approaches have proven effective at shifting societies' knowledge, attitudes and perceptions of UCDW and PDW.

Last year, the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics and Oxfam commenced a five-phase research project to investigate existing narratives on UCDW and PDW in Kenya, and test potentially transformative narratives that could shift societal attitudes. The five phases of the research study were as follows:

- 1. Literature review:** Over 40 sources of existing literature on UCDW and PDW, including research papers, sector reports, academic studies and blog posts, were reviewed. The primary aim was to develop a thorough understanding of care and domestic work in the Global South, particularly in Kenya.
- 2. Qualitative research:** The goal of this phase was to develop a deep, nuanced understanding of prevailing narratives and frames around unpaid care and domestic work in Kenya. In-depth interviews (IDIs) were conducted with 45 respondents across three Kenyan counties and Key Informant Interviews (KIs) with 10 key experts working in gender, labour, care and domestic work sectors in Kenya. The findings from the IDIs and KIs corroborated existing research and helped to map the current narratives about care and domestic work in Kenya.
- 3. Narrative development:** Nine transformative narratives on UCDW and PDW were developed following the insights from the IDIs and KIs. The goal of this phase was to identify narratives that best fit the Kenyan context and held strong potential to challenge and ultimately shift the existing perceptions surrounding care and domestic work in Kenya. After our analysis in this phase, we shortlisted five narratives to test in the next phase.
- 4. Design:** A co-design workshop was organized with local experts and stakeholders to discuss the five narratives shortlisted in the third phase. For this workshop, a participatory design approach was utilized to encourage collaborative discussions by reviewing the narratives uncovered during the research and developing strategies to deploy the counter-narratives. By the end of the co-design process, three frames for quick testing were prioritized in the validation phase.
- 5. Validate:** In the final phase, the potential impact of the prioritized frames on shifting narratives among target audiences was validated using qualitative testing (IDIs) and quantitative testing through a randomized control trial (RCT). For the IDIs, ten paid domestic workers and four key policymakers in Nairobi were interviewed. During the interviews, multiple frames and narratives were presented to participants and then participants were required to compare them. This process produced insight into which frames and narratives the participants preferred and how these narratives should be adjusted. Similarly, an RCT with a sample size of 3,124 respondents across seven regions in Kenya was also conducted. Participants initially completed a baseline survey to gauge their opinions about care and domestic work. Afterwards, these participants were randomly assigned to three treatment groups, each group presented with a different message frame on a vignette about John, a fictional Kenyan father deciding to engage in UCDW to develop a better relationship with his children.

- **Control:** participants in this group received a ‘gain frame’ vignette of John, as the narrative outlined the benefits of John’s involvement in UCDW, such as developing a better relationship with his children.
- **Treatment 1:** participants in this group received the ‘nudged-gain frame’ vignette of John. This narrative also highlights the benefits of John’s involvement in UCDW and included a call to action (CTA) advocating for societal change and normalizing a father’s caregiving responsibilities.
- **Treatment 2:** participants in this group received the ‘loss frame’ vignette of John. This narrative focuses on highlighting the negative consequences of John’s lack of involvement in his children’s lives, such as an increased chance of emotional and behavioural problems in a child.

After reading the narratives, participants completed the final survey. The analysis of the results from this study was used to quantify the frames’ impact on shifting narratives within a certain degree of confidence. The three narratives are highlighted in the table below:

Table 1: Gain frame, nudged-gain frame and loss-frame narrative

Gain-frame narrative ¹	Nudged-gain-frame narrative ²	Loss-frame narrative ³
<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing and playing with them, and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John’s relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father.</p> <p>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children’s lives tend to have closer, more supportive</p>	<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing and playing with them, and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John’s relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father.</p> <p>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children’s lives tend to have closer, more supportive</p>	<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John’s relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father.</p> <p>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are not involved in their children’s lives tend to have distant, less supportive</p>

¹The gain frame underscores the advantages or positive results from certain decisions or actions. In this case, the message points to the beneficial effects on children when fathers are actively involved in their lives.

²The nudged-gain frame combines highlighting positive outcomes with a call to action to adopt the desired behaviour. Here, the message not only showcases the benefits children experience when fathers are actively present, but also urges fathers to increase their involvement.

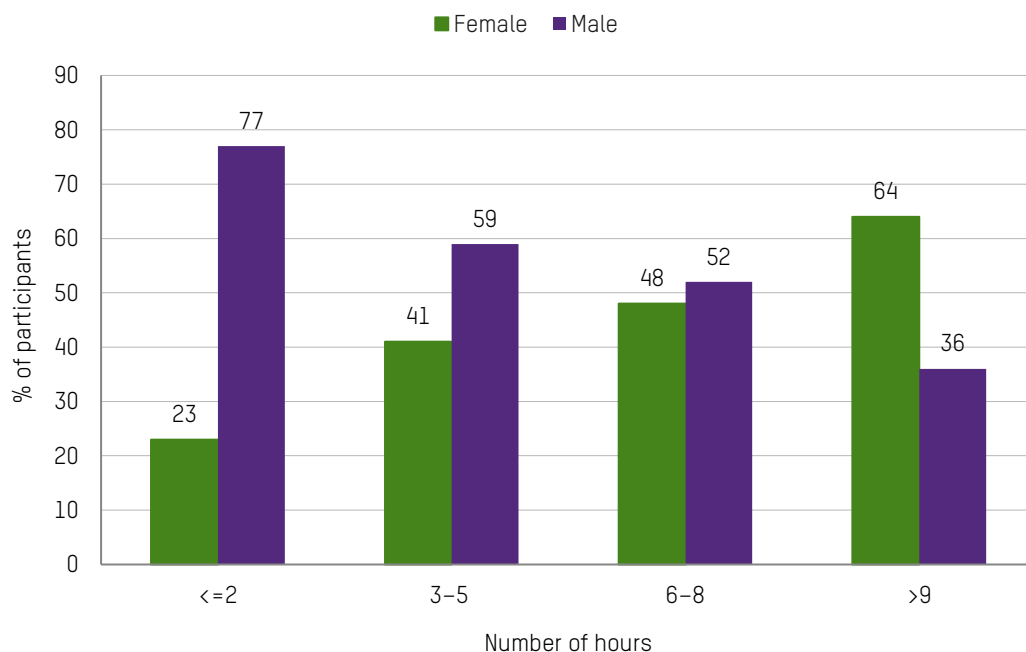
³The loss frame highlights the potential negative impacts from certain decisions or actions. Here, the message focuses on the challenges children encounter when fathers remain distant or less active in their lives.

<p>relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. <i>(Positive frame: gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father).</i></p>	<p>relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. <i>(Positive frame: gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father)</i></p> <p>It's time to break down stereotypes and support fathers in being actively involved in their children's upbringing. Let's normalize fathers cooking, feeding and bathing their children regularly. Let's encourage men in our families to play with their children, help them with homework or just have a conversation. By taking these simple steps, we are not only encouraging stronger relationship between fathers and children, but also helping to lay the foundation for a brighter future for both of them. So, don't wait any longer, take the first step today! <i>(CTA to nudge participants).</i></p>	<p>relationships with them which can lead to a range of negative consequences for both the father and the child. <i>(Negative frame: losing a chance to create a positive relationship between children and father).</i></p>
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Overall, the research findings revealed that the local language Kenyans use significantly shapes their perceptions, attitudes and beliefs on UCDW. For instance, many respondents believe no differences exist between care work and domestic work. Consequently, they often use the terms 'care work' and 'domestic work' interchangeably due to their overlapping meanings in the local language. Additionally, the language describing UCDW in Kenya is highly gendered. For example, society often refers to care and domestic work as 'women's work', creating social and cultural barriers for men who might want to perform these tasks. Men who carry out household tasks are often derogatorily labelled as '*amekaliwa*', '*wamekaliwa chapati*' or '*umeketiwa chapati*'. These terms imply that such men are being dominated or controlled by their wives, who are perceived as compelling them to undertake domestic work. Phrases like '*kazi chafu*' (dirty work) and '*kazi ya maid*' (maid's work) commonly describe the work performed by domestic workers. Interestingly, the language referring to female domestic workers, such as '*mboch*,' (domestic worker) carries derogatory undertones absent when describing male domestic workers, often called '*kijakazi*' (caretaker). This language use reflects societal biases and attitudes towards paid domestic workers, particularly females.

Like other UCDW studies, this research also found that Kenyan women spend more time on these tasks than men. The highly gendered language used to describe UCDW in Kenya contributes to this disparity. In our qualitative study, female respondents reported spending an average of 7.4 hours a day on UCDW and a similar amount on paid work. In contrast, men spent roughly half the time on UCDW (4.4 hours) and dedicated more hours to paid work (8.5 hours). Likewise, the quantitative study findings showed women investing an extra 100 minutes per day in household tasks. As the hours devoted to unpaid domestic work increase, the number of women performing this work also increases, while the number of men engaged in the same decreases.

Figure 1: Number of hours spent on unpaid work



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

A deeper dive into societal attitudes towards UCDW and PDW in Kenya, and why Kenyan women bear the primary responsibility for UCDW revealed three primary behavioural barriers contributing to the undervaluing of UCDW and PDW nationally. Firstly, gender and social norms significantly shape perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes toward UCDW and PDW. Many respondents justified their beliefs around UCDW and PDW by citing societal expectations and cultural norms regarding the inherent roles of men and women.

Secondly, there exists a strong status quo bias among respondents, with the majority expressing a preference for maintaining current arrangements around UCDW. This preference, especially noticeable among employers of paid domestic workers when considering revising their remuneration, supports existing societal norms and gender roles.

Thirdly, the framing of narratives surrounding UCDW and PDW greatly contributes to their undervaluation in Kenya. This research identified several common narratives that continue to perpetuate these issues. For instance, society generally believes that women are better at care and domestic work and should bear its primary responsibility. The widespread belief is that performing unpaid care and domestic duties requires gender-specific innate abilities, and it is unmanly for a man to perform UCDW and PDW. Moreover, paid domestic work is perceived as a low-skilled occupation and a lifeline for the poor and uneducated.

Narratives significantly shape perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding UCDW and PDW in Kenya. Consequently, it is essential to develop effective counter-narratives using the message frame with the greatest potential for altering these perceptions. Insights from this research suggest that:

- A correlation exists between positively influencing participants' beliefs and their exposure to a counter-narrative, irrespective of the counter-narrative's message frame. For instance, when comparing baseline with endline responses across all the quantitative research questions asked, the endline survey received more responses disagreeing with the prevailing narratives than the baseline did.
- In addition, findings show that each of the three message frames tested – gain frame, nudged-gain frame and loss frame – shifted respondents' perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about UCDW, depending on the context. For example:

- The gain-frame narrative proved most effective for measures requiring immediate changes in respondents' opinions, such as changing beliefs about a man's role in the household.
- The nudged-gain-frame narrative worked best for measures that required participants to take action, such as signing up for a workshop that teaches parents how to share responsibilities and engage in their child's life.
- The loss-frame narrative was most effective for measures that involved financially incentivized actions, such as donating to an organization that supports positive behaviour change.

Given these findings, it is recommended to adopt a comprehensive mixed-narrative strategy integrating gain, nudge and loss narratives in future efforts to shift perceptions. For instance, when trying to encourage the adoption of new, positive behaviour, a gain-framed narrative is most effective. This narrative can be used in interventions advocating for the recognition, reduction and redistribution of care and domestic work. A nudged-gain narrative is most effective when prompting participants to take specific active steps beyond merely shifting attitudes or beliefs. Hence, it suits interventions advocating for representation in care and domestic work. Finally, a loss-frame narrative, highly effective for measures involving financial decisions, would work best when motivating participants to reward care and domestic work. Also, three critical strategies must guide the crafting and dissemination of the developed counter-narratives:

- **Context-specific counter-narratives:** Given Kenya's diverse socio-cultural landscape, tailoring narratives to resonate within specific regional, religious or cultural contexts is crucial. Also, counter-narratives should incorporate local languages and dialects to ensure meaningful engagement.
- **Leverage relevant messengers:** Utilizing the right messengers can powerfully influence a shift in the perception of UCDW. Stakeholders such as religious leaders, educators, women group leaders, community leaders and employers of domestic workers could play a vital role in advocating for equitable practices in UCDW and PDW.
- **Utilize non-traditional methods for narrative dissemination:** In today's increasingly digital landscape, using relevant social media platforms such as Facebook and WhatsApp can help spread these narratives to a wider audience.

1. INTRODUCTION

Over the past year, the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics and Oxfam initiated a comprehensive five-phase research project. A steering committee was formed with key stakeholders in the care and gender landscape in Kenya to provide guidance and contextualized support for the research. A detailed overview of steering group members is outlined in Appendix 1.

The primary purpose of this research project was to gain a deeper understanding of the dominant narratives prevalent in Kenyan society, and then identify and test new narratives that could change societal attitudes. This research methodology is informed by an understanding of narratives as powerful tools in shaping personal beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. The research objectives are outlined below:

1. Develop an in-depth contextualised understanding of Unpaid Care and Domestic Work (UCDW) in Kenya.
2. Identify and validate structural and behavioural barriers that influence how Kenyans view UCDW and Paid Domestic Work (PDW).
3. Inform and test elements for potentially transformative narratives that can be used to shift people's perceptions about care and domestic work.

Unpaid, informal, and domestic work is the backbone of many economies. Although excluded from formal GDP calculations, the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2018) estimates the value of UCDW to be as much as 9% of global GDP (US\$11 trillion). Such work involves both direct care tasks, such as caring for children, the elderly and people with physical or mental impairments, as well as domestic tasks, such as cooking, cleaning and other household duties (ILO, 2018; Oxfam, 2020). Yet, the profound importance of care work is frequently underestimated as it remains largely unseen and undervalued, and is frequently dismissed by policymakers as a private family concern.

Current narratives about care and domestic work can partly explain why these responsibilities fall on women. Social and cultural norms, in particular, continue to reinforce gender-based assumptions about unpaid care work (Cantillon and Teasdale, 2021). As a result, women and girls often shoulder the majority of care work, frequently assuming these duties far more than men do.

In a household survey conducted in Kenya, Maina and Kimani (2019) found that women spend an average of five hours a day on unpaid care and domestic work, while men reported only one hour. This imbalance in unpaid care work reduces the time women and girls have for paid, formal employment. This restriction inhibits their potential to escape poverty and deprives them of social protection.

Certain narratives about care and domestic work have become entrenched societal norms, subtly shaping perceptions of these activities and making them challenging to dismantle. Specifically in Kenya, people typically view UCDW as exclusively women's work, while they perceive PDW as unskilled labour. These problematic narratives have triggered the need for research on transformative counter-narratives.

For instance, the quantitative research phase sought to shift the societal norm that views child-rearing exclusively as a woman's responsibility. As such, counter-narratives were developed, and modified to three different message frames to measure the frame with the highest impact on changing this narrative. The findings from this phase demonstrated a positive correlation between positively influencing participants' beliefs and exposure to a counter-narrative, regardless of the message frame used for the counter-narrative.

2. RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. THE RESEARCH APPROACH

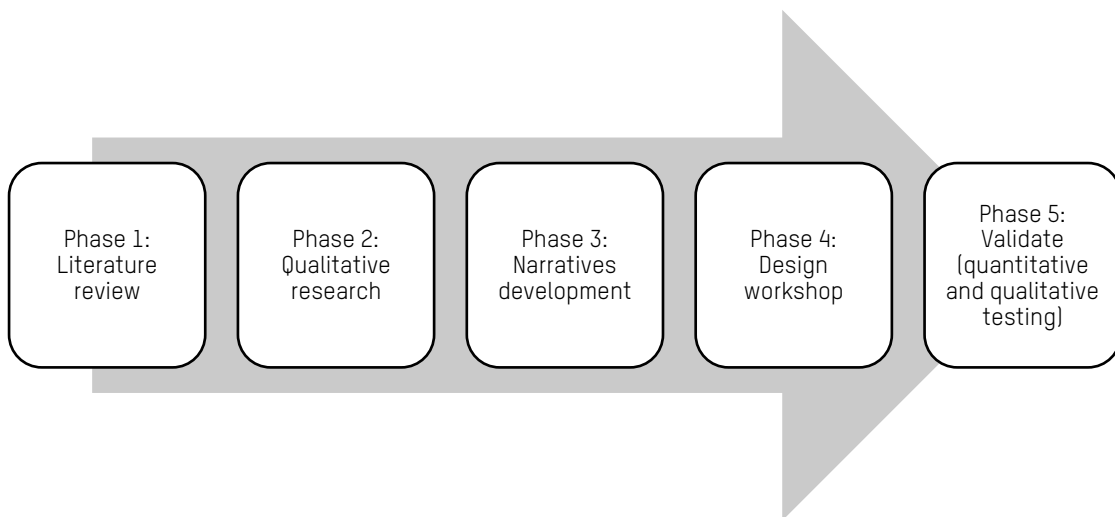
This research unfolded through a five-phase, iterative approach that combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research commenced with a literature review, examining prior literature on care and domestic work in the Global South, focusing particularly on Kenya. This process uncovered the prevailing narratives in this domain.

Next, in-depth interviews (IDIs) with the public and key informant interviews (KIIs) with expert professionals and policymakers were conducted. These interviews probed deeper into the existing narratives and explored the factors contributing to their formation.

Afterwards, preliminary narratives were developed from the findings of the literature review and qualitative research. These narratives were refined during the co-design workshop with the steering committee members and key policy experts.

Finally, the newly developed alternative narratives were tested both qualitatively and quantitatively using IDIs and a randomized controlled trial (RCT) to assess their effectiveness and potential impact. This rigorous process ensured the final narratives resonated with the target audience in Kenya and had potential for shifting the current narratives around care and domestic work. A detailed description of the research methodology is in Appendix 2.

Figure 2: Research project phases and steps



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In the initial phase of this research, a literature review of research papers, sector reports, academic studies, and blog posts about care and domestic work in the Global South was conducted, with a specific focus on Kenya. The aim was to define care and domestic work and identify the prevalent narratives surrounding it.

This review revealed that UCDW encompasses all unpaid services provided within a household for its members, including care of persons, housework and voluntary community work (Elson, 2000; Ferrant et al., 2014). Unpaid care is primarily performed by women, although men, boys and girls also contribute to varying degrees. PDW on the other hand, consists of work performed for private households in exchange for monetary compensation. It includes direct and indirect care services such as house cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing clothes, caring for children, the elderly and the sick, gardening, home security, driving for the family, and pet care (ILO, 2018). These tasks might be performed by live-in workers, live-out workers, or migrant workers (D'souza, 2010).

Our findings show that there is limited Kenya-specific research on care and domestic work that could offer deeper insights into Kenyan perceptions of care and domestic work. One study on Kenya-specific research was conducted by Oxfam as part of its WE-Care initiative,⁴ via a household survey between October 2018 and March 2019. While this study contextualises the time spent on UCDW and addresses some of the behavioural and cultural norms in Kenya, it does not explicitly examine the significance of the language used to describe UCDW in Kenya.

Understanding the language around care and domestic work is crucial for tackling related issues. For instance, a study in Vietnam showed that people commonly use the terms '*việc nhà*' (housework) or '*công việc gia đình*' (family work) instead of unpaid care and domestic work. This choice of language could risk misinterpretation of care work as a private, non-societal issue (UN Women, 2017). This example underlines the importance of exploring narratives and language in the context of care and domestic work.

Narratives, defined as 'patterns of meaning that cut across and tie together specific stories' (Miller et al. 2021), serve a critical role in society. They act as powerful influencers, capable of uniting and mobilizing people, or conversely, segregating and isolating them. Miller et al.'s research (2021) underscores narratives' influential role in understanding poverty in the USA. For instance, they identify the 'individual drive narrative', which attributes individuals' life outcomes solely to their choices and efforts, suggesting that success is achievable through hard work. This narrative blames poverty on the individual, emphasizing their responsibility to overcome their circumstances.

The literature review identified several narratives surrounding care and domestic work. For instance, care and domestic work is not considered as 'real work' because supposedly it does not contribute to the economy. This belief persists due to its exclusion from most countries' Gross Domestic Product (GDP) calculations. In contrast, the ILO estimates the value of UCDW to be as much as 9% of global GDP (US\$11 trillion), with women's contribution around 6.6% of GDP compared to men's at 2.4% (Hernando, 2022). Failing to challenge this narrative and neglecting to include UCDW in key economic indicators can result in the undervaluation and privatization of activities associated with care and domestic work (ILO, 2018).

Another prevalent narrative is that women are naturally more nurturing and better suited for care work (Pillay, 2014), and that women bear the primary responsibility for performing care and domestic work (Ferrant, 2014). These narratives reinforce gender stereotypes and hinder women's personal and professional development by perpetuating unequal divisions of labour. A recent Kenyan study

⁴ WE-Care is a three-year initiative to build evidence on unpaid care, innovate on interventions, and influence policy and practice to address care as part of women's empowerment.

by Maina and Kimani (2019) revealed that although 83% of women agreed that men should participate in care and domestic work, a significant majority of these women do not actively seek support from men. This reluctance from women to ask for men's support with UCDW despite their personal views stems from the ingrained societal perception that care and domestic work is solely a 'woman's task' and therefore their responsibility.

The study also found that women in Kenya perceive men as lacking the ability to perform these tasks effectively and that women who neglect their domestic duties often face criticism and might even be susceptible to physical violence (Maina and Kimani, 2019).

Research on the impacts of increased care responsibilities during the Covid-19 pandemic also highlights the adverse effects on women's mental health, economic security and overall wellbeing (Katz and Abdalla, 2022). For instance, an Oxfam study in 2021 found that approximately 70% of women in informal settlements in Nairobi reported spending more hours on UCDW during the pandemic (Oloo and Parkers, 2021). Oxfam's household survey in Kenya further showed that over half (55%) of surveyed women in the informal settlements had suffered an injury, illness, disability, or other physical or mental harm as a result of UCDW (Maina and Kimani, 2019).

These adverse effects underline the importance of shifting prevalent narratives on UCDW. As suggested by Miller et al. (2021), cultivating counter-narratives capable of influencing the broader public discourse is an effective approach. This involves identifying, reframing and promoting new narratives that can resonate with diverse audiences. Different message frames can elicit distinct emotional responses and highlight various aspects of an issue. For example, the prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979) suggests that individuals are more likely to take risks when faced with a loss-framed message, while gain-framed messages promote positive outcomes. Incorporating nudges when framing can also build on existing intentions and simplify the enactment of desired actions (ITCIL0, 2018). A 'nudge' is a concept from behavioural economics and psychology, referring to a subtle policy shift or intervention designed to influence people's behaviour in a predictable way without forbidding any options or significantly changing their incentives. The idea is to make it easier for people to make certain decisions that could lead to more beneficial outcomes, either for themselves or for society as a whole. In the context of this research, the nudged-gain frame combines highlighting positive outcomes with a call to action to adopt the desired behaviour. Here, the message not only showcases the benefits children experience when fathers are actively present, but also urges fathers to increase their involvement. This approach aligns with the principles of behavioural economics, where nudges prompt and guide individuals towards desired behaviours (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008). The quantitative research phase of this study tests three different message frames to measure the frame with the highest impact on changing narratives about UCDW and PDW in Kenya.

This research plays a crucial role in addressing the scarcity of literature specific to the Kenyan context concerning care and domestic work. To thoroughly identify, understand and assess the current narratives surrounding care and domestic work in Kenya, and to propose alternative narratives to shift and reshape them, this study employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. The findings are detailed in sections 4 and 6 of this report.

4. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND FINDINGS

The primary objective of the qualitative research is to gain conceptual understanding of UCDW and PDW in Kenya and to explore the prevailing narratives and frames surrounding them. To achieve this, we conducted IDIs with our target population in Kenya and KIIs with key stakeholders and policy makers working in the field of care and domestic work. The findings from these interviews are outlined below.

4.1. UNPAID CARE AND DOMESTIC WORK

To meet the research objective, it was vital to first understand how Kenyans describe UCDW. Most respondents made subtle distinctions between the two terms – ‘unpaid care work’ and ‘unpaid domestic work’ – but the general consensus was that unpaid care work encompasses voluntary endeavours often undertaken within the community, like assisting a disabled person or volunteering at a community event. Notably, almost half of the respondents referred to care work as ‘voluntary work’. On the other hand, unpaid domestic work represented obligatory tasks carried out within one’s household, such as cleaning, cooking or caring for children.

‘The difference is when you do it in your house (unpaid domestic work) you’re doing it for your family, but when you’re doing it outside your house (unpaid care work) you’re doing it for others, like when I get to volunteer in the community, I am doing it for others, that is the difference.’

(Woman, 31, Nairobi)

However, despite these subtle distinctions, respondents often used the two terms interchangeably. This lack of clear differentiation was consistently echoed across various questions. One key expert interviewed during the KII suggested that the overlapping usage of ‘care work’ and ‘domestic work’ in the local language within many Kenyan communities largely drove this lack of differentiation.

An exploration into household dynamics revealed a strong gender bias in the division of domestic labour. Tasks such as laundry, child-rearing, cooking and grocery shopping were predominantly assigned to women, while men mostly undertook outdoor chores like maintenance work and cleaning compounds.

Interestingly, religious doctrines, particularly Christianity and Islam, significantly influenced the beliefs about family roles among many respondents. Participants often attributed their perceptions to these religious tenets, viewing them as establishing the standard for family dynamics. Christian participants, in particular, frequently referenced biblical principles that portray the man as the ‘head’ of the household and the woman as his ‘helper’. Consequently, there is often an expectation that men should primarily fulfil the family’s financial needs, while women are expected to ‘assist’ by managing the household and caring for children.

‘I have never seen this in our Islamic community. In our society, some say if you find a [man] doing those activities they are bewitched just because they are doing what the wife should do and maybe there are [men] who relate well [with domestic work] but our society does not understand that.’

(Woman, 36, Nairobi)

'My religion guides me. He is the head of the family and the decision-maker. If he tells me what to do with my salary I will follow.'

(Woman, 40, Kilifi)

'Because women are just helpers to men, giving equal powers can lead to chaos in the house. The father who is the head of the household [has] to be given more powers than the mother.'

(Man, 46, Kakamega)

The distribution of household work aligns with the qualitative findings, where female respondents reported spending an average of 7.4 hours on unpaid work and a comparable amount on paid work. In contrast, men devoted roughly half the time to unpaid work (4.4 hours) and dedicated more hours to paid work (8.5 hours). This trend was particularly pronounced in rural areas, with women in Kilifi spending an average of 9 hours on unpaid work compared to their counterparts in Nairobi. The results reaffirm the existing literature, underscoring the persistent reality that women tend to spend more time overall on combined paid and unpaid work than men. This gendered discrepancy in time allocation reflects the prevailing gender norms and expectations surrounding household responsibilities.

Given the gendered distribution of labour, it is unsurprising that nearly half of the respondents expressed disapproval of men engaging in domestic work. A common consensus emerged among respondents that men performing household tasks would be viewed as failures or defeated by their wives. This perception was commonly captured through derogatory local phrases such as *'amekaliwa'*, *'wamekaliwa chapati'* or *'umeketiwa chapati'*. These terms imply that such men are being dominated or controlled by their wives, who are perceived as compelling them to undertake domestic work.

According to the prevailing gender norms, men should only assume household responsibilities if their wives or women in the household are unavailable – either because they are away for work or incapacitated due to illness. This conditional acceptance signifies that men's involvement in domestic work is contingent upon the absence of female capability. Similarly, when referring to men performing these tasks, respondents often framed it as 'volunteering', 'helping', or 'supporting' rather than taking ownership of the responsibilities. This linguistic choice suggests a reluctance to fully acknowledge men's responsibility for household work.

*'I think that he is an ideal man because he has **volunteered** to help his family. He has ignored old traditions and decided to **help** his wife.'*

(Man, 33, Kakamega)

We also observed that it was more acceptable for men to do household work when they offered to help autonomously, rather than when a woman or wife specifically requested assistance. This finding highlights the underlying gender dynamics at play, where men's involvement is seen as an act of benevolence rather than an equal sharing of responsibilities.

Furthermore, our research sheds light on the qualities deemed important for individuals to be considered good husbands and wives in Kenya. The Kenyan community adheres to prevalent social and gender norms and these societal expectations shape the gender dynamics within the households, influencing the division of labour and the distribution of unpaid care and domestic work. This is because most of the cultures/ethnicities in Kenya have clearly defined and culturally accepted roles that inform societal expectations. A quintessential Kenyan man is expected to embody traits such as being hardworking, reliable and financially stable while assuming primary responsibility for the family's financial wellbeing as a husband. In contrast, a typical Kenyan woman is expected to demonstrate characteristics such as respectfulness, faithfulness and neatness, while fulfilling the role of the principal caregiver to her husband and children as a wife.

4.1.1. COMMON NARRATIVES AROUND UNPAID CARE AND DOMESTIC WORK

Based on the qualitative insights and findings, several narratives were identified that provide a benchmark for understanding the current division of household labour in Kenya. These narratives shed light on the prevailing perceptions and attitudes surrounding UCDW.

1. Women have more knowledge of care and domestic work, thus should bear its primary responsibility.

Respondents believe that women excel in care and domestic work compared to men. They believe that women acquire knowledge about taking care of the household, their siblings and cooking, among other tasks, from childhood. As a result, women develop a unique approach and preference for handling certain chores, which is perceived as distinct from how men would perform them.

'Those activities are mostly for women, especially for those that have been taught by their mothers, they would not even allow the spouse to help out with those unless they are sick.'

(Man, 52, Kakamega)

2. Performing unpaid care and domestic duties requires gender-specific innate abilities.

Respondents universally agreed that women are better at taking care of children than men. They believe that women possess inherent qualities such as being soft, caring and compassionate, which enable them to look after children effectively. Respondents also emphasized that women's ability to endure hardships and their natural motherly instincts contribute to their superior caregiving skills. In contrast, men were perceived as lacking patience and being less adept at multitasking, making them less suitable for the demands of childcare.

'Yes, women perform better than men in children's upbringing. Like for instance [when] preparing children in the morning, men cannot handle children's noise. Women can multitask, for example, handling children and at the same time cooking [for them], dressing them, washing them. A man does not have enough patience to wait for the children to do things at their own pace, but a woman can wait for them to wear a uniform and maybe shoes.'

(Woman, 36, Nairobi)

3. Women should perform care and domestic work because it does not require any physical effort.

The research findings indicated a common belief that domestic work requires less physical strength and effort and thus is suitable for women as 'the weaker gender'. This perception explains the preferential assignment of tasks requiring more strength, such as fetching firewood or gardening, to men, and tasks that are deemed to require the least strength, such as cooking and cleaning, to women when respondents were asked to classify different domestic activities to each gender. There is also a prevailing narrative that women are 'helpers' or 'supporters' to men, with the primary responsibility of providing for the family falling on the man. This narrative reinforces the belief that it is a woman's role to assist her husband.

4. It is unmanly for men to perform care and domestic work.

'You know cooking can easily be done while standing but now telling a man to bend and wash, it doesn't look okay.'

(Woman, 48, Kakamega)

The widely held belief that care and domestic work solely belong to women reinforces gendered divisions. Men are expected to be primary providers, while women handle household duties. Since household work is seen as less physically demanding, men's time is often reserved for more challenging tasks. Both men and women subscribe to this narrative, with many female respondents agreeing that men make the greatest contribution to the household, primarily due

to their perceived role as the primary financial providers. Likewise, men who engage in household work may face being labelled as lazy and encouraged to pursue other activities. There is also an element of shame associated with men performing care and domestic work, as societal ridicule and discomfort from both male and female respondents were expressed regarding public acknowledgement of men's involvement in these tasks.

4.2. PAID DOMESTIC WORK

This research also explored perceptions around PDW in the Kenyan context. The findings suggest a shared understanding among respondents that PDW includes performing household chores to be compensated either monetarily or non-monetarily by providing shelter, food, and clothing. These tasks may include cooking, cleaning, caring for children or even tending to the farm. The key distinction, as highlighted by the respondents, between unpaid and paid domestic work lies in who performs these tasks. Mostly, an outsider performs paid domestic work, and they are expected to receive some form of remuneration, typically in the form of monetary wages.

'If a person that is not related to you and is doing domestic work for you at home, automatically you will pay them. Like when taking care for your children when you are away, a person who prepares food for you, washing clothes for you, a person who takes care of your home when you are not there.'

(Man, 35, Kakamega)

This view reinforces the undervaluing of care and domestic work, as well as the effort required when it is undertaken by women and girls within their own household. It implies that such work is only deemed valuable when performed by someone external to the family, rather than by a family member. Furthermore, since this work is perceived as requiring minimal effort and skill, and the outsiders performing it – predominantly women – are often deemed to be unskilled and lacking formal education or training, they receive low wages. Such wage structures contribute to the unfair employment practices reported by domestic workers.

The terminology used to describe paid domestic work and domestic workers carries significant connotations, revealing societal attitudes towards domestic workers. Phrases like '*kazi chafu*' (dirty work), and '*kazi ya maid*' (maid's work) are commonly used to describe the work performed by domestic workers. Interestingly, the language used to refer to female domestic workers, such as '*mboch*', carries derogatory undertones not present when describing male domestic workers, often referred to as '*kijakazi*' (caretaker). This difference reflects societal biases and attitudes towards paid domestic workers, especially female ones.

The research findings also indicate a societal bias against men engaging in PDW, as paid domestic work is predominantly viewed as a woman's domain. This perception explains why the vast majority of paid domestic workers in Kenya are female. Several participants also shared that they had never encountered a male domestic worker, further underlining this societal norm.

'I do not know of any [male domestic worker], domestic work is meant for women, when you see a man doing domestic work you see something wrong with them, as there are many better things that a man can do... Doing domestic work is the last thing a man should do, I do not believe that they should be in a position where they take orders from women. In the house it's okay to assist but it should not be that I must do [it].'

(Man, 42, Nairobi)

Interestingly, the research findings also show that women attribute greater significance to paying someone to undertake domestic work than men do. When surveyed about the importance of paid domestic work to their families, women, on average, scored its value at 9 out of 10, while men assigned a lesser value of 5. The high value that women place on paid domestic work comes from

its potential to free up time for women to undertake additional paid work outside their households, thus offering a source of income.

'That one is important at 9 because you have a job to go to maybe at 5am and if you don't have someone to assist you in the house it will be difficult. You have to negotiate with someone to do (it) all for you- the chores - then pay the person.'

(Woman, 48, Kakamega)

Nevertheless, many male participants expressed the opinion that funds allocated to hiring domestic workers could be used more effectively to meet various household expenditures, including educational costs for their children. This viewpoint is rooted in the belief that women in the household should ideally undertake UCDW.

4.2.1. COMMON NARRATIVES AROUND PAID DOMESTIC WORK

1. Paid domestic work is a low-skilled occupation.

Respondents often undervalue the skill sets of paid domestic workers, with many believing that domestic tasks do not require specialized skills. This perception contributes to the devaluation of these tasks and may stem from the fact that individuals engaged in domestic work often lack formal education or specialized training.

'No skills needed, you just use your experience and your brain, and what you were taught, so you should know how to cook and look after children.'

(Man, 38 years, Kilifi)

For instance, while respondents acknowledged the importance of domestic chores such as meal preparation, family-member care, and household cleaning, they didn't associate these tasks with a high skill level compared to formally paid professions. As part of this research, respondents were asked to evaluate both paid informal activities and formal occupations based on their value and skill requirements. Our findings revealed a contrast between the value assigned to tasks and the perceived skill level required for them. For example, respondents deemed meal preparation, cleaning and caring for people as highly valuable activities, yet considered them low-skilled tasks. In contrast, professions like commercial banking, accounting, and receptionist roles were viewed as requiring a high degree of skill, even though considered less valuable to the household.

Also, PDW often goes unrecognized because it doesn't directly contribute to economic output, reinforcing the narrative that it's less valuable or unimportant.

2. Paid domestic work is a lifeline for the poor and uneducated.

Paid domestic work is often framed as a lifeline for economically disadvantaged individuals lacking formal education or skills. This narrative frequently serves to rationalize the low wages and unfavourable working conditions experienced by domestic workers. The findings showed significant variations in the average monthly wage of domestic workers across different counties. For example, the average monthly wage was KSh4,500 in Kakamega compared to KSh7,500 in Nairobi. These figures fall significantly short of the required minimum wage of KSh15,201 for full-time domestic workers in Kenya (Oyoo, 2023). Notably, many live-in domestic workers often work longer hours compared to the standard eight-hour workdays of formal workers.

Many employers of live-in domestic workers perceive any monetary compensation provided as a charitable gesture rather than fair remuneration for actual work performed. These employers often justify this perspective, arguing that they already provide food, shelter, clothing and other basic necessities to the domestic workers as part of their arrangement.

This situation perpetuates the cycle for individuals working as domestic workers, particularly those from economically disadvantaged backgrounds with limited employment options. They often feel compelled to accept any form of monetary remuneration offered, further reinforcing their marginalized position within the labour market.

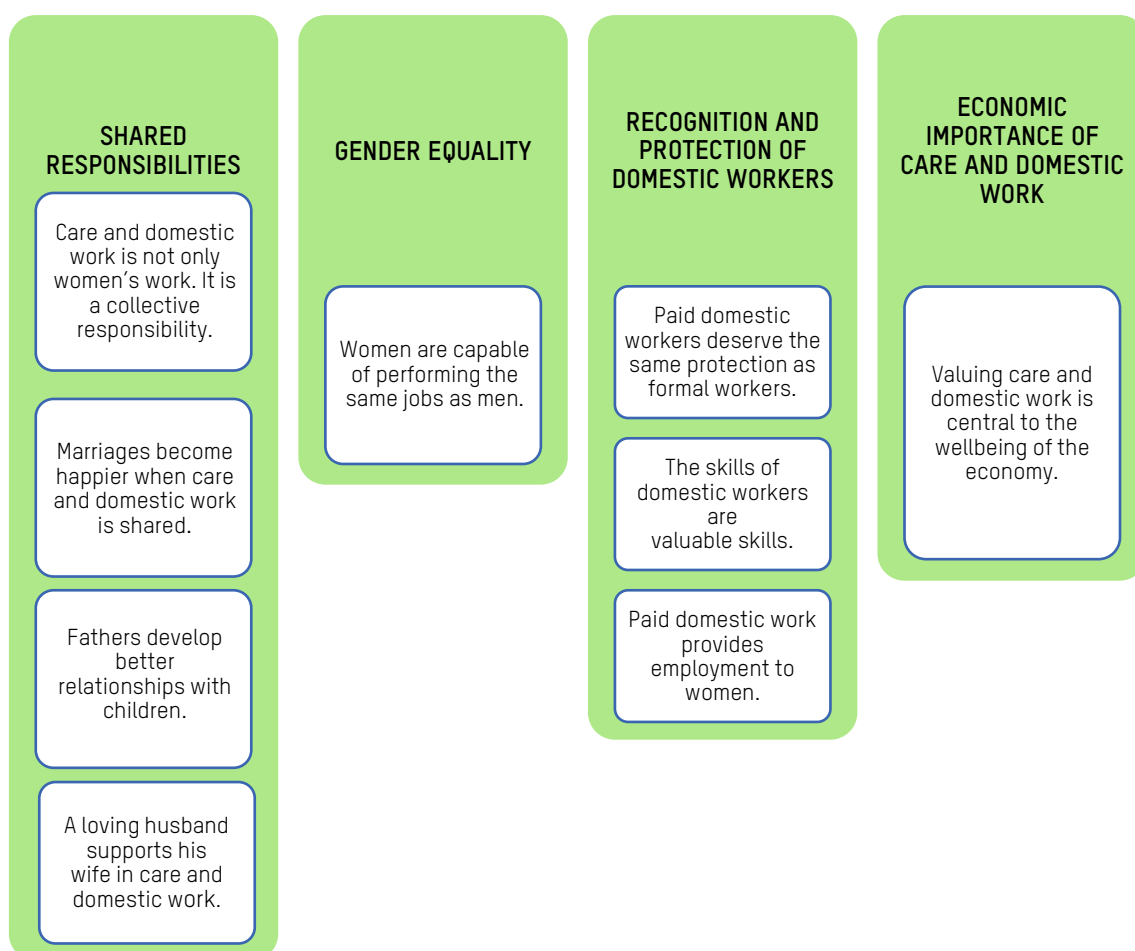
'[Domestic workers do this job] to help take care of their personal needs; maybe they could be jobless and that's the only job they can depend on or probably they are not educated so they will do any job as long as they are able to pay their bills.'

(Man, 31, Nairobi)

5. DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVES

During the literature review, potential counter-narratives that can challenge the prevalent narratives surrounding care and domestic work in Kenya were identified. These narratives were then evaluated during the qualitative research to assess their potential impact. Nine narratives were analysed during the KIIs. The key experts and policymakers interviewed evaluated these narratives to identify ones that could potentially shift the prevalent narratives around UCDW and PDW in Kenya. Interestingly, the KIIs and IDs generated similar insights on the narratives, further validating the qualitative findings. For instance, both key experts and the general public expressed reservations about the narrative ‘care and domestic work is not only women’s work. It is a collective responsibility’. They pointed out that this narrative fails to effectively challenge the deeply ingrained belief that care and domestic work should exclusively be women’s responsibility. They also believe that the term “collective responsibility” would not resonate well with Kenyans.

Figure 3: List of nine transformative narratives



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Following the insights from the in-depth interviews and KIs, five initial narrative concepts were explored and discussed in a co-design workshop with local experts and stakeholders.

- Narrative 1: The contribution of domestic workers to Kenyan households and the importance of earning a basic income for their survival.
- Narrative 2: The diverse skill set required for performing care and domestic work.
- Narrative 3: Raising awareness about the double workload faced by women in balancing unpaid domestic work and paid work.
- Narrative 4: Quantifying the significance of care and domestic work through its impact on the economy.
- Narrative 5: Our children, our shared responsibility: fathers who engage in care and domestic work develop better relationships with their children.

The first three narratives were chosen for testing through qualitative in-depth interviews with paid domestic workers, while the first four were discussed with key policymakers in Nairobi.

The final narrative (the fifth) was selected during the co-design workshop to be tested in a quantitative survey with the general public. Key experts from Kenya identified it as the narrative with the highest potential to change Kenyan perceptions about unpaid care and domestic work. Throughout this research, participants consistently emphasized that in Kenya, the responsibility of raising children predominantly falls on women. This is despite the well-documented benefits of fathers being actively involved in their children’s upbringing. By underscoring the impact of a father–child relationship, this narrative was presumed to encourage more men to share in these responsibilities, thus challenging prevailing societal expectations.

5.1. TESTING OF TRANSFORMATIVE NARRATIVES

To validate the counter-narratives developed, a qualitative and quantitative test of the counter-narratives was carried out. Qualitative testing through IDIs with paid domestic workers and key policymakers in Nairobi was conducted, and quantitative testing through a randomized control trial (RCT) on the target sample of Kenyans was also conducted. The quantitative testing findings are outlined in Section 6, while the findings from the qualitative testing appear below.

Table 2: First narrative for qualitative testing

Initial narrative:	Finalized narrative:
<p>Behind every successful Kenyan household, there's a domestic worker keeping things clean, healthy and functional. They are the unsung heroes, the invisible pillars of Kenya, tirelessly supporting the productivity and health of our society. Without them, everything would come crashing down faster than a poorly stacked pile of dishes!</p> <p>Next time you sit down for a delicious meal, take a moment to think about all the effort and hours they spent shopping, cleaning and cooking to make it happen. It's not their hobby – it's their profession. And just like you, they have families, lives and bills to pay.</p>	<p>Behind every successful Kenyan household, there's a domestic worker keeping things clean, healthy and functional. They are the unsung heroes, the invisible pillars of Kenya, tirelessly supporting the productivity and health of our society. It is important to recognize the effort they put into their work and treat them fairly.</p> <p>Next time you sit down for a delicious meal, take a moment to think about all the effort and hours they spent shopping, cleaning and cooking to make it happen. It's not their hobby – it's their profession just like doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc., and just like you, they have families, lives, bills to pay, and deserve</p>

<p>Despite a fair wage of KSh15,201 per month stipulated by law, domestic workers in Kenya are earning an average of only KSh 8,841 per month, leaving 73% of them trapped in debt. It is crucial that they are paid a fair wage in accordance with the law. They also deserve the same respect and dignity as any other worker. It's time to clean up our act and give domestic workers the recognition they deserve.</p>	<p><i>to be treated with respect.</i> Despite a wage of KSh15,201 per month <i>(for full-time workers)</i> stipulated by law, domestic workers in Kenya are earning an average of only KSh8,841 per month, leaving 73% of them trapped in debt. It is crucial that they are paid a fair wage <i>that is reflective of the current economic situation and their roles and responsibilities</i> in accordance with the law. They also deserve the same respect and dignity as any other worker, <i>in addition to other working benefits such as paid time off, termination notice, etc.</i> It's time to clean up our act and give domestic workers the recognition they deserve.</p>
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1. The first narrative seeks to highlight the contributions domestic workers make to Kenyan households and underscores the importance of earning a basic income for their survival. All interviewed domestic workers approved of this narrative and believed their peers would too, as it acknowledged their work and increased their visibility. They appreciated how it humanized domestic workers and emphasized the need to understand their needs beyond legal requirements. Many found it informative, as they were previously unaware of the legal minimum wage required by Kenyan law.

'Before I heard this narrative, I didn't know that there are people who recognize domestic workers but now I see that they recognize [them] and I am happy.'

(Woman, 30 years)

'I am happy to hear that there is a law that talks about our wages and we should not be paid less than KSh15,000, so that's a good thing that has made me happy.'

(Man, 34 years)

Respondents also suggested the narrative include a clause on wage statistics to encourage employers to offer salaries reflecting the current economic situation, typically above the minimum wage. This suggestion underscores an important finding: while messages focused on social norms can influence behaviour, the resulting changes can be positive or negative. For example, emphasizing the norm of underpayment in this context could inadvertently reinforce the problem by suggesting wide acceptance and tolerance of underpayment. The key experts and policymakers we interviewed had varied responses to the minimum wage statistics in the narrative. Some appreciated the visibility it provided for the minimum wage, while others felt it didn't sufficiently clarify certain issues, such as whether the wage applied to live-in workers and the number of work hours required to earn it.

'What does that wage mean, the KSh15,000 does not reflect the full benefits, there's no accommodation for any time off. There's no definition of time worked. These conditions are out of the global standards.'

(Policy advisor at an international organization)

Table 3: Second narrative for qualitative testing

Initial narrative:	Finalized narrative:
<p>Think domestic work is just about cooking, cleaning and laundry? Think again!</p> <p>Domestic workers are like the Swiss Army knives of the household, equipped with a diverse set of skills that includes everything from using household appliances to problem-</p>	<p>Think domestic work is just about cooking, cleaning and laundry? Think again!</p> <p>Domestic workers are like the Swiss Army knives of the household, equipped with a diverse set of skills that includes everything from using household appliances <i>to clean the</i></p>

<p>solving and effective communication. A good house manager adapts quickly to new situations, manages their time and uses initiative to get things done. They smoothly manage difficult household dynamics and handle unexpected emergencies. Thus, domestic work is a profession in its own right, just like nursing, teaching or accounting. Let's treat them the same way we would treat any other professional worker, and pay them at least a minimum wage of KSh15,210 per month as stipulated by the Kenyan Government. Let's give domestic work the respect it deserves as a highly skilled profession!</p>	<p>house and cook food to problem-solving and effective communication. A good house manager adapts quickly to new situations, manages their time and uses initiative to get things done. They smoothly manage difficult household dynamics and handle unexpected emergencies. Thus, domestic work is a profession in its own right, just like nursing, teaching or accounting. Let's treat those who work as domestic workers the same way we would treat any other professional worker, and pay them at least a minimum wage of KSh15,210 per month as stipulated by the Kenyan Government. Let's give domestic work the respect it deserves as a highly skilled profession!</p>
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2. The second narrative aims to spotlight the diverse skill set required for performing care and domestic work. The majority of the domestic workers interviewed agreed that this narrative accurately represents their reality as domestic workers in Kenya. They appreciated the narrative for recognizing their diverse skills, dignifying their work and advocating for respect and fair compensation.

'It made me gain some self-respect unlike before when I despised myself. I despised myself because I saw when you get into that house and a doctor also comes in, the doctor will be greeted and you will not. But you, they will just command you "do this, do that" and it's a kid telling you that. So, I thought my profession must be useless. At least, I should have been a doctor or a teacher.'

(Woman, 35 years)

However, a few policymakers cautioned that this narrative could face opposition from employers of domestic workers, who might argue that the listed chores don't represent the average responsibilities of domestic workers, or claim that their lack of formal education still deems them unskilled.

Table 4: Third narrative for qualitative testing

Initial narrative:	Finalized narrative:
<p>Ironing out gender equality: share the household work.</p> <p>Studies show that women who work a double shift, balancing both office and home life are at risk of stress, burnout, poor physical health and wellbeing. Women make up 50.2% of the working population in Kenya and play a vital role in powering the country's economy. However, at the current rate of progress, it will take 95 years to close the gender gap in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, which means that the gender gap won't be closed until your grandchildren are grown up. Thus, families, especially husbands and partners, should start supporting women in their lives better by sharing their workload. When we promote gender equality, everyone wins. It's time to</p>	<p>Ironing out gender equality: share the household work.</p> <p>Studies show that women who work a double shift, balancing both their paid work and home life are at risk of stress, burnout, poor physical health and poverty. Women make up 50.2% of the working population in Kenya and play a vital role in powering the country's economy. However, if things continue as they are now, it will take 98 years to close the gender gap in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, which means that the gender gap won't be closed until your grandchildren are grown up. Thus, families, especially husbands and partners, need to play more active roles in their households by equally sharing the care and domestic responsibilities with the women in</p>

ease the burden of care and domestic work and make equality a reality in Kenya.	their lives. When we promote gender equality, everyone wins. It's time to ease the load of care and domestic work and make equality a reality in Kenya.
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3. The third narrative concentrates on raising awareness about the burden of women's double shift – balancing unpaid domestic work with paid work. It also advocates for the redistribution of care and domestic work within households. The majority of respondents emphasized that the narrative accurately reflects many Kenyan women's reality and has strong potential to influence domestic work's redistribution at home.

'I like it because as women we will be recognized as being equal to the men. We are supposed to work together. If one is cooking and the other person does the chore of washing the baby, no one gets tired.

(Woman, 23 years)

However, key experts and policymakers expressed varied opinions and reactions towards this narrative. While some stakeholders fully endorsed the narrative, acknowledging the accuracy of the information presented and the importance of advocating for equitable sharing of domestic work between men and women, others expressed reservations. They believed the narrative was pessimistic and lacked a positive outlook regarding gender balance, particularly due to the reference to an estimated 95 years required to bridge the gender gap. These stakeholders believed that a negatively framed narrative would likely face opposition from Kenyan men and might not effectively advocate for men's participation in care and domestic responsibilities.

Table 5: Fourth narrative for qualitative testing

Initial narrative:	Finalized narrative:
<p>Unpaid care and domestic work make a substantial contribution to Kenya's economy, as well as to individual and societal wellbeing. A time-use survey in Kenya estimates that women spend about 5.5 hours every day on care and domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, childcare and gardening, among others. If this work was valued at a market rate, it would account for 12% of Kenya's GDP, corresponding to KSh3.6 trillion (~US\$36bn) per year. This suggests that care and domestic work is a significant contributor to the economy. However, the lack of support for care and domestic work can lead to negative consequences for both individuals and society. When care and domestic work is not supported properly, it can result in gender inequality, poverty and a decreased quality of life for those performing this work. Therefore, it is essential that the Government of Kenya takes concrete steps to support those who do care and domestic work to ensure the wellbeing of individuals and the economy as a whole.</p>	<p>Unpaid care and domestic work, particularly within the realm of domestic chores and responsibilities, play a crucial role in Kenya's economy, as well as in the wellbeing of individuals and society at large. A comprehensive time-use survey conducted in Kenya reveals that women dedicate approximately 5.5 hours a day to care and domestic work, to perform essential life-sustaining tasks such as cooking, cleaning, childcare, and more. If this work was valued at a market rate, it would account for 12% of Kenya's GDP, corresponding to KSh3.6 trillion (~US\$36bn) per year. This suggests that care and domestic work is a significant contributor to the Kenyan economy.</p> <p>Recognizing the economic value and importance of domestic work, the Government of Kenya has taken proactive steps towards dignifying and professionalizing the sector. It has implemented fair labour laws, promoted training and skills development specific to domestic work, and demonstrated its commitment to improving the status of those engaged in this work. Continued investment by the government is crucial to further elevate the recognition and value of domestic</p>

	work. However, for a holistic transformation, it is essential for society to also acknowledge the value of domestic work and cultivate a supportive environment that mirrors the government's investment and efforts.
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4. The fourth narrative seeks to quantify the significance of care and domestic work by demonstrating its direct impact on the economy, aiming to encourage policymakers to prioritize these areas in their agendas. The majority of the key experts and policymakers interviewed appreciated the narrative's use of data, such as the time-use survey findings, to highlight care and domestic work's contribution to the country's economy. Policymakers suggested that the narrative might have more influence if it incorporated specific data on how much domestic work currently contributes to the Kenyan economy. They also recommended highlighting some of the barriers to recognizing domestic work, rather than focusing solely on the obstacles to gender equality.

'I like that you have added the time-use survey as the domestic sector is generally neglected. The quantification of the domestic sector highlights more investment in the sector to employ more youth. It highlights the contribution of domestic workers and could result in more investments from the government.'

(Steering Group Member, State Department for Gender)

6. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH AND FINDINGS

For the quantitative research, a Randomised Control Trial (RCT) was conducted to test the impact of different message frames on shifting Kenyans’ perceptions, attitudes and beliefs regarding UCDW. In this study, a vignette was designed about John, a fictional Kenyan father, and his decision to engage in UCDW to foster a better relationship with his children. The vignette on John is transformed into three different message frames.⁵

The first message frame, termed the ‘gain frame’ narrative, outlines the benefits of John’s involvement in UCDW. The narrative emphasized that by spending time with his children, John would develop a better relationship with them, positively impacting both John and his children. The second message frame, called the ‘nudged-gain frame’ narrative, builds on the first by incorporating a call to action (CTA) to nudge societal change towards normalizing a father’s involvement in caregiving responsibilities. Lastly, the third message frame, known as the ‘loss frame’ narrative, highlights the negative consequences resulting from John’s lack of involvement in his children’s lives. For instance, the narrative indicates that a lack of parental care could lead to emotional and behavioural problems in a child.

Table 6: Gain-frame, nudged-gain-frame and loss-frame narratives

Gain-frame narrative ⁶	Nudged-gain-frame narrative ⁷	Loss-frame narrative ⁸
For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hard-working dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.	For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hard-working dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.	For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hard-working dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.
To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing and playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and	To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing and playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John’s relationship with	To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them.

⁵The three messages were developed based on insights from behavioural science, strategically presenting information to influence individuals’ decisions and preferences.

⁶The gain frame underscores the advantages or positive results from certain decisions or actions. In this case, the message points to the beneficial effects on children when fathers are actively involved in their lives.

⁷ The nudged-gain frame combines highlighting positive outcomes with a call to action to adopt the desired behaviour. Here, the message not only showcases the benefits children experience when fathers are actively present, but also urges fathers to increase their involvement.

⁸The loss frame highlights the potential negative impacts from certain decisions or actions. Here, the message focuses on the challenges children encounter when fathers remain distant or less active in their lives.

<p>shopping for them. As a result, John's relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children's lives tend to have closer, more supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. <i>(Positive frame: Gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father.)</i></p>	<p>his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children's lives tend to have closer, more supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. <i>(Positive frame: Gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father.)</i></p> <p>It's time to break down stereotypes and support fathers in being actively involved in their children's upbringing. Let's normalise fathers cooking, feeding and bathing their children regularly. Let's encourage men in our family to play with their children, help them with homework or just have a conversation. By taking these simple steps, we are not only encouraging a stronger relationship between father and children, but also helping to lay the foundation for a brighter future for both of them. So, don't wait any longer, take the first step today! <i>(CTA to Nudge participants.)</i></p>	<p>As a result, John's relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are not involved in their children's lives tend to have distant, less supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of negative consequences for both the father and the child. <i>(Negative frame: losing a chance to create positive relationship between children and father.)</i></p>
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Participants for this study were randomly assigned to three treatment groups, each receiving a different narrative frame:

1. Control group – participants received the gain-framed narrative;
2. Treatment 1 – participants received the nudged-gain-framed narrative;
3. Treatment 2 – participants received the loss-framed narrative.

Respondents also had to complete two surveys. The first, a baseline survey taken before the endline survey and before reading the narrative about John, aimed to gauge their initial opinions about the prevailing narratives on UCDW in Kenya, specifically in the context of a father's involvement in care and domestic duties for his children. After two weeks, participants were sent the narrative about John and the endline survey, containing some initial questions from the baseline survey and other similar measures. The aim of this survey was to quantify the frames' impact on shifting perceptions, beliefs and attitudes on UCDW among the respondents. Further details on the experimental design can be found in Appendix 4 of this report.

6.2. QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS

First, three questions summarising the prevalent narratives discovered during our qualitative research were formulated. Participants answered these questions in both the baseline and endline surveys, allowing for a measure of any shifts in their attitudes and beliefs after receiving the narratives. The three questions are:

1. How many hours in a day is it acceptable for a father to spend caring for his children?
2. Do you believe it is unmanly for men to partake in activities such as washing and ironing in front of their friends and family?
3. How important do you think it is for a father to be involved in his children's daily activities such as feeding, bathing, playing and helping with homework?

Second, after sending the message frames, several questions were posed to gauge participants' perception about John, the fictional character in our vignette. These questions provided insights into their beliefs about the socially accepted activities and behaviours of an ideal Kenyan man. The questions included:

1. What is your initial reaction after reading John's story?
2. On a scale of 1–5, how much do you agree or disagree with this statement: 'As a man of the household, John should concentrate on his job and focus on financially providing for his family'?
3. On a scale of 1–5, how much do you agree or disagree with this statement: 'John is a responsible and loving father who is dedicated to his children's wellbeing'?
4. On a scale of 1–5, how much do you agree or disagree with this statement: 'John is clearly scared of his wife, as no man would willingly perform activities of cooking, feeding the children and changing diapers'?

To analyse the responses from this section, a total perception score was created, which summed up respondents' answers to the perception questions about John.

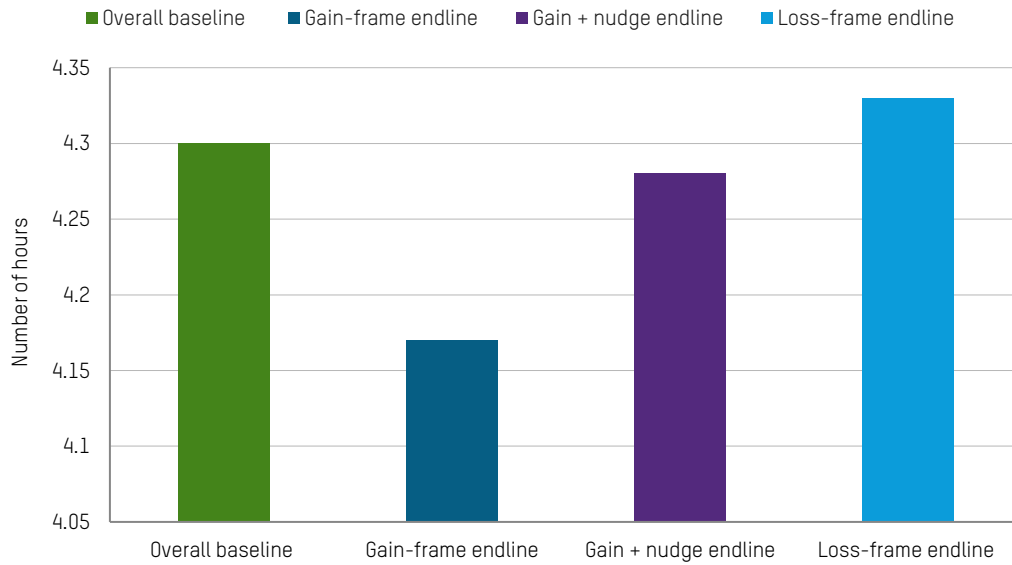
Finally, two experimental games were designed for our respondents: a dictator game and a workshop scenario game. In the version of the dictator game used for this study, respondents could choose to donate all, a portion, or none of their incentive to either, both or neither of two organizations: one supporting marginalized children and another advocating for young fathers to be more active in their children's lives. For the second game, participants engaged with a hypothetical workshop scenario focused on teaching parents the importance of sharing responsibilities and how to be more present in their children's lives. Participants then answered questions to assess their interest level and potential involvement. These responses could serve as proxy measures for their likelihood of engaging in similar initiatives.

6.2.1. FINDINGS ON PARTICIPANTS' SHIFT IN BELIEFS REGARDING PREVALENT NARRATIVES ON UCDW IN KENYA

In the baseline survey, regardless of the treatment groups, respondents believed that a Kenyan father should spend an average of 4.3 hours daily caring for his children. After receiving the message frames, participants who received the nudged-gain-frame narrative (Treatment group 1) reported a higher number of hours they believed fathers should spend with their children compared to those who received the gain-frame narrative (Control group). However, this increase did not reach statistical significance (p -value = 0.2759), suggesting that introducing a call to action to nudge participants did not significantly alter their perceptions compared to merely highlighting the benefits of a father caring for his children.

In contrast, participants who received the loss-frame narrative (Treatment group 2) reported a higher number of hours they believed fathers should spend with their children compared to those who received the gain-frame narrative. This increase was significant at a 10% level, indicating that emphasizing the negative consequences of a father not spending time with his children slightly increases the acceptable time respondents think a father should spend with his children.

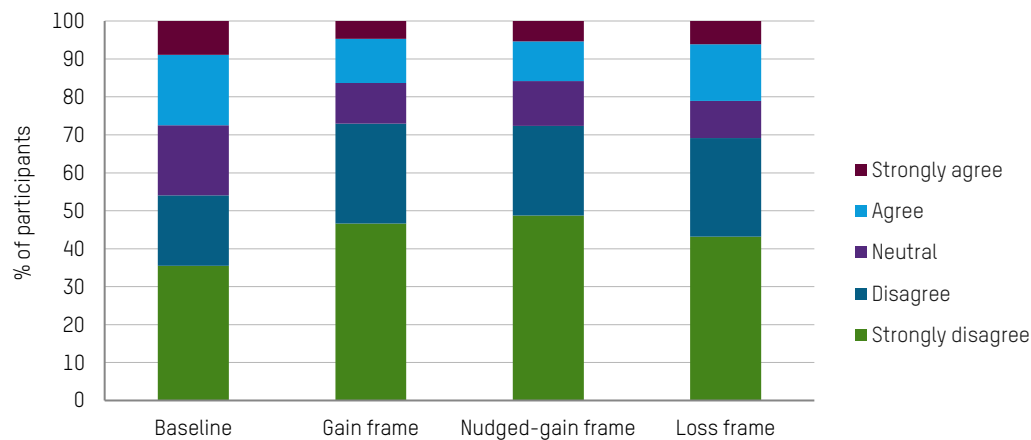
Figure 4: The number of hours participants believed fathers should spend with their children, reported at baseline and endline across groups



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Secondly, the results suggest that the nudged-gain frame narrative did not significantly impact participants' attitudes toward it being unmanly for a man to engage in care and domestic work in public. However, respondents who received the loss frame narrative were significantly more likely to agree that it is unmanly for men to partake in such activities publicly.

Figure 5: Participant responses to the statement, 'I believe it is unmanly for men to partake in activities such as washing and ironing in front of their family or friends'

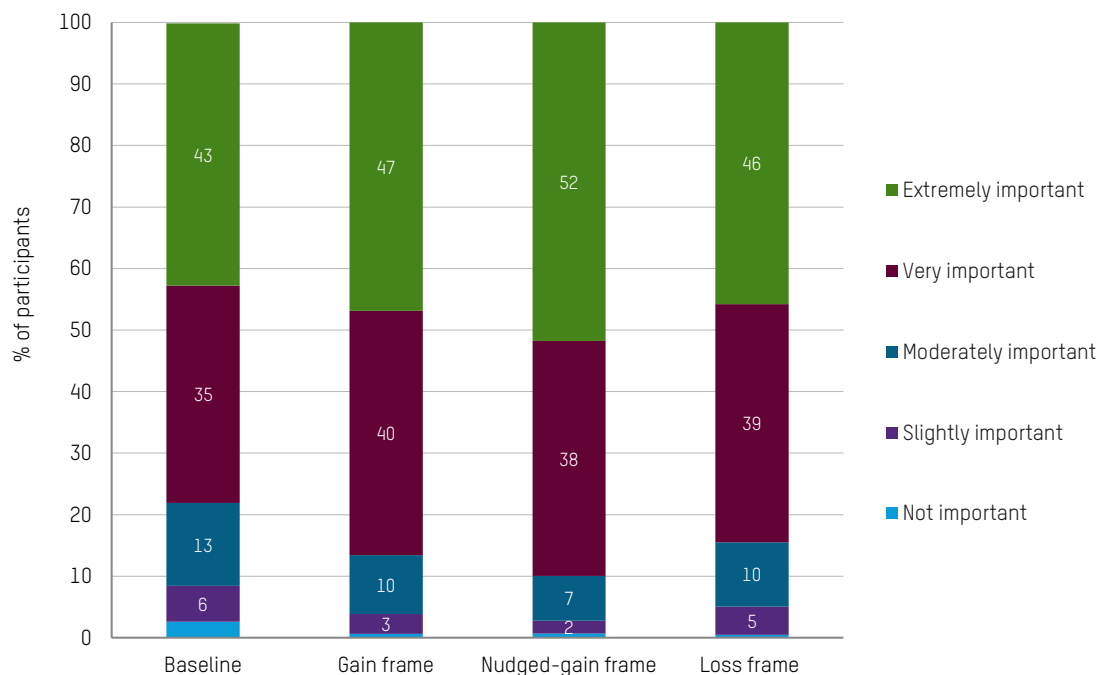


Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Thirdly, the findings indicate that, when compared to the baseline, all three narratives positively influenced participants' perceptions of the importance of a father's involvement in childcare activities. Despite this, there was no significant differences observed among the three narratives. Participants exposed to the nudged-gain-frame narrative were marginally more inclined to view a father's involvement as important, although this difference was not significant.

The analysis of our findings also showed that demographic factors such as gender and place of residence emerged as significant factors. For example, endline responses from female respondents and those living in peri-urban and urban areas showed an increase in their perception of a father's importance in childcare activities compared to male respondents and those living in rural areas.

Figure 6: Participant perceptions of the importance of fathers' involvement in childcare activities



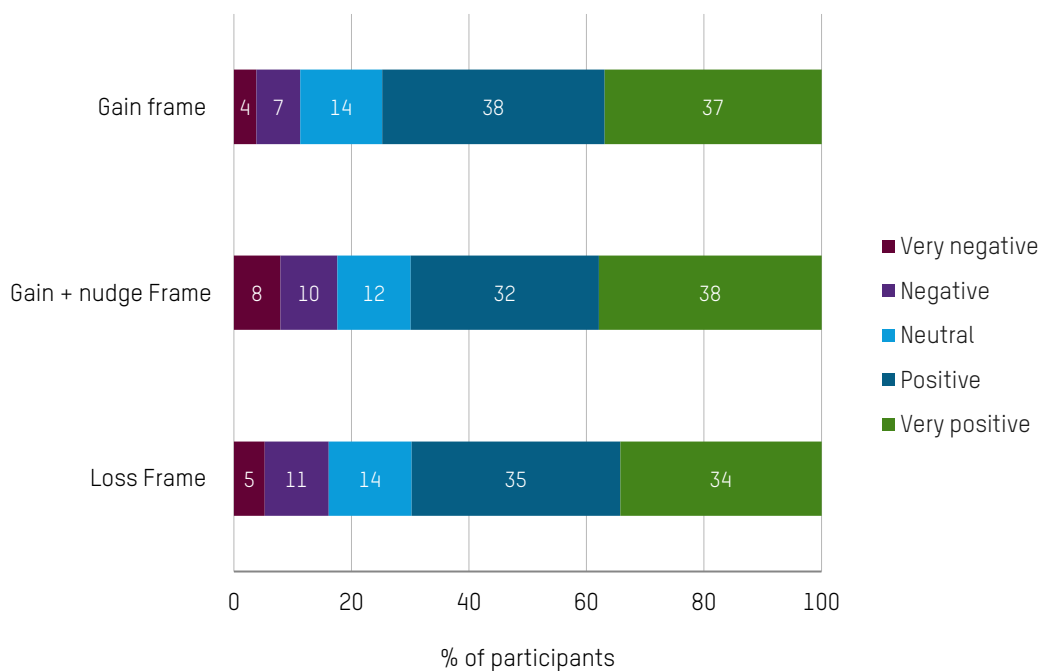
Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

In conclusion, the research findings suggest a correlation between receiving a counter-narrative and positively influencing participants' beliefs, regardless of the message frame. When comparing the baseline with the endline responses, more respondents disagreed with the prevailing narratives in the endline survey than in the baseline. Also, when comparing message frames, narratives highlighting the benefits of a father's involvement had a higher impact in positively changing participants' beliefs in prevalent narratives compared to highlighting the negative consequences of a father's lack of involvement in their child's life.

6.2.2. FINDINGS ON PARTICIPANTS' PERCEPTIONS OF 'JOHN'

Over 70% of respondents reported a positive initial reaction to John's vignette, irrespective of their treatment group. However, on comparing reactions within the groups, there were more positive responses from those receiving the gain-framed narrative (control group) than from those receiving either the nudged-gain-frame narrative (Treatment group 1) or the loss-framed narrative (Treatment group 2). These differences were statistically significant at a 5% significance level. Additionally, female respondents and those residing in peri-urban areas were more likely to react positively to John's vignette, regardless of their initial reaction after reading a vignette on fathers' involvement across their treatment groups, compared to male respondents and those living in rural and urban areas.

Figure 7: Initial reactions across treatment groups after reading a vignette on a father’s involvement with his children



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

When asked if John, as the man of the household, should concentrate on his job and focus on financially providing for his family, participants who received the loss-framed narrative were more likely than those who received the gain-framed narrative to agree. However, no statistically significant difference existed in responses between those who received the nudged-gain-frame narrative and the gain-frame narrative.

Regarding the perception of John as a responsible father dedicated to his children’s wellbeing and whether he only performs domestic activities out of fear of his wife, there was no statistically significant difference in participants’ responses across all narratives.

The regression analysis⁹ of respondents’ overall perception of John shows that, in comparison to the gain-frame narrative, the loss-frame narrative had a negative and statistically significant impact. The nudged-gain frame narrative had no significant effect, suggesting that participants receiving the narrative highlighting the negative effects of John not spending time with his children were 24.6% more likely to have a negative perception of John compared to those receiving the narrative highlighting the benefits of his involvement.

Female participants, irrespective of treatment, tend to have more positive perceptions about men’s involvement in household work and engagement with their children. In contrast, a higher number of children correlated with a lower total perception score, suggesting that participants with more children may prioritize a man focusing on activities like earning a living over performing care and domestic duties for their children.

⁹ Regression analysis is a statistical method used to examine the relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables. Essentially, it helps in predicting the value of a dependent variable based on the values of independent variables. It is widely used to determine the strength of predictors and the direction of relationships whether positive or negative between variables.

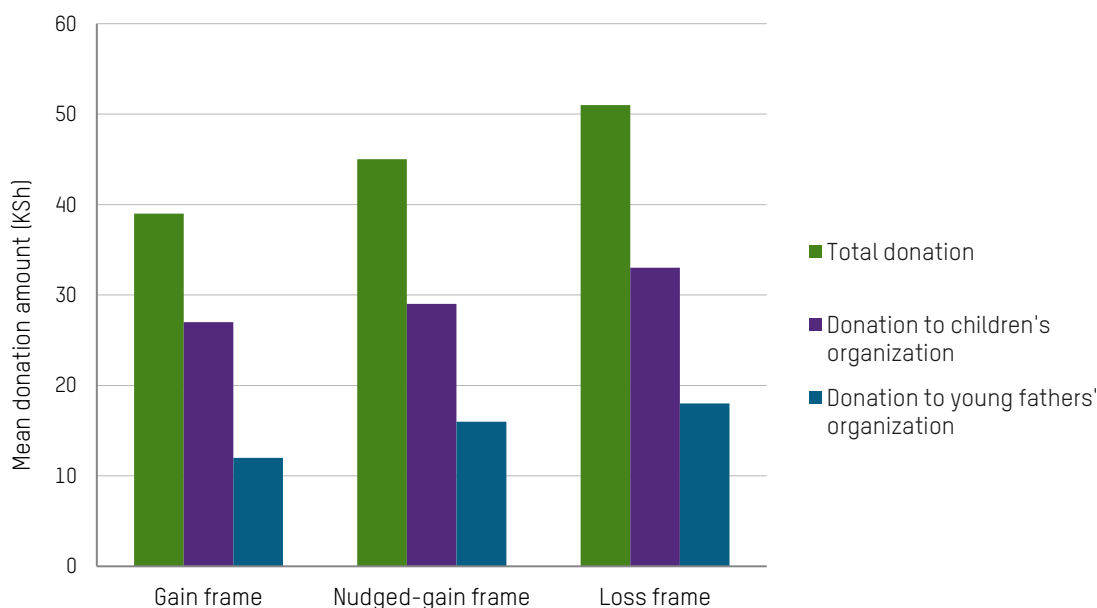
6.2.3. FINDINGS ON BEHAVIOURAL GAMES

In this research, a modified version of the dictator game was employed. Dictator games are used in experimental surveys to gauge people’s actual preferences, offering insights beyond just their stated preferences. Respondents were given some incentive for participating in the quantitative survey, and were asked to choose to donate a portion, all or none of their incentive to either, both or neither of two organizations – an organization supporting marginalized children or an organization advocating for young fathers to be more active in their children’s lives.

The findings from the dictator game reveal that participants exposed to either the nudged-gain or loss-frame narrative donated more to both organizations than those who received the gain-frame narrative. Specifically, in the gain-frame group, participants donated an average of KSh27 to a children’s organization and KSh12 to a fathers’ organization, totalling an average donation of KSh39. However, donations increased significantly with the nudged-gain and loss-frame narratives, where participants donated KSh45 and KSh51, respectively, to the organizations.

Within individual organizations, respondents who received both the nudged-gain and loss-frame narratives were more likely to donate larger amounts to the organization advocating for active involvement of young fathers in their children’s lives compared to those receiving the gain-frame narrative. Respondents receiving the loss-frame narrative donated KSh2 more than those receiving the nudged-gain frame narrative.

Figure 8: Comparison of mean donation amount across treatment groups



Source: Primary data collected from a quantitative survey as part of joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

However, for the organization supporting marginalized children, while respondents receiving the loss-frame narrative were more likely to donate larger amounts compared to those receiving the gain-frame narrative, the nudged-gain-frame narrative didn't yield a statistically significant difference in donations. We also found a significant negative relationship between the number of children and the donation amount, suggesting that participants with more children are less likely to donate to any organization.

In the workshop game, no significant difference existed between treatment groups, participants’ willingness to volunteer to share their experiences at the workshop, or their willingness to promote

the workshop within their personal networks. However, those who received the loss-frame narrative exhibited less inclination to sign up for the workshop compared to those who received the nudged-gain and gain-frame narratives. Participants across all treatment groups demonstrated a high degree of openness to receiving additional information on a father's involvement in a child's life, including evidence-based support and practical daily tips for enhancing father-child interaction.

Both the dictator game and the workshop scenario suggest that highlighting the negative consequences of a father's lack of participation in their child's life positively impacts participants' likelihood to donate more to organizations advocating for young fathers' active involvement. However, when actions require participants to take active steps, such as signing up for a workshop, including a CTA and highlighting the benefits of such action also has a positive impact.

6.3. CONCLUSION

Overall, the quantitative results suggest that the impact of different frames varies considerably, depending on the context and nature of decisions. While gain frames may influence attitudes and perceptions more effectively, loss frames might motivate actions with monetary incentives more successfully.

7. STUDY LIMITATIONS

This study design aimed to understand the prevailing narratives surrounding care and domestic work in Kenya and identify opportunities for influencing shifts in these narratives. To meet this objective, a mixed research approach was implemented, integrating qualitative and quantitative research. This provided in-depth insights from respondents about prevailing narratives and potential counter-narratives for shifting these narratives, as well as quantitatively testing the impact of various message frames on narrative shifts. However, despite this comprehensive approach, certain limitations are worth noting.

For the qualitative research, data was collected remotely in Nairobi and Kakamega, restricting the sample to those accessible via phone calls. Additionally, the research study did not draw a large, representative sample for the qualitative study, which affects the ability to make generalizable conclusions about the perceptions, attitudes and beliefs on care and domestic work for all Kenyans.

Similarly, for the quantitative research, a larger sample size was interviewed compared to the sample size of the qualitative study. Also, the selection of the sample composition aimed to represent the general Kenyan population in terms of key demographics such as age, religion and region. However, the survey was conducted using an online platform. As a result, the study's findings can only generalize to individuals in Kenya who own smartphones and can complete surveys using platforms like SurveyCTO. Similarly, the majority of participants in the quantitative survey fall within the age range of 18 to 39. The representation of the older population is significantly limited, which could influence some of the results.

Lastly, considering the nature of this study, several questions were asked related to societal and cultural norms, which are prone to social desirability bias. Respondents might answer in ways they perceive as socially acceptable or align with what they believe the interviewer wants to hear. To minimize this bias, respondents were assured of the anonymity of their responses and avoided asking personal questions. Instead, the study focused on questions about the broader community and society.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

In Kenya, policymakers can leverage counter-narratives as powerful instruments to reshape the existing attitudes, beliefs and perceptions about UCDW and PDW. It is critically important to shift the powerful narratives around care and domestic work to nurture more equitable social perceptions and attitudes. By integrating these counter-narratives into policies, public communication campaigns and educational curricula, public opinion can gradually shift, creating an environment where care and domestic roles are not just recognized but also reduced, redistributed and fairly rewarded.

The initial step in changing these existing narratives involves understanding the reasons and stories people share with each other, which support the current gendered division of roles. This means engaging in discussions about care and domestic work to grasp what motivates this division and what presently upholds it. Subsequently, when crafting effective counter-narratives, it's vital to understand the message framing that best resonates with the target audience, prompting the most significant shift in perceptions. It is also important to advocate for the active participation of care workers and women in social dialogues while crafting these new counter-narratives.

The quantitative study tested three different message frames. First, the gain frame, which emphasized the positive outcomes of taking an action. Second, the nudged-gain frame, which highlighted the positive benefits of an action and also incorporated a CTA to prompt participants. Lastly, the loss frame, which focused on the negative consequences of an action. The aim was to identify the message frame with the highest potential to shift current perceptions about care and domestic work in Kenya.

Overall, the findings demonstrated that exposure to a counter-narrative can positively influence participants' beliefs, regardless of the message frame of the counter-narrative. For example, the endline survey received more responses challenging the prevailing narratives compared to the baseline survey. Moreover, each of the three narrative frames tested altered respondents' perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about UCDW, depending on the context.

Given these findings, a comprehensive mixed-narrative strategy integrating gain, nudge and loss narratives is recommended in future campaigns to shift perceptions.

- **Gain-framed narratives** work best when promoting the adoption of new positive behaviours. For example, emphasizing the health and societal benefits, such as increased gender equity and social cohesion, that are derived from equitably sharing care and domestic work.
 - Policymakers can utilize gain-framed narratives to advocate for the recognition, reduction and redistribution of care and domestic work. For instance, by emphasizing the benefits derived from increased economic growth from an organized domestic labour market, Kenyan policymakers can promote time-use measurement and include metrics related to care and domestic work in national statistics.
- **Nudged-gain narratives** are effective when motivating participants to take tangible steps beyond just changing attitudes or beliefs. Rooted in 'nudge theory', this approach suggests that CTAs can influence decisions.
 - For example, policymakers can formulate policies that actively promote and ensure fair representation of UCDW and PDW in both public discourse and legislative action. Such policies might also champion the participation of care workers in social dialogue and collective bargaining. A nudged-gain narrative could highlight concrete steps to achieve this goal, along with the ensuing benefits.

- **Loss-framed narratives** are particularly effective for measures involving financial decisions. For example, these narratives can be used to illustrate how undervalued care work could lead to chronic stress, burnout and poorer quality of care over time, ultimately resulting in higher health and social costs.
 - Policymakers can use loss-framed narratives to motivate participants to reward care and domestic work by leveraging people’s natural aversion to loss. For example, policymakers can advocate for the inclusion of social protection for domestic workers by highlighting missed economic growth opportunities that occur by neglecting to value care and domestic work.

Furthermore, this research also offers crucial insights into the best methods for creating and disseminating these effective counter-narratives. The recommendations stem from both qualitative and quantitative insights. In the qualitative phase, for example, respondents assessed transformative narratives shaped by literature. This helped identify initial ideas and concepts for new narratives that could resonate with Kenyans. Notably, the narratives chosen for the further research phase all had the following underlying themes:

- **Context-specific counter-narratives:** Given Kenya’s diverse socio-cultural landscape, tailoring narratives to resonate within specific regional, religious or cultural contexts is crucial. For instance, counter-narratives for urban populations, exposed to global influences and trends, should differ from those crafted for rural areas. Moreover, the findings underscored the significant role local languages used by Kenyans play in shaping perceptions, attitudes and beliefs about UCDW. Therefore, it is crucial that counter-narratives incorporate local languages and dialects to ensure meaningful engagement.
- **Leverage relevant messengers:** Utilizing the right messengers can powerfully influence a shift in the perception of UCDW. Stakeholders such as religious leaders, educators, women group leaders, community leaders and employers of domestic workers could play a vital role in advocating for equitable practices in UCDW and PDW. For instance, the qualitative findings indicate that most Kenyans substantiate their beliefs through religious teachings, suggesting the importance of referencing religious doctrines in our counter-narratives. Additionally, a significant portion of respondents in the quantitative study proposed that the most effective method to mitigate stigma and societal pressure concerning men’s involvement in care and domestic work is through societal education, particularly via schools and communities. Consequently, educators and local community leaders can serve as effective messengers for disseminating the counter-narratives.
- **Utilize non-traditional methods for narrative dissemination:** In today’s increasingly digital landscape, using relevant social media platforms effectively can help spread these narratives to a wider audience. This research supports this recommendation, as participants pointed to social media platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp as their preferred channels for spreading these narratives. Traditional media sources such as TV, radio and newspapers were considered secondary options.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

	Name	Organization
1.	Chryspin Afifu	International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW)
2.	Masheti Masinjila	The Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development (CCGD)
3.	Lina Moraa	Action Aid Kenya
4.	Diana Warira	The Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PaI)
5.	John Ochieng	Innovations for Poverty Action (IPA)
6.	Prof. Grace Wamue-Ngare	Kenyatta University

APPENDIX 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review encompassed a comprehensive examination of over 50 sources, including research papers, sector reports, academic studies and blog posts. The objectives of this comprehensive review were as follows:

- To develop an in-depth understanding of care and domestic work within the context of the Global South, with particular emphasis on the Kenyan context.
- To identify the underlying factors that contribute to the ongoing undervaluation, non-compensation, and inadequate recognition of care and domestic work.
- To evaluate the prevailing social and gender norms that influence and shape the discourse surrounding care and domestic work.
- To discern the existing narratives that provide explanations for the inadequate recognition and undervaluation of care and domestic work.

The findings from the literature review informed the subsequent phases of the research.

2.2. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

In the second phase of research, qualitative methods were used to gain in-depth insights into the narratives, understandings and beliefs about care and domestic work among the general public. The IDIs were conducted in Nairobi, Kakamega and Kilifi, with the primary goal to uncover existing dominant narratives, understand societal views and identify structural, cultural and behavioural barriers that shape the perception of care and domestic work in Kenya. We designed the sampling strategy to ensure diversity in aspects such as location, religion and other relevant demographic characteristics.

We conducted the interviews in English or Swahili, based on the respondent's preference, using a series of carefully formulated questions to draw out specific information from 45 respondents across the three counties. We asked about the amount of time devoted to unpaid care and domestic work, the definitions of paid domestic work, the dynamics of decision-making within households, societal expectations of gender roles, and views about men's participation in care and domestic work, among others.

Furthermore, we also conducted virtual key informant interviews (KIs) with key experts and policymakers who are actively working in the field of care and domestic work in Kenya. We used purposive sampling to identify and interview 10 experts who could provide relevant insights about care and domestic work in Kenya. These KIs offered invaluable insights into the Kenyan context, including aspects of religious beliefs, social norms and gender dynamics. The expert discussions also aimed to explore nine new transformative narratives with the potential to shift public perceptions regarding care and domestic work. We categorized these narratives into two main groups: one focused on unpaid care and domestic work, and the other centred around paid domestic work.

2.3. NARRATIVES DEVELOPMENT

In this third phase, we analysed the findings from the second phase to assess the viability of nine transformative narratives. The goal of this phase was to identify narratives that best fit the Kenyan context, have a stronger potential to challenge and ultimately shift the existing perceptions, and bring about change in perspectives and narratives surrounding care and domestic work in Kenya.

We analysed the nine transformative narratives using the insights collected from IDIs and KIs to assess their potential impact. After an internal discussion, we narrowed down five narratives that showed potential to challenge existing narratives and shift perspectives of care and domestic work in Kenya. These narratives are discussed in detail in Section 6 of the report.

2.4. CO-DESIGN WORKSHOP

We held a co-design workshop with the steering committee to discuss the five narratives from phase three. The workshop involved local experts and stakeholders in developing impactful narratives for care and domestic work in Kenya. We used a participatory design approach to facilitate the workshop and foster collaborative discussions to generate new narratives through ideation. We reviewed, ideated and co-created narratives as outcomes to be validated in the next phase.

During the workshop, participants evaluated and improved each narrative using the 'I Wish, I Wonder, I Like, I Would Remove' exercise. They provided feedback, and identified elements to add or eliminate. Participants also analysed the narratives based on the 5Ws (What, Why, Who, When, Where) exercise to strengthen its emotional appeal, attractiveness, credibility, timing and delivery channels.

To conclude the workshop, participants actively voted for their favourite three narratives. They shared their reasons for their selections, which helped identify the most promising ideas. The co-design workshop played a crucial role in refining and selecting narratives that resonate with the Kenyan context, challenging existing perceptions, and informing the subsequent stage of the research.

2.5. VALIDATE

During the fifth and final phase of the research project, we rigorously tested the narratives selected during the co-design workshop to evaluate their effectiveness and resonance. The testing phase comprised two main components: experimental surveys and qualitative testing.

We conducted an experimental survey among the general public to test the narratives focusing on unpaid care and domestic work. We tested three different versions of this narrative using framing techniques to assess how different approaches influenced respondents' perceptions and understanding of the narrative. The framing effect refers to a cognitive bias where people's decision-making is influenced by how information is presented to them. The attractiveness of the same information can vary based on which features are highlighted (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979). The quantitative testing involved launching the survey in two phases. Initially, we launched a recruitment survey to gather demographic information from the participants, which remained active for two weeks. The recruited participants were then randomly assigned to different groups to receive the narrative in the main survey. Only respondents who completed both the recruitment and main survey were considered for the final analysis.

Additionally, we qualitatively tested the narratives related to paid domestic work and the general concept of care and domestic work. We conducted in-person, in-depth interviews with those who work as domestic workers in Nairobi, to gain a deeper understanding of their lived realities and experiences. These interviews aimed to test the narratives developed around paid domestic work qualitatively and refine them based on the participants' feedback and insights. For the IDIs with paid domestic workers, we employed a snowball sampling strategy, where participants were selected based on referrals from other participants. We also conducted virtual KIs with key experts and policymakers working in the care and domestic work sector in Kenya. For the KIs, we used a purposive sampling approach, considering the expertise and unique perspectives of the selected individuals. These interviews enabled a discussion of the transformative narratives around their effectiveness in shifting public perception.

The findings from the testing phase provided valuable insights and feedback on the narratives, enabling the research team to further refine and enhance them. These refined narratives will be ready for final launch, with the aim of effectively challenging existing perceptions and promoting recognition and valuation of care and domestic work in Kenya.

APPENDIX 3: QUALITATIVE INSTRUMENTS

3.1. IDI GUIDE

This guide was used during the formative research with members of the public to identify and map prevailing narratives about women’s responsibilities in relation to unpaid care and domestic work.

Respondent Demographic Information

Background for facilitators: Ask participants to fill in this form before the interview starts.

First, I would like to confirm a few pieces of information about you. *[Fill out the relevant demographic information in the table below.]*

Names of participants:	
Gender	
Age bracket:	<input type="checkbox"/> 18–35 <input type="checkbox"/> 36–50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51–79 <input type="checkbox"/> 80+
Marital status	<input type="checkbox"/> Never married <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced, separated or widowed <input type="checkbox"/> Prefer not to say
What is the highest level of education you have attained? (For all participants.)	<input type="checkbox"/> No formal schooling <input type="checkbox"/> Some primary schooling <input type="checkbox"/> Primary schooling completed <input type="checkbox"/> Some secondary school/high school <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary school/high school completed <input type="checkbox"/> Post-secondary qualifications, not university <input type="checkbox"/> Some university <input type="checkbox"/> University completed <input type="checkbox"/> Post-graduate
What is your average monthly income? (For all participants.)	<input type="checkbox"/> Less than KSh10,000 <input type="checkbox"/> KSh10,000–29,999 <input type="checkbox"/> KSh30,000–49,999 <input type="checkbox"/> KSh50,000–99,999 <input type="checkbox"/> KSh100,000+ <input type="checkbox"/> Other....[FO: Ask for specific amount]
What is your occupation?	<input type="checkbox"/> Not engaged in economic activity <input type="checkbox"/> Unpaid family work <input type="checkbox"/> Paid domestic work <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational worker (<i>e.g., foreman, motor mechanic, electrician</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> Informal work (<i>e.g., labourer, porter, cleaner, factory worker</i>) <input type="checkbox"/> Formal paid work (<i>e.g., banker, doctor, teacher,</i>

	<i>union official</i> [] Other, specify...
How best would you describe your residence?	[] Urban [] Peri-urban [] Rural
What is your relationship to the household head?	[] Wife [] Husband [] Brother/sister [] Other relative [] Non-relative [] He/she is the household head [] Other, specify...
Number of people in household (including self)	
How many of them are between the age group of (including self)	[] 0–5 years old [] 6–10 years old [] 11–15 years old [] 16–20 years old [] 21–50 years old [] 51–55 years old [] 56–60 years old [] 61–65 years old [] 66–70 years old [] 71+ years old
Do any of the family members in your household have a disability?	[] Yes: how many members? [] No
Religion	[] Christianity [] Islam [] Other, specify ...

Part A: What is care and domestic work?

Section objective: The aim of this section is to understand how respondents define and understand care and domestic work in general.

- A. According to you, what type of work qualifies as unpaid care work?
 - What words and phrases do you use to describe unpaid care work?
- B. According to you, what type of work qualifies as unpaid domestic work?
 - What words and phrases do you use to describe domestic work?
- C. What, if any, is the difference between unpaid care and domestic work?
- D. According to you, what type of work qualifies as paid domestic work?
 - What words and phrases do you use to describe paid domestic work?
- E. In your household, who is primarily responsible for any care or domestic work?

- If self:
 - a. Why are you responsible for it?
 - b. Which of the following activities is your primary responsibility, compared to other members of your household?
 1. Washing, drying, mending and ironing clothes.
 2. Food and drink preparation, storing food.
 3. Doing the dishes.
 4. Cleaning/tidying the house/compound/garden, preparing the beds.
 5. Fuel collection (e.g., firewood or charcoal).
 6. Water collection.
 7. Caring for children.
 8. Caring for elderly people, or people living with illness or disabilities.
 9. Caring for community members (e.g., providing support without pay).
 10. Shopping related to care and domestic work (e.g., food, household supplies, medicine, clothing).
 11. Travelling/walking related to care and domestic work.
 12. Outdoor tasks, e.g., decoration, repair and household maintenance, gardening.
 13. Other, please specify.
 - If someone else, who is primarily responsible for the care and domestic work in your household?
 - a. And why are they responsible for it?
- F. How many hours in a day do you typically spend on care and domestic work?
- G. How many hours in a day do you typically spend on paid work?
- H. Who in your household do you think generally makes the most significant contribution to the wellbeing of the household? (Probe: try to get very specific answers such as me, my partner, father, mother, etc.)
- a. Why do you think so?
- I. Who in the household, women or men, should make the decision regarding the following?
- a. Household expenditure;
 - b. Children's education;
 - c. What to eat for lunch/dinner;
 - d. Big household purchases, such as a bicycle;
 - e. Financial services (credit, microfinance, etc.);
 - f. Livestock;
 - g. Groceries.
- J. How important do you think unpaid care and domestic work is for your and your family's wellbeing on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is least important and 10 is very important. Can you elaborate on this?
- K. How important do you think unpaid care and domestic work is for your society and community on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is least important and 10 is very important? Can you elaborate on this?
- L. How important do you think is paid domestic work for your and your family's wellbeing on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is least important and 10 is very important. Can you elaborate on this?
- M. How important do you think paid domestic work is for your society and community on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is least important and 10 is very important? Can you elaborate on this?
- N. **[ONLY FOR WOMEN]** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Why or why not?
- a. I do care work for people because I personally think it is the right thing to do.

- b. I do care work for people because I think this is what other women do.
- c. I do care work for people because this is what others expect me to do.
- d. I do domestic work for people because I personally think it is the right thing to do.
- e. I do domestic work for people because I think this is what other women do.
- f. I do domestic work for people because I think this is what others expect me to do.

Q. **[ONLY FOR MEN]** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Why or why not?

- a. I do care work for people because I personally think it is the right thing to do.
- b. I do care work for people because I think this is what other men do.
- c. I do care work for people because this is what others expect me to do.
- d. I do domestic work for people because I personally think it is the right thing to do.
- e. I do domestic work for people because I think this is what other men do.
- f. I do domestic work for people because I think this is what others expect me to do.

P. Now I will ask you some questions about what you and your partner/spouse were doing over the course of yesterday. Sometimes it's not easy to remember. We appreciate you responding with your best estimate, to your knowledge. This is helpful to understand how you and others in the household spend their time.

Time	What were you doing?	What was your partner/spouse doing?
<i>Morning (5–9 am)</i>		
<i>Afternoon (10am–3 pm)</i>		
<i>Late afternoon (3–5 pm)</i>		
<i>Evening (5–8 pm)</i>		
<i>Night (8–10 pm)</i>		

Q. In your household do you hire someone to perform any care or domestic work?

- If yes:
 - a. Which of the following activities in your household do you outsource?
 1. Washing, drying, mending and ironing clothes.
 2. Food and drink preparation, storing food.
 3. Doing the dishes .
 4. Cleaning/tidying the house/compound/garden, preparing the beds.
 5. Fuel collection (e.g., firewood or charcoal).
 6. Water collection.
 7. Caring for children.
 8. Caring for elderly people, people living with illness or people with disabilities.
 9. Shopping related to care and domestic work (e.g., food, household supplies, medicine, clothing).
 10. Travelling/walking related to care and domestic work.
 11. Outdoor tasks, e.g., decoration, repair and household maintenance, gardening.
 12. Other, please specify.
 - b. What do you call the person/people who do paid domestic work for you?
 - c. How would you describe the appearance of the person who does this work for you?

- d. Who in your household generally pays for the outsourced care and domestic service?
 1. How much do you pay them?
 2. How did you decide how much to pay them?
- If no:
 - a. Is there a reason you choose not to hire someone to do any care and domestic work? Can you elaborate on that?
 - b. What are people who do paid domestic work generally referred to as in families and communities?
 - c. What do the people who generally do paid care and domestic work look like?
 - d. How many hours do you think they work per week?
 1. How much do you think they earn per week?
- R. Why do you think people work as paid domestic workers?
 - a. What might be some of the reasons they started working as domestic workers?
 - b. What else can they do other than paid domestic work?

Part B: Perceptions of unpaid care and domestic work.

Now I would like to read out a list of activities and roles for you. Please listen to them carefully.

- a. Meal preparation.
 - b. Planting/harvesting crops.
 - c. Cleaning the house or compound.
 - d. Drying/processing an agricultural product.
 - e. Caring for children.
 - f. Caring for elderly people, people living with illness or people with disabilities.
 - g. House construction/repair.
 - h. Fuel or water collection.
 - i. Selling products/trading.
 - j. Taking care of farm animals.
 - k. Washing and cleaning dishes.
 - l. Washing, ironing and mending clothes.
 - m. Paid domestic work.
 - n. Vocational work such as electrical work, plumbing or carpentry.
 - o. Office receptionist and assistants.
 - p. Commercial banker.
 - q. Tax accountant.
- A. Could you select only four activities that you think are most valuable?
 - a. Could you rank them from 1 to 4?
 - B. Could you select only four activities that you think are least valuable?
 - a. Could you rank them from 1 to 4?
 - C. Now I will repeat these activities again. Please listen to them carefully and select only four activities that you think require the most skills.
 - a. Out of these four, could you rank them according to the most skills required?
 - D. I will repeat these activities again. Please listen to them carefully and select only four activities that you think require the least skills.
 - a. Out of these four, could you rank them according to the least skills required?
 - E. Generally speaking, what, if any, do you think are some of the skills that are required to care for children, elderly people and people with disabilities?
 - F. Generally speaking, what, if any, do you think are some of the skills that are required to do domestic work such as cooking, cleaning or washing?

- G. Are there any domestic work and care activities that are particularly difficult for you and your family?
- If so:
 - a. What are they?
 - b. Why are they difficult for you and your family?
- H. How much time do you think doing care and domestic work generally takes?
- a. Do you think the amount of effort and work required to do care and domestic work is acknowledged by people in your community? Can you elaborate on your response?

Part C: Social norms and role.

Section objective: The aim of this section is to understand the barriers and opportunities for care and domestic work, especially how social norms shape narratives on care and domestic work.

- A. Below are some common statements about care and domestic work. On a scale of 1–5 where 1 is ‘strongly disagree’ and 5 is ‘strongly agree’, please indicate how you feel about each of them.
- a. Care and domestic work should not be considered as real work like paid employment outside of the home.
 - b. Care and domestic workers are unskilled, as care and domestic work does not require skills.
 - c. For a woman, being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.
 - d. Only men should bear the primary responsibility for their family’s income.
 - e. Paid work should not be a woman’s priority. Family should always come first.
 - f. Women are better suited to care and domestic work such as cleaning, cooking, washing and ironing, compared to men.
 - g. I believe it is unmanly for men to partake in activities such as cleaning, cooking, washing and ironing in front of their peers.
 - h. It is justified that the partner with the lowest income should do a greater share of the housework.
 - i. Men should decide how to spend the household income.
 - j. Women and men should have the same decision-making power regarding work outside the home.
 - k. Men should participate more in the care and upbringing of their children than they do at present.
 - l. When a mother works for pay, the children suffer.
- B. Of all the statements above, can you summarize the statements that best represent your point of view?
- a. Why does this statement resonate with you?
- C. Of all the statements above, which statement least represents your point of view?
- a. Why does this statement not resonate with you?
- E. What do you think of a man who does care and domestic work in the household? Why do you think that?
- a. Do you know any man who does care and domestic work within their family or community, etc.? Who is that? Why do you think they do this work?
- F. What do you think other people in your society would say about a man who does care and domestic work in the household?
- a. Why do they think that?

Part D: Gender norms and roles.

- A. If we spoke with 10 women in your community, how many do you think would say men should do care and domestic work?
- B. If we spoke with 10 men in your community, how many do you think would say men should do care and domestic work?
- C. **[Only for men.]** If nobody knew you did care and domestic work, would you do it more? Why is that the case?
 - a. If yes: What kind of care and domestic work would you be willing to do?
 - b. If no: Why do you not want to do care and domestic work?
- D. **[Only for women.]** If nobody knew that your partner/spouse did care and domestic work, would you want him to do more? Why is that the case?
- E. If you had to divide care and domestic work equally among men and women in your household, which tasks would you assign to women? Which tasks would you assign to men?
- F. Are there any tasks that women are naturally better at than men?
 - If yes:
 - a. Can you list them for me?
 - b. Why do you think women are better at these than men?
- G. Are there tasks that men are naturally better at than women?
 - a. Can you list them for me?
 - b. Why do you think men are better at these than women?
- H. What, if anything, do you think we can do to ensure the responsibility of unpaid care and domestic work and paid domestic work is shared more equitably across various groups of people, e.g., please think in terms of gender, income distribution and education level?

Part E: Social values and attitudes.

Section objective: The aim of this section is to understand the attitudes and values that are prevalent within communities in Kenya.

- A. What do others in your community say are the qualities of a GOOD WIFE?
 - a. Would you be comfortable sharing these views with others, such as your family, relatives, neighbours, etc.? Why or why not?
- B. What do others in your community say are the qualities of a GOOD HUSBAND?
 - a. Would you be comfortable sharing these views with others, such as your family, relatives, neighbours, etc.? Why or why not?
- C. What do others in your community say are the qualities of a GOOD PERSON?
- D. Here are some qualities that people are generally expected to uphold. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important? Please choose up to four of them.
 - a. Independence;
 - b. Hard work;
 - c. A sense of responsibility;
 - d. Tolerance and respect for other people;
 - e. Determination and perseverance;

- f. Not being selfish;
- g. Obedience.

That is all the questions. Is there anything else related to caring for people and domestic work that you would like to add and that we have not yet discussed?

Thank you very much for your time.

3.2. KII GUIDE

This guide was used during the formative research with members of civil society organizations; it aimed to understand their experiences with changing narratives in Kenya.

Part A: Elements for transformative narratives.

- A. What factors do you think can influence how Kenyans view unpaid care and domestic work?
 - a. Can you elaborate on why and how you think these factors influence Kenyans' views on unpaid care, domestic work and paid domestic work?
 - b. Where do you think these factors stem from?
 - c. Which of these factors do you think has the greatest influence?
- B. What factors do you think can influence how Kenyans view paid domestic work?
 - a. Can you elaborate on why and how you think these factors influence Kenyans' views on unpaid care, domestic work and paid domestic work?
 - b. Where do you think these factors stem from?
 - c. Which of these factors do you think has the greatest influence?
- C. Do you think Kenyans in general consider care and domestic work as important for their households, communities and wider society? Why or why not?
 - a. Similarly, do Kenyans in general think care and domestic work is important for the wellbeing and prosperity of their households, communities and wider society? Why or why not?
 - b. Do you think Kenyans in general think care and domestic work contributes to the economy? Why or why not?
- D. Do you think the amount of effort and work required to do care and domestic work is recognized (visible/acknowledged) by the people in Kenyan communities? Can you elaborate on your response?
- E. Generally, what are perceived to be the qualities of a **GOOD KENYAN WOMAN**? Why are these qualities important for Kenyans?
- F. Generally, what are perceived to be the qualities of a **GOOD KENYAN MAN**? Why are these qualities important for Kenyans?
- G. Generally, who is considered to be a **GOOD person** in Kenya? What activities/tasks are associated with a good person?
- H. Which of these (social) qualities are considered really important in Kenya? And why?
 - a. A sense of responsibility;
 - b. Obedience;
 - c. Independence;
 - d. Religious faith;
 - e. Taking care of the family;
 - f. Helpful and kind;

- g. Dependability ** (trustworthy and reliable)
 - h. Financial responsibility
 - i. Business acumen ** (business savvy)
 - j. Others?
- I. What does your organization do in terms of care and domestic work? It could either be in terms of recognizing, reducing, redistributing, rewarding and representation?
 - J. What would you do to increase the way people value care and domestic work? Which social norms and perceptions would you want to leverage and/or change?
 - K. A lot of organizations like yours are already running programmes to change people’s perceptions about care and domestic work. Can you tell me a bit about some of these programmes that have been successful? Why do you think these projects worked?
 - a. Likewise, which programmes have been less successful? Why were these projects/programmes less successful?
 - L. What has been done by organizations like yours to counter the stigmatization of men’s role in care and domestic work?
 - a. What kind of messages and approaches might be impactful and effective, if we want to re-inforce the role of men in caring for children and families?
 - M. How can we ensure that people consider all care and domestic work as real work?
 - N. What do you think are some barriers to **recognizing** care and domestic work?
 - a. What do you think are some enablers to **recognizing** care and domestic work?
 - b. What has already been done in Kenya to increase the recognition of cognitive and emotional work that most carers and domestic workers do? What do you think are some barriers to **redistributing** care and domestic work?
 - c. What do you think are some enablers to **redistributing** care and domestic work?
 - d. How can we portray domestic work as a ‘collective responsibility’ between members of the household/family instead of just a woman’s responsibility?
 - O. Who can we work with in the community as role models to shift people’s perceptions about care and domestic work? Who are our allies?
 - P. Which are some of the platforms that can be used to share the transformative narratives?
 - a. Similarly, who will be more resistant in the communities?
 - Q. One of the main aims of this project is to create new narratives (or stories) that can be used to shift people’s perceptions about care and domestic work. Currently, literature and anecdotal evidence suggest that people undervalue care and domestic work, so we want the new narratives to convey how important care and domestic work is for society and how skilled care and domestic workers are, among other messages. So in the next question, we want to tease out some of the elements to create these new stories/narratives around care and domestic work/workers. For this, I will share a couple of statements with you and we’ll discuss why it may or may not work in Kenya.

Statements	Why might these narratives <u>WORK</u> in Kenya?	Why might these narratives <u>NOT WORK</u> in Kenya?
	Where might this narrative work in Kenya and with whom? [Probe: It could be locations/areas in the country, groups of people in terms of socio-economic status, age, gender, education, socio-cultural norms/beliefs, any context]	Where and among whom will it <u>NOT</u> specifically work?

<i>Fathers (involved in care work) develop better relationships with children.</i>		
<i>Marriages become happier when care and domestic work is shared.</i>		
<i>Valuing care and domestic work is central to a wellbeing economy.</i>		
<i>Women are capable of performing the same jobs as men.</i>		
<i>Care and domestic work is not only women's work, it is a collective responsibility.</i>		
<i>The skills of domestic workers are valuable.</i>		
<i><u>Paid</u> domestic workers deserve the same protection as formal workers.</i>		
<i><u>Paid</u> domestic work provides employment for women.</i>		

- R. Are there any other narratives/stories that you think will work? If yes, what are they? Where might they work, with whom? And why?
- a. What are some of the key things we should consider while developing these new narratives/ stories?
 - b. That is all of the questions. *Is there anything else related to caring for people and domestic work that you would like to add and that we have not yet discussed?*

Thank you very much for your time.

3.3. QUALITATIVE TESTING IDI GUIDE: DOMESTIC WORKERS

This guide was used during the validation stage to test the understanding of domestic workers on the developed frames and narratives about unpaid care and domestic work.

<p>Participants' demographic information.</p> <p>First, I would like to confirm a few pieces of information about you. <i>[FO: Fill out the relevant demographic information in the table below]</i></p>	
1. What is your name?	Open ____
2. In which county do you live?	Open ____
3. In which type of area do you primarily reside?	Rural Peri-urban Urban
4. What is your gender?	Female Male
5. How old are you?	Open ____
6. What is the highest class of school you have completed?	None Primary school Secondary school Bachelor's degree Master's degree Technical college Religious seminary Military college Others ____
7. What is your marital status?	Married Single Separated Divorced Widowed Other
8. Do you have children?	Yes No
8.1. If yes, how many children do you have?	Open ____
8.2. What religion do you practise or follow?	Traditional African religion Buddhism Christianity Hinduism Islam Other None Prefer not to answer

8.3. What is your primary occupation?	<p>Not engaged in economic activity/unpaid family work</p> <p>Paid domestic work</p> <p>Vocational worker (<i>e.g., foreman, motor mechanic, electrician</i>). Informal work (<i>e.g., labourer, porter, cleaner, factory worker</i>).</p> <p>Formal paid work (<i>e.g., banker, doctor, teacher</i>).</p> <p>Other, specify...</p>
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We are going to start with the **first narrative**: participants were exposed to various narratives and asked to evaluate them.

Narrative 1

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the first narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

<p>Narrative 1 – key message: make domestic work visible. Help people recognize and see the amount of effort, energy and time it requires. So that people view it as 'real work'.</p>
<p>Behind every successful Kenyan household, there's a domestic worker keeping things clean, healthy and functional. They are the unsung heroes, the invisible pillars of Kenya, tirelessly supporting the productivity and health of our society. Without them, everything would come crashing down faster than a poorly stacked pile of dishes!</p> <p>Next time you sit down for a delicious meal, take a moment to think about all the effort and hours they spent shopping, cleaning and cooking to make it happen. It's not their hobby - it's their profession. And just like you, they have families, lives, and bills to pay. Despite a fair wage of KSh15,201 per month stipulated by law, domestic workers in Kenya are earning an average of only KSh8,841 per month, leaving 73% of them trapped in debt. It is crucial that they are paid a fair wage in accordance with the law. They also deserve the same respect and dignity as any other worker. It's time to clean up our act and give domestic workers the recognition they deserve.</p>

Discussion questions:

[Note to facilitators: please repeat the narratives a few times if the respondent struggles to remember the message or ask them if they would like for you to repeat it.]

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative? [Probe: what kind of emotions did you feel? Surprise, shock, anger, excitement, happiness or sadness, etc.?]
 - a. What do you like the most about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least about this narrative?
 - c. What would you change?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
 - a. In your opinion, does the narrative make domestic work and domestic workers more visible? Why or why not?
3. Do you think this message accurately reflects the reality of paid domestic workers such as yourself in Kenya? Why or why not?
 - **If yes:**
 - a. How so?

- b. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of your experiences?
 - **If no:**
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of your experiences?
 - b. If you had the opportunity to change this narrative, what would you change to make domestic work more visible? Why?
 - c. What do you believe should be added to the narrative? What do you believe should be removed from the narrative?
 - d. Do you think other paid domestic workers will approve of this narrative? Why or why not?
3. Is the narrative clear? Is it easy to understand?
 - a. What do you think about the language used in this narrative? [Probe: what do you like? What don't you like? Any specific words and/or phrases that you would like to add to this narrative?]
 4. Are you willing to share this narrative with others?
 - a. **If yes**, on which channels would you be comfortable sharing this narrative?
 - b. **If no**, why do you not want to share this with others?
 5. Who can we work with in the community as role models to promote this narrative?
 - a. Which groups in the community would be most resistant to this narrative?
 6. If you saw this narrative tomorrow in a media channel, how would you feel as a domestic worker?
 7. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can make domestic work more visible and help people recognize the effort domestic workers put in their work? [Probe: why did you provide the rating you gave?]

Thank you for your responses to the first narrative. We are now moving to the second narrative.

Narrative 2

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the second narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 2 – key message: domestic work requires skills like any other profession. Thus, domestic workers are skilful.

Domestic work is vital work. It's not just chores, it's a profession that requires a diverse set of skills and knowledge.

Think domestic work is just about cooking, cleaning and laundry? Think again! Domestic workers are like the Swiss Army knives of the household, equipped with a diverse set of skills that includes everything from using household appliances to problem-solving and effective communication. A good house manager adapts quickly to new situations, manages their time and takes initiative to get things done. They smoothly manage difficult household dynamics and handle unexpected emergencies. Thus, domestic work is a profession in its own right, just like nursing, teaching or accounting. Let's treat domestic workers the same way we would treat any other professional worker, and pay them at least a minimum wage of KSh15,210 per month as stipulated by the Kenyan Government. Let's give domestic work the respect it deserves as a highly skilled profession!

Discussion questions:

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative? [Probe: what kind of emotions did you feel? Surprise, shock, anger, excitement, happiness or sadness, etc.?
 - a. What do you like the most about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least about this narrative?
 - c. What would you change?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
 - a. In your opinion, does the narrative relay any recognition of the diverse skills required when performing domestic work? Why or why not?
3. Do you believe the message accurately reflects the reality of paid domestic workers such as yourself in Kenya? (Probe: why or why not?)
 - **If yes:**
 - a. How so?
 - b. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of your experiences?
 - **If no:**
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of your experiences?
 - b. If you had the opportunity to change this narrative, what would you change to make it more impactful in making domestic work seen as vital work? Why?
 - c. What do you believe should be added to the narrative? What do you believe should be removed from the narrative?
 - Do you think other paid domestic workers will approve of this narrative? Why or why not?
 - What do you think about the language used in this narrative? (Probe: What do you like? What don't you like?)
4. Is the narrative clear? Is it easy to understand?
 - a. What do you think about the language used in this narrative? [Probe: what do you like? What don't you like? Any specific words and/or phrases that you would like to add to this narrative?]
5. Are you willing to share this narrative with others?
 - a. If yes, on which channels would you be comfortable sharing this narrative? [Probe: which platforms/channels are ideal for sharing this message?]
 - b. If not, why do you not want to share this with others?
6. Who can we work with in the community as role models to promote this narrative?
 - a. Which groups in the community would be most resistant to this narrative? [Probe: ask the respondents to provide general demographic details. For example: are these people young/old? What is their occupation, education level or income background? Where do they get their information/news from?. It could be their community leaders, neighbours, etc.
7. If you saw this narrative tomorrow in a media channel, how would you feel as a domestic worker? [Probe: increased confidence, pride, appreciation, recognized, appreciated or valued, etc?]
8. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can make people believe that domestic work is vital work that requires skills and knowledge? (Probe: why did you provide the rating you gave?)

Thank you for your responses to the second narrative. We are now moving to the third narrative.

Narrative 3

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the third narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 3 – key message: women might seem to do it all, both at the office and house, but they are hurting in the process, so men need to step up and support women.

Ironing out gender equality: share the household work.

Studies show that women who work a double shift, balancing both office and home life are at risk of stress, burnout, poor physical health and wellbeing. Women make up 50.2% of the working population in Kenya and play a vital role in powering the country's economy. However, at the current rate of progress, it will take 95 years to close the gender gap in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, which means that the gender gap won't be closed until your grandchildren are grown up. Thus, families, especially husbands and partners, should start supporting women in their lives better by sharing their workload. When we promote gender equality, everyone wins. It's time to ease the burden of care and domestic work and make equality a reality in Kenya

Discussion questions:

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing about this narrative?
 - a. What do you like the most about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least about this narrative?
 - c. What would you change?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
 - a. In your opinion, does the narrative relay any message about the need for the distribution of domestic work between men and women?
3. Do you believe the message accurately reflects the reality of **women** in Kenya?
 - **If yes:**
 - a. How so?
 - b. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of the experiences of Kenyan women?
 - **If no:**
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to become a better depiction of the experiences of Kenyan women?
 - b. If you had the opportunity to change this narrative, what would you change to make it more impactful in highlighting the importance of sharing domestic work? Why?
 - c. What do you believe should be added to the narrative? What do you believe should be removed from the narrative?
 - Do you think women will approve of this narrative? Why or why not?
 - Do you think men will approve of this narrative? Why or why not?
4. Is the narrative clear? Is it easy to understand?
 - a. What do you think about the language used in this narrative?

5. Are you willing to share this narrative with others?
 - a. **If yes**, on which channels would you be comfortable sharing this narrative?
 - b. **If no**, why do you not want to share this with others?
6. Who can we work with in the community as role models to promote this narrative?
 - a. Which groups in the community would be most resistant to this narrative? If you saw this narrative tomorrow in a media channel, how would you feel as a woman/man?
7. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can influence **men and women** to actively share roles and participate in care and domestic work?
 - a. Why did you provide the rating you gave?

Thank you for your responses to the third narrative. We are now moving to the final section of the interview.

Concluding questions:

1. How many hours do you typically spend in a day doing paid domestic work? On average, how much do you earn in a day? What kind of services do you provide?
2. In your opinion, what can we do to make domestic work more visible?
3. What type of call to actions (CTAs) have you seen in media campaigns that you found particularly memorable or compelling?
4. Are there any examples of CTAs that you have seen that motivated you to take action?
5. What motivates you to engage with a CTA, and what might discourage you from doing so?
6. Do you prefer CTAs that are straightforward and simple or those that are more creative and unique?
7. What types of CTAs do you think are overused and ineffective?
8. How do you think the tone of a CTA (e.g., urgent, inspiring, informative) can affect its effectiveness?

3.4. QUALITATIVE TESTING KII GUIDE: POLICYMAKERS

This guide was used during the validation stage to test the understanding of the developed frames and narratives about unpaid care and domestic work with policymakers.

Participants' Demographic Information	
<i>First, I would like to confirm a few pieces of information about you. [Facilitator: fill out the relevant demographic information in the table below.]</i>	
1. What is your name?	
2. Which organization do you work for?	
3. Position/role in the organization	
4. Can you briefly highlight your experience in your organization?	

Narrative A

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the first narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 1 – key message: make domestic work visible. Help people recognize and see the amount of effort, energy and time it requires. So that people view it as 'real work'.

Behind every successful Kenyan household, there's a domestic worker keeping things clean, healthy and functional. They are the unsung heroes, the invisible pillars of Kenya, tirelessly supporting the productivity and health of our society. Without them, everything would come crashing down faster than a poorly stacked pile of dishes!

Next time you sit down for a delicious meal, take a moment to think about all the effort and hours they spent shopping, cleaning and cooking to make it happen. It's not their hobby - it's their profession. And just like you, they have families, lives, and bills to pay. Despite a fair wage of KSh15,201 per month stipulated by law, domestic workers in Kenya are earning an average of only KSh8,841 per month, leaving 73% of them trapped in debt. It is crucial that they are paid a fair wage in accordance with the law. They also deserve the same respect and dignity as any other worker. It's time to clean up our act and give domestic workers the recognition they deserve.

Discussion questions

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative?
 - a. What do you most like about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least?
 - c. What, if anything, what would you change in this narrative?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
3. Do you believe this narrative accurately describes the current realities of paid domestic workers in Kenya? (*Probe: why or why not.*)
 - a. What effect do you think the narrative would have in making domestic work more visible?
 - b. How do you think Kenyans in general would react to this narrative? (*Probe: would these reactions be different for different population groups?*)
 - c. How can we improve the narrative to better help people to recognize the amount of effort and energy required for domestic work?
4. Are you aware of any plans or objectives by the government or relevant agencies to make domestic work more visible and recognizable? (*Probe: can you provide more details?*)
 - a. In your opinion, is this narrative in tune with these plans or objectives? (*Probe: if yes, how so?*)
 - b. How does this narrative align with the laws, policy, and regulations of Kenya?
 - c. Is there any specific language, either words or phrases, that we should use in the narrative?
5. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can make domestic work more visible and help people recognize the effort domestic workers put into their work?
 - a. Why did you provide the rating you gave?
6. Thinking about the barriers in recognizing unpaid care and domestic in Kenya, do you believe this narrative properly highlights any of these barriers? (*Probe: If so, how so?*)

7. Would you advocate for this narrative to be disseminated? Why or why not?
 - a. What are some additional things we should consider while disseminating this new narrative to the general public?
8. How can we share this narrative to make it more appealing to the Kenyans? (*Probe: platforms/channels, target audience, demography.*)
 - a. What platforms/channels would be most effective in sharing this narrative?
 - b. Who should we target? Where are these people based? (*Probe: please think in terms of counties, region, demographic characteristics of people, etc.*)
 - c. Which stakeholders do you think are pivotal when disseminating these narratives? (*Probe: can you please elaborate?*)
 - d. Are there any issues you foresee with the dissemination of this narrative? (*Probe: does it adhere to socio-cultural Kenyan policies, laws and regulations, and the political language of the people?*)

Narrative B

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the second narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 2 – key message: domestic work requires skills like any other profession. Thus, domestic workers are skilful.

Domestic work is vital work. It's not just chores, it's a profession that requires a diverse set of skills and knowledge.

Think domestic work is just about cooking, cleaning and laundry? Think again! Domestic workers are like the Swiss Army knives of the household, equipped with a diverse set of skills that includes everything from using household appliances to problem-solving and effective communication. A good house manager adapts quickly to new situations, manages their time, and takes initiative to get things done. They smoothly manage difficult household dynamics and handle unexpected emergencies. Thus, domestic work is a profession in its own right, just like nursing, teaching or accounting. Let's treat them the same way we would treat any other professional worker, and pay them at least a minimum wage of KSh15,210 per month as stipulated by the Kenyan Government. Let's give domestic work the respect it deserves as a highly skilled profession!

Discussion questions

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative? (*Probe: what kind of emotions did you feel? For example, surprise, shock, anger, excitement, happiness or sadness, etc.*)
 - a. What do you most like about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least?
 - c. What, if anything, what would you change in this narrative?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
3. Do you believe this narrative does a good job in highlighting domestic work as vital work that requires diverse skills and knowledge? (*Probe: why or why not?*)
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to better depict domestic workers having diverse skills?
 - b. How do you think general Kenyans would react to this narrative? (*Probe: would*

- these reactions be different for different population groups?)*
- c. What effect do you think the narrative would have in promoting and appreciating the diverse skills required in doing domestic work? *(Probe: why is this?)*
4. Are you aware of any plans by the government or any agencies to promote/highlight the skills of domestic workers?
 - a. In your opinion, is this narrative in line with these plans or objectives? *(Probe: if so, how so?)*
 - b. How does this narrative align with the laws, policies and regulations of Kenya?
 - c. Is there any specific language, either words or phrases, that we should use in the narrative to better align with these plans or objectives?
 5. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can convince people that domestic work is vital work that requires skills and knowledge?
 - a. Why did you provide the rating you gave?
 6. What do you think are some barriers to recognizing the diverse skills required to perform domestic work?
 - a. Do you believe this narrative properly highlights any of the barriers to recognizing the diverse skills required to perform domestic work?
 7. Would you advocate for this narrative to be disseminated? Why or why not?
 - a. What are some additional things we should consider while disseminating this new narrative to the general public?
 8. How can we share this narrative to make it more appealing to Kenyans?
 - a. Which platforms/channels would be most effective in sharing this narrative?
 - b. Who should we target? Where are these people based? *(Probe: please think in terms of counties, regions and demographic characteristics of people, etc.)*
 - c. Which stakeholders do you think are pivotal when disseminating these narratives? *(Can you please elaborate?)*
 - d. Are there any issues you foresee with the dissemination of this narrative? *(Probe: does it adhere to socio-cultural Kenyan policies, laws and regulations, and the political language of the people?)*

Narrative C

Facilitator instruction: Start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the third narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 3 – key message: women might seem to do it all, both at the office and house but they are hurting in the process so men need to step up and support women.

Ironing out gender equality: share the household work.

Studies show that women who work a double shift, balancing both office and home life are at risk of stress, burnout, poor physical health and wellbeing. Women make up 50.2% of the working population in Kenya and play a vital role in powering the country's economy. However, at the current rate of progress, it will take 95 years to close the gender gap in sub-Saharan Africa, including Kenya, which means that the gender gap won't be closed until your grandchildren are grown up. Thus, families, especially husbands and partners, should start supporting women in their lives better by sharing their workload. When we promote gender

equality, everyone wins. It's time to ease the burden of care and domestic work and make equality a reality in Kenya.

Discussion questions

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative? [*Probe: what kind of emotions did you feel? For example, surprise, shock, anger, excitement, happiness or sadness, etc.*]
 - a. What do you most like about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least
 - c. What, if anything, what would you change in this narrative?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
3. Do you believe this narrative does a good job in actively promoting and encouraging the sharing of domestic work between men and women in Kenya? [*Probe: Why or why not?*]
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to better advocate for sharing of domestic work between men and women in Kenya?
 - b. How do you think general Kenyans would react to this narrative? [*Probe: would these reactions be different for different population groups?*]
 - c. What effect do you think the narrative would have in advocating for men's participation in care and domestic work?
 - d. What effect do you think the narrative will have on promoting gender equality in domestic work?
4. Are you aware of any plans by the government or any agencies promoting sharing of household work between men and women?
 - a. In your opinion, is this narrative in line with these plans or objectives? [*Probe: if so, how so?*]
 - b. How does this narrative align with the laws, policies and regulations of Kenya?
 - c. Is there any specific language, either words or phrases, that we should use in the narrative?
5. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can influence **men** to actively share domestic work with **women** at the household level?
 - a. Why did you provide the rating you gave?
6. What do you think are some barriers in recognizing attitudes towards household work and gender roles in Kenya?
 - a. Do you believe this narrative properly highlights any of the barriers in recognizing these attitudes towards household work and gender roles in Kenya? [*Probe: if so, how so?*]
7. Would you advocate for this narrative to be disseminated? Why or why not?
 - a. What are some additional things we should consider while disseminating this new narrative to the general public?
8. How can we share this narrative to make it more appealing to Kenyans?
 - a. Which platforms/channels would be most effective in sharing this narrative?
 - b. Who should we target?
 - c. Which stakeholders do you think are pivotal when disseminating these narratives? [*Probe: can you please elaborate?*]
 - d. Are there any issues you foresee with the dissemination of this narrative? [*Probe:*

does it adhere to socio-cultural Kenyan policies, laws and regulations, and the political language of the people?)

Narrative D

Facilitator instruction: start by reading out the description of the narrative idea to the participant.

'I am going to read out the fourth narrative and I would like an honest opinion from you on what you think about it. There are no right or wrong answers and your input is highly valued.'

Narrative 4 – key message: the aim of this 'new' narrative is to target government officials in order to increase their understanding, recognition and appreciation of care and domestic work. The hope is that if the government recognizes the value of this work, it will initiate conversations that will eventually permeate the public discourse.

Valuing care and domestic work is central to the wellbeing of the economy.

Unpaid care and domestic work make a substantial contribution to Kenya's economy, as well as to individual and societal wellbeing. A time-use survey in Kenya estimates that women spend about 5.5 hours every day on care and domestic work such as cooking, cleaning, childcare and gardening, among other activities. If this work was valued at a market rate, it would account for 12% of Kenya's GDP, corresponding to KSh3.6 trillion KES (~ US\$36 billion) per year. This suggests that care and domestic work is a significant contributor to the economy. However, the lack of support for care and domestic work can lead to negative consequences for both individuals and society. When care and domestic work is not supported properly, it can result in gender inequality, poverty and a decreased quality of life for those performing this work. Therefore, it is essential that the Government of Kenya takes concrete steps to support those who do care and domestic work to ensure the wellbeing of individuals and the economy as a whole.

Discussion questions

1. What are your **first thoughts** after hearing this narrative?
 - a. What do you most like about this narrative?
 - b. What do you like the least?
 - c. What, if anything, what would you change in this narrative?
2. What do you think is a key takeaway (most important point) from the narrative?
3. Do you believe this narrative does a good job in advocating for the government to recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work, especially the work done by women and girls, in national accounts and economic statistics? (*Probe: why or why not?*)
 - a. How might you suggest we improve the narrative to better advocate for the recognition of unpaid care and domestic work in national accounts and economic statistics in Kenya?
 - b. What effect do you think the narrative would have in advocating for recognition of unpaid care and domestic work in national accounts and economic statistics?
 - c. What effect do you think the narrative will have on promoting the formalization of domestic work?
4. Are you aware of any plans by the government or any agencies advocating for the recognition of the contribution of domestic work in national accounts and economic statistics in Kenya?
 - a. In your opinion, is this narrative in line with these plans or objectives? (*Probe: if so, how so?*)
 - b. How does this narrative align with the laws, policies and regulations of Kenya?

- c. Is there any specific language, either words or phrases, that we should use in the narrative?
5. On a scale of 1 to 5, **with 1 being strongly disagree and 5 being strongly agree**, do you believe this narrative can result in recognition of the value of care and domestic work as central to the wellbeing of the economy?
 - a. Why did you provide the rating you gave?
6. Thinking about the barriers to recognizing the contribution of unpaid care and domestic in national accounts and economic statistics in Kenya, do you believe this narrative properly highlights any of these barriers (*Probe: how so?*)
7. Would you advocate for this narrative to be disseminated? Why or why not?
 - a. What are some additional things we should consider while disseminating this new narrative to the general public?
8. How can we share this narrative to make it more appealing to the government of Kenya?
 - a. Which platforms/channels would be most effective in sharing this narrative with the government?
 - b. Who should we target in the government?
 - c. Which stakeholders or government agencies do you think are pivotal when disseminating these narratives? (*Probe: can you please elaborate?*)
 - d. Are there any issues you foresee with the dissemination of this narrative? (*Probe: does it adhere to socio-cultural Kenyan policies, laws and regulations, and the political language of the people?*)

General concluding questions

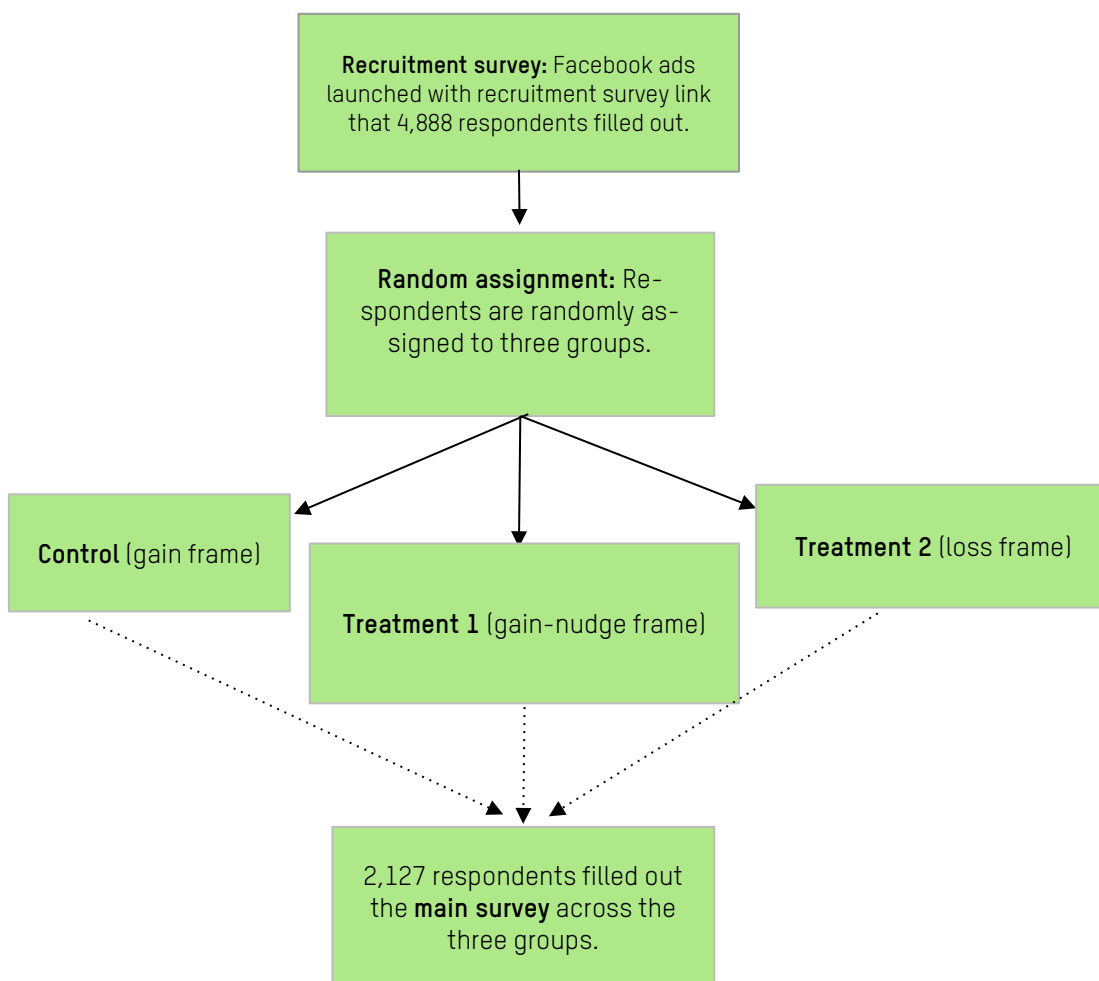
1. Are there any examples of CTAs that you have seen/developed that motivated people to take action?
2. What learnings did you pick up from the CTAs? Could you share what worked well? What did not work well and could have been done better?
3. What has been your experience in developing CTAs that are straightforward and simple or those that are more creative and unique? Which ones do you think are more effective?
4. What types of CTAs do you think are overused and ineffective from your experience?
5. Are there factors that can affect the effectiveness of CTAs (e.g., tone, such as urgent, inspiring or informative) can affect its effectiveness?
6. Finally, do you have any other suggestions or questions for any of the narratives?

APPENDIX 4: EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

4.1. EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

In the initial stage, participants were requested to complete a recruitment questionnaire. Subsequently, they were randomly assigned to various groups and asked to complete the main survey.

Figure 1A: Experiment design



4.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

The load of care and domestic work in Kenya predominantly burdens women and girls, and is perpetuated by the prevailing narratives that consider it solely women's responsibility. This study found that there are certain behavioural barriers, such as gender and social norms, that have shaped this belief and attitude towards care and domestic work and further defined gender roles for men and women. In order to shift these narratives, we developed a number of counter-narratives using message-frame techniques and aim to test which one has the greatest potential in shifting people's perceptions about care and domestic work.

4.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How can we use frames to shift narratives and encourage the Kenyan public to think more positively about men doing care and domestic work?

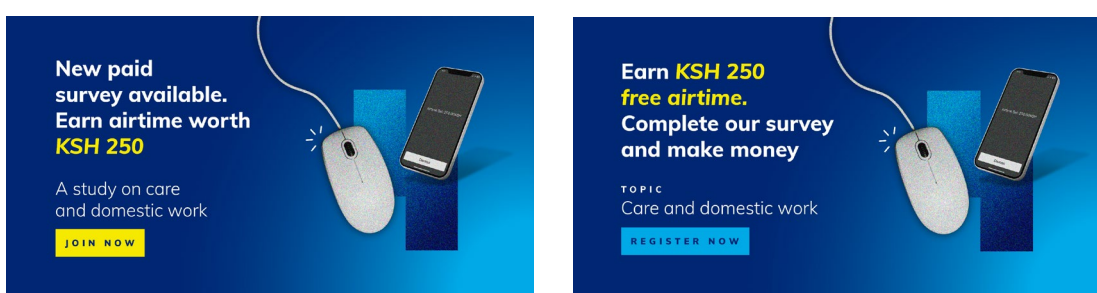
2. Which message frame is effective in shifting people’s perceptions about care and domestic work?

4.4. SAMPLING DESIGN

In our research, we employed an inclusive sampling strategy to ensure broad participation from eligible residents of Kenya. To be eligible, participants needed to be aged 18 years or older and have access to a mobile device for survey completion.

To reach potential participants, we launched an extensive outreach campaign on Facebook, specifically targeting individuals who met our sampling criteria. Our advertisements were designed to engage and motivate participants, inviting them to fill out the recruitment survey. The advertisement ran from 26 April 2023 to 1 May 2023. Detailed descriptions of the advertisement posters are shown below:

Figure 2A: Research advertisement posters



Our recruitment efforts proved highly successful, resulting in 4,888 individuals completing our recruitment survey. However, we conducted a rigorous cleaning process to ensure data quality, which involved removing duplicate responses, discarding incomplete surveys, and excluding those with extreme values or inconsistencies. After the data-cleaning process, the final sample size used for the analysis was 2,127. Here is the breakdown of the sample:

Table 1A: Breakdown of the experiment sample

	Gain frame (Control)	Gain nudge (Treatment 1)	Loss frame (Treatment 2)	Total
<i>Total Sample</i>	832	644	651	2,127
<i>Female</i>	291	231	223	745
<i>Male</i>	540	413	426	1,379

4.5. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

We used SurveyCTO as the platform for both recruitment and the main survey. The surveys were programmed and launched in both English and Kiswahili, with the default version being in Kiswahili.

The recruitment process lasted approximately two weeks. And the research team took a week to complete the randomization. Thus, the gap between recruitment and the main survey was around three weeks.

4.6. DATA ANALYSIS

We have primarily used STATA to clean and analyse the data. We have relied on t-test and simple linear regression to conduct statistical analysis to assess and compare the differences between the three groups. The testing frames used for the three different groups are found below.

Figure 3A: The quantitative testing frame

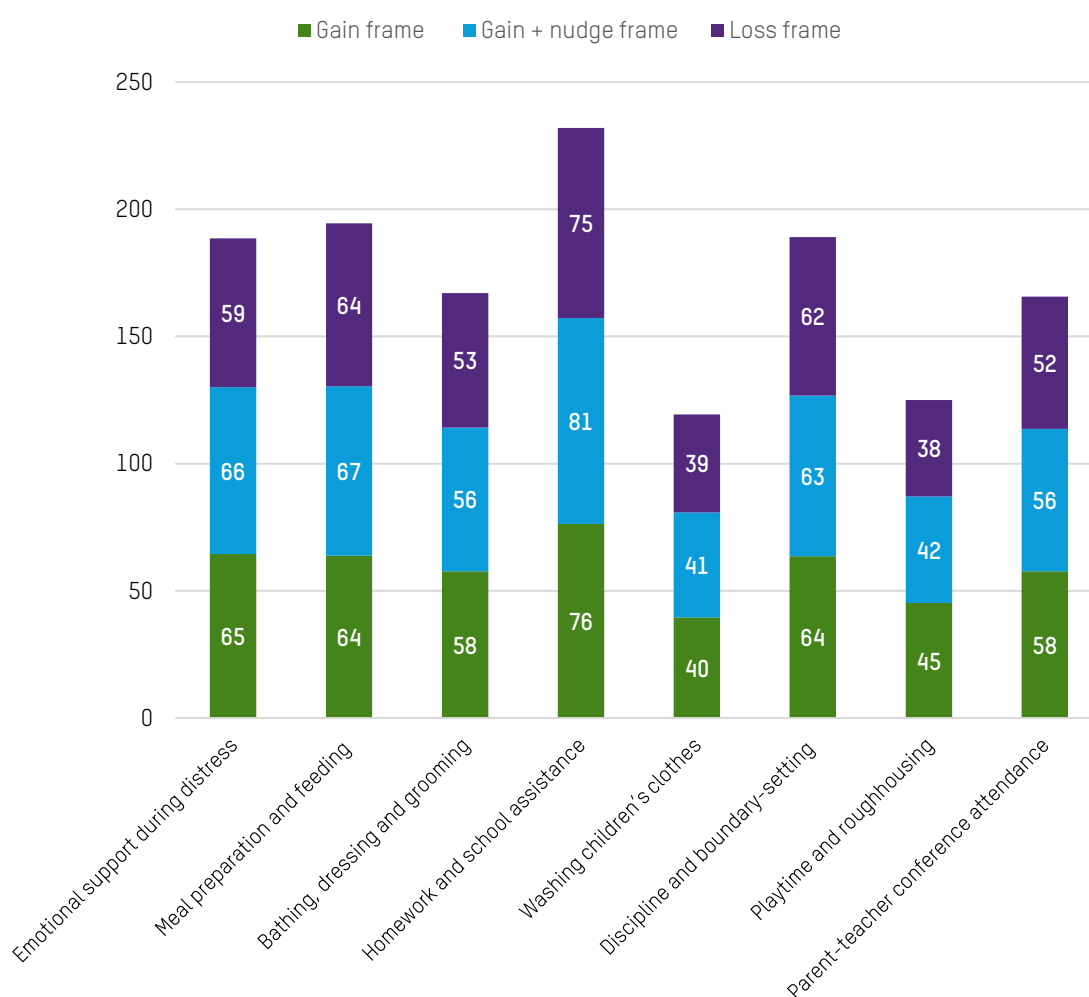


4.7. OTHER QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

4.7.1. Socially approved parenting behaviours for fathers

Respondents were asked to select all the activities they think it is appropriate for John to do with his children. There was no statistically significant difference in terms of activities prioritized by the respondents in the gain vs. gain-nudge frame. However, the gain and loss frames exhibited notable differences. On average, there was a 5% decrease in the number of people in the loss frame who considered emotional support by a father, PTA, and playtime between fathers and children as appropriate activities, compared to the gain frame.

Figure 4A: Treatment groups' perceptions of appropriate activities for a father to do with his children



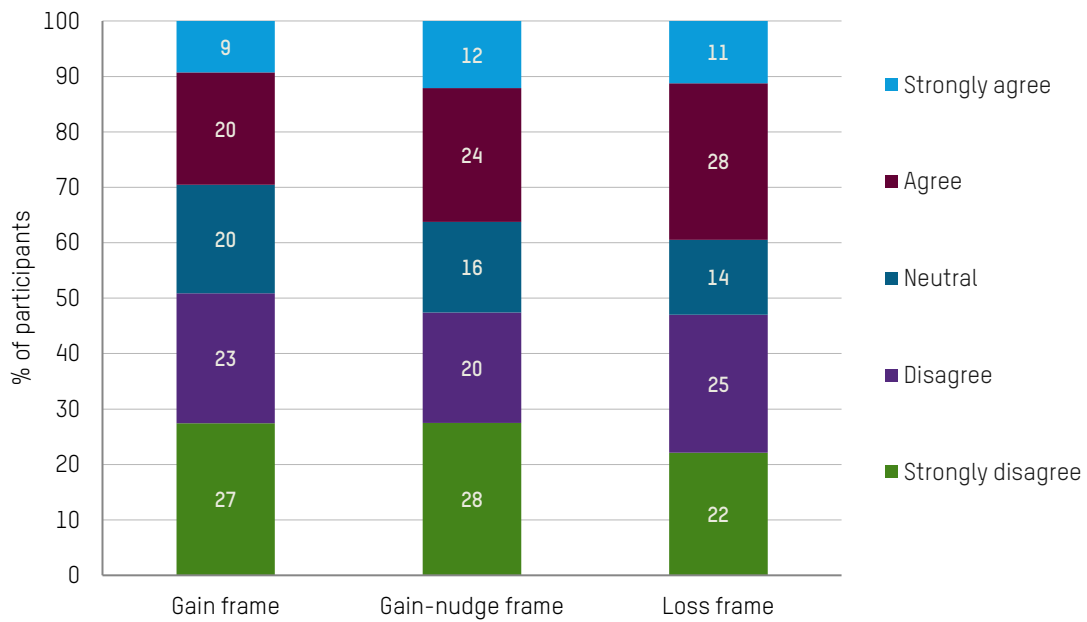
Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

4.7.2. Perception of social norms around father's involvement in childcare

4.7.2.1. JOHN AS A PROVIDER FOR THE FAMILY

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, *'As a man of the household, John should concentrate on his job and focus on financially providing for his family'*, on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 and 5 indicating strongly disagree and strongly agree respectively. Participants in the loss frame were more likely to agree with the statement compared to those in the gain frame, with a statistically significant difference at a 5% significance level. In both the treatments, females were more likely to disagree with the statement.

Figure 5A: Treatment groups' perceptions of whether John should concentrate on his role as a financial provider for his family

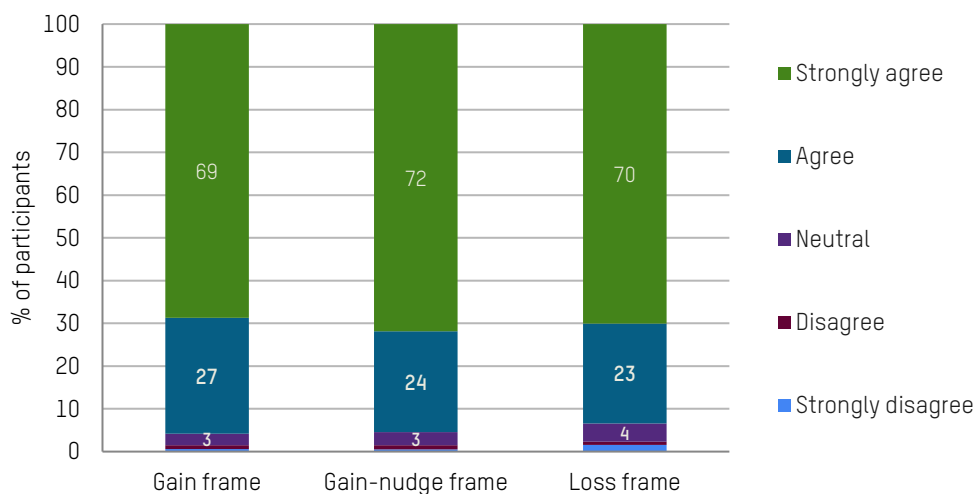


Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

4.7.2.2. JOHN IS A RESPONSIBLE FATHER

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, 'John is a responsible and loving father who is dedicated to his children's wellbeing', on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 and 5 indicating strongly disagree and strongly agree respectively. Being in either treatment – nudge-gain or loss frame – had no statistically significant difference in participants' perceptions about John as a responsible father.

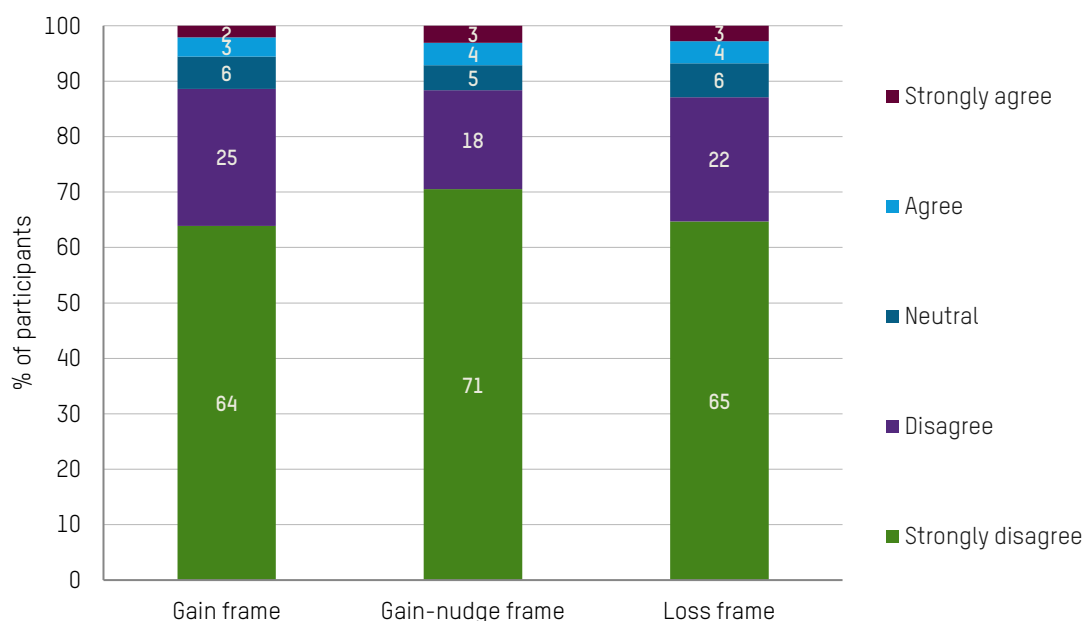
Figure 6A: Treatment groups' perceptions of whether John is a responsible and loving father dedicated to his children's wellbeing



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, ‘John is clearly scared of his wife, as no man would willingly perform activities of cooking, feeding the children and changing diapers’, on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 and 5 indicating strongly disagree and strongly agree respectively. There was no statistically significant difference in responses between the treatment group (nudged-gain or loss frame) and control (gain frame). In general, females were more likely to disagree with the statement compared to males in both the treatment groups, statistically significant at 5%.

Figure 7A: Treatment groups' responses to the statement: ‘John is clearly scared of his wife, as no man would willingly perform activities of cooking, feeding the children and changing diapers’



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

4.7.3. Behavioural intentions

4.7.3.1. DICTATOR GAME

For our research, we used a version of the dictator game where respondents could choose to donate a portion, all or none of their incentive to either, both or neither of two organisations. The two organisations were: (1) an organisation that supports marginalized children and (2) an organisation that advocates for young fathers to be more active in their children’s lives. When compared to the respondents that received the gain-framed narrative, the total donations raised was significantly higher for respondents that received the nudged-gain narrative and the loss-framed narrative. For the nudged-gain frame group, donations increased by KSh6, while in the loss-frame group, an even larger increase of KSh12 was observed, both significant at the 5% level. There was also an increase in donations in both of these treatment groups compared to the gain-frame group. For the fathers’ organisation, the donation amount rose by KSh4 in the nudged-gain frame group, which was statistically significant at 10% and by KSh6 in the loss-frame group, which was statistically significant at 5%. The detailed impact of the narrative treatments on donations to the fathers’ organisation is available in Figure 8 in the main report.

Table 2A: Impact of gain-nudge and loss frames on donations to organisations in a ‘dictator game’

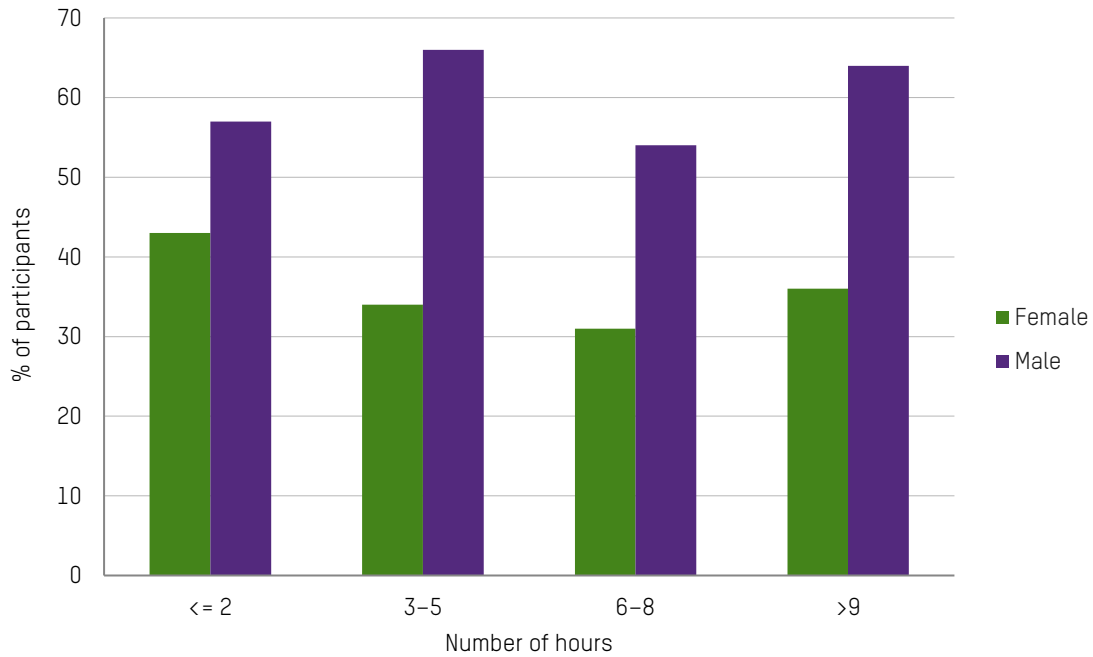
	Dependent variable: donation to the fathers’ organisation			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Gain-nudge frame (T1)</i>	3.445* (1.801)	2.974 (1.031)		
<i>Loss frame (T2)</i>			6.191*** (3.037)	4.698 (1.585)
<i>Number of children</i>		-3.031*** (-2.498)		-3.253*** (-2.903)
<i>Constant</i>	12.45**** (9.877)	17.69*** (5.800)	12.45*** (9.220)	18.08*** (6.076)
<i>Observations</i>	1424	619	1483	652
<i>R2</i>	0.002	0.008	0.006	0.013
<i>Residual std. error</i>	35.78	35.28	38.96	37.47
<i>F Statistic</i>	3.243	3.610	9.222	5.318
*** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .1$				

4.7.4. Other relevant findings

Through the experimental survey, we have also collected data to further understand the context of care and domestic work in Kenya. These are our findings:

Distribution of hours in paid and unpaid work: There are gender disparities in paid and unpaid work as mentioned in the findings of the qualitative analysis. The quantitative survey supported this observation, revealing that women generally spend more time on unpaid domestic work than men, while men spend more hours in paid labour. As seen in Figure 8A, a clear inverse relationship emerges between gender and the amount of time dedicated to unpaid domestic work. On average, women invest an extra 100 minutes per day in household tasks, whereas men devote 34 more minutes per day to paid work.

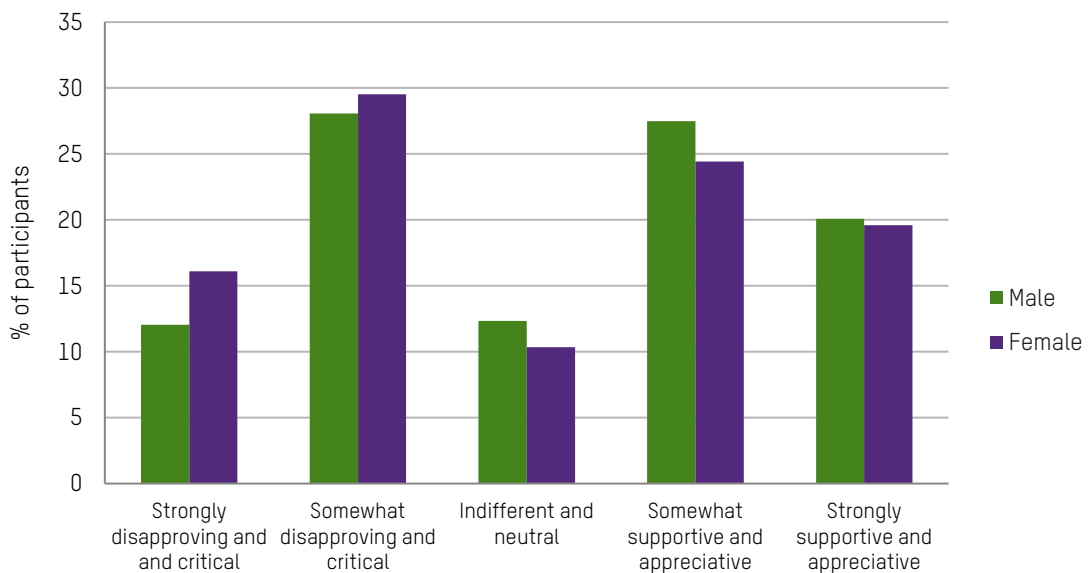
Figure 8A: Data reflecting gender disparities in paid and unpaid work



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Societal reactions to men’s household involvement: The data collected reveals interesting insights about Kenya’s societal and gender norms. Around 28% of participants feel that Kenyan societies might criticize or disapprove of men participating in domestic chores. Interestingly, a larger proportion of women compared to men felt that society would strongly criticize men performing domestic tasks.

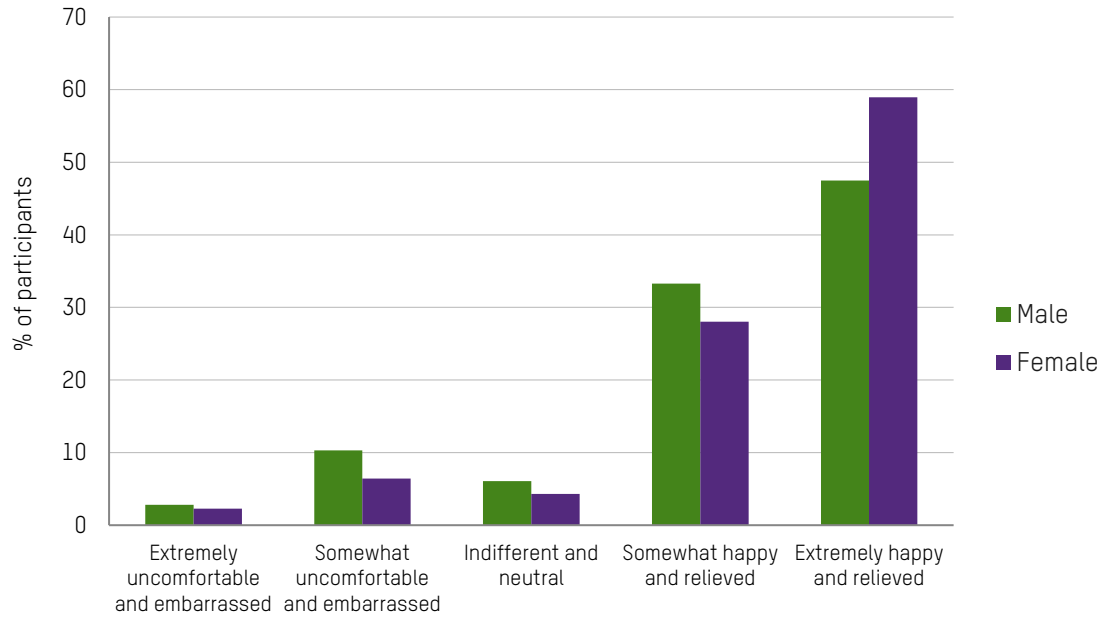
Figure 9A: Community perceptions of men's involvement in childcare



Note: Participants were asked to respond to the question, ‘How do you think the members of your community typically react when they see a man caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers?’ on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is strongly disapproving and critical, and 5 is strongly supportive and appreciative. Total responses: 2,124; male, 1,379; female, 745. Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Wives' perceptions of husbands' involvement in care and domestic work: Interestingly, the survey results reveal that a majority (82%) of participants anticipate positive responses from wives if their husbands were involved in care and domestic activities. Specifically, 58% of women and 48% of men thought wives would be extremely pleased if their husbands partook in household work. A low percentage of both male and female participants felt that wives would be uncomfortable or embarrassed by their husbands' involvement in domestic tasks.

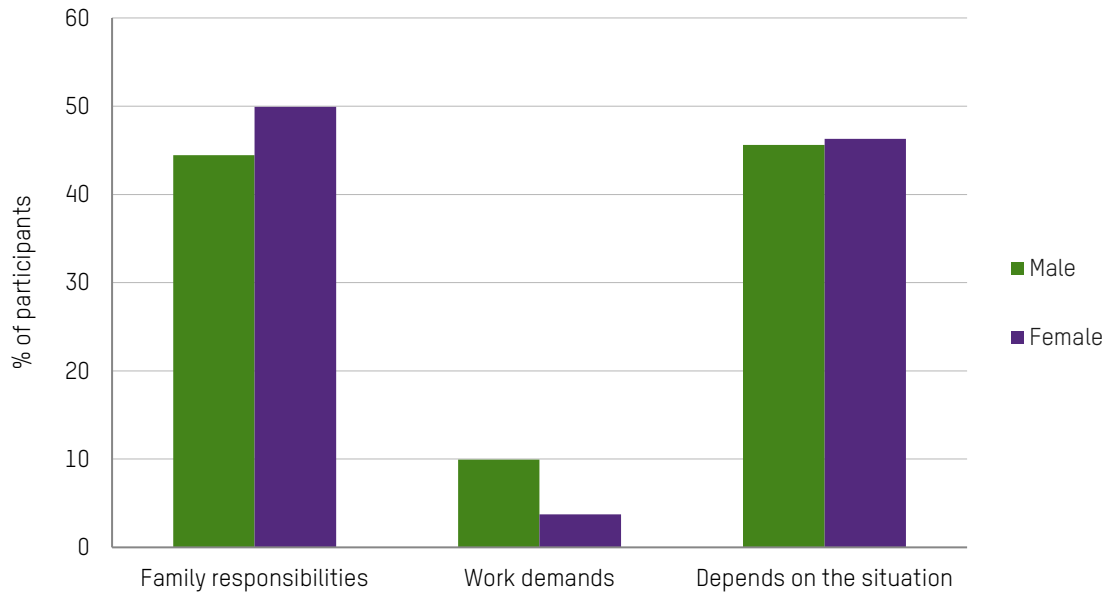
Figure 10A: Wives' perceptions of husbands' involvement in household work



Note: Respondents were asked 'How do you think the wife typically feels when her husband does household work?' on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is extremely uncomfortable, and 5 is extremely happy and relieved. Total responses: 2,124; male, 1,379; female, 745. Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Balancing family and work responsibilities: Our survey indicates that 50% of respondents prioritize family responsibilities over work demands, 40% consider it contingent on the situation, and only 8% prioritize work. Analysing the responses based on gender, it appears that women (56%) prioritize family responsibilities more than men (47%), while men (10%) prioritize work more than women (5%).

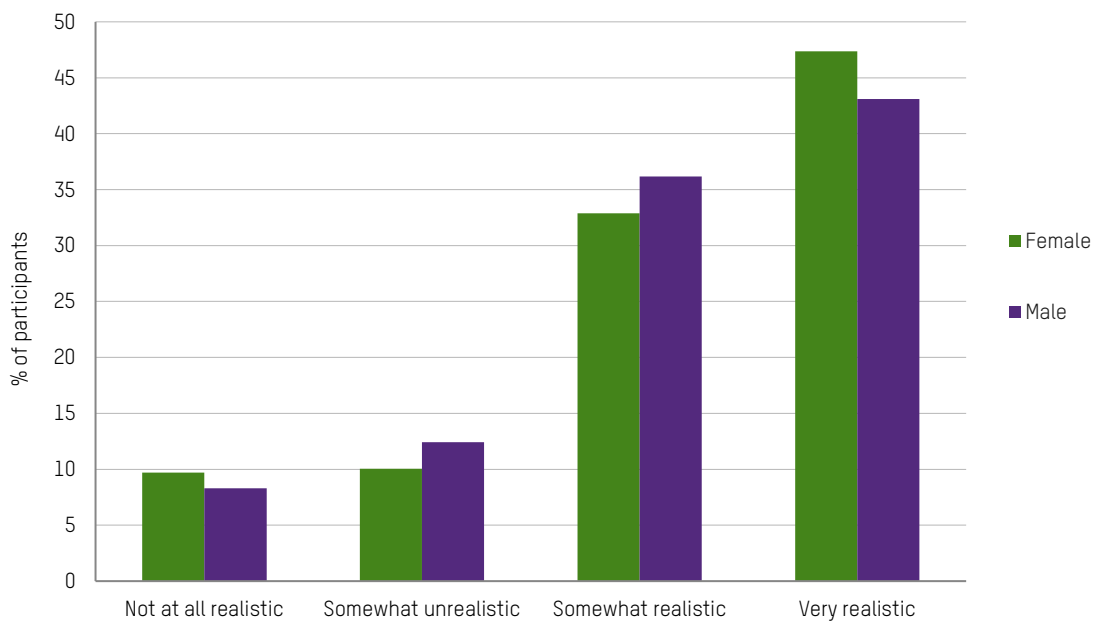
Figure 11A: Gender-disaggregated participant responses to whether they prioritize family or work



Note: Respondents were asked, 'If you had to choose between fulfilling your family responsibilities and meeting work demands, which would you prioritize?'. The options provided were 'family responsibilities', 'work demands' and 'depends on the situation'. Total responses: 2,124; male, 1,379; female, 745. Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Regarding flexible work hours for fathers, more than half of respondents felt that flexible working was a realistic expectation, with a slightly higher percentage of females considering it 'very realistic' compared to males.

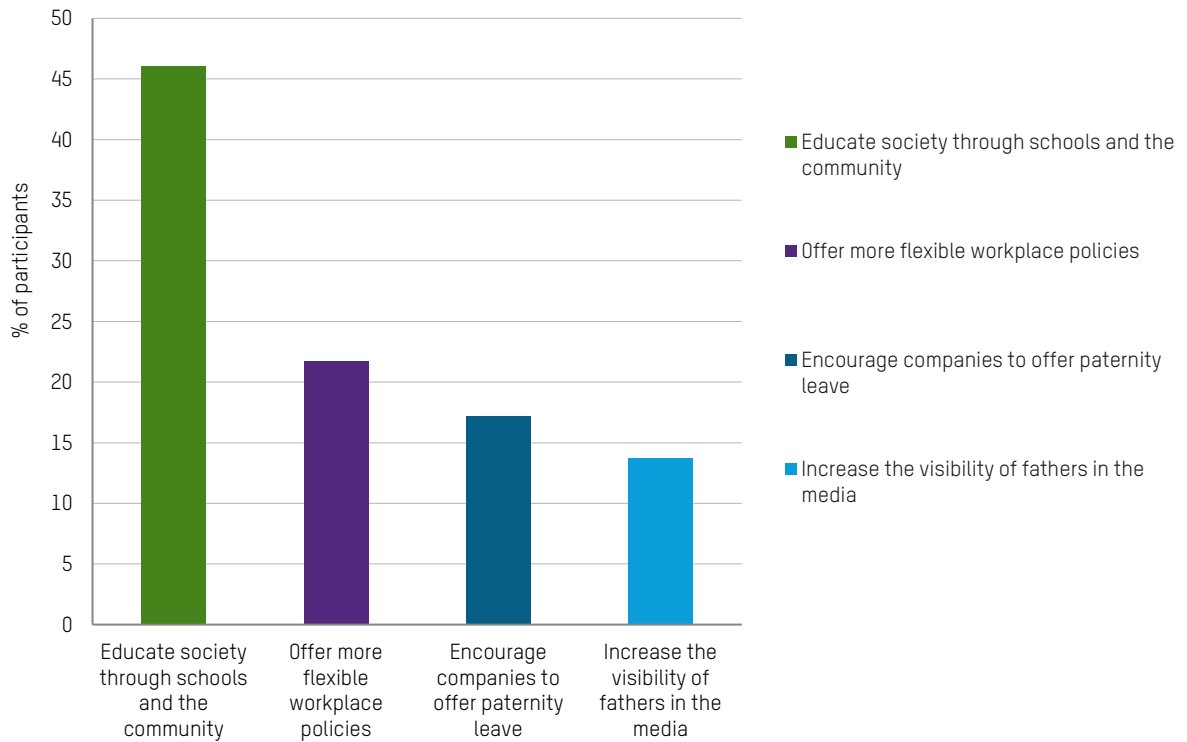
Figure 12A: Gender-disaggregated participant perceptions of the feasibility of fathers working flexibly in Kenya



Note: Respondents were asked 'How realistic do you think it is for fathers in Kenya to have flexible work hours in order to spend more time with their children?' on a scale of 1 to 4, where 1 is not at all realistic, and 4 is very realistic. Total responses: 2,124; male, 1,379; female, 745. Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Policy recommendation: When asked to choose their recommended policies to reduce stigma towards and societal pressure on fathers who are more involved in parenting and household duties, the most popular recommendation agreed upon by 47% of respondents was public education in schools and communities. Additionally, 21% suggested implementing more flexible workplace policies.

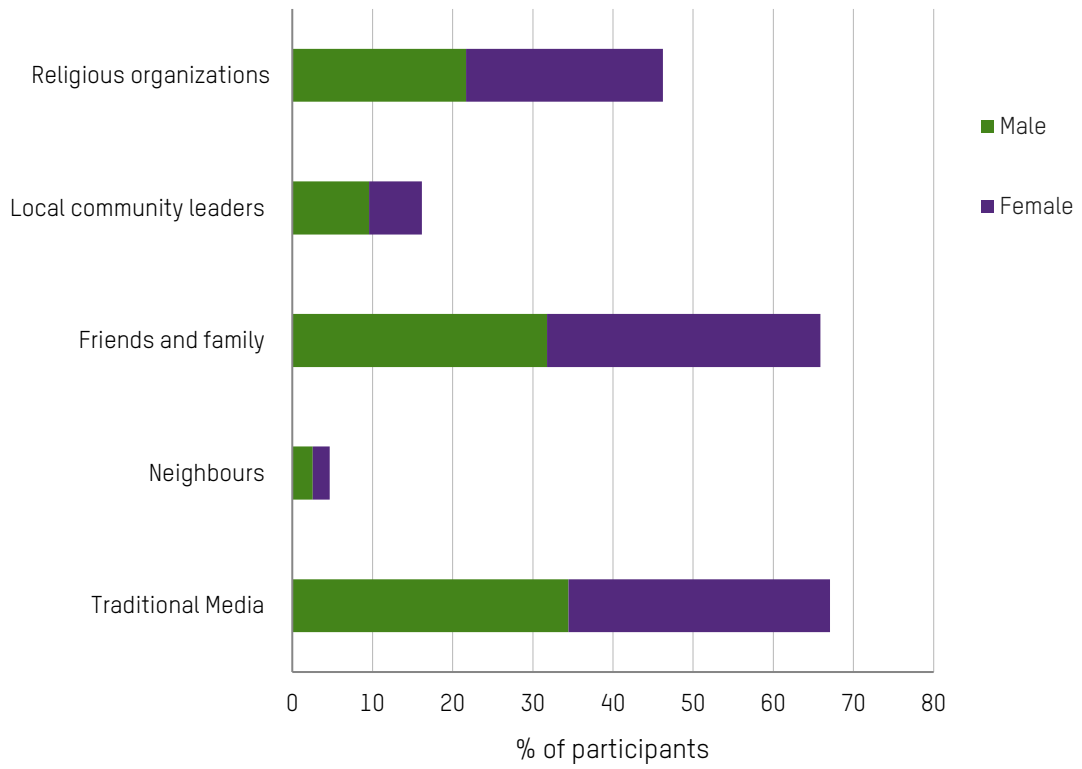
Figure 13A: Participants’ choices of policy recommendations to address stigma and societal pressure on involved fathers



Note: Respondents were asked to choose two preferred ways to reduce the stigma and societal pressure towards fathers who are more involved in parenting. The options provided were: increasing visibility of active fathers in media; offering flexible workplace policies; educating society through schools and community; and encouraging companies to offer paternity leave. They were also free to suggest other solutions; however, none of them opted to do so. Total responses: 2,124. Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

Source of information: In terms of preferred information sources, friends and family, traditional media, and religious organisations were the top three choices. This preference remained consistent across gender and age, with females leaning more towards friends and family, and males more towards traditional media. Respondents over the age of 40 showed a higher tendency to rely on religious organisations for information.

Figure 14A: Sources of information



Source: Joint research by Oxfam and the Busara Center for Behavioral Economics.

APPENDIX 5: QUANTITATIVE INSTRUMENT

This instrument was used during the endline phase to quantitatively test the new narratives with members of the public.

Section 1: Demographic information

Consent	Do you consent to participate in the survey?	
Phone Number	Please confirm your phone number. <i>(Note that this should be the same number you provided last week in the recruitment survey.)</i>	

Section 2: Gender and social norms

Control variables	Questions	
<i>Demographics</i>	<i>From the baseline and recruitment survey</i>	
<i>Number of hours on paid work</i>	3. How many hours do you typically spend daily on a paid job?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 0 Hour 2. 1 Hour 3. 2 Hours 4. 3 Hours 5. 4 Hours 6. 5 Hours 7. 6 Hours 8. 7 Hours 9. 8 Hours 10. 9 Hours 11. 10 Hours 12. 11 Hours 13. 12 Hours 14. 13 Hours 15. 14 Hours 16. 15 Hours 17. 16 Hours 18. 16+ hours
<i>Number of hours on unpaid work</i>	4. How many hours do you typically spend daily on doing household chores including but not limited to washing dishes, cooking, cleaning, feeding, bathing and taking care of children, doing laundry, etc.?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 0 hour 2. 1 hour 3. 2 hours 4. 3 hours 5. 4 hours 6. 5 hours 7. 6 hours 8. 7 hours 9. 8 hours 10. 9 hours 11. 10 hours 12. 11 hours 13. 12 hours 14. 13 hours

		15. 14 hours 16. 15 hours 17. 16 hours 18. 16+ hours
<i>Attitude towards change and adherence to community norms</i>	5. Below are two different reactions when one encounters changes in life. Pick the one that resonates with you the most.	
	5.1. Scenario A a. I make my own decisions but always take the advice of elders into account. b. I make my own decisions even when they go against the advice of elders.	1. Option a 2. Option b
	5.2. Scenario B a. Compared to most of my neighbours, I am more willing to try new things e.g., working methods or farming techniques. b. I believe sticking to the methods that have been proven to work in the past is often the best choice.	1. Option a 2. Option b
<i>Perception of community members</i>	6. How do you think the members of your community typically react when they see a man caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers?	1. Strongly disapproving and critical 2. Somewhat disapproving and critical 3. Indifferent and neutral 4. Somewhat supportive and appreciative 5. Strongly supportive and appreciative
<i>Perception of wife/partner</i>	7. How do you think the wife typically feels when her husband/partner does household work?	1. Extremely uncomfortable or embarrassed 2. Somewhat uncomfortable and embarrassed 3. Indifferent and neutral 4. Somewhat happy and relieved 5. Extremely happy and relieved

Section 3: Please read the following text. You should read the full text. The text is about John, a fellow Kenyan going about his life. After you read the text, you will have to answer some questions about what John is most likely to do.

Treatments: Narratives		
Control: Gain frame	Treatment 1: Gain-frame + Nudge	Treatment 2: Loss frame
<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John's relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. <i>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children's lives tend to have closer, more supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. [Positive frame: Gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father.]</i></p>	<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John's relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. <i>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are involved in their children's lives tend to have closer, more supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of benefits for both the father and the child. [Positive frame: Gaining a change to create a positive relationship between children and father.]</i></p> <p><i>It's time to break down stereotypes and support fathers in being actively involved in their children's upbringing. Let's normalize fathers cooking, feeding and bathing their children regularly. Let's encourage men in our family to play with their children, help them with homework or just have a conversation. By taking these simple steps, we are not only encouraging a stronger relationship between father and children, but also helping to lay the foundation for a brighter future for both of them. So, don't wait any</i></p>	<p>For so long, society believed that the role of a father was limited to providing for the family financially. Meet John, a hardworking dad who always puts in long hours at the office. He loved his job, but often felt guilty for missing out on important moments with his two children. One day, John decided to make a change. He talked to his boss about flexible work hours and to be more present at home.</p> <p>To his surprise, John found that he enjoyed caring for his children by feeding, bathing, playing with them and changing their diapers. He even started cooking and shopping for them. As a result, John's relationship with his children grew stronger, and he felt more fulfilled as a father. <i>This is not surprising as research suggests that fathers who are not involved in their children's lives tend to have distant, less supportive relationships with them which can lead to a range of negative consequences for both the father and the child. [Negative frame: losing a chance to create positive relationship between children and father]</i></p>

	longer, take the first step today! <i>(Nudge frame)</i>	
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Section 4: Outcome measures

Outcomes	Questions	
<i>Knowledge Check</i> <i>(treatment check)</i> <i>[not included in regression]</i>	8. In the text you just read, how did John manage to get more time with his children?	1. Quitting his job 2. Talking to his boss for flexible work hours 3. Bringing his children to his office.
	9. How many children does John have?	1. 1 2. 2 3. 3 4. 4 5. Don't know
<i>Emotional response</i> <i>[not included in regression]</i>	10. What was your initial reaction after reading John's story?	1. Very Negative 2. Negative 3. Neutral 4. Positive 5. Very positive
<i>Socially approved parenting behaviours for fathers</i>	11. Select all that you think is appropriate for John to do with his children	1. Emotional support during distress 2. Meal preparation and feeding 3. Bathing, dressing and grooming 4. Homework and school assistance 5. Washing children's clothes 6. Discipline and boundary-setting 7. Playtime and roughhousing 8. Parent-teacher conference attendance
<i>Perception of social norms around fathers'</i>	12. Below are some common statements about John. On a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is 'strongly disagree' and 5 is 'strongly agree', please indicate how you feel about each of them.	
	12.1. As a man of the household, John should concentrate on his job and focus on financially providing for his family.	1. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree
	John is a responsible and loving father who is dedicated to his children's wellbeing.	1. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree

<i>involvement in childcare</i>		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree
	<p>12.2. John is clearly scared of his wife, as no man would willingly perform activities of cooking, feeding the children and changing diapers, etc.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree
<i>Number of hours acceptable for fathers to spend with their children (Endline)</i>	<p>13. On average, how many hours do you think a Kenyan father should spend time with his children doing daily activities such as feeding, bathing, playing and helping with homework?</p> <p>Spending time could mean John playing with his children, reading to them, feeding and bathing them, talking to them, helping them with homework, taking them shopping, etc.</p>	Open _____
<i>Attitude (Endline)</i>	<p>14. On a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is strongly disagree and 5 strongly agree, please indicate how you feel about this statement.</p> <p>I believe it is unmanly for men to partake in activities such as washing and ironing in front of their family or friends.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strongly disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neutral 4. Agree 5. Strongly agree
<i>Perceptions of social norms (Endline)</i>	<p>15. On a scale of 1 to 5, how important do you think it is for a father to be involved in their children's daily activities such as feeding, bathing, playing and helping with homework?</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not important 2. Slightly important 3. Moderately important 4. Very important 5. Extremely important
Behavioural Intentions		
<i>Dictator game</i>	<p>16. You are receiving KSh250 as compensation for participating in this study. You have the option to donate some or all of this money to either organization listed below. Please indicate the amount you would like to donate to each organization, if any, and you will receive the remainder amount.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Organization that supports marginalized children. 2. Organization that advocates for young fathers to be more active in their children's lives.
<i>Proxy measures</i>	<p>17. Busara is planning a workshop every Saturday where both men and women can attend and learn about the importance of sharing responsibilities and receive tips on being more present in their children's lives. The workshop will be designed to be informative, interactive and provide a space for discussion and idea exchange.</p>	

<i>Interested to attend</i>	17.1. We might not be able to accommodate everyone who is interested to participate but would you like to sign up and participate in this workshop if a slot becomes available?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
<i>Interested to volunteer</i>	17.2. In this workshop, we especially want to hear from parents and their experiences around engaging with and taking care of their children. We may not be able to take all those interested but would you like to volunteer to share your experiences if a slot becomes available?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
<i>Willing to share</i>	17.3. Would you be willing to advertise the event that Busara is planning to organize among your social circle of friends and family?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
	17.3.1. If yes, where would you share this information? (You can make multiple selections, up to three options)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Facebook 2. Twitter 3. WhatsApp 4. By word of mouth to my friends and family 5. Other _____ 6. None of the above
<i>Willingness to receive additional information</i>	<p>18. Would you be interested in receiving information and resources regarding the importance of a father's involvement in a child's life, including evidence-based support and practical tips for daily interaction, if the opportunity were available?</p> <p>This information would be sent to you via text message and would not result in any data usage or expenses for you.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
<p><i>The questions below will be asked if and only if the survey till here doesn't take more than 15 mins. Ideally, our aim is to keep the quantitative survey as short as possible, not more than 20 minutes, maximum. [OPTIONAL]</i></p>		
<p>Additional information for analysis [not included in regression]</p>		
<i>Unpacking barriers on why fathers might not be spending time with their children</i>	19. How realistic do you think it is for fathers in Kenya to have flexible work hours in order to spend more time with their children?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not all realistic 2. Somewhat unrealistic 3. Somewhat realistic 4. Very realistic
	<u>19.1. [for those who answered, not at all realistic, somewhat unrealistic]</u> Why do you think it is unrealistic?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Add responses
	19.2. If you had to choose between fulfilling your family responsibilities and meeting work demands, which would you prioritize?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Family responsibilities 2. Work demands 3. Depends on the situation

	19.3. Does your paid work involve physical labour or long hours that leave you exhausted?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes, my work is physically exhausting 2. No
<i>Policy recommendations for final report</i>	20. What, if any, are your top two preferred ways of reducing the stigma and societal pressure towards fathers who are more involved in parenting and household duties? <i>(Please choose only two from the following six options)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increase visibility of fathers in media and advertising who are hands-on with parenting and household tasks. 2. Offer more flexible workplace policies to accommodate involved fathers. 3. Educate society through schools and community organizations on the benefits of shared parenting responsibilities. 4. Encourage companies to offer paternity leave and support for working fathers. 5. Others _____ 6. None of the above.
<i>Sources of Information</i>	21. Where do you generally get your information on what it means to be a good husband and father?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Religious organizations 2. Local community leaders 3. Friends and families 4. Neighbours 5. Traditional media (e.g., TV, radio, newspapers) 6. Digital media (e.g., Facebook, Youtube, WhatsApp, Twitter) 7. In-person discussions 8. Others _____

You have reached the end of this survey. Thank you for participating!

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