

**COPARENTING ACROSS THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD:  
QUALITATIVE EVIDENCE FROM SOUTH-BRAZILIAN FAMILIES**

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Porto Alegre, maio de 2018

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sob orientação do Prof. Dr. Cesar Augusto Piccinini e co-orientação da Prof.<sup>a</sup> Dr.<sup>a</sup> Giana  
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*To my beloved husband, Fernando.  
To my wonderful parents, Rosa and Valdemar.*

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## ABSTRACT

Coparenting emerges across the transition to parenthood and refers to the way individuals coordinate, support each other in their parental roles and share responsibility in childrearing. Despite the increase in research on coparenting, relatively few studies have focused on non-North American or non-European families, which has hindered practice and policy targeting diverse countries. Likewise, qualitative research on coparenting is relatively rare, yet critical to shed light on details and complexities not well captured by other methods, including insights into sociocultural factors linked to coparenting in distinct contexts. Moreover, a qualitative longitudinal approach is particularly well suited to examine important life course transitions and turning points, such as the transition to parenthood. To address these gaps, we investigated coparenting across the transition to parenthood in South-Brazilian families, using a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 first-time mother and fathers (six nuclear families altogether), at 6, 12, and 18 months postpartum (36 interviews altogether). In two families only the father was employed, with the mother caring for the child; in two families both parents were employed, and they hired a nanny to care for the child in their home; and, in two families both parents were employed, and the child started attending daycare at the end of maternity leave. Through the two articles that comprise the current doctoral dissertation, we explored three components of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting framework: division of labor (how parents divide childcare tasks and household chores, as well as their satisfaction with this division); agreement/disagreement (e.g., regarding children's emotional needs and discipline); and, support/undermining (appreciation and cooperation, or criticism and competition). The first article is focused on the division of labor, whereas the second is focused on agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. Deductive thematic analysis revealed similarities and singularities between families. As presented in the first article, we found weaker sharing of household chores over time, against greater sharing of childcare tasks during the first few days postpartum, followed by a downward tendency in the fathers' contributions during the first few months postpartum. This more unequal division of labor remained stable over time only for families who had chosen maternal care, changing after the end of maternity leave for families who had chosen nanny care and daycare. Parental satisfaction regarding the division of labor remained relatively high over time only for families who had chosen nanny care, which suggests that counting on a domestic worker since the beginning of the transition to parenthood contributed to preventing parental feelings of overload or unfairness across the transition to parenthood. Findings were discussed in the

light of the role that instrumental and social support, as well as the prevailing Brazilian gender norms, may play in the division of labor for new parents. With respect to the second article, our findings showed that agreement among parents remained relatively stable during the first year, whereas disagreements concerning discipline demanded more parental negotiation as infants advanced toward toddlerhood. Support and undermining coexisted in the same families, although mothers and fathers expressed undermining differently. Aspects of the ecological context, such as family of origin, instrumental and social support, as well as labor market, also appeared to influence coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. Following each article, we presented strengths, limitations, suggestions for future research, as well as implications for practice (e.g., counseling) and policy (e.g., childcare arrangements and parental leave).

*Keywords:* Coparenting; Transition to parenthood; Family relations

## RESUMO

A coparentalidade emerge durante a transição para a parentalidade e se refere ao modo como os indivíduos se apoiam e se coordenam em seus papéis parentais, bem como compartilham responsabilidades de cuidado à criança. Apesar do crescente número de estudos sobre a coparentalidade, relativamente poucos deles investigam famílias não norte-americanas ou não-europeias, o que prejudica a prática profissional e a elaboração de políticas voltadas a diversos países. Da mesma forma, estudos qualitativos sobre a coparentalidade são raros, embora fundamentais para esclarecer detalhes e complexidades nem sempre bem captadas por meio de outros métodos, incluindo insights sobre fatores socioculturais ligados à coparentalidade em distintos contextos. Além disso, o delineamento qualitativo e longitudinal é particularmente adequado para o exame de períodos de mudança no ciclo de vida, como é o caso da transição para a parentalidade. Para abordar essas lacunas, nós investigamos a coparentalidade durante a transição para a parentalidade em famílias do Sul do Brasil, por meio de estudo de caso múltiplo, qualitativo e longitudinal. Entrevistas semiestruturadas, face a face, foram conduzidas com 12 mães e pais (ao todo, seis famílias nucleares), aos 6, 12 e 18 meses após o nascimento do primeiro filho (ao todo, 36 entrevistas). Em duas famílias, apenas o pai tinha emprego, e a mãe cuidava da criança; em duas famílias, ambos os pais tinham emprego, e eles contrataram uma babá para cuidar da criança; e, em duas famílias, ambos os pais tinham emprego, e a criança passou a frequentar a creche ao final da licença-maternidade. Três componentes do modelo de coparentalidade de Feinberg (2003) foram explorados nos dois artigos que compõem a presente tese de doutorado: divisão de trabalho parental (como os pais dividem tarefas domésticas e de cuidado à criança, bem como sua satisfação com essa divisão); acordo/desacordo (e.g., em relação às necessidades emocionais da criança e à disciplina); e apoio/depreciação (apreciação e cooperação, ou crítica e competição). O primeiro artigo aborda divisão de trabalho parental, ao passo que o segundo artigo aborda acordo/desacordo e apoio/depreciação. A análise temática dedutiva revelou semelhanças e singularidades entre as famílias. Com relação ao primeiro artigo, nós identificamos fraco compartilhamento de tarefas domésticas ao longo do tempo, bem como forte compartilhamento de tarefas de cuidado à criança durante os primeiros dias após o parto, seguido por uma tendência de redução nas contribuições do pai durante os primeiros meses após o parto. Essa divisão de trabalho mais desigual permaneceu estável ao longo do tempo apenas para as famílias que optaram pelo cuidado materno, sofrendo modificações ao final da licença-maternidade para famílias que optaram pela babá ou pela creche. A satisfação de mães e pais em relação à divisão de trabalho permaneceu relativamente alta ao longo do tempo

apenas para as famílias que optaram pelo cuidado por babá, o que sugere que poder contar com uma trabalhadora doméstica desde o início da transição para a parentalidade contribuiu no sentido de prevenir sentimentos parentais de sobrecarga e injustiça durante a transição para a parentalidade. Os resultados são discutidos à luz do papel que as normas de gênero prevalentes no Brasil, bem como o apoio social e instrumental podem desempenhar na divisão de trabalho para mães e pais após o nascimento do primeiro filho. Em relação ao segundo artigo, nossos achados sugerem que o acordo parental permaneceu relativamente estável durante o primeiro ano, ao passo que os desacordos referentes à disciplina exigiram mais negociação após esse período. Apoio e depreciação coexistiram nas mesmas famílias, embora mães e pais expressassem depreciação de forma diferente. Aspectos do contexto ecológico, tais como família de origem, apoio instrumental e social, bem como mercado de trabalho também pareceram influenciar acordo/desacordo e apoio/depreciação coparental. Ao final de cada artigo, nós apresentamos pontos fortes e fracos, além de sugestões para pesquisas futuras e implicações para a prática profissional (e.g. intervenções psicológicas) e para as políticas (arranjos de cuidado e licença parental).

*Palavras-chave:* Coparentalidade; Transição para parentalidade; Relações familiares

## CHAPTER I

### Overall Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The current doctoral dissertation is the result of my research and practice trajectory on families with children. I have been interested in this topic since the middle of my undergraduate course in Psychology at The Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), when I started working on an extension project that aimed at giving psychological support to families – many of them with children – of adult patients hospitalized at The University Hospital Polydoro Ernani de São Thiago (HU-UFSC). Afterwards, also during my undergraduate course, I came to collaborate with research conducted at The Laboratory of Health, Family and Community Psychology (LABSFAC-UFSC), initially focusing on families in healthcare contexts and subsequently focusing on family violence in the community context.

By virtue of these rich experiences, I applied for a master's degree in this same research group in order to continue working on a research project concerning the intergenerational transmission of violence in families with preschool children, which was carried out in Brazil and Canada (Crepaldi, Paquette, & Bigras 2009). I was advised by Professor Maria Aparecida Crepaldi in my master's thesis, and we conducted a cross-sectional, quantitative study to investigate preschool children's temperament and parents' marital relationship, considering a Brazilian sub-sample. Aside from the theme investigated in my master's thesis, being involved in this broader study provided me with opportunities to get to know many other topics regarding families with children (e.g., children's social behavior, parental engagement, marital and parent-child conflicts), as well as the participants' context, given that we collected data at their houses, primarily in middle- and low-income neighborhoods of four cities in Santa Catarina.

All this knowledge was also valuable at the end of my master's degree, when I was approved in a public entrance exam at The Paraná State Court of Justice (TJ-PR), as a forensic psychologist at The Family Court and The Childhood and Youth Court. In my new professional activities, I started having daily contact with families with children. Given the

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<sup>1</sup> This doctoral dissertation was written in the format of two articles, following guidelines prepared by The Graduate Program in Psychology at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (2009). Each article includes: Abstract; Introduction; Method; Results; Discussion; Strengths, Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research; and, Implications for Practice and Policy. Given that the articles are composed of their own Introduction section, the current Overall Introduction section briefly presents a broader panorama of research on coparenting and the pathway of this doctoral dissertation, in order to provide readers with information regarding the context of its development, as well as how these articles were elaborated and articulated.

features of my job, I felt the need to start studying the concept of *coparenting*, which according to Feinberg (2003) refers to the way that individuals coordinate, support each other in their parental roles and share responsibility in childrearing. This occurred mainly because I performed psychological assessments in cases of child custody disputes and follow-ups of children placed in adoptive families. Later, due to family issues, I moved to another state, Rio Grande do Sul, where I was approved in a public entrance exam as a psychologist at The Foundation for Socio-Educational Service (FASE-RS). Once again, coparenting was revealed as a recurring theme in my professional activities by means of the process of psychological counseling with adolescents in conflict with the law and their families.

In particular, some of my professional experiences with families in cases of child custody dispute and adolescents in conflict with the law provided me with insights into the possible negative effects of coparenting relationships characterized by distress on children's, adolescents' and adults' development. Something that caught my attention was mothers' and fathers' verbalizations concerning how longstanding their coparenting conflicts had been. By contrast, following up some cases of children placed in adoptive families, I noted a certain malleability in the development of the coparenting relationships across the transition to parenthood. Therefore, I was able to grasp the significance of strengthening coparenting since its foundation, in order to prevent disruptive outcomes later in the course of life. This understanding contributed to the choice of the issue I would dedicate myself to over my doctoral research: coparenting across the transition to parenthood.

Thus, I applied for a position as a doctoral research student in The Graduate Program in Psychology (PPG-Psicologia) at The Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Taking into account my research interests, I started to work under the advice of Professor Cesar Augusto Piccinini, with the co-advice of Professor Giana Bitencourt Frizzo, in The Center for Childhood and Family (NUDIF-UFRGS). Upon beginning my doctoral research, I became linked to the research project "Impact of the daycare center on socioemotional and cognitive child development: A longitudinal study from the sixth month of the child's life to the end of the preschool years, 2010-2016" – CRESCI (Piccinini et al., 2016a). The main goal of this study was to analyze the impact of daycare on socioemotional and cognitive development of children during their first four years of life. More specifically, it sought to compare the development of children who attended and did not attend daycare, and relate this to the quality of family and institutional environments.

The study started with 77 families who had a child of, on average, 6 months of age, of whom 29 attended daycare (Daycare Group) and 48 were cared for by the mother or other caregivers, such as a nanny (Non-Daycare Group). Families whose babies attended daycare

were recruited at two federal public daycare centers and the other families via announcements in local newspapers or by recommendation of other participants. In addition to the families, the study also counted on the participation of 18 teachers who worked at the two federal public daycare centers. The study involved six time points of data collection: 6, 12, 18, 24, 36 and 48 months of the child's life. During this period, the children's development was assessed, and mothers and fathers attended interviews and answered questionnaires on the children and the family environment. Videotaped observations of mother-child and father-child interaction were also conducted. The quality of daycare centers was also assessed, and the teachers answered questionnaires on their perception of the children's adjustment to the daycare center and their development. Two local Ethics Committees approved the study (UFRGS, 2010070; Porto Alegre Hospital of Clinics [HCPA], 100553 – Appendix A) and all participants signed the Consent Form (Appendix B).

By engaging in the CRESCI Project, I became familiar with a mixed-method longitudinal design, which had been unfamiliar to me as yet and, therefore, added to expand my research skills. Likewise, given that I collected qualitative data with mothers and fathers at 36 and 48 months of the child's life, I could get to know the participants' context, primarily middle- and upper-middle-income families living in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre, the largest city and capital of the southern-most state in Brazil. Although the CRESCI Project did not specifically aim to explore coparenting across the transition to parenthood, major ideas regarding this construct were present in the "Interview about the experience of motherhood" and the "Interview about the experience of fatherhood" conducted at 6, 12 and 18 months of the child's life (Appendix C to H). Hence, data derived from these interviews with 12 first-time biological mothers and fathers, comprising six nuclear families who had chosen three different childcare arrangements (i.e., maternal care, nanny care or daycare) provided us with narrative evidence on coparenting. Thus, we were able to achieve the main goal of the current doctoral dissertation, i.e., investigate coparenting across the transition to parenthood. Aside from the interviews, mothers also completed a questionnaire concerning family demographic information at 6 months of the child's life (Appendix I).

Considering my background in family systems theory, we opted to investigate coparenting through the framework proposed by Feinberg (2003), because it was based on the concept of executive subsystem described by Minuchin (1974), referring to the parents' role in working together with respect to childrearing. In Feinberg's framework, coparenting is comprised of an internal structure of four components that are both moderately interconnected and partly distinct: division of labor (how parents divide childcare tasks and household chores, as well as their satisfaction with this division), agreement/disagreement (e.g.,

concerning children's emotional needs and discipline), support/undermining (appreciation and cooperation, or criticism and competition), and joint family management (parental control over communication, interactions, and establishing family boundaries, especially in conflict situations). Aside from this internal structure, Feinberg's framework also encompasses aspects of the ecological context that may influence coparenting at an individual (e.g., gender role expectations), family (e.g., partners' preexisting negotiation and conflict management abilities), and extra-familial level (e.g., social support, work and finance).

In the international literature, research on coparenting has increased over the past two decades, showing its importance to understand adaptive family functioning (Schoppe-Sullivan, Brown, Cannon, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008), as well as parents' (Durtschi, Soloski, & Kimmes, 2017; Schoppe-Sullivan, Settle, Lee, & Kamp Dush, 2016) and children's outcomes (Metz, Majdandžić, & Bögels, 2016; Teubert & Pinquart, 2010). Yet, up to now most studies have been conducted with Anglo-American and European families (Lindsey & Caldera, 2015; Sim, 2017; Sterrett et al., 2015), hampering practice and policy targeting coparenting in diverse countries. On the other hand, in his seminal paper on the internal structure and ecological context of coparenting, Feinberg (2003) noted the importance of shedding light on the influence that distinct cultures may exert upon coparenting relationships. Thus, although coparenting appears to share some universal characteristics among families, the expression of its components may vary across different cultures (Cabrera, Shannon, & Jolley-Mitchell, 2013), reinforcing the relevance of investigating under-researched populations. Additionally, in-depth exploration of coparenting through qualitative research has been suggested (Sim, 2017), and this approach is often well suited to offer rich insight into coparenting in diverse contexts (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015).

In contrast, considering the Brazilian literature, research on coparenting still seems to be scarce. For instance, since the publication of one of the first articles regarding the phenomenon in a Brazilian journal (i.e., Frizzo, Kreutz, Schmidt, Piccinini, & Bosa, 2005), little growth has been noted with respect to empirical studies conducted with Brazilian samples. Some of these studies have targeted families with preschoolers, school-aged children or adolescents with typical development (e.g., Böing & Crepaldi, 2016; Mosmann, Costa, Einsfeld, Silva, & Koch, 2017; Mosmann, Costa, Silva, & Luz, 2018; Romero, 2015), children and adolescents with disabilities (e.g., Amaral, 2009; Schmidt, 2008; Sifuentes & Bosa, 2010; Souza, 2017), or in the context of divorce (e.g., Gadoni-Costa, Frizzo, & Lopes, 2015; Grzybowski & Wagner, 2010).

Furthermore, studies focusing on coparenting in the transition to parenthood in Brazil mostly use cross-sectional designs (e.g., Fidelis, Falcke, & Mosmann, 2017; Pasinato &



Mosmann, 2015; 2016). Also, our research group has recently submitted two cross-sectional studies regarding coparenting in the transition to parenthood: one of them investigating coparenting at 3 months of the child's life (Schmidt, Arenhart, Lopes, & Piccinini, under review), and another investigating coparenting in the context of postpartum depression (Frizzo, Schmidt, Vargas, & Piccinini, under review). One exception, was the study of Augustin and Frizzo (2015) which investigated coparenting in two Brazilian families when the child was around 1 year old (first time point of data collection) and 6 years old (second time point of data collection).

To our best knowledge, this research is the first to investigate coparenting considering more than one time point of data collection across the transition to parenthood (i.e., 6, 12 and 18 months postpartum), in which participants were first-time Brazilian parents. This longitudinal design enabled us to examine stability and change across the transition to parenthood, as well as the impact of early child development on coparenting during this delicate phase of the family life cycle. Likewise, we also focused on diverse contexts, taking into account different childcare arrangements (i.e., maternal care, nanny care and daycare) and parental work status (i.e., single-earner and dual-earner families), which has not been addressed in previous Brazilian research, although frequent in our country (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017; Piccinini, Polli, Bortolini, Martins, & Lopes, 2016b).

The opportunity to carry out a doctoral internship (sandwich Ph.D.) in The Human Development & Family Science Program at The Ohio State University (OSU), working for six months under the supervision of Professor Sarah J. Schoppe-Sullivan – a scholar who has consistently made relevant contributions to research on coparenting in the most important journals of the area over the past two decades (e.g., Schoppe, Mangelsdorf, & Frosch, 2001; Yan, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Kamp-Dush, 2018) – allowed me to deepen the analysis of data collected in Brazil. Besides, this experience enabled me to get to know many other studies on coparenting that have been conducted by Professor Schoppe-Sullivan's research group, which helped me to reflect on some strengths and limitations of the research design that we employed, in view of a more international panorama.

The current doctoral dissertation is comprised of two articles. The first focused on the division of parental labor, whereas the second focused on agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. In both, we used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study design. The reasons for deciding to split these three components of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting framework in two articles were threefold. First, although the division of labor is included as one of the components of Feinberg's coparenting framework, there is extensive literature regarding the topic previous to the proposition of this model (e.g., Bianchi, Milkie, Sayer, &

Robinson, 2000; Press & Townsley, 1998; Sanchez & Thomson, 1997). Therefore, even contemporaneously, many scholars investigate the division of labor, albeit not necessarily using the definition presented by Feinberg (e.g., Biehle & Mickelson, 2012; Connelly, 2016; Newkirk, Perry-Jenkins, & Sayer, 2017). Second, by means of our data analysis, we found greater interrelation among childcare arrangements and division of labor, and comparatively weaker interrelation among childcare arrangements and the other two coparenting components we have addressed in this doctoral dissertation, i.e., agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. Third, we also found greater interrelation among agreement/disagreement and support/undermining between themselves, expressed by parents' prominent difficulty in negotiating different points of view and reciprocal criticism, reinforcing the pertinence of presenting these two components of Feinberg's coparenting framework in the same article.

It is important to note that data used in this doctoral dissertation derived from the "Interview about the experience of motherhood" and the "Interview about the experience of fatherhood", conducted at 6, 12 and 18 months of the child's life, provided us with support for these three components of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting framework, albeit not enough for joint family management. This could be linked to the fact that these interviews were not specifically designed to explore coparenting, as mentioned earlier. Moreover, joint family management widely emphasizes conflict situations and hostile interactions among parents, e.g., when they expose the child to arguments, pull the child into the middle of disruptive interactions, or use the child to offend each other, causing a breakdown in the shared responsibility to offer an emotionally and physically safe environment to the child. These aspects, though, were not explored by means of the interviews conducted. Even so, through a few parental accounts, we found some narrative evidence on joint family management, mainly regarding interactional balance in triadic situations (i.e., when mother, father and child shared time together). However, it would be weak to justify a study taking into account this component of Feinberg's coparenting framework. Nonetheless, readers can follow some of the participants' accounts (i.e., coded extracts of data) regarding all four components of Feinberg's coparenting framework, displayed for each family over time. These participants' accounts are presented in the complete single case reports, which also contain a broader case characterization. Due to length, this material could not be included in the articles, and is shown as supporting information in Appendix J to O.

In the next Chapters II and III, we present the two articles that comprise this doctoral dissertation. Following each, we highlight some strengths, limitations, suggestions for future research, and implications for practice (e.g., counseling) and policy (e.g., childcare

arrangements and parental leave). Finally, in Chapter IV, we emphasize major findings of both articles, show connections between them and stress the most important contributions of this doctoral dissertation to the research on coparenting.

## CHAPTER II

### **1<sup>st</sup> Article: Coparenting Division of Labor across the Transition to Parenthood in South-Brazilian Families**

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Parental roles tend to become more traditional across the transition to parenthood, which may impact individual and family development. We employed a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study to investigate the division of labor across the transition to parenthood in South-Brazilian families with different childcare arrangements (i.e., maternal care, nanny care, and daycare center). Data were collected through semi-structured, face-to-face interviews conducted with 12 first-time mothers and fathers (six nuclear families), at 6, 12, and 18 months postpartum. Using deductive thematic analysis, we found weaker sharing of household chores over time, against greater sharing of childcare tasks during the first few days postpartum, followed by a downward tendency in the fathers' contributions during the first few months postpartum. This more unequal division of labor remained stable over time only for families who had chosen maternal care. Parental satisfaction regarding the division of labor remained relatively high over time only for families who had chosen nanny care. Findings are discussed in the light of the role that instrumental and social support, as well as the prevailing Brazilian gender norms, may play in the division of labor for new parents.

*Keywords:* Division of labor; Coparenting; Transition to parenthood; Qualitative methodology

#### **Divisão de Trabalho Coparental durante a Transição para a Parentalidade em Famílias do Sul do Brasil**

#### **RESUMO**

Os papéis parentais tendem a se tornar mais tradicionais durante a transição para a parentalidade, o que pode afetar o desenvolvimento individual e familiar. Nós utilizamos um estudo de caso múltiplo, longitudinal e qualitativo para investigar a divisão de trabalho durante a transição para a parentalidade em famílias do Sul do Brasil que utilizavam diferentes arranjos de cuidado infantil (i.e., cuidado materno, por babá e em creche). Os dados foram coletados por meio de entrevistas semiestruturadas, face a face, realizadas com 12 mães e pais (seis famílias nucleares), aos 6, 12 e 18 meses após o nascimento do primeiro filho. Por

meio de análise temática dedutiva, encontramos fraco compartilhamento de tarefas domésticas ao longo do tempo, bem como forte compartilhamento de tarefas de cuidado infantil durante os primeiros dias após o parto, seguido por uma tendência de redução nas contribuições do pai durante os primeiros meses após o parto. Essa divisão de trabalho mais desigual permaneceu estável ao longo do tempo apenas para as famílias que optaram pelo cuidado materno. A satisfação de mães e pais em relação à divisão de trabalho permaneceu relativamente alta ao longo do tempo apenas para as famílias que optaram pelo cuidado por babá. Os resultados são discutidos à luz do papel que as normas de gênero prevalentes no Brasil, bem como o apoio social e instrumental podem desempenhar na divisão de trabalho para mães e pais após o nascimento do primeiro filho.

*Palavras-chave:* Divisão de trabalho parental; Coparentalidade; Transição para parentalidade; Pesquisa qualitativa

## INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian population has experienced several social and economic changes over the past few decades, which also impact the family dynamics (Benetti & Roopnarine, 2006; Piccinini, Polli, Bortolini, Martins, & Lopes, 2016b). Although historically predominant, the ideals of the patriarchal model in rigidly determining women and men's roles contemporarily coexist with more diverse and flexible patterns (Benetti & Roopnarine, 2006; Vieira et al., 2014). Considering families headed by different-sex couples, even if the single-earner structure is relatively common, the dual-earner structure has become the norm in this country (Rocha-Coutinho, 2011). The women's greater engagement in the job market noted as of the 1970s in Brazil (Vieira, 2014) has been linked to the increasing search for non-maternal childcare arrangements, such as nanny care and daycare center in families with young children (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007; Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016). Regardless of widespread changes in the Brazilian gender structure, women still appear more burdened with childcare tasks and household chores than men (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017). For instance, through the Continuous National Household Sample Survey performed in 2017, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2018) – organization responsible for the census in Brazil – found large gender discrepancy in the time spent weekly on domestic duties (e.g., childcare and household): 20.9 hours for women and 10.8 hours for men, on average.

This gender discrepancy in domestic duties may be even larger across the transition to parenthood, a period of the life course in which parental roles usually become more traditional, as reported in research conducted in different societies (Ayala, Christensson, Velandia, & Erlandsson, 2016; Baxter, Buchler, Perales, & Western, 2014; Kotila, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Kamp Dush, 2013). Yet, relatively few studies have investigated the division of labor across the transition to parenthood, particularly longitudinally and including both childcare tasks and household chores (e.g., Newkirk, Perry-Jenkins, & Sayer, 2017; Yavorsky, Kamp Dush, & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015), which could elucidate how new parents are reaching agreements and adjusting to emerging and overlapping demands over time. Besides, research on the division of labor has been conducted primarily with Anglo-American samples (Pinto & Coltrane, 2009). Thus, we know little about how new parents from diverse countries divide responsibilities related to the daily routine of childcare and household, the process of negotiating and satisfaction with the resulting division, which may be enlightened using qualitative methods, often well-suited to explore under-researched populations (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Additionally, this gaining of insight could enhance practice and policy aligned with the particularities of each context, as the division of labor may be

influenced by aspects that vary across different societies, such as gender-role norms (Endendijk, Derks, & Mesman, 2018), national leave policies (Hagqvist, Nordenmark, Pérez, Alemán, & Gådin, 2017), parental work status (Kobayashi, Kobayashi, Okumura, & Usui, 2016) and childcare arrangements (Yu, 2015).

Thus, the current study addresses some of these issues by investigating the division of labor in different-sex couples across the transition to parenthood in families with different childcare arrangements in the South of Brazil. To achieve our goal, we used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study. We interviewed first-time mothers and fathers at three time points up to the eighteenth month of the child's life, pursuing to a holistic portrayal regarding how they were experiencing and adjusting to the division of labor over time, also examining the role of childcare arrangements in this process.

### **Transition to parenthood and childcare arrangements**

The birth of the first child triggers a radical change in the family system (Minuchin, 1974). Becoming a parent is one of the most critical life course transitions and can be experienced simultaneously as rewarding and stressful (Yavorsky et al., 2015). It shapes personal identity (Baxter et al., 2014) and requires changes in the new parents' roles to make room for another person in their lives (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004). Parents also need to set new ways of relating to each other, as well as learn how to interact with and attend to the child's needs (Miller, 2010). Beyond these individual and family-level aspects, extrafamilial factors can add even more challenges across the transition to parenthood. For instance, a lack of policies that support dual-earner families, such as longer paid leave for both mother and father, may impede them to engage together more equally in childcare tasks and household chores after the child's birth (Bünning, 2015; Sarkadi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid, & Bremberg, 2007). Instrumental and social support may also play an important role in how parents adjust to the transition to parenthood and balance individual and family demands. Previous research conducted in Brazil (Piccinini et al., 2016b) and other countries (e.g., Chile; Murray, 2015; and Singapore; Shorey, Ang, & Goh, 2018) has shown that the possibility of counting on support provided by the extended family (e.g., grandparents) or domestic workers (e.g., nannies and maids) could positively impact the way parents navigate this period of the life course.

Nonetheless, many parents cannot or do not wish to count on extended family or domestic workers, so that daycare is one of the childcare arrangements the parents of infants frequently choose in Brazil (Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016) and other societies (e.g., Norway; Bungum & Kvande, 2013; Sweden; Hagqvist et al., 2017; and the United States; Lang,

Tolbert, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Bonomi, 2016). On the other hand, daycare is often costly (Yu, 2015) and parents may feel insecure regarding the quality of childcare provided in this setting (Amorim & Rossetti-Ferreira, 1999), especially considering the child's vulnerability and dependence in this early phase of development (Piccinini et al., 2016b). All these aspects, along with the fact that parental roles tend to become more traditional after the child's birth in different-sex couples (Ayala et al., 2016; Kotila et al., 2013) – particularly in societies with lower gender equality, as in Brazil (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017; Martins et al., 2015) – are linked to the choice of another common childcare arrangement, i.e., maternal care. Therefore, some mothers interrupt their investment in professional life to dedicate themselves to the family at the transition to parenthood (Murray, 2015; Rocha-Coutinho, 2011).

### **Division of labor across the transition to parenthood**

The family system is expanded due to the birth of the first child and includes, in different-sex couples, dyadic mother-child and father-child relationships, as well as the triadic mother-father-child relationship (Minuchin, 1974), which contains the new coparenting component (Van Egeren, 2004). Thus, coparenting emerges across the transition to parenthood and refers to the way individuals coordinate, support each other in their parental roles, and share responsibility in childrearing (Feinberg, 2003). The division of labor is incorporated as one of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting model domains, consisting in how parents divide responsibilities related to the daily routine of childcare tasks and household chores, as well as the satisfaction with the process of negotiating and the resulting division.

The transition to parenthood is a pivotal point of renegotiation in the way couples divide labor (Newkirk et al., 2017), causing them to reflect and reprioritize responsibilities and activities in their lives, while adjusting to emerging demands (St John, Cameron, & McVeigh, 2005). Dealing with round-the-clock emotional and physical care, including periods of crying, irregular sleep, frequent diaper changes and feedings is stressful and tiring (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Along with these new childcare tasks, preexisting chores need to be managed (Shockley & Allen, 2018), including increases in cleaning, cooking and laundry associated with childcare (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004).

Typically, mothers tend to experience more pervasive life changes across the transition to parenthood, given that only women can get pregnant, give birth, and breastfeed (Simpson, Rholes, Campbell, Tran, & Wilson, 2003), but also because they are usually primarily responsible for childcare tasks and household chores (Baxter et al., 2014; Newkirk et al., 2017; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012). The maternal overload across the transition to parenthood has been linked to negative impacts on women's lives. For instance, new mothers



tend to enjoy less time in leisure compared to new fathers (Kamp Dush, Yavorsky, & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2017). New mothers may also present more depression when experiencing persistent violated expectations in the division of childcare tasks (Biehle & Mickelson, 2012) and less marital satisfaction when perceiving unfairness in the division of household chores (Grote & Clark, 2001). Yet, a satisfactory division of labor does not necessarily imply duties being performed equally by both parents; instead, it is defined in each case by the partners, who are influenced by the social and cultural context (Feinberg, 2003).

### **Brazilian context**

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world and the largest in South America, bordering most of the other countries in that part of the American continent. In different Brazilian regions, diverse cultures and socioeconomic backgrounds can be found. For instance, the North and Northeast are relatively impoverished compared to the wealthier South and Southeast (Martins et al., 2015). Rio Grande do Sul is the most Southern state in Brazil. Its cultural background is assorted, mixing a native indigenous population with European immigrants predominantly from Portugal, Italy, and Germany, and including African descendants (Benetti & Roopnarine, 2006). The capital of Rio Grande do Sul is Porto Alegre (1.5 million inhabitants), where the current study was conducted. This state has one of the highest life expectancies and one of the lowest fertility rates in the country (IBGE, 2015).

In the last decades, many Brazilian women have postponed pregnancy, particularly those with a higher level of education (IBGE, 2015). Upon becoming parents, formal female workers are entitled to a paid maternity leave of four or six months, whereas formal male workers are entitled to a paid paternity leave of five or 20 days, depending on the type of job (Brazilian Law 13.257/2016). In dual-earner middle- and upper-middle-class families with young children in Brazil, some of the most common childcare arrangements are daycare center and nanny care (Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016; Piccinini et al., 2016b; Vieira, 2014).

With respect to daycare, it has become progressively more popular as of the last three or four decades, mainly due to women's massive entry into the job market in Brazil (Amorim & Rossetti-Ferreira, 1999; Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016), which was quite late compared to some other societies (e.g., North American and Western European). Up to the 1980s, daycare centers were widely viewed as unreliable settings for childcare, and thus considered a "necessary evil" for children from low socioeconomic status families, such as those with single mothers or married mothers who had to work to contribute to the family income (Amorim & Rossetti-Ferreira, 1999). Along with middle- and upper-middle-class women's massive entry into the job market, changes in policies have enhanced the quality of early

childhood care and education provided by daycare centers. This has been noted especially since the 1990s, during the Brazilian re-democratization process resulting from the end of the military dictatorship (Campos, Füllgraf, & Wiggers, 2006). Since 2006, publicly funded daycare is guaranteed for children aged 0 to 3 years, positioning the country amongst the most progressive in the world in relation to this constitutional right. In reality, however, the number of slots in publicly funded daycare is not enough to meet the demand in various Brazilian cities (Campos et al., 2006; Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017).

According to data from the Brazilian Ministry of Education (2018), 30% of children aged 0 to 3 years attended publicly funded or private daycare in 2015, a much higher rate compared to the 14% observed in 2001. Hence, many Brazilian young children are cared for in their own houses (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007), or in the homes of relatives while their parents are at work (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017). Yet, when parents have better economic conditions, they can choose other childcare arrangements aligned with their expectations, beliefs and needs more freely (Piccinini et al., 2016b). Unlike some other societies, nanny care is often chosen by Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class families in which both parents are engaged in the job market (Piccinini et al., 2016b), primarily because it can be secured at an affordable rate (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007; Vieira, 2014). According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2018), Brazil has around seven million domestic workers, more than any other country in the world. The majority of domestic workers are low-educated (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007) women of African descent (ILO, 2018) – one of the legacies stemming from the delayed abolition of slavery in Brazil, which occurred only at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Vieira, 2014). Another singularity regarding domestic workers in Brazil is the frequent overlap of childcare tasks and household chores, so that the same person can be hired to work in a family's house and take on both responsibilities (Vieira, 2014).

Besides nanny care, many young children are cared for in their houses by the mother; hence, maternal care is also a relatively common childcare arrangement in Brazil. Data from a recent national survey revealed that the majority of Brazilian women from 15 to 29 years of age who were out of the job market had at least one child (IBGE, 2015). At times, due to work-family conflict, mothers – including those with high levels of education – decide to leave their job to dedicate themselves to the family, especially during the early years of the child's life (Rocha-Coutinho, 2011), and if they can count on the partner's financial support (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017). Although it seems to be changing, the view of maternal care as the most suitable for young children strongly persists in Brazil (Vieira et al., 2014). Thus, mothers frequently report feeling guilty when the child attends another childcare arrangement, which contributes to the decision in favor of maternal care (Piccinini et al., 2016b; Rocha-

Coutinho, 2011). In addition to this prevailing cultural norm, socioeconomic aspects are also linked to the choice in favor of maternal care in Brazil, such as lower provision of publicly funded daycare (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017), families' financial difficulty in paying for private daycare or nanny care, as well as the fact that some mothers are not engaged in the paid workforce when the child is born (Piccinini et al., 2016b).

### **The present study**

We employed a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study to investigate division of labor across the transition to parenthood in families with different childcare arrangements in the South of Brazil. Case studies permit in-depth exploration of the uniqueness and complexity of a phenomenon, providing a rich picture of the real-life context; when qualitative and longitudinal, besides, they enable us to examine processes of change, emphasizing subjective aspects regarding why and how things occur (Simons, 2014). Conforming to Stake (2006), multiple case studies are undertaken to better understand a phenomenon by means of different individuals or environments. The perspective guiding this design is that the phenomenon is influenced by the context, and that studying different individuals in diverse contexts will facilitate understanding of complex phenomena. Thus, we selected families with children attending some of the most common childcare arrangements found in the Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class: maternal care, nanny care, and daycare (Piccinini et al., 2016b). We also considered different parental work status and child gender.

Furthermore, our study is based on the definition of division of labor presented by Feinberg (2003), in his seminal paper on the internal structure and ecological context of coparenting. In general, previous studies mainly use samples of European American to explore coparenting relationships overall (Cabrera, Shannon, & Jolley-Mitchell, 2013), and the division of labor particularly (Pinto & Coltrane, 2009), which reinforces the importance of research conducted with diverse cultures. Likewise, qualitative research on coparenting (Sim, 2015) and division of labor (Newkirk et al., 2017) has been suggested, and it may provide data barely accessed via standardized surveys, at the same time offering information for substantiating the development of reliable, valid and contextually sensitive instruments (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Although we have a modest sample size, which is expected in qualitative studies (Levitt et al., 2018), we interviewed participants multiple times, allowing for a more robust design (LaRossa, Goldberg, Roy, Sharp, & Zvonkovic, 2014). Therefore, we examined how mother and father were experiencing and adjusting to the division of labor across the transition to parenthood, revealing stability and change over time,

as well as the role of childcare arrangements in this process. We used the narrative style to present detailed description and tell the story of each case (Levitt et al., 2018). Also, we recorded the participants' voices and provided excerpts of their verbalizations, enabling readers to decide on the transferability of our findings (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

## METHOD

### Participants

Six nuclear families, in which the mother and father (12 parents) had recently experienced the birth of their first child (three female and three male children, all healthy), participated in the study. In two families only the father was employed, with the mother caring for the child; in two families both parents were employed, and they hired a nanny to care for the child in their home for eight hours per day, on average; and, in two families both parents were employed, and the child started attending daycare at the end of maternity leave for seven hours per day, on average. All parents were white (demographic details in Table 1).

These families took part in a broader mixed-method longitudinal study of family and child development conducted in Porto Alegre, the largest city and capital of the southern-most state in Brazil. Mothers and fathers were recruited via announcements in local newspapers and daycare centers, or by recommendation of other participants. We selected the families who participated in the present study according to the following criteria: (a) first-time biological parents who were cohabiting or married for at least one year when the mother became pregnant; and (b) both parents completed all the procedures of the first three time points of data collection in the broader study (i.e., 6, 12 and 18 months postpartum). After applying these criteria, six cases were selected from nine eligible cases. Hence, we ensured that two cases each represented popular childcare arrangements of Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class families: maternal care, nanny care, and daycare (Piccinini et al., 2016b). For each childcare arrangement, one family with a female and one family with a male child were included. This number of cases is aligned with Stake's (2006) proposal, given that benefits of multiple case studies are often limited with less than four or more than ten cases.

Tabela 1  
*Demographic information*

Case	Child	Mother	Father	Family SES
A	Ana	Alice, 31, VD	Arthur, 33	Middle-class
	Maternal care	BD, Housewife	BD, Civil technician	
B	Brian	Barbara, 31, CS	Bernardo, 38	Middle-class
	Maternal care	GD, Housewife	BD, IT analyst	
C	Clara	Caroline, 37, VD	Cristiano, 38	Upper-middle-class
	Nanny care	BD, Physiotherapist	BD, Entrepreneur	
D	Denis	Doris, 35, CS	Daniel, 36	Upper-middle-class
	Nanny care	GD, Professor	BD, Psychoanalyst	
E	Eva	Erica, 32, CS	Edgar, 36	Upper-middle-class
	Daycare	BD, Nutritionist	BD, IT analyst	
F	Felix	Flora, 37, CS	Francisco, 36	Upper-middle-class
	Daycare	BD, Psychologist	BD, Bookseller	

*Note.* Demographic information related to the first time point of data collection, around 6 months postpartum. The childcare arrangement remained the same during the three time points of data collection. SES = Socioeconomic Status. BD = Bachelor's Degree. GD = Graduate Degree. VD = Vaginal Delivery. CS = Cesarean Section.

## Procedures

Data were collected via semi-structured, individual face-to-face interviews with mothers and fathers around 6, 12 and 18 months postpartum (36 interviews altogether). Trained interviewers, all graduate or undergraduate students in Psychology that worked on the broader study, conducted the interviews in a room at the University or at the participant's house. Data collection took place from 2011 to 2013. Aside from targeting a specific month of the child's life, the interviews also took a retrospective approach, looking to understand how parents were experiencing the transition to parenthood as a whole. Thus, at the first time point, parents were asked about pregnancy, delivery, and early days up to 6 months after the child's birth. At the second and third time points, questions focused on 6 to 12 months and on 12 to 18 months after the child's birth, respectively.

Considering the diversity of the sample and goals of the broader study, the interviews were designed to investigate a wide range of aspects linked to families with young children and early child development. Hence, some of the interview questions that offered pieces of

narrative evidence regarding division of labor described tasks in which each parent engaged with the child regularly and satisfaction with this, how the family's routine was managed, perceptions and feelings about the partner's contributions, previous expectations versus reality at that time, and other people who helped the parents manage childcare and household. Although the interview questions offered a guide, the interviewers encouraged participants to talk about aspects that might not have been covered in the interviews, sharing their experiences; thus, the incoming data contributed to the unique perspective of each case.

Besides the interviews, mothers also completed a questionnaire concerning family demographic information at the first time point of data collection. The study was approved by two local Ethics Committees and written informed consent was given by each participant. Following Brazilian norms for research involving human beings, financial incentive was not given for participation. We only presented pseudonyms in this report.

### **Data analysis**

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The team of transcribers followed guidelines prepared by the researchers, including phonetic transcription of every word and vocal expression. The transcribed interviews were imported to QSR International's NVivo 11 – software that supports qualitative research – and reviewed by the first author for accuracy.

We used thematic analysis to explore and interpret the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We adopted the deductive approach, coding data according to Feinberg's (2003) definition of division of labor. To become familiar with interview content, the first author repeatedly read the entire data set in an active way, paying attention to families' characteristics, and searching for patterns and differences between them. After immersion in the data, initial code generation started, and narratives that provided pieces of evidence of division of labor were coded, considering the transcript of the entire interview as the unit of analysis. We looked for accounts illustrating aspects such as how mother and father divided responsibilities related to the daily routine of childcare tasks and household chores, the process of negotiating and satisfaction with the resulting division, which activities each performed, the parent's perceptions and expectations about the other parent's contributions, as well as the degree of rigidity versus flexibility in approaching these arrangements (Feinberg, 2003). In this phase, we selected broader extracts of data, coding it in nodes within NVivo 11. Subsequently, we reviewed and excluded some previously coded extracts, to achieve higher refinement.

Thus, a written report was begun, as part of the constant back and forward movement related to the data analysis, considering that the coded extracts of data as well as the entire data set were reviewed several times during the written process (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We

first focused on the within-case and second on the cross-case analysis. Following Stake (2006), the single case is of interest in a multiple case study, because although unique, each single case may share common characteristics with the other single cases pertaining to a particular collection, enabling a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Given that interviews were conducted and transcribed in Portuguese, the coded extracts of data were translated into English. The first author accomplished this translation, and the fourth author revised it. Both have Portuguese as first and English as a second language. Afterwards, a senior English teacher, who was born and raised in an English-speaking country and had been living for around 20 years in the South-Brazilian city where the data were collected, corrected these translations. The experience of this professional allowed retaining the meaning of some idiomatic expressions, guaranteeing the maintenance of context of parental verbalizations. Thematic analysis does not demand the same level of transcription detail compared to other types of analyses; what is essential is to retain the original nature of the information (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which was ensured in our data.

Each single case report, composed of mother and father verbalizations related to the division of labor at the three time points of data collection, was repetitively read and discussed by the first and second author. They also had dialogues regarding doubts and resolved by consensus disagreements over some coded extracts. These procedures permitted the second author, who is English-speaking, to become familiar with the data and contribute to the refinement of the within-case analysis, pursuing trustworthiness by means of a reflexive process. These procedures also permitted the first and second author to search for similarities between the families, which supported the cross-case analysis. Again, to achieve trustworthiness, we presented thick description, with rich details of case characteristics and findings grounded in pieces of evidence (Levitt et al., 2018), i.e., the participants' narratives on division of labor. Thus, credibility may also be established by readers, who will be allowed to make decisions about the transferability of our findings (Creswell & Poth, 2018).



## RESULTS

First, we present within-case results, illustrating the uniqueness of each family through vignettes regarding how mothers and fathers were experiencing and adjusting to the division of labor across the transition to parenthood. At the end of each vignette, we note the time point of data collection (T1 = 6 months; T2 = 12 months; T3 = 18 months postpartum). Second, we present cross-case results, emphasizing the common themes across families.

### Within-case results

#### *Case A – maternal care.*

Alice and Arthur had been living together in a common-law marriage for around three years when Ana was born. Alice had been out of the job market for a few months preparing for public service entrance exams when she became pregnant. During pregnancy, the parents decided on a maternal childcare arrangement. The mother would not return to the job market until the child reached 3 years of age and began attending preschool.

Parental verbalizations suggested a higher participation of the father in childcare tasks and household chores during the first weeks postpartum. This seemed influenced by paternity leave and vacation, as noted in this paternal report: “In the first two months, I did everything. After that, I didn’t do anything else. . . I stayed on vacation. I stayed a little more than one month at home. . . I was 100%. Now, I’m 50%” (T1). Maternal accounts were similar: “He used to have her on his lap. . . He changed some diapers when she was younger. Now, don’t even think about it. . . He doesn’t do it. He doesn’t care. This part, everything is on me” (T1).

Alice requested the father’s help, even if he often did not provide it: “I ask for him to stay with her so that I can do things [household chores] . . . Arthur, concerning Ana, is complicated, you know? He adores her, he loves her, but he doesn’t stay five minutes with her” (T1). Arthur recognized that he could take on more childcare tasks: “I could, could help caring for Ana. Helping in her bath, helping her to change, keeping her in my lap a little more, for Alice to do things” (T1); “I give attention to her, not as much as I should” (T2). Yet, he did not present openness to improve participation, suggesting some rigidity in the process of negotiating the division of labor, which remained stable over time: “As I’m working harder now and I’m getting more tired, I think she [Alice] needs to understand a little too. But if she doesn’t understand, patience, she’ll continue caring for her anyhow” (T1); “I overload Alice, but I’m also laid back” (T2); “I don’t do anything. . . I leave these tasks to Alice” (T3). Given the single-earner family structure, Arthur increased his time at work, to increase his salary, so

his priority was financial: “I can earn, allowing Alice to stay at home caring for her. . . I’m responsible for providing all the conditions for her” (T2).

At the sixth month of the child’s life, Alice’s expectations about division of labor were not met: “I had imagined that he would stay more with her. . . I would like it if he cared for [Ana] more time”. Nonetheless, whereas the division of basic childcare tasks (e.g., bathing, changing diapers, feeding) remained stable across time, with the mother performing these duties almost exclusively, as the child grew up, the father started to play and interact more with her. This aspect added to changing Alice’s view about Arthur’s contributions: “He used to be a little bit absent. . . But nowadays, he’s more participative towards Ana. . . He’s always playing with her, playing in the moments I need to do something” (T2). Arthur also referred to greater engagement with the child, particularly in play: “I’m having a little time. So, the time I have is to play, to have fun, to do only the good things. . . The routine is always with Alice. Only with Alice” (T3). Aside from the shortage of time due to work overload, Arthur cited the child’s gender as an aspect that influenced his engagement in basic childcare tasks: “I don’t change her. I don’t bathe her. Because, you know, I’m kind of rough. . . I don’t have the dexterity for this. So, even because of this issue that she’s a girl” (T3).

### ***Case B – maternal care.***

Barbara and Bernardo had been married six years when Brian was born. Barbara was taking her Master’s Degree when she became pregnant, and completed it a few days before the delivery. The parents made the decision for a maternal childcare arrangement during pregnancy. They agreed on postponing Barbara’s return to the job market and Brian’s entrance to daycare for at least two years.

In the first weeks postpartum, the parents had a more equal division of childcare responsibilities and tasks. This was influenced chiefly by the mother’s recovery from the cesarean section, as well as paternity leave and vacation time: “Bernardo took a vacation, and he stayed with me. So, he did everything” (T1); “I stayed home one month. . . I helped all the time. I changed diapers. I was always with them. . . I cared for him, I went to see what he wanted” (T1). Yet, Bernardo did not participate in household chores: “I didn’t help with the domestic tasks, right? Because she was weak, but her mother was there too. So, she helped more. Her mother didn’t live in the house, she came during the day. . . , the first days” (T1).

The division of labor became more unequal over time, though, given that Barbara took a position of primary responsibility for the routine of childcare tasks and household chores. According to Bernardo, the proactivity he exercised in the first weeks postpartum decreased: “After I returned to work, this changed. . . At the beginning, more things came from me. . .

Nowadays, there's a lot more she's asking me for. . . I have been more like a helper, an assistant" (T1); "I have been more absent" (T2). Bernardo attributed this more unequal division of labor to his lack of time, due to paid work: "I have little time with Brian. . . I go to work and he's sleeping. . . I get home, and a little bit more than one hour later. . . , it's time to try to put him to sleep" (T2); "He only sees me during the night and weekend. . . I'd like to be much closer" (T3). Yet, even when at home, Bernardo refused to perform duties, as cited by both parents: "Sometimes, I'm not very welcome. But I ask for his help anyway" (T1); "I'm a little lazy, right? I mean, sometimes she's tired and wants me to care for Brian. So, I: 'Not now, I want to do this and that'. And I leave Brian with her" (T1).

Barbara expressed dissatisfaction with the division of labor across the transition to parenthood: "I'm dissatisfied. . . I think he could participate more, more of those annoying times. Staying with Brian only during the day on weekends is not enough. It's all fine, when the baby cries, he gives the baby to me" (T1); "The woman always complains, right? I think he's still not there" (T2). Bernardo, in turn, recognized Barbara's dissatisfaction: "She gets a little annoyed with these things, when she needs, she wants help, and I, sometimes, I don't deny it, but I put myself a little apart" (T1); "As the mother spends the whole day with the child, she has the feeling that I'm not collaborating and she's responsible for everything" (T2). At the same time, Bernardo cited getting bothered with Barbara's demands for greater paternal engagement: "The fact that [Barbara demands]: 'You should hold, you should do this, you should do that'. So, there's something mine, I don't like being charged to do things. . . The way that things happen bothers me" (T2). Thus, parental reports suggest rigidity in the process of negotiating the division of labor over time. Bernardo also revealed the expectation that Barbara would take on childcare almost exclusively, as she was out of the job market:

I don't think I'm having difficulty. I think the mother is having difficulty, and I have difficulty because of this. . . As she stays with him during the day, I imagine that she'll care for him the whole day, and she'll not need me to do so. But sometimes she needs me, and then I need to leave the job to solve things with the two of them. So, this makes me a little annoyed. . . Because I have to work. Someone has to work in this family. (T3)

### *Case C – nanny care.*

Caroline and Cristiano had been living together in a common-law marriage for around two years when Clara was born. Because Caroline worked as an independent professional, she opted for a shorter leave, returning to her job in the third month postpartum. Cristiano, in turn, did not have paternity leave, as he was an entrepreneur. After the birth, they hired a nanny.

This professional carried out many of the childcare tasks and some of the household chores in the family's house, on weekdays throughout the day. They counted also on a maid, who performed household chores in the family's house, since before the child's birth.

From the first days postpartum, both Caroline and Cristiano reported sharing the daily childcare routine: "He gave her first bath in a bucket, because I was afraid to put her in the bucket" (T1); "Everything I could participate, I participated. . . She was recovering from the delivery, and I participated a lot. . . I was already giving her bath since the first week" (T1). Nonetheless, until the second month of the child's life, while Caroline was on leave, she undertook most of the childcare tasks: "In the first two months, Caroline stayed with Clara all the time. . . There was plenty to do. And then, in the second month, we tried to organize a structure that could support her to get back to work" (T1). In that period, they contracted the nanny.

Across the transition to parenthood, both parents took on the responsibilities concerning daily routines, sharing childcare tasks. This can be noted in the following reports: "[Cristiano is] a super present father. . . All the activities I do, he also does" (T2);

I hold her under my arm, [and go to the] grocery store. If it is necessary to change her diapers. . . Which is necessary, because there's no reason not to do it. . . The same bath that she gives, that Caroline gives to Clara, I go there and also do it. Perhaps somewhat more roughly. Or, perhaps with a little more emotion, right? But, but in fact, the task is executed in the same way. (T1)

Caroline and Cristiano organized their schedules to take turns caring for Clara. Their reports suggested the flexibility in how they managed the division of labor remained stable: "If I need to work, something like this, he stays with her. . . He helps with everything. When he's at home, he's there picking her up, caring for her. So, I can take a shower, I can have dinner" (T1); "I work on Saturday mornings and afternoons. So, she stays with Caroline" (T2); "I get home at 7 p.m., and I stay with her [Clara]. There are some days when Caroline works until late at night. I stay caring for her from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m., until bedtime" (T3).

In this vein, the division of labor was considered satisfactory for both parents across the transition to parenthood. This was reported by Caroline: "He really does it together with me. . . I don't have any complaints" (T1), as well as by Cristiano: "This is fine. There is no problem" (T2). Additionally, satisfaction with the process of negotiating responsibilities was also cited, as noted in the following maternal account: "We can adjust everything. . . We can systematize well" (T2). Yet, although Caroline showed satisfaction about the division of labor, she also presented dissatisfaction about her short time with Clara, less than Cristiano, due to work: "When you start comparing, right? 'What am I doing? I don't pay attention to

my daughter. I'm trying to make money'" (T2); "It's very conflicting for me. . . Because there is this issue, I keep working all day. Sometimes, I don't participate in certain responsibilities towards Clara. . . I think that I should have more responsibilities" (T3).

***Case D – nanny care.***

Doris and Daniel had been married for two years when Denis was born. Doris had four months of maternity leave, as an employee in a private university, whereas Daniel did not have paternity leave, as an independent professional. The childcare arrangement was selected during the pregnancy. The nanny started working in the family's home a few weeks before the birth. Besides caring for the child, the nanny also performed household chores.

Across the transition to parenthood, both parents took on the responsibilities concerning daily routines, sharing childcare tasks. Since the early days postpartum, when Doris was recovering from the cesarean section, she reported a greater engagement of the father in tasks related to childcare: "I had no idea how violent the cesarean was. . . Daniel helped during the night or when he was at home, caring for Denis, wrapping him when he had colic, much more efficient than I" (T1). Yet, it was noted that Doris tended to perform more basic care, whereas Daniel played more with Denis, especially in the first months: "He plays, he helps, he gives the bath. Something he likes a lot is playing, staying together with Denis. . . Changing diapers, feeding, you see, this he does with more effort" (T1);

I don't have any problem to change, to bathe and all. . . Of course, if I can pass it to them, I'll do so. I don't love changing a child or bathing a child. But if I need to do it, there's no problem. . . At first, I liked it more. I wanted to do it, to participate more. Now, it lost the novelty, like that. But at first, I thought it was nice to hold him, to change him, to know what I can do. (T1)

The parents showed flexibility in managing the division of labor over time. They took turns depending on the situations that came up, instead of setting fixed rules regarding who did what. Doris mentioned these aspects: "Usually, when I'm tired, or when I can't do anything, when I can't calm down, when I can't, we change" (T1), as well as Daniel: "There's nothing fixed, like that. If I'm at home, for example, . . . I get him, and I change [his diapers]. But there's nothing fixed that I can tell you: 'I just do it'" (T1). Also, in the sixth month of Denis's life, Daniel reported perceiving Doris was feeling more comfortable in requesting his engagement in childcare tasks: "Now she has been asking for more than before. I think she's more relaxed. . . For me to stay with him, change him, make him sleep because she's tired. Before, I think she didn't even allow herself to do that" (T1).

The parents considered their needs and personal preferences, though, in pursuing a satisfactory division of labor for both. For instance, as Doris worked early in the morning, Daniel took on more childcare tasks during the night: “I usually put him to sleep. . . . At night, I usually change his diapers. Also because his mother wakes up very early” (T2); “She tries to calm him down, [but] she can’t. Then I need to go. Like, he woke up, started to cry and she can’t calm him down to put him to sleep” (T3). Similarly, Daniel disliked feeding the child and cited feeling respected in that regard: “I don’t like to feed Denis. . . . They know about it at home and respect it. So, I never need to do it” (T2); “I don’t want to feed Denis because it’s annoying. . . . I only do it when there’s no way. . . . Doris takes more care [of feeding]” (T3).

Additionally, Doris and Daniel considered both the process and results of the division of labor over time as satisfactory. According to Doris, they communicated openly to adjust arrangements in the best possible way: “I’m very satisfied. And as we have this freedom of communication, when I need, like that: ‘Now it’s your turn’, I call him” (T1); “We are working well, Daniel and I. When one is tired, the other gives support” (T2).

#### *Case E – daycare center.*

Erica and Edgar had been living together in a common-law marriage for around six years when Eva was born. After the birth, the father had five days and the mother had six months of leave, as she was a public servant. Eva started attending a daycare center at the end of the maternity leave.

Concerning the first days postpartum, parental reports suggested a more equal division of tasks and responsibilities for childcare: “He cared for her a lot. Even surprised me. He changed her diapers. . . . He helped with the breastfeeding” (T1). As soon as Edgar returned to work after paternity leave, however, the division of labor changed: “In the early days, I helped a lot. . . . Then I kind of stopped” (T1). In the sixth month of the child’s life, both parents considered the division of labor more unequal. Erica became primarily responsible for the daily routine of childcare, whereas Edgar engaged with Eva mostly during play: “He plays with her a lot. But when things get tough, then he passes [things] on to me. He doesn’t take it on” (T1). Edgar explained the unequal division of tasks and responsibilities in light of breastfeeding and maternity leave: “I don’t follow the way I should, helping Erica. . . . She’s breastfeeding too, right? And she’s not working now. So, I leave more to her” (T1).

Although Erica demonstrated understanding that Edgar was not available during the day because of his job, she expected greater participation when he was at home: “During the night, he doesn’t exist. . . . He sleeps and is gone. . . . I expected more” (T1). Edgar, in turn, recognized this tendency: “I work in the morning, and she’s on leave. And she needs to

breastfeed, right? So, I always tell her: ‘It’s not necessary for us both to wake up, right? You’re going to breastfeed, so just you wake up’” (T1). He also cited the discrepancy between his contributions and maternal expectations: “She’s seeing me as an average dad. . . I’m not fulfilling Erica’s expectations about a good father. . . I’m not doing well, like that. But after she goes back to her job, I’ll need to change my routine” (T1).

In fact, after the child started attending the daycare center and Erica returned to work, some changes in the division of labor were noted, suggesting greater flexibility in the negotiation of responsibilities. According to the parents’ verbalizations, they were sharing more duties. For instance, Edgar started performing more childcare tasks during evenings and nights. He also became responsible for picking up and taking Eva to daycare. This was noted in the following maternal and paternal verbalizations: “He’s the only one who picks her up [from daycare] . . . At home, she plays with him, . . . while I prepare the dinner, I organize the home” (T2); “We don’t have a fixed routine. . . I take on almost all the tasks. . . I give her something to eat. I always change her diapers, almost whenever I’m home. . . I take her to the doctor” (T3).

Erica expressed greater satisfaction with the process of negotiating and the resulting division of labor over time: “He’s a good father. He has been very tired because his routine changed” (T2). The paternal reports were in this same vein: “I feel good this way. I like to do it, despite being tired” (T3). Yet, Edgar recognized that Erica continued performing more childcare tasks and household chores: “Erica takes on more than me. . . She demands a little bit, things that I should [take on more]” (T2); “I think I could even do it better” (T3). Related to this, in situations when the child got sick, Erica left her job to care for Eva. According to Edgar, because Erica is a ‘woman’, her boss would understand it better: “When she started getting sick at the daycare, Erica got work leave. . . It’s bad for me and for her to have to leave work. But I think her boss is more sympathetic, also because she’s a woman” (T2).

### ***Case F – daycare center.***

Flora and Francisco had been married nine years when Felix was born. After the child’s birth, Francisco had five days and Flora six months of leave, as she was a public servant. Felix started attending a daycare center at the end of the maternity leave.

In the early days postpartum, higher participation of the father in childcare tasks was reported by both parents: “The only thing he didn’t do was the house stuff. Because he never did that. . . Everything else, he bathed, changed his diaper, brought me the things I needed, the medicine, everything” (T1); “She was recovering. She couldn’t do it. I gave his first bath. I changed [his diapers] . . . To breastfeed, I put him in her lap. . . Because I was on leave, but it

was a short time” (T1). At the end of the paternity leave and the mother’s recovery from the cesarean section, changes in the division of labor occurred, so that Flora began to perform most duties: “When I went back to work, Flora was already better. . . Then, it started changing, because he stayed at home with her. She didn’t work, and I had to work” (T1). Thus, at the sixth month, Flora was primarily responsible for childcare, whereas Francisco occupied an assistant position, even in the periods when he was at home. This division of labor was somehow naturalized by the father, as he bore in mind the maternity leave: “She’s still on leave. So, nowadays, most of the things have been on her [responsibility]. . . When she needs help, she asks for it” (T1). This was considered unsatisfactory by Flora though:

I felt a bit alone on the issue of responsibility. I have the feeling that the responsibility is mostly mine. . . At first, it was something that came more from him. . . Novelty, you know? Nowadays, I think I need to ask more from him. . . There are things that become a routine, right? And the routine is tiring. You have to give him a bath every day. You have to change his diapers several times a day. . . I think our relationship should be different. I think he should realize what needs to be done and do it. (T1)

After Felix started attending daycare and Flora returned to work, some changes in the division of labor occurred. The parents began sharing most of the childcare tasks, managing the division of labor more flexibly from then on, as noted through these maternal and paternal accounts: “Sometimes I take him to daycare. Sometimes it’s Francisco. . . One is playing with him. The other one is doing other things. . . We take turns because there are a lot of other things. . . We’re dividing more” (T2); “We don’t have a rule, like that. We take turns. If she has something to do, then I’m going to wash him. But if I have something else to do, she bathes him” (T3). Over time, Flora also mentioned feeling more comfortable to communicate when she got burdened, citing that Francisco promptly took on the child’s care in these situations: ““Look, I can’t take it anymore, now you’ll stay with him’. It’s pretty common. It’s not daily. From time to time it happens. . . Then I do something else” (T3).

In the process of negotiating the division of labor, the parents had come to consider their personal needs and preferences, for instance, in situations when Felix had difficulty in falling asleep: “I like to sleep early, so this is more difficult for me. . . Francisco is more nocturnal. Then he stays a little longer. . . I stay with him early in the morning, and Francisco sleeps a little more” (T2). These changes in the division of labor were related to greater maternal satisfaction and respect for paternal contributions: “Francisco participates a lot. . . [For example] in changing diapers. Many times, even without me asking. He realized that I did it before, so he goes there and does it. Without asking. I don’t bother with that” (T3).



## **Cross-case results**

Despite the singularities, we also noted similarities among the families regarding the division of labor across the transition to parenthood. For instance, extensive sharing of childcare during the first days postpartum was a similar aspect in all cases. Parental reports with respect to this period revealed the father's engagement in bathing, changing diapers, holding and wrapping the child, as well as facilitating breastfeeding. This was mainly linked to the mother's recovery from the delivery, as well as paternity leave and vacation time in some families. Two parents (Cases D and F) also cited the 'novelty' as an aspect that possibly added to greater paternal participation in childcare at the beginning. Concerning household chores, in contrast, most parents referred to the father's weaker engagement since the early days of the child's life, considering those families that did not count on a domestic worker.

Nonetheless, a downward tendency in the fathers' contributions to childcare tasks was noted through the first few months postpartum. In that period, the mothers had more time available to take care of the child, given that they were out of the job market or on maternity leave. Conversely, the fathers were in their jobs during the day, including those who had paternity leave or vacation, as they had already returned to work. Thus, overall, parental roles became more traditional in these first few months. Mothers took primary responsibility for childcare tasks in all families, and for household chores in those families that did not hire a domestic worker. In turn, many fathers engaged with the child chiefly during play when they were at home, instead of performing routine childcare, such as bathing and changing diapers.

Even though all the mothers reported satisfaction with the division of labor regarding the first days postpartum, in the sixth month of the child's life, those mothers who were still at home full-time expressed dissatisfaction with the process of negotiating responsibilities and resulting division. These were the cases in which the parents opted for maternal care or a daycare as the childcare arrangement. Interestingly, the fathers in these families recognized the maternal burden during that period, as well as the discrepancy between their contributions and the mothers' expectations. Nonetheless, these fathers did not take on childcare tasks more proactively when they were at home, citing their paid workload and the mothers' time availability. However, some of these fathers overlooked performing childcare tasks even if the mothers asked, as noted in the families with the maternal childcare arrangement.

Regarding these families that opted for maternal care, this more traditional gender division of labor was stable across the transition to parenthood, with the mothers undertaking childcare tasks and household chores almost exclusively over time. By contrast, the ongoing paternal priority and effort were directed at providing income for the family. In turn, the

fathers remained engaged chiefly in ‘fun’ activities with the child (as cited in Case A), and/or playing an ‘assistant’ role in childcare tasks (as cited in Case B).

Although both mothers in these families indicated dissatisfaction with the process of negotiating and with the resulting division of labor in the sixth month of the child’s life, this changed later in Case A, but not in Case B. Concerning Case A, the fact that the father began to interact more with the child as she developed, allowing the mother to perform other chores, contributed to changing maternal perceptions of paternal contributions, and perhaps to decreasing the mother’s feeling of overload. On the other hand, in Case B, the dissatisfaction remained stable over time for the mother, who used to ask for greater paternal engagement. In turn, the maternal demands disturbed the father, so that he also began to express dissatisfaction, in light of his expectation that each parent should take sole responsibility for their separate sphere (i.e., childcare and household labor versus paid work). Taken together, these aspects suggest a rising sense of unfairness according to the mother’s and father’s views in Case B, as well as rigidity in how they managed the division of labor over time.

The division of labor changed differently for those parents whose child started attending a daycare center at the end of maternity leave. In these cases, after the sixth month postpartum, we noted greater flexibility in the negotiation of responsibilities and greater sharing of childcare tasks among parents. According to the parental reports, they took turns and set the division of labor as situations came up, instead of establishing a ‘fixed routine’ (as cited in Case E) or a ‘rule’ (as cited in Case F). These changes were related to improvements in maternal view regarding the paternal contribution, as well as in satisfaction concerning the division of labor over time in Cases E and F.

Respecting those families that opted for the nanny childcare arrangement, we noted that parental flexibility in managing responsibilities and tasks, as well as their satisfaction with both the process and results of the division of labor, remained stable across the transition to parenthood. Although the mothers in these cases took on many duties related to the daily childcare routine in the first few months postpartum, when they were on leave, this did not lead to a sense of unfairness or inequity regarding the paternal contributions, as was observed in the other cases. This finding may be linked to the presence of a domestic worker, which perhaps buffered the maternal feeling of overload during the early months of the child’s life. Similarly, these parents did not mention concerns with household chores, as they were performed by the maid and the nanny (in Case C), or the nanny (in Case D).

Interestingly, considering the dual-earner families, in Cases C and D, the mothers had shorter leave (three and four months, respectively), compared to Cases E and F (six months in both). This aspect may also have influenced the division of labor, causing the parents to start

adjusting responsibilities and take turns in childcare tasks earlier than in those families where the mother remained on leave up to the sixth month of the child's life.

## DISCUSSION

The purpose of our study was to investigate the division of labor across the transition to parenthood in families with children attending different childcare arrangements in the South of Brazil. We were successful in identifying some commonalities among families concerning the division of labor by virtue of the childcare arrangement, without disregarding the uniqueness of each case.

Overall, we noted weaker father's engagement in household chores across the transition to parenthood, considering those families in which parents should perform these duties because they did not count on a hired professional. Except for Case A during the early weeks postpartum, household chores were under the mother's almost sole responsibility over time in families who opted for maternal care or daycare. The birth of a child often results in more domestic labor, such as food preparation, dishes and laundry (Goldberg & Perry-Jenkins, 2004; Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Yet, previous studies have indicated persistent inequalities in how these duties are divided, with mothers taking on most of household chores since the transition to parenthood in Brazil (Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016) and other Western societies, such as the United States (Yavorsky et al., 2015).

The fact that household chores are widely considered female activities in the Brazilian culture (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017; Vieira et al., 2014) may explain the father's weaker engagement in these duties, and perhaps the parents' view about it as something expected for women (Pasinato & Mosmann, 2016). For instance, in Case F, the mother mentioned that the father did not perform household chores after the child's birth because he never took them on, suggesting that even in the face of changes in domestic labor post-birth, the parents did not renegotiate it. In contrast to other female-typed tasks, such as caring for children, household chores could be viewed as undesirable and thus avoided by both parents, so that mothers are more inclined to perform them due to prevailing cultural norms (Raley et al., 2012).

Compared to household chores, paternal engagement in childcare tasks was quite different in our study. This finding could be linked to the fact that caring for children is often considered enjoyable (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017). Other aspects may also have brought fathers to be more involved in childcare tasks than in household chores, e.g., the sense of investment in the well-being and future success of the child, the possibility of maintaining a long-term positive relationship with the child, and the increasing social awareness on benefits of the father's involvement for the child's development (Connelly, 2016).

Therefore, regarding childcare tasks, we noted greater sharing between parents during the early days postpartum, and subsequently a trend for mothers to take on the majority of

these duties during the early months postpartum, similar to what was found in a qualitative longitudinal study investigating how first-time fathers experienced the transition to parenthood in the United Kingdom (Miller, 2010). Similar to Miller's (2010) findings, one of the aspects the parents cited concerning the fathers' greater engagement in the early days postpartum was the availability of time because of the paternity leave. Moreover, in our study, parents also referred to the mothers' necessity to recover from delivery. Thus, due to the mothers' difficulty in performing tasks that required some physical effort, such as bathing and wrapping the child, the fathers may have felt encouraged or were demanded to take them on. This finding is aligned with previous research showing that fathers tend to provide care for newborns when mothers are unable or unavailable to do so (Ayala et al., 2016).

Additionally, this newest experience of becoming parents may have brought them closer together, in a joint endeavor to learn how to understand and attend to the child's needs (Miller, 2010). Undergoing this early phase can be simultaneously challenging and gratifying (Yavorsky et al., 2015), motivating mother and father to share more childcare tasks, also as a way to express support to the partner and to adjust to the new role as a parent. As these new tasks are assimilated though, and parents perceive that they can provide care for the child's survival, it is possible that the initial exhilaration decreases, mainly for fathers, which could be linked to the loss of 'novelty' mentioned in some families (i.e., Cases D and F). Analogous findings were reported in a qualitative study conducted with Australian fathers in the early weeks after their child's birth; the initial excitement of the new arrival declined, and the priority of work and financial issues increased, to the extent that fathers perceived that the newborn's needs were met (St John et al. 2005).

Furthermore, this perception of 'novelty' regarding the father performing childcare tasks could be linked to the process of socializing girls and boys in Brazil, which may culminate in greater maternal feeling of familiarity to take them on. Despite the existence of some variations, in this country, children's play activities are usually structured differently by gender, according to the stereotyped sex roles; e.g., girls are often encouraged to play with dolls and dishes, in a more affective script, whereas boys are often encouraged to play with cars and balls, in a more physically active script (De Conti & Sperb, 2001). Also, although these data were not gathered through the interviews we conducted, it is possible that fathers had limited or no experience in taking care of younger siblings.

Thus, we found that, after the early days postpartum, fathers felt more comfortable to leave childcare tasks under mothers' ultimate responsibility, shifting their focus back to paid work. This could be related to prevailing norms concerning expectations of fathers' role as breadwinners, versus mothers' role as primary caregivers for children, which persist in Brazil

(Vieira et al., 2014), and in other South American (e.g., Chile; Ayala et al., 2016), North American (e.g., United States; Kamp Dush et al., 2017), European (e.g., Germany; Bünning, 2015), and Asian countries (e.g., Singapore; Shorey et al., 2018). On the other hand – and perhaps linked to prevailing norms – given that fathers were performing their job activities, whereas mothers were out of the job market or on maternity leave, they might not have an option to divide labor differently. Thenceforth, during the early months postpartum, one of the aspects cited as contributing to the less equal division of labor was the fathers' lack of time due to their workload, which was also reported in previous studies on the transition to parenthood (Shorey et al., 2018; St John et al., 2005). In turn, as mothers had more time to engage in childcare tasks, they may have acquired greater ability to perform them and become more attuned to the child's needs (Kamp Dush et al., 2017). Recursively, with less practice, fathers may have felt less confident to take on childcare tasks, which consequently reinforced traditional gender-role beliefs and the idea that mothers are better suited to caring for the child (Miller, 2010). Perhaps in this vein, we could understand the fact that many fathers engaged chiefly in play when they were at home, taking on a more secondary position regarding other childcare tasks (e.g., bathing, changing diapers, holding and wrapping).

Indeed, parental roles tend to become more traditional during the transition to parenthood in different-sex couples (Baxter et al., 2014; Endendijk et al., 2018; Kamp Dush et al., 2017). Consistent with Baxter et al., this usually occurs because the transition to parenthood is such a significant life-course event, which could lead to transformations in self-concept and self-identity for both mother and father. Consequently, changes in previously established conceptions of gender division of labor may be expected, as parents reconstruct images of themselves according to their new roles, re-evaluate priorities and values, and seek to adjust to what they consider most appropriate to meet the child's needs during the first months of life. Cultural aspects, such as the view that the traditional gender division of labor is the most suitable for families with infants (Baxter et al., 2014) – which perseveres strongly in societies with lower gender equality, as in Brazil (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017; Martins et al., 2015) – may strengthen support for mothers' ultimate responsibility for childcare tasks. Taking these factors into account, it is not surprising that mothers are more likely than fathers to leave their jobs or to postpone professional plans (Hagqvist et al., 2017; Rocha-Coutinho, 2011; Yavorsky et al., 2015), which occurred in those families that opted for maternal care in our study. Also, by ensuring sole financial provisioning for the family, these fathers may have felt that they were safeguarding the best possible care for their children (i.e., maternal care), perhaps in turn ensuring their weaker engagement in childcare (Raley et al., 2012).

In these maternal care families, we noted that although mothers were investing in the professional dimension of their lives until pregnancy (i.e., preparing for public service entrance exams in Case A, and taking a Master's Degree in Case B), the family became their main priority postpartum. Despite investing in the professional dimension of their lives, these mothers were not engaged in the paid workforce when they got pregnant; instead, they were preparing for it. This finding is aligned with the view that the position the mother occupies in the job market is one of the aspects linked to the parents' decisions about childcare arrangements (Murray, 2015). Hence, the more fragile the mother's engagement in the job market, the more likely the choice for maternal care, which in turn may lead to a more traditional gender division of labor in families with infants.

Similarly, the engagement in the paid workforce also plays an important role in how parents bargain the gender division of labor (Kamp Dush et al., 2017). Our results provide support to the perspective that, without income, the mother may have weaker bargaining power to negotiate the division of labor. Conversely, being responsible for earning the totality of the family's economic resources, the father could have an advantage to select which duties he would like to perform, and use his paid workload as a reason to leave most of these duties under the mother's responsibility. It may explain why the more traditional gender division of labor remained stable over time in those families that opted for maternal care, with the father refusing to take on some duties, even when the mother asked for his assistance.

Interestingly, in both these families, the mother expressed dissatisfaction with the process of negotiating and with the resulting division of labor in the sixth month of the child's life, but the dissatisfaction changed over time in only one of them. Given that new parents do not have a clear sense of what childcare involves, they could be more open to acknowledging that their primary expectations were mistaken, readjusting to what the reality of the family routine is showing (Shockley & Allen, 2018), which could enlighten Case A, in which the mother's view changed over time. Also, in this same family, the father started to interact more with the child as she developed, chiefly during play, contributing to modify the mother's perception of the father's contributions to childcare. This finding aligns with the view of the increasing trend in paternal involvement as the infant advances to toddlerhood may reduce the mother's dissatisfaction with the division of labor over time (Feinberg, 2003).

Concerning Case B, in which the dissatisfaction remained stable, one possible explanation may be linked to the fact that, with a higher educational level, i.e. Master's Degree, the mother was exposed to different gender perspectives (Endendijk et al., 2018) in comparison with the father, i.e. Bachelor's Degree, and thus continued advocating for a less unequal division of labor across the transition to parenthood. As the father expected that

parents should engage in separate spheres, the mother's demands recursively seemed to disturb him. This is in line with family systems theory, considering the perspective that reactions of one parent have implications for the other (Minuchin, 1974). Furthermore, their unmet expectations in conjunction with their rigidity in negotiating the division of labor may have led to the sense of dissatisfaction (Feinberg, 2003) both parents presented over time.

Similar to families that opted for maternal care, in daycare and nanny care cases, parents reported mothers taking on most childcare tasks over the first months postpartum, during the period of maternity leave. Mothers expressed dissatisfaction about it in daycare cases though, but not in nanny care cases. Perhaps counting on a domestic worker to help with childcare tasks and household chores since the beginning of the transition to parenthood contributed to preventing the maternal feeling of overload or unfairness concerning paternal contributions, especially because, when fathers were in their jobs, mothers could share duties with someone else. Although in Case C, the nanny started working at the family's house in the second month of the child's life, a maid was already working since before the child's birth. In Case D, in turn, the nanny started working few weeks before the delivery. Thus, in both cases, new parents counted on some professional help since the early days postpartum.

Although only few studies have focused on nanny care in Brazil, they have indicated that the work of this professional is an important source of instrumental and social support for parents with young children (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007; Piccinini et al., 2016b; Vieira, 2014). The same has been shown in research with Asian families (Shorey et al., 2018; Yu, 2015). For instance, a qualitative study conducted with Chinese living in urban China and Chinese immigrants living in the United States evidenced fewer conflicts regarding the division of labor in urban Chinese couples (Yu, 2015). One of the aspects linked to this finding was the possibility of hiring help at an affordable rate in China (Yu, 2015), comparable to what usually occurs in Brazil (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007; Vieira, 2014). Thus, many couples that counted on a domestic worker who helped in childcare tasks and household chores cited no arguments about these issues (Yu, 2015).

Another aspect that may be related to the difference in satisfaction concerning the division of labor during the first months of the child's life is the inequality in terms of the length of maternity leave versus paternity leave. Those employed mothers who expressed dissatisfaction were the same ones that had longer leaves (i.e., six months in daycare cases, compared to three and four months in nanny care cases). Hence, it is possible that the maternal sense of overload and unfairness increased to the extent that these mothers spent more time taking on the majority of duties in the beginning of the transition to parenthood. Therefore, aligned with previous research and specifically considering these dual-earner



families, our findings support the perspective that work-family policies may influence the division of labor between parents (Bünning, 2015). Our view is that the inequality in terms of the length of maternity leave versus paternity leave established by the Brazilian policy – and not the length of maternity leave – may add to the inequality in terms of the gender division of labor, reinforcing a more traditional model. Unlike other countries, such as Norway and Sweden (Bungum & Kvande, 2013; Hagqvist et al., 2017), in Brazil, there is no equal period of paid parental leave reserved for mothers and fathers, through a flexible and gender-neutral scheme. Moreover, this inequality in the length of maternity leave versus paternity leave per se may represent the strength of the prevailing norms related to the traditional gender division of labor in Brazil compared to some other Western societies.

As cited before, after the end of maternity leave, we noted greater sharing of childcare tasks in both nanny care and daycare cases. This finding is also in consonance with the bargaining perspective, to the extent that couples usually renegotiate the division of labor when changes in demands for paid and unpaid work occur (Bünning, 2015). It could elucidate why, in Cases D and F, after mothers went back to work, they felt more comfortable to ask for the fathers' help in childcare tasks. Hence, given the understanding of division of labor as sensitive to mothers' reallocation of time due to their job activities, it is not surprising that fathers in dual-earner families tend to perform more childcare tasks (Raley et al., 2012).

Furthermore, in nanny care and daycare cases, we noted that rather than a rigid division of who should do what, parents had conversations and took turns according to their available time and personal preferences, analogous to previous research (St John et al., 2005). In our study, it may have led to the maintenance and enhancement of satisfaction concerning the division of labor in nanny care and daycare cases, respectively, after the end of maternity leave. The childcare arrangement itself perhaps boosted changes in maternal satisfaction concerning the division of labor in daycare cases. For instance, South-Brazilian mothers cited weaker social support as one of the reasons to enroll their infants in daycare, in a qualitative study conducted by Piccinini et al. (2016b). Thus, becoming linked to an institution such as a daycare, keeping in touch with teachers and other parents of infants, may have positively influenced the division of labor in these families. This is in line with Feinberg's (2003) model, related to the impact of instrumental and social support on coparenting. Given the length of time children remained in daycare (i.e., around seven hours per day), many childcare tasks began to be shared amongst parents and teachers, possibly reducing maternal feeling of overload and dissatisfaction regarding paternal contributions. In this vein, previous research has indicated strengths of a good parent-teacher coordination and interaction (Lang et al.,

2016), as well as a trend for mothers' experiences of coparenting to improve, to the extent that mothers start doing proportionally less childcare (Van Egeren, 2004).

Regardless of greater sharing of childcare tasks in all nanny care and daycare cases after the end of maternity leave, we noted that mothers' burden of primary duties persisted across the transition to parenthood, for example in Case E. In this respect, in a quantitative longitudinal study conducted with dual-earner families in the United States, Kotila et al. (2013) found mothers of infants significantly more involved than fathers in routine childcare tasks over time. This suggests that, despite the idealized view of equal sharing, the gender division of labor perseveres even if both parents are engaged in paid work. Interestingly, also in Case E, the mother was the selected parent to leave the job when the child could not attend the daycare center due to some illness. According to the father's perception, it was easier for the mother because, as a woman, she would be better understood in her workplace. Given the prevailing norms concerning expectations of mothers' role as primary caregivers, versus fathers' role as breadwinners (Ayala et al., 2016; Baxter et al., 2014; Vieira et al., 2014), it is not surprising that managing the child's health care and prioritizing care of the child over work is socially considered more suitable for mothers than fathers. In contrast, mothers may feel uncomfortable having little time to perform childcare tasks, which was noted in Case C. This kind of experience could be enlightened by the intensive mothering ideology, such that not fulfilling prevailing norms concerning her role as primarily responsible for all the child's life issues led to the emergence of ambivalence and guilt (Hays, 1996).

## **STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

This study involved a modest sample size, with white, highly-educated, first-time parents in middle- or upper-middle-class nuclear families in the South of Brazil. Yet, the number of participants is in line with Stake's (2013) recommendation for multiple case studies. Also, the fact that we interviewed mothers and fathers multiple times strengthened our research design (LaRossa et al., 2014), because we could examine stability and change in the division of labor across the transition to parenthood. Likewise, we analyzed data at a dyadic level, considering the uniqueness of the relational dynamic of each family. Although our sample was homogeneous in terms of demographic characteristics, we found pieces of evidence regarding inequality as well as dissatisfaction with the division of labor amongst potentially high-functioning families. For future research, an important avenue could be to examine the division of labor in same-sex coparents or families with multiple children.

We also achieved some diversity of contexts by selecting families with children who attended maternal care, nanny care and daycare, which enabled us to better understand the division of labor in relation to these childcare arrangements. To date, studies have mainly focused on parental leave (e.g., Hagqvist et al., 2017), work status (e.g., Kobayashi et al., 2016) and earnings (e.g., Raley et al., 2012) as contextual factors influencing the division of labor, with less attention to childcare arrangements. Yet, future research could address even more diversity in childcare arrangements, such as grandparent care, often found in Brazilian (Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007) and other Latino families (Cabrera et al., 2013).

Our interviews provided a rich portrayal of how mothers and fathers experienced and adjusted to the division of labor across the transition to parenthood, assessing the diversity of the phenomena in a comprehensive way, which may be masked if only average trajectories are examined (Van Egeren, 2004). Even so, studies using different instruments and larger sample sizes are necessary to better understand the division of labor in Brazil. For instance, to investigate parents' time use in household chores and childcare tasks, future research could adopt quantitative time diary methods (Yavorsky et al., 2015). Moreover, our data concerning previous expectations were collected post-birth. Thus, future research could interview couples during pregnancy, to explore expectations for the future division of household chores and childcare tasks, in addition to their current division of household chores and related satisfaction (if they are first-time parents), and their current division of childcare tasks and related satisfaction (if they already have at least one child).

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND POLICY

Some implications for practice and policy derive from this study. At a practical level, our results may be useful for family and marital counseling. Considering the division of labor as a dynamic process (Shockley & Allen, 2018), prior and after the birth, parents could be advised to discuss their expectations and perceptions concerning it, defining how to work together in a satisfactory way for both, taking into account different demands that arise over time. Thus, vignettes from this study may be presented to new mothers and fathers, informing them about real situations faced by other families across the transition to parenthood.

Although each family should develop a satisfactory way to divide childcare tasks and household chores based on their own features, a less traditional gender division of labor could be encouraged for several reasons. First, research has shown that greater fathers' engagement positively impacts their children's development (for a review, see Sardaki et al., 2008). Second, parents' unequal division of labor is linked to poorer outcomes for mothers' wellbeing and development, e.g. more depression (Biehle & Mickelson, 2012) and less marital satisfaction (Grote & Clark, 2001). Third, because women are more likely to leave the job or to postpone professional plans, they reduce their earnings and employment prospects, increasing financial risk post-birth (Kamp Dush et al., 2017). Therefore, in the case of future divorce, women and children become economically vulnerable.

Our results suggest that the strengthening of instrumental and social support may enhance the process of negotiating and satisfaction with the resulting division of labor for new mothers and fathers. Although few parents have the financial conditions to hire a domestic worker, policies could truly guarantee provision of affordable or subsidized high-quality early childhood care and education. Likewise, our data showed that the difference in the length of maternity leave versus paternity leave appeared to play a pivotal role in how labor was divided. Hence, a gender-neutral scheme of paid leave may contribute to reduce specialization, through greater sharing of childcare tasks and household chores between parents, as well as greater autonomy for both to make professional choices, perhaps allowing them better parental adjustment and work-family balance (Bünning, 2015; Hagqvist et al., 2017). Besides, if established by the state or employers, family-friendly policies might boost changes in prevailing cultural norms related to traditional gender-roles, by means of encouragement and appreciation for greater paternal engagement (Endendijk et al., 2018). These changes would also enable children to grow up in a more gender-equal context, perhaps positively influencing their trajectories of life and the society as a whole.

## CHAPTER III

### **2<sup>nd</sup> Article: Coparenting Agreement/Disagreement and Support/Undermining across the Transition to Parenthood**

Beatriz Schmidt • Sarah J. Schoppe-Sullivan • Giana B. Frizzo • Cesar A. Piccinini

#### **ABSTRACT**

Despite the increase in research on coparenting, few studies have focused on non-North American or non-European families, which has hindered practice and policy targeting diverse countries. To address this gap, the authors used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study to investigate coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, defined by Feinberg's (2003) model, in a sample of South-Brazilian families across the transition to parenthood. Semi-structured, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 12 first-time mothers and fathers (six nuclear families), at 6, 12, and 18 months postpartum. Deductive thematic analysis revealed similarities and singularities between families. Agreement remained relatively stable during the first year, whereas disagreements concerning discipline demanded more parental negotiation as infants advanced toward toddlerhood. Support and undermining coexisted in the same families, although mothers and fathers expressed undermining differently. Aspects of ecological context (family of origin, social support, labor market) also appeared to influence the coparenting relationship. Limitations and implications are discussed.

*Keywords:* Coparenting; Transition to parenthood; Qualitative methodology

#### **Acordo/Desacordo e Apoio/Depreciação Coparental durante a Transição para a Parentalidade**

#### **RESUMO**

Apesar do crescente número de estudos sobre a coparentalidade, poucos deles investigam famílias não norte-americanas ou não-europeias, o que dificulta prática e políticas voltadas a diversos países. Para abordar essa lacuna, os autores realizaram um estudo de caso múltiplo, longitudinal e qualitativo com o objetivo de investigar acordo/desacordo e apoio/depreciação, com base no modelo de Feinberg (2003), em uma amostra de famílias do Sul do Brasil que experienciavam a transição para a parentalidade. Entrevistas semiestruturadas, face a face, foram realizadas com 12 mães e pais (seis famílias nucleares), aos 6, 12 e 18 meses após o

nascimento do primeiro filho. A análise temática dedutiva revelou singularidades e semelhanças entre as famílias. O acordo permaneceu relativamente estável durante o primeiro ano, ao passo que os desacordos relativos à disciplina exigiram mais negociação após esse período. Apoio e depreciação coexistiram nas mesmas famílias, embora mães e pais expressassem depreciação de forma diferente. Aspectos do contexto ecológico (família de origem, apoio social, mercado de trabalho) também pareceram influenciar a coparentalidade. Limitações e implicações são discutidas.

*Palavras-chave:* Coparentalidade; Transição para parentalidade; Pesquisa qualitativa

## INTRODUCTION

For many couples, the birth of a baby is a joyfully anticipated and rewarding event. Nevertheless, experiencing the transition to parenthood can also be challenging, especially for first-time parents (Christopher, Umemura, Mann, Jacobvitz, & Hazen, 2015; Yavorsky, Kamp Dush, & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). At this transition, the structure of the family system changes; partners must adjust to their new roles as parents and work effectively together in the newly formed coparenting relationship, which is focused on coordinating and sharing responsibility for childrearing (Minuchin, 1974; Schoppe-Sullivan, Mangelsdorf, Frosch, & McHale, 2004). Although there is no consensus on whether coparenting emerges during pregnancy or after the baby's birth (Altenburger, Schoppe-Sullivan, Lang, Bower, & Kamp Dush, 2014; Kuersten-Hogan, 2017), it is important for parents to work together in a supportive partnership from the beginning of the transition to parenthood (Don, Biehle, & Mickelson, 2013). Empirical evidence has consistently shown that high-quality coparenting relationships are critical for successful child (Metz, Majdandžić, & Bögels, 2016; Teubert & Pinquart, 2010) and adult development (Durtschi, Soloski, & Kimmes, 2017; Schoppe-Sullivan, Settle, Lee, & Kamp Dush, 2016), as well as adaptive family functioning (Schoppe-Sullivan, Brown, Cannon, Mangelsdorf, & Sokolowski, 2008).

Despite increased research on coparenting over the past two decades, much of this work has focused on European American families (Lindsey & Caldera, 2015; Sterrett et al., 2015). Relatively few studies have examined coparenting in families from non-North American or non-European nations (e.g., McHale, Dinh, & Rao, 2014; Sim, 2017), which has impeded practice and policy targeting diverse countries. Likewise, in his seminal paper on the internal structure and ecological context of coparenting, Feinberg (2003) noted the importance of shedding light on the influence that distinct cultures may exert upon the coparenting relationship. Moreover, in-depth exploration of coparenting through qualitative research has been suggested (Cabrera, Shannon, & Jolley-Mitchell, 2013; Sim, 2017), and this approach is often well suited to offer rich insight into coparenting in diverse contexts (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015).

The current study fills these gaps by investigating two key themes aligned with Feinberg's (2003) model of coparenting, i.e., agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, in a sample of South-Brazilian families across the transition to parenthood. In order to achieve our goal, we used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study. By means of interviews conducted at three time points up to the eighteenth month of the child's life, we gave voice to first-time mothers and fathers, and presented their literal

words in pursuit of a holistic picture of how they were experiencing their newly forged coparenting relationship.

### **Transition to parenthood**

One of the most pervasive life changes is becoming a parent (Carter, 2005). Undoubtedly, most parents experience the addition of a child to the family as fascinating and joyous (Carter, 2005; Trillingsgaard, Baucom, & Heyman, 2014). Notwithstanding, concerns regarding the baby's health and development, insecure childcare arrangements, a backlog of chores, shredded schedules, and sleep deprivation may cause stress for new parents through the early childhood years (Carter, 2005; Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Further, the burden of daily routines makes it difficult for partners to continue to share time together as a couple, which may reduce feelings of intimacy (Christopher et al., 2015). Handling all these changes can be even more challenging if the pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted (Bronte-Tinkew, Scott, Horowitz, & Lilja, 2009), and for parents with less constructive communication (Trillingsgaard et al., 2014) and lower social support (Simpson, Rholes, Campbell, Tran, & Wilson, 2003). However, even in the absence of these risk factors, a decline in relationship satisfaction across the transition to parenthood is typical for both women and men (Mitnick, Heyman, & Slep, 2009).

However, new mothers' lives may change more dramatically than new fathers' lives, due to pregnancy and delivery (Simpson et al., 2003), as well as their typical roles as primary caregivers for infants (Gaertner, Spinrad, Eisenberg, & Greving, 2007; Van Egeren, 2004). In different-sex couples, parental roles become more traditional post-transition, with women spending more time in childcare and men spending more time in the paid labor force; this gender specialization is linked to a greater decline in relationship quality, more so for mothers than fathers (McClain & Brown, 2017). Greater paternal engagement with children may enhance both partners' adjustment to the transition (McClain & Brown, 2017), and is associated with stronger coparenting relationships (Jia & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2011), although some mothers struggle with allowing fathers to share parenting more equally and may harbor beliefs or engage in behaviors that discourage fathers' engagement (Zvara, Schoppe-Sullivan, & Kamp Dush, 2013).

### **Coparenting**

Typically, coparenting is defined as the way that individuals coordinate, support each other in their parental roles, and share responsibility in childrearing (Feinberg, 2003). In Feinberg's (2003) ecological model, coparenting has four components:



Agreement/disagreement (e.g., regarding children's emotional needs and discipline), support/undermining (appreciation and cooperation, or criticism and competition), division of labor (how parents divide childcare and household, as well as their satisfaction with this division), and joint family management (parental control over communication, interactions, and family boundaries). Aspects of the ecological context that influence the coparenting relationship include individual (e.g., gender role expectations), family (e.g., partners' preexisting negotiation and conflict management abilities), and extra-familial factors (e.g., social support, labor and financial spheres).

Coparenting relationships emerge across the transition to parenthood (Altenburger et al., 2014), and in families headed by different-sex coparents encompass the relational dynamics of the mother-father-child triad (Metz et al., 2016). Growing interest in research on coparenting across the transition to parenthood reflects the malleability of the developing coparenting relationship (e.g., Altenburger et al., 2014; Kuersten-Hogan, 2017) coupled with its relative stability in quality from the early months of parenthood into the early childhood years (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2004). As such, research focused on coparenting across the transition to parenthood is critical to inform early interventions aiming to help partners learn to work together with support and cooperation while attending to their child's needs (Durtschi et al., 2017).

The current study focused on the agreement/disagreement and support/undermining facets of new parents' coparenting relationships. Agreement/disagreement is one of the components of Feinberg's (2003) model that has received relatively less research attention (Don et al., 2013). However, even though mothers and fathers frequently share similar values and socioeconomic backgrounds, which might appear to favor childrearing agreement (Abramson, Mankuta, Yagel, Gagne, & Knafo-Noam, 2014), disagreement is anticipated as well because parents' attitudes also derive from distinct experiences in their families of origin (Feinberg, 2003). In light of the disequilibrium characterizing the transition to parenthood, agreement among partners could foster better adjustment to the child's birth (Don et al., 2013). However, disagreement in itself does not necessarily portend maladjustment; the critical issue is whether parents negotiate disagreements to reach compromises respectfully and supportively (Feinberg, 2003). Thus, the second component of coparenting we focused on was support/undermining, which has been shown to be highly relevant to individual and family development (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2004; Teubert & Pinquart, 2010). For instance, supportive coparenting may buffer new mothers' and fathers' parenting stress and increase parenting satisfaction (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2016), whereas undermining coparenting

could forge an emotionally unsafe environment, which negatively impacts both child and parents (Metz et al., 2016).

### **Brazilian context**

Brazil is the largest country in South America and the fifth largest in the world in territorial extension. In the last four or five decades, important changes have occurred in Brazilian families. From 1960 to 2010 the number of children per woman decreased from six to two (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2012), a decline attributable in to the entry of women into the labor market. Moreover, today many Brazilian women, especially those employed and with a higher level of education, postpone pregnancy. Brazilians who are employed are guaranteed paid parental leave for four or six months for mothers, and five or 20 days for fathers (Brazilian Law 13.257/2016). Given that Brazil is a country with continental dimensions, several cultures and subcultures can be noted in different regions. The data analyzed in the current study were collected in Porto Alegre, the largest city and capital of the southern-most state in Brazil, with almost 1,500,000 inhabitants. Compared to many other Brazilian cities, Porto Alegre is somewhat economically advanced, with a cultural background derived from a native indigenous population, African-Brazilians, and European immigrants, mainly from Germany, Italy, and Portugal (Tudge et al., 2006).

### **The present study**

We used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study to investigate coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, as defined by Feinberg's (2003) model, in a sample of South-Brazilian families across the transition to parenthood. Case studies allow in-depth exploration of a phenomenon, considering the interconnectedness of its elements and its real-life complexity (Thomas & Myers, 2015). A multiple case study, specifically, examines a phenomenon through different settings or individuals. According to Stake (2006), this design enables the researcher to select participants with the expectation that the understanding of certain cases could corroborate theory, thereby promoting a better understanding of other cases.

Qualitative research on coparenting is relatively rare (Sim, 2017), yet critical to shed light on details and complexities not well captured by other methods, including insights into sociocultural factors linked to coparenting in distinct contexts (Kotila & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2015). Moreover, a qualitative longitudinal approach is particularly well suited for examination of important life course transitions and turning points, such as the transition to parenthood (Neale, Henwood, & Holland, 2012). Although our sample size is modest, as

noted by LaRossa, Goldberg, Roy, Sharp, and Zvonkovic (2014), interviewing a small set of participants multiple times allows for a stronger design compared to interviewing a broad set of participants only once. We explored in depth how mothers and fathers from different families adjusted to parenthood as they constructed a new type of relationship as coparents and experienced agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. We looked for stability and change in coparenting, as well as how the child's development might affect the development of coparenting. To achieve a diversity of contexts, we selected participants considering parental employment, child gender, and childcare arrangement, taking into account three of the most popular childcare arrangements chosen by Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class families, i.e., maternal care, nanny care, and daycare (Piccinini, Polli, Bortolini, Martins, & Lopes, 2016b).

## METHOD

### Participants

Six nuclear families, in which the mother and father (12 parents) had recently experienced the birth of their first biological child (three female and three male children, all healthy), participated in the study. Regarding parental employment and childcare arrangement, in two families only the father was employed, with the mother postponing professional plans to care for the child; in two families both parents were employed, and they contracted a nanny to care for the child in their home for eight hours per day, on average; and, in two families both parents were employed, and the child started attending daycare at the end of maternity leave for seven hours per day, on average. All the parents were white (see Table 2 for more demographic details).

Tabela 2

*Demographic information*

Case	Child	Mother	Father	Marital status	Family SES
A	Ana	Alice, 31	Arthur, 33	Cohabiting	Middle-class
	Maternal care	BD, Housewife	BD, Civil technician	3 years	
B	Brian	Barbara, 31	Bernardo, 38	Married	Middle-class
	Maternal care	GD, Housewife	BD, IT analyst	6 years	
C	Clara	Caroline, 37	Cristiano, 38	Cohabiting	Upper-middle-class
	Nanny care	BD, Physiotherapist	BD, Entrepreneur	2 years	
D	Denis	Doris, 35	Daniel, 36	Married	Upper-middle-class
	Nanny care	GD, Professor	BD, Psychoanalyst	2 years	
E	Eva	Erica, 32	Edgar, 36	Cohabiting	Upper-middle-class
	Daycare	BD, Nutritionist	BD, IT analyst	6 years	
F	Felix	Flora, 37	Francisco, 36	Married	Upper-middle-class
	Daycare	BD, Psychologist	BD, Bookseller	9 years	

*Note.* Demographic information related to the first time point of data collection, around 6 months postpartum. The childcare arrangement remained the same during the three time points of data collection. SES = Socioeconomic Status. BD = Bachelor's Degree. GD = Graduate Degree.

These families took part in a broader longitudinal study of family and child development, conducted in Porto Alegre, the largest city and capital of the southern-most state

in Brazil. Mothers and fathers were recruited via announcements in local newspapers and daycare centers, or by recommendation of other participants. The six families who participated in the present study were selected according to the following criteria: (a) first-time biological parents who were cohabiting or married for at least one year when the mother became pregnant; and (b) both parents completed all the procedures of the first three time points of data collection in the broader study (i.e., 6, 12 and 18 months postpartum). After applying these criteria, six cases were selected from nine eligible cases, considering those that best provided good opportunities for learning (Stake, 2006). We also ensured that two cases represented each childcare arrangement (maternal care, nanny care, daycare), and that for each arrangement one couple with a female child and one couple with a male child were included. The number of cases selected is consistent with Stake (2006), given that the benefits of multiple case studies are limited with less than four or more than ten cases.

## **Procedures**

Data were collected via semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with mothers and fathers around 6, 12 and 18 months postpartum (36 interviews altogether). Trained interviewers, all graduate or undergraduate students in Psychology that worked on the broader study, conducted the interviews in a room at the University or at the participant's house. Data collection took place from 2011 to 2013. Aside from targeting a specific month of the child's life, the interviews also took a retrospective approach, looking to understand how parents were experiencing the transition to parenthood as a whole.

Thus, at the first time point, parents were asked about pregnancy, delivery, and the first few days up to 6 months after the baby's birth. At the second and third time points, questions focused on 6 to 12 months and on 12 to 18 months after the baby's birth, respectively. Some of the key interview questions included, for instance: (a) How do you see your partner as a parent?; (b) Please tell me about the day-to-day routine with the baby; and (c) Please tell me about some challenging situations that happen in the day-to-day family routine. For each primary question, follow-up questions were asked, and focused on perceptions and feelings about successes versus difficulties, as well as previous expectations versus reality at that time. Although the interview questions offered a guide, the interviewers encouraged participants to talk about aspects that might not have been covered in the interviews, sharing their experiences; thus, the incoming data contributed to the unique perspective of each case. Mothers also completed a questionnaire concerning family demographic information at the first time point of data collection. The study was approved by two local Ethics Committees and written informed consent was given by each participant.

Following Brazilian norms for research involving human beings, financial incentive was not given for participation. Only pseudonyms are used in this report.

### **Data analysis**

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. The team of transcribers followed guidelines prepared by the research group, including phonetic transcription of every word and vocal expression. Files with transcribed interviews were imported to QSR International's NVivo 11. The first author reviewed each transcription.

We used thematic analysis to explore and interpret the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We adopted the deductive approach, coding data according to Feinberg's (2003) definitions of coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. To become familiar with interview content, the first author repeatedly read the entire data set in an active way, paying attention to families' characteristics, and searching for patterns and differences between them. After immersion in the data, initial code generation started, and verbalizations that provided evidence of coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining were coded. In this phase, we selected broader extracts of data, coding it in nodes within NVivo 11. Some extracts were initially coded both for agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, in consonance with Braun and Clarke (2006). Subsequently, we reviewed themes, re-focusing on broader extracts of data and excluding some previously coded extracts, to achieve higher refinement.

Given that interviews were conducted and transcribed in Portuguese, verbalizations that composed themes were translated into English. The first author accomplished this translation, and the fourth author revised it. Both have Portuguese as first and English as a second language. Afterwards, a senior English teacher who was born and raised in an English-speaking country and had been living for around 20 years in the South-Brazilian metropolitan region where the data were collected corrected these translations. The experience of this professional allowed retaining the meaning of some idiomatic expressions, guaranteeing the maintenance of context of parental verbalizations. Thematic analysis does not demand the same level of transcription detail compared to other types of analyses such as narrative or discourse analyses; what is essential is to retain the original nature of the information (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Each single case report, composed of mother and father verbalizations related to the two themes at the three time points of data collection, was repetitively read and discussed by the first and second author. They also had dialogues regarding doubts, and resolved by consensus disagreements over some coded extracts. These procedures permitted the second

author, who is English-speaking, to become familiar with the data and contribute to the refinement of the within-case analysis, pursuing trustworthiness by means of a reflexive process. These procedures also permitted the first and second author to search for singularities and similarities between the families, which supported the cross-case analysis. Again, to achieve trustworthiness, we presented thick description, with rich details of case characteristics and participant verbalizations under each theme. Thus, credibility may also be established by readers, who will be allowed to make decisions concerning the transferability of our findings (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

## RESULTS

First, we present within-case results, illustrating coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining through vignettes. At the end of each vignette, we note the time point (i.e., T1 = 6 months; T2 = 12 months; T3 = 18 months postpartum). Second, we present cross-case results, stressing similarities and singularities between the families.

### Within-case results

#### *Case A – maternal care.*

Alice and Arthur were living together in a common-law marriage for three years when Ana was born. The pregnancy was planned and initially smooth, but due to a decrease in amniotic fluid the mother was on bedrest from the fourth month. A natural delivery was induced.

Regarding childrearing agreement, this family presented stability and change across the transition to parenthood. The most notable aspect of stability was agreement on the child's emotional needs and educational standards, which was also related to their choice of maternal care. In their view, a more individualized childcare arrangement, in the family's home, is necessary in the first years of life: "We don't want to put her in daycare too early. . . It's what we agreed on. . . We believe Alice would care for her better" (T1). The parents decided the mother would only return to work when the child started preschool: "We've already started this dialogue, between Arthur and I. . . [Because] I want to go back to work. . . When she's 3 years old, then we'll put her in a preschool" (T1). During the first year, the parents almost never verbalized disagreement, in part because the mother was responsible for the majority of parenting decisions. The father didn't feel comfortable doing so because of the way he was raised in his family of origin: "I had an upbringing like, I don't want to pass on to her what I had. So, I let Alice raise her" (T1); "Alice does all the logistics. Alice makes the decisions. I just go to work and come back" (T2).

After the first year, however, some changes were noted. Both parents cited experiencing disagreements, particularly related to discipline. The mother was perceived as stronger than the father in establishing limits, as she was concerned about the child's behavior: "I'm firmer about it, right? Arthur gives in more, and I don't" (T3); "The father is the one who says no, right? And in our home, it's the opposite. I say yes, and Alice says no" (T3). Further, the father expressed no problem with being more permissive: "I'm just like an uncle who is there to teach her what she shouldn't do. But it's good, yes, I don't know if it



can affect her in the future” (T3). Despite disagreements after the first year, both parents referred to having respectful conversations to adopt compromises: “We talk, we understand each other, we don’t fight in front of her” (T3).

Concerning support/undermining, maternal verbalizations revealed supportiveness in acknowledging the father’s contribution related to the pregnancy, delivery, and first weeks of the child’s life. Nonetheless, as the baby developed, the mother started to express both support and undermining concerning the father. For instance, at the same time the mother acknowledged the father’s contributions: “He’s a great dad” (T1), she also criticized him: “He can’t deal with her. . . He gets very disoriented, very lost. . . What I say to him is, ‘you’re a five-minute dad’” (T1). Moreover, maternal perceptions about paternal support and undermining were ambivalent. The mother mentioned that the father used to strongly affirm her competency: “He tells everyone that there are mothers, mothers, and Alice. He thinks I’m a wonderful mother” (T1). Yet, the mother cited that the father sometimes criticized her and did not support her in front of their daughter: “She starts to cry, and Arthur arrives, ‘What are you doing to her? Poor baby’. [Mother cited replying] ‘Arthur, don’t do that. . . Don’t make me look like a monster in front of her’” (T1).

Similarly, the father referred to both support and undermining over time. He affirmed maternal competency: “Alice surpasses being a mother, surpasses the word mother. She’s more than a mother to Ana. And she manages to correct Ana, which is very difficult for me” (T2). Paternal reports also suggested that he upheld the mother’s authority: “She [the baby] tells on her. She tells on Alice, [saying] ‘dad, dad, mom, mom’, and I ‘yes, I know, your mother fought with you, you deserved it’” (T3). On the other hand, the father verbalized not following some rules agreed on by both parents, sometimes to gain affection from his daughter: “I try to do what she likes. I give her chocolate. Alice fights with me. We don’t give it. . . But I give her chocolate, I give it concealed from Alice, ‘don’t tell her’” (T3).

### ***Case B – maternal care.***

Barbara and Bernardo had been married six years when Brian was born. The couple planned the pregnancy, although it happened earlier than they had imagined. The pregnancy was smooth almost to the end, when the mother started losing amniotic fluid. The delivery occurred via cesarean section, compliant with medical recommendation.

Over time, these parents reported both agreement and disagreement about childrearing. According to the mother, they had more peaceful conversations about child-related topics during pregnancy than after birth: “During the pregnancy, we hardly quarreled. Now we have the, the arguments about raising the child, right? Do this, don’t do that. This should be like

this, not like that” (T1). The main aspect of agreement that remained stable across the transition to parenthood was the childcare arrangement, because both parents agreed on the benefits of maternal care. The decision to opt for maternal care was made during pregnancy, and reaffirmed in all interviews.

The most important topics of disagreement were the child’s emotional and health needs, behavioral expectations, and discipline. For example, at the sixth month, the father verbalized: “When he cries at night, she goes there and breastfeeds him. No! Why? The important thing is to understand what’s happening. . . , not just to stifle it. I talk to her a lot about this, but she doesn’t like” (T1). As the child developed, situations like this became more prominent, as reported by the mother: “We are becoming more and more stressed. Because there’s a lot, exactly because there are some disagreements” (T2). They disagreed on establishing a more structured routine (i.e., eat, bathe, and wake/sleep); mother considered this too rigid, whereas father considered it necessary. The father also mentioned the mother was not able to reduce breastfeeding and to introduce other foods because of relational issues: “More [food] variation is necessary, and he still breastfeeds a lot. . . The mother is very fond of breastfeeding. . . This point of stretching breastfeeding leads to too much insecurity [for the baby]” (T2); “He still sleeps on her lap, breastfeeding. . . This is not cool. For me, it’s not. I think we should progress” (T3). The mother felt that their conflicting attitudes stemmed from different experiences in their families of origin:

He thinks I’m permissive and I don’t think so. So, we are stressed, [we] argue. . . Bernardo wants to emphasize the discipline issue, you know? I think he’s more, like that, strict. . . Because we come from completely different upbringings. He was spanked, right? His father beat him using a belt, and my mom and dad never beat me. So, we have this big conflict that we didn’t solve yet. I just want to see how it’s going to be. (T3)

Across the transition to parenthood, the coexistence of maternal and paternal reports concerning support and undermining remained stable. Both parents expressed respect for the other’s contribution, although they criticized each other. The following mother’s and father’s verbalizations illustrate this: “I see Bernardo as a proud father, like that. An excellent father. . . I wouldn’t say loving because I don’t think Bernardo is like that. . . I’m glad he’s not here, so I can speak ill of him” (T1); “I think she’s a good mother. The only question about Barbara is. . . She’s kind of lost. . . She isn’t able to do the things. . . This, I think, affects the issue of the child” (T2).

Moreover, even when the mother mentioned putting into practice something that the parents had agreed on, the father didn’t value her effort and disparaged her: “Sometimes I

arrive home, and she says, ‘Today I put Brian to sleep in the crib’ [instead of breastfeeding the baby until he fell asleep]. Ok, I imagine the last 15 days she put him [in the crib] just once” (T2). The father also mentioned feeling that the mother didn’t recognize his competence. Indeed, the mother doubted paternal competence in handling some challenging situations regarding childcare: “Sometimes there’s no way. . . He [the baby] is there, crying. . . There’s no use Bernardo picking him up at this point, especially when he’s angry” (T3).

*Case C – nanny care.*

Caroline and Cristiano were living together in a common-law marriage for one year when they became pregnant. Although both eventually wanted to be parents, the pregnancy was not planned for the time it occurred. Nonetheless, mother and father mentioned receiving the news very well. Caroline had a smooth pregnancy, and a natural delivery, as they desired.

Across the transition to parenthood, childrearing agreement was mainly reported. For instance, from the end of the pregnancy up to the second month of the baby’s life, the parents discussed and tried to figure out the best childcare arrangement. They agreed on hiring a nanny and maintaining this individualized childcare arrangement in the first years of the baby’s life, especially considering their beliefs about safety and the child’s emotional needs. Aside from the nanny, they counted also on a maid, who performed household chores in the family’s house, since before the child’s birth. As the child developed, new demands emerged, and the parents cited the necessity to renegotiate some child-related issues. As an example, they mentioned the bedtime routine, because this was experienced as very stressful when the baby was around one-year-old. The parents decided to read a book on the topic, and implemented agreed-upon changes together: “We had difficulty putting her to sleep. So, we put that [book] into action and from then on, she began to sleep all night” (T3).

Related to disagreements, some changes were noted over time. At the beginning, according to the mother, the father complained that she was excessively worried about the baby: “He thinks, ‘oh, you’re very worried about her’. Because I’m always taking care of something. I have this. I have that. And he says, ‘oh, you’re always worried’” (T1). At the eighteenth month, disagreements were mostly concerning discipline, as illustrated in the following paternal report:

I’m not authoritarian, but there’s a time when you need to set a certain limit. And, so far, maybe I’ve imposed it a little more than Caroline. . . I need to say, ‘You can’t make her so happy. So happy that, when you see, you’ve created a little monster at home’. (T3)

Regardless of these disagreements, the parents mentioned always negotiating to make

compromises. This was noted in paternal verbalization: “Caroline and I, we aren’t, we aren’t very anxious. . . We’re not negative at all, right? And we don’t, ah, start putting a problem into something that doesn’t have one” (T1), and maternal verbalization: “Everything is quiet. We can systematize well. . . We talk a lot, both of us, right, about this thing related to Clara” (T2).

Concerning support/undermining, parental reports predominantly revealed supportiveness, as cited by both parents since the pregnancy: “I always say that to be a mother, it’s necessary to have a father. . . I think my pregnancy was so quiet, . . . because I felt extremely loved, cherished, beautiful” (T1); “The great support I had was from Caroline. Caroline, herself, she helped me a lot” (T1). This same supportiveness, recognizing the other’s contribution and competence, remained stable, as mentioned later by the mother: “He’s wonderful as a father. . . Almost nobody has this patience, of not being aggressive with the child” (T3), and by the father: “Caroline has been super good. . . She’s very warm with Clara, super cherished” (T3). The parents also expressed their perceptions about reciprocity, in terms of feeling acknowledged and respected by each other: “He says that I’m a wonderful mother, that I’m very dedicated to Clara” (T1); “In the same way I see her as a super mother, I think she has this image of me too” (T1).

One interesting finding was related to the father’s support regarding the mother’s conflict in balancing family and employment. Maternal reports revealed discomfort in leaving home to work, and at the same time, a paternal effort to buffer it. At each interview, Caroline mentioned conversations about this issue: ““Oh, honey, I feel like this, I don’t give attention to Clara’, and then we talk about it, we are very close friends” (T2); “Sometimes, ‘am I overloading him too much?’ [talking about balancing family and employment] . . . This is something important to me in a relationship, right, knowing that you have a husband to count on” (T3).

#### ***Case D – nanny care.***

Doris and Daniel were married for two years when Denis was born and the pregnancy was planned. At the twelfth week of pregnancy, the nuchal translucency ultrasound suggested the baby could have a genetic anomaly. The parents were anxious and opted for amniocentesis, which refuted this hypothesis. The delivery occurred via cesarean section because maternal blood pressure increased in the final weeks.

Concerning childrearing agreement, both parents reported having conversations and agreeing on many child-related topics from the beginning of pregnancy, as communicated by the mother: “We imagined what the baby would be like, what he would do, right? Like, what

we were going to show Denis. I think this was very nice” (T1), and father:

[The relationship] became more guided for the baby, for the family, for the future. . . Our dedication to the financial aspects, this question related to how we’ll organize the future, the future of the baby. . . Whoever says things change just when the baby is born is a liar, it changes before. This begins to change the focus of your attention. There’s no longer you or your wife. The conversations are around the baby. We talked about that a lot. (T1)

In the same vein, during the pregnancy, the parents agreed to the childcare arrangement and hired a nanny. In this decision, they considered their similar perceptions of children’s emotional and safety needs, and their own experience of starting daycare around the second or third year. Agreement about routine and behavioral expectations also remained stable, consistent with the following paternal and maternal reports: “We don’t want to do too much activity with the baby. We wanted to get him into swimming, but then he had the music lectures. Well, we’ll wait” (T2); “We have this concern of not always caring for him from our laps, saying ‘no’ too, coordinating him in these behavioral issues” (T3).

However, some disagreements began to be cited from the first year, especially regarding how to discipline the child and deal with challenging situations. The father mentioned when it was time to sleep and the child refused. In contrast to the father, the mother didn’t consider it a problem if the child remained awake sometimes after bedtime: “I’m more pragmatic about it. It’s time, it’s eight o’clock, and he’s a little shaken up? Let’s create a mood for him to sleep. . . His mother is not like that. She’s more permissive than I am” (T2); the father reported that he said to the mother: “He is the child, you are the adult, right? . . . So, if it’s time to go to bed, it’s time to go to bed. . . Otherwise, we give him a message that things can be manipulated” (T3).

Regarding support/undermining, parental verbalizations mostly revealed supportiveness. Since the beginning, the mother recognized the father’s competence: “His dad is great. He takes great pleasure in being with the child” (T1). She also referred to feeling acknowledged by the father in her contributions: “I really wanted a child to love. So, now I have. . . And I have a husband who helps me a lot. Like that, who gives me a lot of strength, who tells me what a good mother I am” (T1). The father’s perceptions were in the same vein. He recognized the mother’s competence: “She’s very kind to him, very affectionate. She plays a lot. The interaction, the way of interacting with him is quite different. She’s totally ‘nhenhenhe’ [motherese sounds]. They have a very special connection, as I think it should be” (T1). He also referred to feeling recognized by her for his contributions: “She sees me as fine.

She's enjoying it. She said she sees that he listens to what I say, that he pays attention. She says that he's fascinated by me" (T1).

Up to the eighteenth month, the content of parental verbalizations remained the same. This is illustrated in the following report, when the mother cited how supportive she perceived their coparental relationship: "There's also the difficult things. And we can win, with support, especially from my husband, right? So, I guess that, that we are working well, Daniel and I. When one is tired, the other gives support" (T2). This is also apparent in the mother's perspective on the father's characteristics: "This is cool, he has these two sides, right? He can be very loving, and he can put a limit on the child" (T3). The father's reports were similar:

She's a good mother. I like her as a mother. Because she does what she needs to do. Sometimes, like any mother, she's a little too worried. But then, I also need to help, right? We don't keep arguing. We are very good accomplices. That's it. (T3)

***Case E – daycare center.***

Erica and Edgar had been living together in a common-law marriage for six years when Eva was born. Although the pregnancy was planned, mother and father reported concerns related to becoming parents due to changes in their lifestyle (i.e., attending parties and traveling). The mother opted for a cesarean section, because of her fear of pain in a vaginal delivery.

Across the transition to parenthood, the main topic of agreement that remained stable was childcare arrangement. In all the interviews, both parents noted the importance of daycare in the baby's development, mostly due to their expectations regarding discipline, routine, and peer relations. The choice for this childcare arrangement was made during the pregnancy. Even so, disagreement was more prominent than agreement. During the first days of the child's life, parents referred to disagreements on breastfeeding: "I said 'I'll stop and give her a [formula]'. It was hurting a lot. And he said 'no, no, no'" (T1); "I insisted with Erica. There was a day she gave her a bottle, and then I fought with her, 'the baby will lose the breast milk, don't do it'" (T1). Over time, both parents reported disagreements on other child-related topics. Regarding the baby's care needs, the father disagreed when the mother took the baby along to visit her coworkers during maternity leave: "She goes to the hospital, stays with the baby. . . in her workplace. . . I think she shouldn't do it. So, we fight because of this. Because there's a risk of the baby getting sick" (T1). The baby's routine was another topic of disagreement, as it depended on the parent who was caring for her: "When Erica and I are together, Eva gets, I don't know. . . The routine mixes, because Erica does the things one way,

and I do them another” (T2). Disagreements on behavioral expectations and how to deal with the child were also cited:

He compares her to other kids, and I don't like it. . . 'The other kids don't scream. The other kids don't cry like you cry'. . . He keeps saying she screams too much, more than the others, that she speaks more than the others, that she is trickier. (T3)

Discussing their disagreements to coordinate childrearing and adopt compromises was challenging for Erica and Edgar, and this weakness in negotiating became progressively more severe. At first, despite some arguments, they had more conversations on child-related topics. As the child developed, arguments increased, and conversations decreased, as noted in the following maternal verbalization: “We don't [talk]. We're very distant. . . We just fight. . . It's on both sides. It's as much me with him, as him with me” (T3).

Concerning support/undermining, parental reports suggest coexistence over time. For example, although recognizing the mother's competence, the father criticized her: “She's a good mother. She's a first-time mother, right? She even makes mistakes” (T1). Similarly, although Erica acknowledged Edgar's contributions, she suggested that his supportive behaviors were primarily directed at the baby: “He was a very good dad. . . He helped me to breastfeed, [but he] put some pressure too. . . Of course, he was thinking of Eva. . . The pain I was feeling didn't matter [for him]” (T1). Likewise, according to the mother, the father blamed her: “She's sick. So, for him, it's my fault. . . Why does someone have to be guilty? Can't the child get sick? . . . [Mother citing what father said] 'I speak, and you don't listen. Then, it's your fault'” (T1).

The coexistence of support and undermining remained stable over time. Both parents recognized the other's effort to care for the baby, despite fatigue due to the overload of family and employment tasks. This suggested an empathetic attitude between them: “This has also been very tiring for him. Although he's a good father with Eva, missing her, wanting to be with her around, we are both feeling the same” (T2); “She gives Eva a lot of attention. . . She's always so available, even tired. . . Sometimes she shouts at Eva, but I do the same” (T2). Undermining continued as well, mostly through competitiveness and criticism. This was expressed by the mother: “When she wants something she looks for me, she doesn't look for her father. So, I think I satisfy her needs” (T2); “He plays with her. [But] he's, he has much less patience than I have” (T3), and father: “Erica is very angry. . . When I'm alone with Eva, incredible as it may seem, it seems easier for me than when I'm with Erica” (T2); “She's a good mother, I think she is 90%. . . Because there's always one thing or another to improve. No one's perfect, right?” (T3).

*Case F – daycare center.*

Flora and Francisco had been married nine years when Felix was born. The pregnancy was planned and smooth. Delivery occurred via cesarean section because the position of the baby in the uterus was not adequate for a vaginal delivery.

Across the transition to parenthood, mother and father reported both agreement and disagreement regarding childrearing. For instance, agreement on the importance of a well-structured routine remained stable since the first days of the child's life. After the baby started attending daycare, the parents negotiated to readjust the family routine so that the baby could stay at home as much as possible: "Going to the grocery store, it's something he gets tired. He usually comes home crying. . . He spends all day long away from home. So, we avoid these things, because we already see that they are bad for him" (T2). Related to daycare, the parents agreed on keeping the baby in this childcare arrangement. This was not because they perceived it as the best option for the child, but because it was the best option for the family; both agreed that the baby was too young to attend daycare: "If we had another possibility, we wouldn't send him yet. . . Our opinion is that he should attend daycare. . . But we think it's very early" (T1).

Nevertheless, some disagreement was also mentioned. For example, concerning breastfeeding, when the maternal breast milk lessened in the first days of the child's life: "I didn't want [to give supplement]. I was afraid to give him the supplement, and my milk would stop coming. And Francisco insisted, . . . he didn't want his son to starve" (T1). During the first six months, the parents reported disagreement over the baby's care needs. This was identified in maternal reports: "[Father thinks] that I protect too much, that I radicalize some things. . . Francisco says, 'exaggeration'. You can't put something that fell on the floor in his mouth. And Francisco: 'exaggeration'. These things, these cares" (T1). Discipline became one of the most important topics of disagreement after the first year. The parents mentioned limit-setting and managing misbehavior; according to the father: "Flora is more permissive. . . When he's going to mess with something, we need to stop him. . . I said some things [to her], and then she said I want to discipline her too [instead of just baby]" (T2), and according to the mother:

[The baby] is in front of something he can't touch. . . In general, I try or draw it close, so that he doesn't see what he wants so much, and he can't, or distract him with something else. . . Francisco, for example, has another strategy. He insists on 'no'. . . I say, 'Francisco, he's too young to control his desire to touch that thing. So, take it away'. . . He thinks I can't stand seeing Felix crying. . . We have strongly disagreed about some things. (T3)



These verbalizations suggest that coordinating childrearing strategies became more challenging as the child developed because the disagreement was perceived as stronger and harder to solve. The following maternal verbalizations illustrate this: “This period of Felix is a different period. There’s a lot, a lot of conflict. There are more things to negotiate, ‘this is the better way’, or ‘it’s not better’. . . Sometimes we have arguments because of this” (T3).

Concerning support/undermining, the maternal verbalizations predominantly suggest supportiveness regarding acknowledging the father’s contribution in the first few days after the baby’s birth: “Adapting to the baby was very difficult too. The first week, I always say that fortunately, Francisco had paternity leave for a week because I don’t know what would have happened to me” (T1). Notwithstanding, as the baby developed, both support and undermining were expressed by the mother: “He’s very important in our lives. As much in mine as in Felix’s. . . He’s kind of immature. . . He’s laid-back” (T1); “There are things he doesn’t see. . . A little lack of initiative, maybe that’s the right word. But, he’s a good father” (T2); “Most of the time he’s a good father. But I think he oscillates a lot. He oscillates very quickly. . . I feel a lack of balance. A lack of good sense, perhaps. Francisco’s behavior is childish, you know?” (T3).

The father’s verbalizations were also permeated by both support and undermining. However, paternal reports related to undermining appeared more subtle and focused on his perception of excessive anxiety by the mother concerning the baby. For example, the father cited: “She’s super good. She lives for him. . . I think that with daycare she’ll be able to disconnect more. . . Not just his daycare, but her job too. . . She’ll be able to reduce this anxiety” (T1); “She’s an excellent mother. . . She’s very attentive. She’s very worried. She’s super worried, but she’s too much” (T2). Taken together, the undermining reports presented by both parents seemed somehow complementary. Whereas the mother criticized the father for considering him excessively ‘laid-back’ about the child’s care, the father criticized the mother for considering her excessively ‘worried’ about it. Regardless of these reports of undermining, both also showed recognition of and respect for the other’s contribution, and affirmed the other’s competence as a parent, features of their coparenting relationship that remained stable over time.

## **Cross-case results**

### ***Agreement/disagreement.***

Similar across all cases was parental agreement on childcare arrangements, which occurred during pregnancy or in the first few months after birth, and remained stable over

time. Parents who opted for maternal or nanny care emphasized that their choice was due to agreement on topics like the child's emotional needs and safety. The same was observed in the decision for daycare in Case E, given the parents' agreement on the importance of establishing discipline, routine, and peer relations, which they believed daycare would accomplish. However, a singularity was noted in Case F. Although the parents agreed on maintaining the daycare arrangement, they also agreed that this was not the best option for the baby, but for the family.

For the majority of families, parental agreement on child-related topics such as behavioral expectations and routine remained stable over time. Moreover, some parents cited that conversations concerning this started already during pregnancy. This was evident especially in one family (Case D), perhaps because during the pregnancy the parents needed to discuss the possibility of having a child with a genetic anomaly. Nevertheless, as the child developed, mothers and fathers referred to the necessity of negotiating and establishing ways to deal with new situations, given that some of their previously presented behaviors were not appropriate to face emerging demands. For example, successful conversations to adopt compromises and readjust bedtime routine were reported in some families. In Case C, the parents together sought resources to support their agreement on bedtime routine.

During the first year of the child's life, the family that reported the fewest conflicts was the one in which the mother was primarily responsible for parenting decisions and childcare tasks (Case A). This finding could be expected, given that lower paternal participation in childrearing implies fewer situations in which parents need to come to agreements, particularly when both are comfortable with more traditional gender roles. On the other hand, for two families (B and E), parental disagreement appeared more characteristic than agreement across the transition to parenthood. In these cases, in addition to disagreements on behavioral expectations, routine, and the child's emotional and health needs, a weakness in parental communication became progressively more severe. These two families also shared ambivalent discourse related to the pregnancy. In both cases, parents affirmed that it was planned, but they also expressed marked insecurity, citing that the pregnancy had occurred earlier than imagined (Case B), or expressing fear of losing a more carefree lifestyle after the baby's birth (Case E).

Discipline was another topic of agreement/disagreement cited by all parents, especially from the first year of the child's life. For instance, disagreements were noted concerning limit-setting and managing the baby's misbehavior. In general, fathers perceived mothers as more permissive, which caused some arguments. Nevertheless, Case A presented a singularity, given that disagreements expressed by both parents derived from a paternal

difficulty in limit-setting. The father's verbalizations suggested that this could be related to his experience in his family of origin, as this father attempted to parent his daughter in a very different manner than he was parented. Experiences in families of origin were also referred to in Case B as related to difficulty in agreement on discipline. However, regarding Case B, we noted a tendency to reproduce attitudes that parents perceived experiencing during their own childhoods. In particular, conversely to the father, the mother advocated for a less strict upbringing for the child, which became a topic of severe disagreement and challenging negotiation between them over time.

### ***Support/undermining.***

The coexistence of support and undermining was noted in the majority of families across the transition to parenthood. Reports exclusively citing support were presented in Cases C and D. In these two families, mothers and fathers noted facing challenging situations, but dealing with them in a supportive way, respecting and upholding each other. These parents characterized their relationship as 'very close friends' and 'very good accomplices'. Another interesting finding in these two cases was a sense of reciprocity perceived by the parents over time; mother and father recognized the other's contribution and competence, at the same time feeling acknowledged by their partner. Furthermore, in these two cases, parents were employed and contracted a nanny. Thus, they counted on professional help in the daily childcare routine, including bathing, changing diapers, preparing food, feeding, and playing, as well as household chores. Perhaps the instrumental and social support provided by the domestic worker positively influenced coparental support by reducing the parents' overload related to family and employment activities, thereby enhancing their relationship and adjustment across the transition to parenthood.

In some cases, such as A and F, maternal verbalizations related to the first few weeks after the baby's birth predominantly revealed support. However, as the child developed, undermining also emerged. In these two cases, maternal undermining appeared as criticism directed at paternal competence and contribution as a parent, especially after the father's return to employment at the end of paternity leave. This finding suggests that mothers could be expecting a more proactive attitude from fathers toward childcare, as the baby developed and new demands emerged. Moreover, in these two families, paternal undermining was expressed in a different form, in contrast to maternal undermining. These fathers did not criticize the mothers' competence and contribution as a parent; on the contrary, these attributes were affirmed and valued by them. Paternal undermining was revealed, for example, when they did not support maternal decisions or parental agreements, sometimes to

gain affection from the child (Case A), or disparaged the mother, considering her excessively anxious concerning the baby (Case F).

On the other hand, from pregnancy through the eighteenth month of the child's life, parental verbalizations concerning both support and undermining were identified in families B and E. Regardless of some reports recognizing the other's competence and contribution to parenting, criticism was expressed strongly by mothers and fathers. To some extent, this seemed connected to a lack of agreement on many child-related topics. The way that one parent handled the child (in situations involving daily routine, for example), was emphasized several times through criticism by the other parent. Interestingly, these two families were the same ones that presented ambivalent discourse concerning the pregnancy, and more disagreement than agreement across the transition to parenthood. Undermining was also revealed by means of disparagement and devaluation in Case B, as well as competitiveness and blame in Case E.

## DISCUSSION

Our study provided a holistic picture of how first-time South-Brazilian parents experienced coparenting across the transition to parenthood. The findings supported two themes aligned with Feinberg's (2003) model of coparenting, i.e., agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, as we will discuss in the remainder of this section.

### **Agreement/disagreement**

With respect to coparenting agreement/disagreement, a range of child-related topics was mentioned by the participants across the transition to parenthood, such as breastfeeding, sleep, handling crying and soothing, childcare arrangements, managing the daily routine, and behavioral expectations and limit-setting, consistent with the literature (Don et al., 2013; Laxman et al., 2013). Similar to Abramson et al. (2014), our findings also indicated that agreement/disagreement is present prior to the child's birth. However, despite reports of conversations during pregnancy concerning some child-related topics, parents negotiated most of them after the birth, in the face of the new demands that emerged in establishing family routines and in response to the baby's characteristics. Thus, it is critical for new parents to be able to negotiate and adapt to the different challenges they will face over time, adjusting their coparental relationship as their child develops (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2004; Van Egeren, 2004).

Regarding agreement, the only aspect that remained stable over time for all families was the childcare arrangement. Although we selected participants who maintained a particular childcare arrangement over time, mothers and fathers could have had different preferences, which was not observed in our sample. One possible explanation is that of topics on which new parents could agree or disagree, childcare arrangements may be more influenced by extrafamilial aspects such as the labor market. These external forces may shape parental decisions concerning childrearing, consistent with Feinberg's (2003) ecological model of coparenting.

Overall, parental agreement was more pronounced than disagreement for the majority of families, especially up to the first year of the child's life. Even as the child developed and readjustments in routines or limit-setting were necessary, many parents mentioned that they negotiated new agreements successfully. These findings support the perspective that parental perceptions of coparenting are relatively stable within developmental phases (Van Egeren, 2004). However, after the first year of the child's life, more disagreement was cited. This finding could be explained in light of previous evidence associating father involvement with

coparenting quality (Jia & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2011). An increase in fathers' involvement beyond the first year, in aspects such as teaching (Gaertner et al., 2007), was linked to more situations in which mothers and fathers disagreed. In our sample, discipline was one of the most emphasized child-related topics upon which parents disagreed after the first year of the child's life, pursuant to reports concerning situations requiring limit-setting and managing misbehavior.

Likewise, according to Schoppe-Sullivan et al. (2004), coparenting demands change as the child develops, because the parenting challenges are different. For example, when children become more mobile, parents need to readjust their behaviors to promote their children's new skills while protecting them from accidents that could cause injuries, which implies parental agreements to establish and enforce new limits (Laxman et al., 2013). This shift in the primary focus of the coparenting relationship from the provision of care for infants' survival to socialization of appropriate toddler behavior could also be accompanied by a shift in how mothers and fathers perceive their coparenting relationship (Christopher et al., 2015), which occurred with many participants in our study. Because we studied families up to 18 months postpartum, we were able to observe changes in coparenting related to a toddler's gain in autonomy. Especially at the third time point post-transition, parents were negotiating discipline issues, and reduced stability in agreement/disagreement reports was noted, supporting the perspective that although relatively stable, the quality of coparenting may fluctuate, even in short periods of time (McDaniel, 2016). This is consistent with the theory of family systems, which assumes that both homeostasis and change characterize family processes (Minuchin, 1974).

Notwithstanding, as carefully mentioned by Feinberg (2003), disagreements related to childrearing topics are not necessarily linked to negative outcomes. Indeed, a certain difficulty in establishing agreements is even expected, considering that parental attitudes are in part derived from experiences in their own families of origin. This aspect was observed in some verbalizations presented in the current study, with participants mentioning that their perceptions regarding the way that they were parented affected their current parental behavior and their coparenting relationship (Sim, 2017). More than different beliefs and practices transmitted by the family of origin, the crucial element – especially for one case – appeared to be a weakness in discussing these diverse experiences, managing positive and negative perceptions concerning the past, and negotiating agreements to shape the way that the “new” family should interact.

Indeed, the most critical issue is how parents negotiate disagreements to adopt compromises and achieve agreements. Overall, our findings showed that the majority of

mother and father participants dealt with disagreements successfully over time. However, two cases were suggestive of chronic disagreement, which has been associated with negative outcomes for children (Teubert & Pinquart, 2010), as well as for parents (Don et al., 2013). Interestingly, these families were the same ones in which both parents had presented ambivalent discourse concerning the pregnancy. According to Bronte-Tinkew et al. (2009), pregnancy intentions are related to coparenting quality, such that a mistimed pregnancy is associated with higher levels of coparental conflict. Therefore, it is possible that these aspects permeated the experiences of the two families characterized by severe disagreement and weak communication in our study, making the transition to parenthood even more challenging than usual.

### **Support/undermining**

In two cases, maternal reports indicated support exclusively at the beginning, whereas undermining verbalizations were also expressed as the child developed. In particular, these mothers criticized the fathers' competence and contributions in parenting after the first weeks of the child's life, suggesting that they were expecting a more proactive attitude from fathers toward childcare. According to Van Egeren (2004), new parents may feel disillusioned because of the realities of childcare. Indeed, mothers may be more subject to this kind of disillusionment, considering that they are frequently primary caregivers (McClain & Brown, 2017; Yavorsky et al., 2015), which appeared to occur with some participants in our study. This finding is consistent with the notion that violated expectations in the division of childcare can negatively influence coparenting experiences across the transition to parenthood (Van Egeren, 2004).

Moreover, in these same cases, paternal undermining differed from maternal undermining. Although the fathers affirmed and valued the mothers' competence and contributions in parenting, at times they did not support maternal decisions and parental agreements, or disparaged the mother, considering her excessively anxious regarding the baby. One possible explanation for this finding relates to traditional gender-role beliefs that uphold the idea of greater maternal ability in childcare (Zvara et al., 2013), thus making it difficult for fathers to express undermining by criticizing mothers' competence. These fathers may also recognize greater maternal engagement in parenting activities, which is expected in families with infants (Yavorsky et al., 2015), and therefore did not underestimate mothers' contributions to parenting. In addition, maternal criticism of paternal competence and contributions in parenting may also discourage the father's involvement in childcare tasks (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008), such that he may try to gain affection and proximity when

interacting with the child in other situations; for example, as reported in one case, offering chocolate to the child without the mother's knowledge, and requesting the child keep it secret.

For another two families, undermining was strongly reported from the beginning of the transition to parenthood through the eighteenth month of the child's life, chiefly by mutual parental criticism concerning the way that the partner handled the child (e.g., in situations involving daily routine). This reciprocal criticism was linked to a prominent difficulty in negotiation, according to parental verbalizations, consistent with Feinberg's (2003) proposition of interrelations among support/undermining and agreement/disagreement. It is possible that these aspects contributed to parental feelings concerning growing distance from each other over time, which may have important implications for parental adjustment, as well as for individual and family development (Durtschi et al., 2017; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2016).

In contrast, in two other cases, we noted exclusively reciprocal reports of supportiveness and appreciation regarding the partner's competence and contributions in parenting. These families had some aspects in common; in both cases the mother and father were in the labor market, and the baby was cared for by the nanny. Likewise, in these families the nanny, or the nanny and the maid, performed household chores. Schoppe-Sullivan and Mangelsdorf (2013) reported more undermining coparenting in families with lower socioeconomic status at the transition to parenthood. In light of this finding, although all the participants in the current study were at least middle-class, the two families who opted for nanny care were upper-middle-class and could afford to hire professional help. Therefore, in addition to general economic advantage, these parents could also count on instrumental and social support provided by domestic workers, which may have positively influenced coparental support in accordance with Feinberg's (2003) ecological model of coparenting.

Despite the fact that daycare could also be considered a source of instrumental and social support (Piccinini et al., 2016b), perhaps preparing for, picking up, and taking the child to daycare added to the burden of other household and employment tasks for parents who opted for this arrangement. With respect to maternal care, it is possible that gender specialization, because of the more traditional parental roles played in these families, may influence their coparenting relationship (McClain & Brown, 2017; Yavorsky et al., 2015). In other words, the fact that the parents were strongly engaged in separate spheres, i.e., mothers burdened due to childcare and household tasks, along with fathers burdened due to employment tasks, could also have influenced their opportunities to demonstrate reciprocal support.



## **STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

Regardless of the modest sample size in our study, it was in consonance with the number of participants recommended for multiple case studies (Stake, 2006). In addition, we interviewed participants multiple times, which strengthened our research design because we could investigate stability and change, as well as the impact of child development on coparenting (LaRossa et al., 2014). Nonetheless, our sample was homogeneous in demographic characteristics, considering only white, well-educated, first-time biological parents in middle- or upper-middle-class nuclear families in the South of Brazil. On the other hand, we were successful in identifying marked coparenting disagreement and undermining even among potentially high-functioning families. Future studies should explore coparenting across the transition to parenthood in other racial/ethnic groups, among parents from more diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, as well as different regions of Brazil. Likewise, we encourage research addressing the development of coparenting among adolescent parents or those who are experiencing the birth of their second child, due to the high frequency of these occurrences in Brazil, and among same-sex or adoptive parents, given that they are emerging family configurations in this country.

Although our data collection took place exclusively via individual, face-to-face interviews with mothers and fathers, we analyzed data at a dyadic level, considering the relational dynamics of each family according to maternal and paternal verbalizations. This was another strength of our study, especially because much prior research has analyzed data at an individual level, which may mask some nuances of coparenting. However, future studies could also include observations of mother-father-child interaction, which may complement the perspectives of parents by shedding light on additional important aspects of coparenting. Moreover, we used thematic analysis, adopting a deductive approach, because we aimed to look for evidence of coparenting agreement/disagreement and support/undermining, as defined by Feinberg (2003). In contrast, future qualitative research on coparenting could adopt an inductive approach (e.g., grounded theory). Finally, whereas we aimed at a more holistic picture of how parents experienced agreement/disagreement and support/undermining across the transition to parenthood by interviewing them from 6 through 18 months postpartum, future research could focus more specifically on the development of coparenting during pregnancy, interviewing expecting parents or observing them in procedures such as the Prenatal Lausanne Trilogue Play (see Altenburger et al., 2014; Carneiro, Corboz-Warnery, & Fivaz-Depeursinge, 2006) or the 4D ultrasounds (see Ammaniti & Gallese, 2014; Kuersten-Hogan, 2017).

## IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND POLICY

Our findings support the proposal that interventions targeting coparenting could be performed very early in the transition to parenthood, even during pregnancy, which may contribute to parental negotiation and establishment of agreements regarding childrearing topics, as well as development of skills to solve problems cooperatively and maintain supportive interactions even in the face of disagreement (Altenburger et al., 2014; Kuersten-Hogan, 2017). These early interventions may prevent weaknesses in parental communication, estrangement and hostile conflict among new mothers and fathers, risk factors for individual and family development (Feinberg, 2003). Considering that we gave voice to the participants and presented their literal words, these vignettes could be used, for example, by family practitioners or in classes for expecting parents, such as those offered in health services. Keeping in touch with real situations reported by others may be helpful for new mothers and fathers, informing them about issues they may face to spark conversations and planning how to work together.

Additionally, according to our findings, interventions across the transition to parenthood could address different parental experiences in their families of origin, given that this may be a source of disagreements regarding childrearing topics, which may become progressively more severe as the child develops and new challenging situations emerge. Thus, parents could be encouraged to think and discuss how these experiences influence their attitudes and behaviors, in order to adopt compromises and come to agreements on childrearing. Another important focus is strengthening instrumental and social support, which may positively influence adjustment to parenthood by diminishing new parents' feelings of overload and enhancing the support that they can provide to each other. Support could involve emotional or practical assistance, by means of people or institutions pertaining to the family's social network. In our study, we emphasized childcare arrangements, but many other sources of support may be strengthened, such as relatives, friends, community and health services.

## CHAPTER IV

### Overall Discussion

The current study contributes to the existing literature by shedding light on coparenting across the transition to parenthood in South-Brazilian families, an under-researched population. We conducted interviews with 12 first-time mothers and fathers (six nuclear families altogether), at 6, 12, and 18 months postpartum (36 interviews altogether). In two families only the father was employed, with the mother caring for the child; in two families both parents were employed, and they hired a nanny to care for the child in their home; and in two families both parents were employed, and the child started attending daycare at the end of maternity leave. Deductive thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) provided us with narrative evidence on three components of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting framework, i.e., division of labor, agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. Our major findings were presented by means of two articles. In both, we used a qualitative, longitudinal, multiple case study design.

The first article was focused on the parental division of labor. In sum, we found weaker sharing of household chores across the transition to parenthood, considering those families in which parents should perform these duties because they did not count on a hired professional. The fact that household chores are widely considered female activities in the Brazilian culture may explain the fathers' weaker engagement in these duties over time, as well as the parents' view of it as something expected from women (Madalozzo & Blofield, 2017; Vieira et al., 2014). On the other hand, we found greater sharing of childcare tasks during the first few days postpartum, followed by a downward tendency in the fathers' contributions during the first few months postpartum. This more unequal division of labor remained stable over time only for families who had chosen maternal care, changing after the end of maternity leave for families who had chosen nanny care or daycare. Thus, the participants in our study renegotiated the division of childcare tasks due to changes in demands for paid work. These findings suggest that, although parental roles tend to become more traditional across the transition to parenthood (Baxter et al., 2014; Endendijk et al., 2018), aspects such as parents' employment and leave policies may play an important role in how mother and father divide labor (Bünning, 2015; Kamp Dush et al., 2017). Parental satisfaction regarding the division of labor remained relatively high over time only for families who had chosen nanny care. Therefore, counting on a domestic worker since the

beginning of the transition to parenthood contributed to prevent parental feelings of overload and unfairness over time (Shorey et al., 2018; Yu, 2015).

The second article was focused on agreement/disagreement and support/undermining. Overall, we found that agreement among parents remained relatively stable during the first year, whereas disagreements concerning discipline demanded more parental negotiation as infants advanced toward toddlerhood. Our findings supported the perspective that, even though conversations on child-related topics had started during pregnancy, parents negotiated most of them after the birth, in the face of the new demands that emerged in establishing family routines and in response to the child's development (Abramson et al., 2014; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2004). Regarding support and undermining, we noted that both coexisted in the same families although mothers and fathers expressed undermining differently. For instance, maternal undermining occurred through criticism of paternal competence in parenting. In contrast, paternal undermining occurred by breaching maternal decisions and parental agreements. This finding is enlightened by the view that fathers may feel discouraged to perform childcare tasks due to maternal criticism (Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008), and therefore try to improve proximity and affection when interacting with the child in other situations. We also discussed influences of families of origin, pregnancy intentions, parents' employment and childcare arrangements on agreement/disagreement and support/undermining.

Taken together, findings deriving from the two articles that comprise the current doctoral dissertation are also in line with another proposition of Feinberg's (2003) coparenting framework: the components of the internal structure are both moderately interconnected and partly distinct. Therefore, concerning the linkage across components, we found agreement/disagreement and support/undermining widely interrelated among themselves, as well as some links between these two components and the division of labor. For example, many parents reported reciprocal criticism related to prominent difficulty in negotiating agreements. Likewise, fewer disagreements were also referred to in a family in which the mother took on almost sole responsibility for parenting decisions and childcare tasks. Hence, weaker paternal participation in childrearing may be linked to fewer situations in which parents need to come to agreements. Similarly, in some families, maternal undermining appeared as criticism directed at paternal contribution as a parent, suggesting that mothers were expecting a different division of labor. In addition to this internal structure, our findings further reinforce the importance of understanding coparenting in the light of the complex ecological context families are embedded in, without missing the point of singularities that characterize each coparental relationship. Overall, these aspects suggest that,

albeit predominantly based on studies of Anglo-American families, Feinberg's coparenting framework may be applied to coparenting in Brazil and perhaps to other countries and cultural contexts.

Some implications for practice and policy derived from this doctoral dissertation. At a practical level, our findings may be useful for family counseling. In particular, they suggest that interventions targeting coparenting could be performed very early in the transition to parenthood, even during pregnancy. These interventions may help parents to define how to divide labor in a satisfactory way for both, enhance skills to negotiate agreements cooperatively and maintain supportive interactions, considering different demands that arise as the child develops. This knowledge may be introduced to new mothers and fathers, informing them about real situations faced by other families across the transition to parenthood. This could enlighten parents regarding issues they may face to spark conversations and planning how to work together. The importance of strengthening instrumental and social support was another aspect revealed in our study. Support could involve emotional or practical assistance, by means of people or institutions pertaining to the family's social network, such as domestic workers and daycare centers. Even if few parents have financial resources to hire a domestic worker, policies could guarantee provision of affordable or subsidized high-quality daycare centers. Aside from this, through a more gender-neutral scheme of paid leave, policies could contribute to reduce specialization, allowing new parents to achieve better parental adjustment and work-family balance.

Our study is not without limitations. First, it involved a few cases, with white, highly-educated, first-time parents in middle- or upper-middle-class nuclear families in the South of Brazil. Yet, the number of participants is in line with Stake's (2013) recommendation for multiple case studies. Second, data were collected only by means of interviews with mothers and fathers. Nonetheless, we analyzed data at a dyadic level, considering the uniqueness of the relational dynamic of each family. Similarly, we interviewed participants multiple times, allowing for a more robust design (LaRossa et al., 2014). Third, even using a longitudinal design, data concerning pregnancy were collected at the sixth month postpartum.

For future research, important avenues could be to examine coparenting across the transition to parenthood in families with diverse configuration (e.g., adolescent, adoptive and same-sex coparents), socioeconomic status (e.g., low-income families), childcare arrangements (e.g., grandparent care), as well as in other Brazilian regions. For biological parents, we suggest longitudinal designs with data collection starting during pregnancy. Future research could also investigate larger sample sizes and include coparenting scales, time diaries or observations of mother-father-child interaction. Similarly, we emphasize the

relevance of investigating coparenting in Brazilian families through an interview designed specifically for this purpose. This would be particularly pertinent due to the possibility of exploring conflict situations and hostile interactions between parents, undoubtedly, taking the necessary care to avoid distress to participants. Perhaps this could offer stronger support to joint family management comparative to that offered by our data.

The innovative nature of the findings reported across this doctoral dissertation could be deemed taking into account features of its methodological design and participant families. For instance, we investigated coparenting at three time points of data collection across the transition to parenthood, in which participants were first-time Brazilian parents. Aside from this longitudinal design, we also used qualitative data, which offered a rich portrayal regarding how mothers and fathers were experiencing coparenting during the first 18 months of their children's lives, elucidating stability and change over time. Furthermore, we explored the influence of different childcare arrangements (i.e., maternal care, nanny care and daycare) and parental work status (i.e., single-earner and dual-earner families) on coparenting, which has not been addressed in previous Brazilian research.

Interestingly, although nanny care is often chosen by Brazilian middle- and upper-middle-class families in which both parents are engaged in the job market, only a few studies have focused on this childcare arrangement in our country up to date (e.g., Moreira & Biasoli-Alves, 2007; Piccinini et al., 2016b; Vieira, 2014). This could be linked to the social invisibility of nanny care, which has been discussed in the context of the international literature (e.g., Dimova et al., 2015). Yet, we found evidence indicating the work of this professional as an important source of instrumental and social support for parents with young children. In particular, the domestic workers' assistance in household chores and childcare tasks seemed to buffer parents' distress over time and bolster their adjustment to coparenting across the transition to parenthood, which tend to positively influence individual and family development.

Lastly, from an individual perspective, my doctoral pathway helped me to define and consolidate the line of research I would like to pursue across my academic career. During this trajectory, I had the chance of actively and proactively engaging in a productive and enjoyable collaborative endeavor between a research group in Brazil and another one in the United States. From my point of view, all the opportunities across my doctoral pathway have added to my previous experiences as student (i.e., undergraduate and master's degree) and professional (i.e. psychologist), greatly enhancing my research skills and knowledge in the field.

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**APPENDIXES**

## APPENDIX A. Ethics Committee Approval



### Instituto de Psicologia

Rua Ramiro Barcelos, 2600 CEP 90035-003 Porto Alegre RS Tel. /Fax (051) 3316-5066

#### COMITÊ DE ÉTICA EM PESQUISA

REGISTRO NUMERO: 25000.089325/2006-58

#### PROCOLO DE PESQUISA Nº 2010070

Título do Projeto:

***Impacto da creche no desenvolvimento sócio-emocional e cognitivo infantil: estudo longitudinal do primeiro ao segundo ano de vida da criança.***

Pesquisador(es):

**Cesar Augusto Piccinini – Pesquisadora Responsável**

Rita de Cassia Sobreira lopes

Tânia Mara Sperb

Schila Machado da Silveira Becker

Gabrela Dal Forno Martins

O projeto atende aos requisitos necessários. Está **aprovado** pelo CEP-Psicologia por estar adequado ética e metodologicamente e de acordo com a Resolução nº196/96 e complementares do CONEP e Resolução 016/2000 do Conselho Federal de Psicologia.

Eventos adversos e eventuais ementas ou modificações no protocolo de pesquisa devem ser comunicadas a este Comitê. Devem também ser apresentados anualmente relatórios ao Comitê, inicialmente em 06/12/2011, bem como ao término do estudo.

**Aprovado**, em 06/12/2010.

  
Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa  
Registro 25000.089325/2006-58  
Instituto de Psicologia - UFRGS



**HCPA - HOSPITAL DE CLÍNICAS DE PORTO ALEGRE**  
**GRUPO DE PESQUISA E PÓS-GRADUAÇÃO**  
**RELATÓRIO DE PESQUISA**

**Origem:** PPG PSICOLOGIA - INSTITUTO DE PSICOLOGIA

**Realização:** SEÇÃO DE CRECHE

**Participante(s):**

CESAR AUGUSTO PICCININI

RITA DE CÁSSIA SOBREIRA LOPES

TANIA MARA SPERB

GABRIELA DAL FORNO MARTINS

SCHEILA MACHADO DA SILVEIRA BECKE

**Projeto:** 100553 **Situação:** APROVADO

**Título:** Impacto da creche no desenvolvimento sócio-emocional e cognitivo infantil: estudo longitudinal do primeiro ao segundo ano de vida da criança

**Último Relatório:**

Tema Livre Nacional: 0	Tema Livre Internacional: 0	Artigo Periódico Nacional: 0
Tese Doutorado: 0	Dissertação Mestrado: 0	Artigo Periódico Internacional: 0
Capítulo Livro: 0	Livro: 0	Vídeo/Filme: 0

**1. SITUAÇÃO ATUAL DO PROJETO:**

Não Iniciado:

Cancelado Data:

Em Execução:  Data Início: 18/02/2011

Data Término: 28/12/2012

Interrompido Data:

Encerrado Data:

**2. Nº DE PESSOAS PESQUISADAS:**

Pessoas Previstas HCPA: 00  
 Pessoas Incluídas: no HCPA: 0  
 Pessoas no Brasil: 0

**3. Nº DE PARTICIPANTES EXCLUÍDOS:** 00

**4. EVENTOS ADVERSOS GRAVES (SAE):**

no HCPA:  Em outros centros:

**CONSULTORIAS GPPG (Nº):** 00

Prorrogar Data de Término para: 30/12/2015

Justificativa da Prorrogação da  
Data de Término:

*Unificar na lista em anexo*

**5. RECURSOS FINANCEIROS NECESSÁRIOS:**

- Ainda não disponíveis  
 Já disponíveis  
 Insuficientes

Observações:

Informar dados gerais do Projeto  Confirmar término do Projeto  Conferir e atualizar os dados

**Obs.: DEVOLVER ESTA MESMA FOLHA**

*[Assinatura]*  
Assinatura do Pesquisador

INSTITUTO DE PSICOLOGIA -  
UFRGS



**PARECER CONSUBSTANCIADO DO CEP**

**DADOS DO PROJETO DE PESQUISA**

**Título da Pesquisa:** Impacto da creche no desenvolvimento socioemocional e cognitivo infantil: Estudo longitudinal do sexto mês de vida do bebê ao final dos anos pré-escolares

**Pesquisador:** CESAR AUGUSTO PICCININI

**Área Temática:**

**Versão:** 2

**CAAE:** 15840313.0.0000.5334

**Instituição Proponente:** Instituto de Psicologia - UFRGS

**Patrocinador Principal:** Financiamento Próprio

**DADOS DO PARECER**

**Número do Parecer:** 321.759

**Data da Relatoria:** 01/07/2013

**Apresentação do Projeto:**

Nas últimas décadas houve um grande aumento na demanda por cuidados alternativos para crianças pequenas. Desta forma, para muitas crianças o ambiente da creche tem se tornado um importante contexto de desenvolvimento, além do ambiente familiar. Assim sendo, o presente projeto tem como objetivo investigar o impacto da creche no desenvolvimento socioemocional e cognitivo infantil, do sexto mês de vida do bebê ao final dos anos pré-escolares. Mais especificamente, busca comparar, ao longo desse período, o desenvolvimento de crianças que frequentam ou não a creche, e relacioná-lo a qualidade dos ambientes institucional e familiar. Para tanto estão previstas duas etapas de coleta de dados, Etapa I: do 6º ao 24º mês de vida do bebê e a Etapa II: do 3º ao 5º ano de vida da criança. Em todas as etapas serão aplicadas entrevistas semiestruturadas e escalas com as famílias e educadoras, visando avaliar sua percepção sobre o desenvolvimento da criança, bem como a qualidade dos ambientes familiar e de creche. Além disso, as crianças terão seu desenvolvimento avaliado por meio de observações diretas do comportamento e de testes padronizados.

O presente projeto de pesquisa trata-se de uma extensão de um projeto de pesquisa anteriormente aprovado por este comitê, o qual intitulava-se "Impacto da creche no

**Endereço:** Rua Ramiro Barcelos, 2600  
**Bairro:** Santa Cecília **CEP:** 90.035-003  
**UF:** RS **Município:** PORTO ALEGRE  
**Telefone:** (513)308-5698 **Fax:** (513)308-5698 **E-mail:** cep-psico@ufrgs.br



Continuação do Parecer: 321.759

desenvolvimento sócioemocional e cognitivo infantil: estudo longitudinal do primeiro ao segundo ano de vida da criança". O projeto anterior previa acompanhamento dos bebês e de suas famílias até o segundo ano de vida. Neste momento é proposta a continuidade do acompanhamento destas mesmas famílias até o quinto ano de vida da criança.

**Objetivo da Pesquisa:**

Investigar o impacto da creche no desenvolvimento socioemocional e cognitivo infantil, do sexto mês de vida do bebê ao final dos anos pré-escolares. Mais especificamente, a pesquisa busca comparar, ao longo desse período, o desenvolvimento de crianças que frequentaram ou não a creche, e relacioná-lo a características dos ambientes institucional e familiar, tais como idade de entrada em cuidado alternativo, tempo de permanência diário em determinado tipo de cuidado alternativo, tipos de cuidado que essas crianças receberam até o final dos anos pré-escolares, qualidade da interação pai/mãe-criança e qualidade da escola de Educação Infantil.

**Avaliação dos Riscos e Benefícios:**

O projeto oferece risco mínimo aos participantes, relativos à abordagem de questões íntimas, o que pode gerar algum desconforto. Caso seja necessário, os participantes poderão ser encaminhados à clínica de atendimento psicológico, se assim o desejarem.

Quanto aos benefícios, os pesquisadores acreditam que as entrevistas permitirão aos participantes refletirem acerca de suas vivências e sentimentos nesse momento do desenvolvimento do filho e que isso poderá trazer algum benefício para eles.

**Comentários e Considerações sobre a Pesquisa:**

A pesquisa aborda um tema importante e ainda pouco investigado em Psicologia, tendo grande possibilidade produzir contribuições significativas para o conhecimento científico. Está bem construída teórica e metodologicamente, incluindo uma ampla gama de instrumentos, que buscam conhecer vários aspectos do fenômeno investigado.

**Considerações sobre os Termos de apresentação obrigatória:**

O TCLE é apresentado e está redigido de forma clara, incluindo todas as informações fundamentais.

O cronograma também está adequado. Todos os documentos necessários foram anexados.

**Recomendações:**

**Conclusões ou Pendências e Lista de Inadequações:**

O projeto de pesquisa aborda tema relevante e está bem fundamentado teórica e metodologicamente. Mostra-se também adequado em relação às questões éticas de pesquisa

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Continuação do Parecer: 321.759

envolvendo seres humanos.

Pendências anteriormente apontadas foram sanadas, de modo que ele está aprovado.

**Situação do Parecer:**

Aprovado

**Necessita Apreciação da CONEP:**

Não

**Considerações Finais a critério do CEP:**

Todas as pendências apontadas anteriormente foram sanadas.

Sendo assim, o Colegiado define o Projeto como APROVADO.

PORTO ALEGRE, 01 de Julho de 2013

---

**Assinador por:**  
**Clarissa Marcell Trentini**  
**(Coordenador)**

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**APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM****Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul  
Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia****Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido Informado**

Pelo presente consentimento, declaro que fui informada(o), de forma clara e detalhada, dos objetivos, da justificativa e dos procedimentos de coleta dos dados do presente projeto de pesquisa que tem como objetivo acompanhar durante doze meses o desenvolvimento socioemocional e cognitivo de bebês que frequentam e não frequentam creche. A pesquisa envolverá três fases de coletas de dados: a primeira, será realizada entre os 6 e 11 meses de idade do bebê; a segunda, 6 meses após a primeira coleta; e a terceira, 12 meses após a primeira coleta. Em cada um desses momentos, as mães/os pais serão convidadas a responder entrevistas e seus bebês serão avaliados através de uma escala de desenvolvimento. Além disso, a interação mãe/pai-bebê será filmada na Sala de Brinquedos do Instituto de Psicologia. O local das entrevistas, número de encontros e a sua duração serão combinadas entre pesquisadores e participantes, levando em consideração o melhor interesse dos mesmos. Esses procedimentos poderão ser realizados tanto no Instituto de Psicologia – situado à Rua Ramiro Barcelos, 2600 – como na própria residência das participantes se assim o preferirem. A coleta de dados será organizada de modo a evitar custos aos participantes. No entanto, quando necessário, será oferecido auxílio para transporte e alimentação.

Acredita-se que as entrevistas permitirão aos participantes refletirem acerca de suas vivências e sentimentos nesse momento do desenvolvimento do filho e que isso poderá trazer algum benefício para eles. No entanto, visto que serão abordadas questões íntimas que podem gerar algum desconforto, caso seja necessário, os participantes poderão ser encaminhados à Clínica de Atendimento Psicológico da UFRGS, se assim o desejarem.

Tenho o conhecimento de que receberei a resposta a qualquer dúvida sobre os procedimentos e outros assuntos relacionados com esta pesquisa. Poderei obter tais esclarecimentos com a equipe de pesquisa ou com o Comitê de Ética do Instituto de Psicologia, pelo fone 3308-5698. Minha participação é voluntária e terei total liberdade para retirar meu consentimento, a qualquer momento, e deixar de participar do estudo, sem que isso traga prejuízo ao atendimento prestado a meu filho(a) nesta instituição.

Entendo que não serei identificada(o) e que se manterá o caráter confidencial das informações registradas relacionadas a minha privacidade. Tenho ciência de que uma via deste documento será fornecida a mim.

Eu, \_\_\_\_\_, concordo em participar deste estudo, e concordo também com a participação de meu filho(a) \_\_\_\_\_.

Os pesquisadores responsáveis por este projeto são o Prof. Cesar Piccinini e as doutorandas Scheila Becker e Gabriela Martins, que poderão ser contatados pelo Tel: 3308-5058 e e-mail: [cresci.ufrgs@gmail.com](mailto:cresci.ufrgs@gmail.com). Endereço para contato: Rua Ramiro Barcelos, 2600 - Bairro Santa Cecília - Porto Alegre.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Assinatura do Pesquisador

\_\_\_\_\_  
Assinatura da(o) Participante

Data: \_\_\_ / \_\_\_ / \_\_\_\_



## APPENDIX C. Interview about the Experience of Motherhood – 6<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE MATERNIDADE – 6º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011a)<sup>1</sup>

#### **I. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre a gravidez.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Esta foi a tua primeira gravidez? Foi uma gravidez planejada?
2. Como te sentiste ao receber a notícia da gravidez?
3. Como o teu companheiro recebeu a notícia da gravidez?
4. Como te sentiste durante a gravidez em termos físicos e emocionais?  
Houve alguma complicação durante a gravidez? Como foi?
5. Que preocupações tu tinhas em relação a ti como mãe durante a gravidez?
6. Que tipo de mãe tu achavas que serias?
7. Que preocupações tu tinhas em relação ao bebê durante a gravidez?
8. Como tu imaginavas que o bebê seria? Como tu imaginavas que seria o teu relacionamento com ele?
9. E o teu companheiro? Ele te apoiou durante a gravidez? Como (o que ele fazia)? Como tu te sentiste com isto?
10. Alguma coisa mudou no jeito de ser dele com a gravidez?
11. Alguma coisa mudou no relacionamento de vocês com a gravidez?

#### **II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o parto e os primeiros dias com o bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como foi o parto? Foi normal ou cesariana? Houve alguma complicação? Como tu te sentiste?
2. Alguém te acompanhou no momento do parto?
3. Como foi o teu primeiro encontro com o bebê após o parto? Como tu te sentiste? Ele era como tu imaginavas?
4. E os primeiros dias após o parto? Foi como tu imaginavas? O que te agradou e desagradou?
5. Que preocupações tu tiveste em relação ao bebê nesses primeiros dias?
6. Tu te lembras de alguém que te ajudou nos primeiros dias após o nascimento? *(em caso afirmativo):* Quem foi? E que tipo de ajuda ofereceu? Como tu te sentiste?
7. E o teu companheiro? Ele te apoiou nesses primeiros dias do bebê? Como (o que ele fazia)? Como tu te sentiste com isto?

#### **III. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser mãe.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Tu imaginavas que seria assim?
2. Como tu estás te sentindo como mãe neste momento?
3. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
4. Como tu te descreverias como mãe? Tu pensas em alguém como modelo de mãe? Quem seria?
5. Como ela é/era como mãe?
6. Tu evitas algum modelo de mãe que tu já conheceste?
7. E a tua mãe, como tu imaginas que ela era contigo? O que tu lembras?
8. O teu jeito de cuidar do/a *(nome da criança)* é parecido ou diferente do dela?
9. E o teu pai, como tu imaginas que ele era contigo? O que tu lembras?
10. O teu jeito de cuidar do/a *(nome)* é parecido ou diferente do dele?

#### **IV. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste como estás vendo o teu companheiro como pai.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como é o jeito dele lidar com o bebê?
  2. Como tu achas que ele está sendo como pai? Está sendo como tu imaginavas?
  3. Ele te ajuda nos cuidados com o bebê? Tu te sentes satisfeita com essa ajuda?
- Caso as respostas da mãe às perguntas anteriores sejam negativas, fazer as seguintes perguntas:**
- Tu solicitas a ajuda dele nos cuidados com o bebê?
  - Como é para ti pedir essa ajuda?
4. Como imaginas que ele te vê como mãe?

**V. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o dia-a-dia do bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. De maneira geral, que atividades tu consideras importantes para um bebê no dia a dia?
2. Pensando agora na rotina do teu filho (a), poderias descrever como é a rotina e me contar com quem ele fica e o que ele faz durante o período da manhã, da tarde e da noite?

*Questões a serem exploradas:*

- a) *Qual a hora que o bebê acorda e vai dormir?*
  - b) *Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê neste período? (se for babá, caracterizar idade, experiência com bebês)*
  - c) *Quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê?*
  - d) *Quais as atividades que essas pessoas fazem com o bebê (explorar cada atividade mencionada com detalhes)?*
  - e) *Como o bebê reage quando está com essas pessoas?*
  - f) *Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do bebê desde que passou a ficar com essa pessoa?*
3. A rotina do bebê muda no final de semana? Se muda, poderias me contar como é a rotina dele neste período? *(Explorar os mesmos tópicos da questão anterior)*
  4. Pensando agora nas tarefas que tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê:
    - a) *Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
    - b) *Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
  5. O que tu achas que mais agrada ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
  6. E tem alguma coisa que desagrada? Se sim, por que isso acontece?

**VI. Por fim, vamos conversar sobre a decisão de colocar (ou não) o bebê na creche:**

*(Se o bebê vai para a creche)*

1. Por que vocês escolheram colocar o bebê na creche?
2. Como foi tomada essa decisão?
3. Por que escolheram colocá-lo nesta creche em específico?
4. Como tu te sentes por colocar o filho(a) na creche?
5. Que expectativas tu tens com a entrada do bebê na creche?
6. E quanto à adaptação do bebê? Como tu imaginas que será?

*(Se o bebê não vai para a creche)*

1. Por que vocês decidiram não colocar o bebê na creche?
2. Alguém te ajuda a cuidar do bebê?
3. O que levaram em conta ao decidirem por esse tipo de cuidado? (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou cognitivo, etc.)?
4. *(Se alguém ajuda a mãe a cuidar do bebê)* Como tu te sentes com outras pessoas cuidando do/a (nome)? O que te agrada? O que te incomoda?
5. Vocês pensam em colocar o bebê na creche? Em que momento? Por quê?

**VII. Tu gostarias de acrescentar alguma coisa a tudo isso que a gente conversou?**

<sup>1</sup> Adaptada de GIDEP/NUDIF (2006), por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

## APPENDIX D. Interview about the Experience of Fatherhood – 6<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE PATERNIDADE – 6º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011b)<sup>1</sup>

#### **I. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre a gravidez do (nome do bebê)**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Esta foi a tua primeira gravidez? Foi uma gravidez planejada?
2. Como tu recebeste a notícia da gravidez? Como a tua companheira recebeu a notícia?
3. Como te sentiste ao receber a notícia da gravidez?
4. Tu percebeste alguma mudança na tua rotina com a gravidez? Descreva.
5. Como tu avalias a tua participação durante a gravidez? O que tu costumavas fazer?
6. Como tu te sentiste com a tua participação?
7. Como tu achas que ela se sentia com a tua participação?
8. Tu achas que alguma coisa mudou no teu jeito de ser com a gravidez?
9. Alguma coisa mudou no jeito de ser dela com a gravidez?
10. Alguma coisa mudou no relacionamento de vocês com a gravidez?
11. Que preocupações tu tinhas em relação a ti como pai durante a gravidez?
12. Que preocupações tu tinhas em relação ao bebê durante a gravidez?
13. Que tipo de pai tu achavas que serias?
14. Como tu imaginavas que o bebê seria? Como tu imaginavas que seria o teu relacionamento com ele?

#### **II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o parto e os primeiros dias com o bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como foi o parto? Foi normal ou cesariana? Houve alguma complicação? Como tu te sentiste?
2. Tu acompanhaste o momento do parto? Como foi?
3. Como foi o teu primeiro encontro com o bebê após o parto? Como tu te sentiste? Ele era como tu imaginavas?
4. Como foram os primeiros dias após o parto? Foi como tu imaginavas? O que te agradou e desagradou?
5. Pensando nos dias que a tua companheira ficou hospitalizada, como foi a tua rotina durante esse período?
6. Como tu avalias a tua participação no parto e nos primeiros dias? O que tu costumavas fazer?
7. Como tu te sentiste com isto?
8. Que preocupações tu tiveste em relação ao bebê nesses primeiros dias?
9. Tu te lembras de alguém que ajudou nos primeiros dias após o nascimento? *(em caso afirmativo):* Quem foi? E que tipo de ajuda ofereceu? Como tu te sentiste?
10. Alguém te deu algum suporte pessoal neste momento?

#### **III. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o teu dia-a-dia com o bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como tu descreverias o jeito do teu bebê? Como é lidar com ele?
2. Era como tu imaginavas? *(se não era)* O que está diferente?
3. Tu sentes que consegues entender o que o *(bebê)* expressa?
4. De maneira geral, que tarefas tu consideras importantes no dia-a-dia com um bebê?
5. Que tarefas tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê? Como tu te sentes? *(explorar o tempo de cada tarefa e a frequência em que é responsável pela tarefa)*
6. Qual é a disponibilidade que tu tens para assumir as tarefas ou brincar com o teu filho?
7. Dentre esses momentos que tu tens disponíveis para teu filho, em quais deles tu assumes a responsabilidade pelo cuidado dele?
8. Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
9. Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
10. O que tu achas que mais agrada ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
11. E o que mais desagradava ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
12. Tu costumava brincar com o bebê? Com que frequência? Do que vocês brincam? Como ele reage a essas brincadeiras? Como te sentes?
13. Como tu lidas com a tua rotina pessoal e a rotina como pai?

#### **IV. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser pai.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Tu imaginavas que seria assim?

2. Como tu estás te sentindo como pai neste momento?
3. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
4. Como tu te descreverias como pai? Tu pensas em alguém como modelo de pai? Quem seria?
5. Como ela é/era como pai?
6. Tu evitas algum modelo de pai que tu já conhecestes?
7. E o teu pai, como tu imaginas que ele era contigo? O que tu lembras?
8. O teu jeito de cuidar do/a (*nome da criança*) é parecido ou diferente do dele?
9. E a tua mãe, como tu imaginas que ela era contigo? O que tu lembras?
10. O teu jeito de cuidar do/a (*nome*) é parecido ou diferente do dela?

**V. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste como tu estás vendo a tua companheira como mãe.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como é o jeito dela lidar com o bebê?
2. Como tu achas que ela está sendo como mãe? Está sendo como tu imaginavas?
3. Que atividades ela realiza com o bebê?
4. Quanto tempo ela passa por dia com o bebê?
5. Ela solicita a tua ajuda nos cuidados com o bebê? Como? (*em caso negativo*) Tu pedes para ajudar nos cuidados com o bebê? Como é para ti pedir essa ajuda?
6. Como tu avalias a ajuda que tu prestas a ela?
7. Como imaginas que ela te vê como pai?

**VI. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste se outras pessoas ajudam a cuidar do bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Quem costuma ajudar no cuidado com o bebê? Como é a ajuda dessa pessoa? Quantas horas essa pessoa fica com o bebê?
2. Como tu te sentes com outras pessoas cuidando do/a (*nome*)?
3. O que te agrada? O que te incomoda?
4. Como o/a (*nome*) reage quando outra/s pessoa/s ficam com ele?
5. O que tu achas disso? Como tu te sentes?  
*(Caso essa pessoa fique/cuide regularmente da criança)*
6. Porque vocês escolheram essa forma de cuidado para o/a (*nome*)?
7. O que levaram em conta para isso (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou cognitivo)?
8. Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do/a (*nome*) em relação a essa/s pessoa/s que fica/m com ele/a nos últimos meses?

**VII. Por fim, vamos conversar sobre a decisão de colocar (ou não) a criança na creche:**

1. Por que vocês escolheram colocar (ou não) a criança na creche neste momento?
2. Como foi feita esta escolha? *Se a criança vai para a creche:* Como foi feita a escolha da creche?
3. Como tu avalias a tua participação nesta escolha?
4. Como tu te sentes por colocar (ou não) o(a) filho(a) na creche?

*Perguntar somente para os que vão à creche (grupo 1):*

Como que tu imaginas que será a tua rotina com a entrada do bebê na creche?

*Perguntar somente para os que não vão à creche (grupo 2):*

Vocês pensam em colocar o bebê na creche? Em que momento? Por quê?

**VIII. Tu gostarias de acrescentar alguma coisa a tudo isso que a gente conversou?**

<sup>1</sup>Entrevista construída com base nas entrevistas: GIDEP/NUDIF (2006) por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins, Marília Gabriel e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

## APPENDIX E. Interview about the Experience of Motherhood – 12<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE MATERNIDADE – 12º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011c)<sup>1</sup>

#### **I. Inicialmente eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o dia-a-dia do teu bebê (Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Que atividades tu consideras importantes no dia-a-dia de um bebê aproximadamente na faixa etária do teu filho? *(o foco desta pergunta não está no filho da respondente, mas para qualquer bebê)*
2. Pensando agora na rotina do teu filho(a), poderias me descrever como é a rotina e me contar com quem ele fica e o que ele faz durante o período da manhã, da tarde e da noite?  
*Questões a serem exploradas:*
  - a) Qual a hora que o bebê acorda e vai dormir?
  - b) Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê neste período? *(se for babá, caracterizar idade, experiência com bebês)*
  - c) Quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê?
  - d) Quais as atividades que essas pessoas fazem com o bebê *(explorar cada atividade mencionada com detalhes)?*
  - e) Como o bebê reage quando está com essas pessoas?
3. A rotina do bebê muda no final de semana? Se muda, poderias me contar como é a rotina dele neste período? *(Explorar mesmos tópicos da questão anterior)*
4. Pensando agora nas tarefas que tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê:
  - a) Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
  - b) Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
5. O que tu achas que mais agrada ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
6. E tem alguma coisa que desagrada? Se sim, por que isso acontece?

#### **II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser mãe. (Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Como tu estás te sentindo como mãe neste momento?
2. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
3. Como tu te descreverias como mãe?
4. Neste momento, como tu achas que o teu companheiro está sendo como pai?
5. Como está o relacionamento com o teu companheiro desde a última vez que conversamos?

#### **III. Eu gostaria de conversar contigo sobre algumas situações que acontecem no teu dia-a-dia com o (nome da criança), em que ele faz coisas que te incomodam e que tu achas difícil de lidar. Todas as mães passam por esse tipo de situação com os filhos e muitas vezes é difícil encontrar o melhor jeito de lidar com isso.\***

1. Para algumas mães a hora da refeição é um momento difícil porque a criança se recusa a comer.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
2. Outra situação comum entre as crianças é não querer vestir a roupa.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
3. Às vezes já está na hora de sair de casa para algum compromisso (ex.: casa de familiares, creche) e a criança não quer ir.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
4. Uma outra situação difícil é quando a criança se recusa a dormir, quando já está na hora.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma

coisa?

5. Para algumas mães a hora do banho é um momento difícil porque a criança muitas vezes não quer tomar banho.

a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?

(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?

(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?

6. Outro comportamento possível das crianças é ignorar o *não* que recebem da mãe. Por exemplo, a mãe pede para a criança não mexer em algum lugar, e ela continua.

a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?

(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?

(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?

7. Além destas situações que mencionei, tem mais alguma que tu lembras e que tu achas difícil de lidar com o (nome da criança). (Explorar conforme as questões anteriores. Caso seja necessário, utilize como exemplo dar remédio ou escovar os dentes).

**IV. Agora, eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre as outras pessoas que ajudam a cuidar do bebê. (Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Nestes últimos seis meses, quantas pessoas diferentes ajudaram a cuidar do bebê? Essas pessoas mudaram ao longo do tempo? (não considerar as educadoras da creche)

(*Se os genitores modificaram o tipo de cuidado alternativo – ex.: trocaram/contrataram uma babá, colocaram o bebê na creche, passaram a deixar com a avó*)

a) Por que vocês optaram por esta mudança?

b) O que levaram em conta para isto (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou cognitivo, etc.)?

c) Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do/a (nome) quando ele passou a ser cuidado por esta(s) pessoa (s)?

d) Mudou alguma coisa na tua relação com o bebê depois que ele passou a receber este tipo de cuidado?

2. Como tu avalias o cuidado que esta pessoa vem oferecendo ao teu bebê?

3. Como tu te sentes com esta (s) pessoa (s) cuidando do bebê? O que te agrada? O que te incomoda?

4. Tu achas que este tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?

5. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a este tipo de cuidado?

(*Se a criança vai para a creche*)

**V. Por fim, vamos conversar sobre como tu avalias a creche do bebê: (Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Tu achas que este tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?

2. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a este tipo de cuidado?

3. Como tu avalias a creche que o bebê frequenta?

4. Poderias citar algumas características da creche que contribuem para a tua avaliação?

5. O que tu mais gostas?

6. O que te desagrada? Tu achas que algo poderia ser diferente?

7. Como tu avalias a comunicação que estabelece com as educadoras?

8. Sobre o que vocês costumam conversar?

9. Os genitores são convidados a participar de atividades na creche? Quais?

10. De quais tu participas? Como tu te sentes com a tua participação na creche?

**VI. Tu gostarias de acrescentar algo com relação ao desenvolvimento do bebê, além do que conversamos?**

<sup>1</sup> Entrevista construída por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

\* Bloco III foi adaptado da *Entrevista de Práticas Educativas*, desenvolvida por Piccinini e Alvarenga (2000).

## APPENDIX F. Interview about the Experience of Fatherhood – 12<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE PATERNIDADE – 12º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011d)<sup>1</sup>

#### I. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o teu dia-a-dia com o bebê.

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como está o desenvolvimento/crescimento do teu bebê?
2. O que o bebê está fazendo que mais te chama atenção?
3. Como tu descreverias o jeito do teu bebê? Como é lidar com ele?
4. Era como tu imaginavas? (*se não era*) O que está diferente?
5. Tu sentes que consegues entender o que o (*bebê*) expressa?
6. De maneira geral, que tarefas tu consideras importantes no dia-a-dia com um bebê?
7. Pensando agora na rotina do teu filho(a), poderias descrever como é a rotina e me contar com quem ele fica e o que ele faz durante o período da manhã, da tarde e da noite?

*Questões a serem exploradas:*

- a) *Qual a hora que o bebê acorda e vai dormir?*
  - b) *Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê neste período? (se for babá, caracterizar idade, experiência com bebês)*
  - c) *Quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê?*
  - d) *Quais as atividades que essas pessoas fazem com o bebê (explorar cada atividade mencionada com detalhes)?*
  - e) *Como o bebê reage quando está com essas pessoas?*
  - f) *Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do bebê desde que passou a ficar com essa pessoa?*
  - g) *Como tu te sentes com essas pessoas cuidando do bebê? O que te agrada e o que te incomoda?*
8. A rotina do bebê muda no final de semana? Se muda, poderias me contar como é a rotina dele neste período? (*Explorar mesmos tópicos da questão anterior*)
  9. Que tarefas/atividades tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê? Como tu te sentes? (*explorar o tempo de cada tarefa e a frequência em que é responsável pela tarefa*)
  10. Qual é a disponibilidade que tu tens para assumir as tarefas/atividades com o teu filho?
  11. Dentre esses momentos que tu tens disponíveis para teu filho, em quais deles tu assumes a responsabilidade pelo cuidado dele?
  12. Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
  13. Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?
  14. O que tu achas que mais agrada ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
  15. E o que mais desagrada ao teu bebê quando ele está contigo? Por quê?
  16. Tu costumava brincar com o bebê? Com que frequência? Do que vocês brincam? Como ele reage a essas brincadeiras? Como tu te sentes?
  17. Como tu tens lidado com a tua rotina pessoal e a rotina como pai?

#### II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser pai.

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como tu estás te sentindo como pai neste momento?
2. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
3. Como tu te descreverias como pai neste momento?
4. Neste momento, como tu achas que a tua companheira está sendo como mãe?
5. Em geral, como tu estás vendo o relacionamento do casal neste momento?

#### III. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste se outras pessoas ajudam a cuidar do bebê.

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Nesses últimos seis meses, quantas pessoas diferentes ajudaram a cuidar do bebê? Essas pessoas mudaram ao longo do tempo? (ex.: trocou de babá, de educadora)
- (Se os genitores modificaram o tipo de cuidado alternativo – ex.: contrataram uma babá, colocaram o bebê na creche, passaram a deixar com a avó)*
- a) Por que vocês escolheram essa forma de cuidado para o/a (nome)?
  - b) O que levaram em conta para isso (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou

cognitivo, etc.)?

c) Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do/a (nome) quando ele passou a ser cuidado por essa(s) pessoa(s)?

2. Tu achas que esse tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?
3. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a esse tipo de cuidado?
4. Mudou alguma coisa na tua relação com o bebê depois que ele passou a receber esse tipo de cuidado?

*(Se a criança vai para a creche)*

**IV. Agora, vamos conversar sobre como que está sendo a relação com a creche:**

1. Como está a tua rotina com o bebê na creche? (explorar: buscar, levar, festas e reuniões)
2. Como tu avalias a tua participação na creche?
3. De que atividades tu tens participado?
4. Como tu avalias a creche que o bebê frequenta? Poderias citar algumas características da creche que contribuem para a tua avaliação?
5. O que tu mais gostas?
6. O que te desagrada? Tu achas que algo poderia ser diferente?
7. Quem é a pessoa que a creche se dirige em primeiro lugar?
8. Como tu avalias a comunicação que estabelece com as educadoras?
9. Sobre o que vocês costumam conversar?
10. *(Se o pai não tem contato direto com a creche)* Como tu tens acesso ao que o teu filho tem feito durante o período que passa na creche?
11. Qual é a tua disponibilidade para possíveis contatos que a creche solicita?

**V. Para finalizar, gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como tu te sentes como pai de um bebê que vai para a creche?**

1. O que tu achas que a creche tem acrescentado na vida do teu filho?
2. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses primeiros meses, o que tu atribuis à creche?
3. Como que tu imaginas que seria se o teu bebê não frequentasse a creche?
4. Mudou alguma coisa na tua relação com o bebê depois que ele entrou na creche?
5. *(Caso não tenha sido dito na rotina)* Quando o bebê está em casa, após o período de creche, quem é o principal responsável pelo cuidado do bebê?
6. Como tu te sentes com a interferência da creche na criação do teu bebê?

**VI. Tu gostarias de acrescentar alguma coisa a tudo isso que a gente conversou?**

<sup>1</sup> Entrevista construída com base nas entrevistas: GIDEP/NUDIF (2003a, 2003b, 2006) por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins, Marília Gabriel e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.



## APPENDIX G. Interview about the Experience of Motherhood – 18<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE MATERNIDADE – 18º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011e)<sup>1</sup>

**I. Antes de começarmos a conversar sobre a tua experiência atual com o (a) \_\_\_\_\_ (nome do filho), eu gostaria de te perguntar se, em algum momento, desde a gestação até agora, tu vivenciaste algum estresse ou outras dificuldades emocionais que te levaram a buscar ajuda, seja de amigos, parentes, profissionais ou outros. (Se sim, pedir para a mãe falar um pouco mais sobre...)**

1. Quem tu procuraste para te ajudar?
2. O que te motivou a procurar ajuda? (ex.: ansiedade, depressão, problemas conjugais, etc.)
3. Como tu ficaste ao receber essa ajuda? Algo mudou? O que?
4. Tu continuas recebendo essa ajuda?

(Se não)

- a) O que te levou a interrompê-la?

**II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser mãe nesse momento.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como tu estás te sentindo como mãe nesse momento?
2. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
3. Como tu te descreverias como mãe?
4. Pensando agora nas tarefas que tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê:
  - a) *Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
  - b) *Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
5. Nesse momento, como tu achas que o teu companheiro está sendo como pai?
6. Como está o relacionamento com o teu companheiro desde a última vez que conversamos?

**III. Eu gostaria de conversar contigo sobre algumas situações que acontecem no teu dia-a-dia com o (nome da criança), em que ele faz coisas que te incomodam e que tu achas difícil de lidar. Todas as mães passam por esse tipo de situação com os filhos e muitas vezes é difícil encontrar o melhor jeito de lidar com isso.**

1. Para algumas mães, a hora da refeição é um momento difícil porque a criança se recusa a comer.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
2. Outra situação comum entre as crianças é não querer vestir a roupa.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
3. Às vezes já está na hora de sair de casa para algum compromisso (ex.: creche, casa de familiares) e a criança não quer ir.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
4. Uma outra situação difícil é quando a criança se recusa a dormir, quando já está na hora.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
5. Para algumas mães a hora do banho é um momento difícil porque a criança muitas vezes não quer tomar banho.

- a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?

6. Outro comportamento possível das crianças é ignorar o *não* que recebem da mãe. Por exemplo, a mãe pede para a criança não mexer em algum lugar, e ela continua.

- a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
*(Se já aconteceu:)* O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
*(Se não aconteceu:)* O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?

7. Além dessas situações que mencionei, tem mais alguma que tu lembras e que tu achas difícil de lidar com o (nome da criança). (Explorar conforme as questões anteriores)

#### **IV. Agora, eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre as outras pessoas que ajudam a cuidar do bebê.**

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Nesses últimos seis meses, quantas pessoas diferentes ajudaram a cuidar do bebê? Essas pessoas mudaram ao longo do tempo? (não considerar as educadoras da creche)

*(Se os genitores modificaram o tipo de cuidado alternativo – ex.: contrataram uma babá, colocaram o bebê na creche, passaram a deixar com a avó)*

- a) Porque vocês escolheram essa forma de cuidado para o/a (nome)?  
 b) O que levaram em conta para isso (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou cognitivo, etc.)?  
 c) Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do/a (nome) quando ele passou a ser cuidado por essa(s) pessoa (s)?  
 d) Mudou alguma coisa na tua relação com o bebê depois que ele passou a receber esse tipo de cuidado?

2. Como tu avalias o cuidado que essa pessoa vem oferecendo ao teu bebê?

3. Tu achas que esse tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?

4. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a esse tipo de cuidado?

*(Se a criança vai para a creche)*

#### **V. Por fim, vamos conversar sobre como tu avalias a creche do bebê: (Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Tu achas que esse tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?

2. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a esse tipo de cuidado?

3. Como tu avalias a creche que o bebê frequenta?

4. Tu poderias citar algumas características da creche que contribuem para a tua avaliação?

5. O que tu mais gostas?

6. O que te desagrada? Tu achas que algo poderia ser diferente?

7. Como tu avalias a comunicação que estabeleces com as educadoras?

8. Sobre o que vocês costumam conversar?

9. Os genitores são convidados a participar de atividades na creche? Quais?

10. De quais tu participas? Como tu te sentes com tua participação na creche?

<sup>1</sup> Entrevista elaborada por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

Bloco I adaptado de Seligman (1995).

Bloco III adaptado da *Entrevista de Práticas Educativas*, desenvolvida por Piccinini e Alvarenga (2000).

## APPENDIX H. Interview about the Experience of Fatherhood – 18<sup>th</sup> Month

### ENTREVISTA SOBRE A EXPERIÊNCIA DE PATERNIDADE – 18º MÊS (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011f)<sup>1</sup>

#### I. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste sobre o teu dia-a-dia com o bebê.

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. De maneira geral, que tarefas tu consideras importantes no dia-a-dia com um bebê?
2. Como está o desenvolvimento/crescimento do teu bebê?
3. Como tu descreverias o jeito do teu bebê? Como é lidar com ele?
4. Pensando agora na rotina do teu filho(a), vou te fazer algumas perguntas sobre o que ele faz e com quem ele fica ao longo de um dia típico da semana.

*a) Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê durante a manhã (até meio-dia) e quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê? O que essas pessoas costumam fazer com o bebê nesse período?*

Cuidador	Tempo com o bebê (horas)	Atividades
<input type="checkbox"/> mãe		
<input type="checkbox"/> pai		
<input type="checkbox"/> irmão(s)		
<input type="checkbox"/> parentes		
<input type="checkbox"/> outros (não incluir creche)		

*b) Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê durante a tarde (até as 18 horas) e quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê? O que essas pessoas costumam fazer com o bebê nesse período?*

Cuidador	Tempo com o bebê (horas)	Atividades
<input type="checkbox"/> mãe		
<input type="checkbox"/> pai		
<input type="checkbox"/> irmão(s)		
<input type="checkbox"/> parentes		
<input type="checkbox"/> outros (não incluir creche)		

*c) Quem são as pessoas que cuidam do bebê durante a noite e quantas horas essas pessoas passam com o bebê? O que essas pessoas costumam fazer com o bebê nesse período?*

Cuidador	Tempo com o bebê (horas)	Atividades
<input type="checkbox"/> mãe		
<input type="checkbox"/> pai		
<input type="checkbox"/> irmão(s)		
<input type="checkbox"/> parentes		
<input type="checkbox"/> outros (não incluir creche)		

5. A rotina do bebê muda no final de semana? Se muda, poderias me contar como é a rotina dele neste período? *(Explorar mesmos tópicos da questão anterior)*

#### II. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste um pouco sobre como está sendo a experiência de ser pai.

*(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...*

1. Como tu estás te sentindo como pai neste momento?
2. Tu estás tendo alguma dificuldade?
3. Como tu te descreverias como pai neste momento?
4. Pensando agora nas tarefas que tu tens assumido com relação ao bebê:
  - a) *Que coisas tu mais gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
  - b) *Que coisas tu menos gostas de fazer com ele? Por quê?*
5. Neste momento, como tu achas que a tua companheira está sendo como mãe?
6. Em geral, como tu estás vendo o relacionamento do casal neste momento?

**III. Eu gostaria de conversar contigo sobre algumas situações que acontecem no teu dia-a-dia com o (nome da criança), em que ele faz coisas que te incomodam e que tu achas difícil de lidar. Todos os pais passam por esse tipo de situação com os filhos e muitas vezes é difícil encontrar o melhor jeito de lidar com isso.**

1. Para alguns pais a hora da refeição é um momento difícil porque a criança se recusa a comer.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
2. Outra situação comum entre as crianças é não querer vestir a roupa.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
3. Às vezes já está na hora de sair de casa para algum compromisso (ex.: creche, casa de familiares) e a criança não quer ir.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
4. Uma outra situação difícil é quando a criança se recusa a dormir, quando já está na hora.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
5. Para alguns pais a hora do banho é um momento difícil porque a criança muitas vezes não quer tomar banho.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
6. Outro comportamento possível das crianças é ignorar o *não* que recebem do pai. Por exemplo, o pai pede para a criança não mexer em algum lugar, e ela continua.
  - a) Tu já tiveste este problema com o (nome da criança)? Como foi?  
(*Se já aconteceu:*) O que tu fizeste? Tu tiveste que fazer mais alguma coisa?  
(*Se não aconteceu:*) O que tu farias se isso acontecesse? Tu achas que terias que fazer mais alguma coisa?
7. Além dessas situações que mencionei, tem mais alguma que tu lembras e que tu achas difícil de lidar com o (nome da criança). (Explorar conforme as questões anteriores)

**IV. Eu gostaria que tu me falaste se outras pessoas ajudam a cuidar do bebê.**

**(Caso não tenha mencionado): poderias me falar um pouco mais sobre...**

1. Nestes últimos seis meses, quantas pessoas diferentes ajudaram a cuidar do bebê? Essas pessoas mudaram ao longo do tempo? (ex.: trocou de babá, de educadora)  
(*Se os genitores modificaram o tipo de cuidado alternativo – ex.: contrataram uma babá, colocaram o bebê na creche, passaram a deixar com a avó.*)
  - a) Porque vocês escolheram esta forma de cuidado para o/a (nome)?
  - b) O que levaram em conta para isto (ex. proximidade, fator financeiro, estímulo emocional ou cognitivo, etc.)?
  - c) Tu percebeste alguma mudança no comportamento do/a (nome) quando ele passou a ser cuidado por essa(s) pessoa(s)?
2. Tu achas que este tipo de cuidado tem acrescentado algo na vida do teu filho? O que?
3. Das habilidades que o bebê adquiriu nesses últimos seis meses, tu atribuis alguma delas a este tipo de cuidado?
4. Mudou alguma coisa na tua relação com o bebê depois que ele passou a receber este tipo de cuidado?

*(Se a criança vai para a creche)*

**V. Agora, vamos conversar sobre como está sendo a relação com a creche:**

1. Como está a tua rotina com o bebê na creche? (explorar: buscar, levar, festas e reuniões)
2. Como tu avalias a tua participação na creche?
3. De que atividades tu tens participado?
4. Como tu avalias a creche que o bebê frequenta? Tu poderias citar algumas características da creche que contribuem para a tua avaliação?
5. O que tu mais gostas?
6. O que te desagrada? Tu achas que algo poderia ser diferente?
7. Quem é a pessoa que a creche se dirige em primeiro lugar?
8. Como tu avalias a comunicação que estabelece com as educadoras?
9. Sobre o que vocês costumam conversar?
10. *(Se o pai não tem contato direto com a creche)* Como tu tens acesso ao que o teu filho tem feito durante o período que passa na creche?
11. Qual é a tua disponibilidade para possíveis contatos que a creche solicita?

**VI. Tu gostarias de acrescentar alguma coisa a tudo isso que a gente conversou?**

<sup>1</sup> Entrevista elaborada com base nas entrevistas: GIDEP/NUDIF (2003a, 2003b, 2006) por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins, Marília Gabriel e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

## APPENDIX I. Family Demographic Information Form

### FICHA DE DADOS DEMOGRÁFICOS DA FAMÍLIA (NUDIF/CRESCI, 2011g)<sup>1</sup>

#### I. Eu gostaria de algumas informações sobre ti e o teu companheiro:

##### Mãe do bebê (Cód. identificação):.....

- Idade:..... Escolaridade (anos concluídos): .....
- Religião:..... Praticante: ( ) sim ( ) às vezes ( ) não
- Local de nascimento? .....
- Onde viveu a maior parte da vida: ( ) capital ( ) cidade do interior ( ) Zona rural (vila, sítio)
- Município:.....
- Estado Civil: ( ) casada; ( ) solteira; ( ) separada; ( ) viúva; ( ) com companheiro
- Número de filhos teus: ..... Enteados: .....
- Filhos teus com atual companheiro (incluir sexo – M ou F e idade):  
Vive junto: .....; Não vive junto: .....
- Filhos teus com outro companheiro (incluir sexo – M ou F e idade):  
Vive junto: .....; Não vive junto: .....
- Moras com o pai do bebê? sim ( ) não ( ) Se sim: Desde quando? .....
- Quem mais mora na casa? (incluir parentesco e idade)

- Tu trabalhas fora? ( ) sim ( ) não ( ) desempregada
- O que tu fazes (ias)?..... Horas/dia: ..... Dias/semana: .....
- Não trabalha há ..... meses
- Salário: .....
- Qual a renda familiar mensal (aprox.)? .....
- Moradia: própria ( ) alugada ( ) outro ( ) .....

##### Companheiro (Cód. identificação):.....

- Idade:..... Escolaridade (anos concluídos): .....
- Religião:..... Praticante: ( ) sim ( ) às vezes ( ) não
- Local de nascimento? .....
- Onde viveu a maior parte da vida: ( ) capital ( ) cidade do interior ( ) Zona rural (vila, sítio)
- Município:.....
- Filhos do companheiro com outra mulher (incluir sexo – M ou F e idade):  
Vive junto: .....; Não vive junto: .....
- Trabalha fora? ( ) sim ( ) não ( ) desempregado
- O que faz (ia)?..... Horas/dia: ..... Dias/semana: .....
- Não trabalha há ..... meses
- Salário:.....

##### Bebê

- Idade gestacional (em semanas):.....
- Peso ao nascer:.....

##### Informações do pai do bebê (se ele não for o companheiro e for presente)

- Idade:..... Escolaridade (anos concluídos): .....
- Local de nascimento? .....
- Onde viveu a maior parte da vida: ( ) capital ( ) cidade do interior ( ) Zona rural (vila, sítio)
- Município:.....
- Possui outros filhos? (incluir sexo – M ou F e idade):.....
- Trabalha fora? ( ) sim ( ) não ( ) desempregado
- O que faz (ia)?..... Horas/dia: ..... Dias/semana: .....
- Não trabalha há ..... meses

**II. Eu gostaria agora, de algumas informações sobre a tua moradia.<sup>2</sup>**

- Possui Televisores (em cores)? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Rádio (qualquer um, menos de automóvel)? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Banheiro (definidos pela existência de vaso sanitário e privativos do domicílio)? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Automóvel (carro ou moto) (não táxi, vans ou pick-ups usados para atividades profissionais)? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Empregada doméstica (apenas mensalistas, que trabalham pelo menos 5 dias por semana)? Sim ( ) Quantas? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Máquina de Lavar (automáticas e/ou semi-automáticas)? Sim ( ) Quantas? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Videocassete e/ou DVD (qualquer tipo)? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Geladeira? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )
- Possui Freezer? Sim ( ) Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_ Não ( )

**Para fins de pontuação:**

Havendo geladeira no domicílio, independentemente da quantidade, serão atribuídos os pontos (4) correspondentes a possuir geladeira; Se a geladeira tiver um freezer incorporado – 2ª porta – ou houver no domicílio um freezer independente serão atribuídos os pontos (2) correspondentes ao freezer. As possibilidades são:

Não possui geladeira nem freezer	0 pt
Possui geladeira simples (não duplex) e não possui freezer	4 pts
Possui geladeira de duas portas e não possui freezer	6 pts
Possui geladeira de duas portas e freezer	6 pts
Possui freezer mas não geladeira (caso raro mas aceitável)	

Total de Pontos: \_\_\_\_\_ Classe: \_\_\_\_\_

**Para uso do pesquisador:**

Creche: \_\_\_\_\_

Local de aplicação: \_\_\_\_\_

Data da Coleta: \_\_\_\_\_

Responsável: \_\_\_\_\_

<sup>1</sup> Adaptada de NUDIF (2009) por Scheila Becker, Gabriela Martins e Cesar Augusto Piccinini.

<sup>2</sup> Item derivado do Critério de Classificação Econômica Brasil, da ABEP (2009).