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Ziarat Hossain<sup>a</sup>, Beverly Chew<sup>a</sup>, Sheryl Swilling<sup>b</sup>, Sally Brown<sup>b</sup>, Marcia Michaelis<sup>b</sup> & Sheila Philips<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Fort Lewis College

<sup>b</sup> Adams State College

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## Fathers' Participation in Childcare Within Navajo Indian Families

ZIARAT HOSSAIN<sup>1</sup>, BEVERLY CHEW<sup>1</sup>, SHERYL SWILLING<sup>2</sup>,  
SALLY BROWN<sup>2</sup>, MARCIA MICHAELIS<sup>2</sup> and SHEILA PHILIPS<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Fort Lewis College

<sup>2</sup>Adams State College

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Fathers' and mothers' reports of their participation in early caregiving tasks and the amount of social support they received regarding their involvement with their infants were examined for 28 two-parent Navajo Indian families. Mothers were significantly more involved in basic caregiving activities than fathers. Fathers invested about sixty percent as much time as mothers did in direct caregiving tasks. Mothers and fathers did not differ on the degree to which they reported receiving social supports for childcare tasks. Navajo parents received significantly more extrafamilial and/or institutional sources of support than family support for early caregiving activities. Navajo fathers were highly involved with their young children. The results are discussed in relation to role differences in early caregiving within Navajo families.

**Key words:** Navajo Indian, father, caregiving

Only recently child and family scholars have started examining parent-child interactions across ethnic groups to understand cultural variations in fathers' role in the family (Bozett & Hanson, 1991; Roopnarine & Carter, 1992; Parke, 1996). However, information on Navajo Indian fathers' role in the family is virtually non-existent. In this paper, we focus on the degree to which fathers are involved in early caregiving tasks, and amount of social support parents receive for primary childrearing activities within two-parent Navajo families.

Family scholars argue that it is often difficult to compare findings from various studies on paternal involvement because of the diversity of the cultures (Lamb, 1987; Marinade, 1991). When studies have been conducted with ethnic minority families, the results have often been compared to the white middle class studies, giving the ethnic minority group a "deviant" position (Demos, 1990). A more adaptive view — investigating fathers within their own cultural contexts, will help us appreciate how cultural attributes shape family functioning styles and fathers' involvement in various family activities. The human ecology model (Bronfenbrenner, 1986) addresses how the complex network of interpersonal relations within a

family's ecology influences human development. This model argues that we need to examine parent-child interactions within the context of various environmental factors (e.g., family, cultural values, historical events and the like) that are ecologically valid for the group under study. Using the human ecology model as a guide, we have examined paternal investment in early caregiving tasks within Navajo Indian culture.

## FATHER'S INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREARING: SELECTED CROSS-CULTURAL FINDINGS

Contemporary fathers occupy various roles in the family across different cultures. A father is a breadwinner, a sex-role model, a moral guide, and an emotional supporter of both children and mothers. The father role has shifted primarily from an economic provider toward a more balanced relationship, including playing, emotional bonding, and childrearing. Fathers' investment in childcare varies tremendously across families depending on cultural values (Lamb, 1997). Findings from Aka Pygmy (Hewlett, 1992), Israeli (Ninio & Rinott, 1988), Swedish (Hwang, 1987), Irish (Nugent, 1987), Jamaican (Roopnarine, Brown, Snell-White, Riegraf, Crossley, Hossain & Webb, 1995), and African-American and Hispanic-American (Hossain, Field, Pickens, Malphurs & Del Valle, 1997) families show that fathers in all these cultures are involved at least somewhat with their babies.

Anthropologist Hewlett (1992) observes that Aka fathers in Central Africa are equally intimate and involved as mothers with their babies. Aka fathers spend an hour per day holding their infants and clean and feed them when needed. Jamaican fathers in common-law unions spend about half an hour to an hour each day in various primary caregiving activities (Roopnarine *et al.*, 1995). Fathers' involvement in Jamaican families is comparable to fathers' involvement in other cultural groups in Europe and North America. African-American fathers spent about 40% as much time as their spouses did in direct caregiving activities (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1994). Fathers spent relatively more time playing with than cleaning or feeding the child, while mothers tended to invest more or less an equal amount of time in these activities. Fathers in two-parent Hispanic-American families spent about 37% as much time as mothers did in primary caregiving for their preschool-age children (Ahmeduzzaman & Roopnarine, 1992). Hispanic-American fathers are reported as warm, nurturing, and sensitive with their children (Mirande, 1991). Chippewa Indian fathers estimated that they spent 31% of the time as primary caregivers (Radin, Williams & Coggins, 1993). Chippewa fathers' involvement was assessed as the percentage of time they were their children's primary caregivers and such an involvement indicates "the time during which the child was awake and at home that the father had to be available to care for the child" (Radin *et al.*, 1993, p.379). The percentage of time Chippewa fathers spent as primary caregivers is thus similar to the findings from a white middle-class sample (also see Radin, 1982). Pleck (1997) summarizes findings from various studies from the 1980s and 1990s for fathers' proportional engage-

ment in childcare and reports that across cultures, fathers' investment is about 44% that of mothers. This level of fathers' involvement with infants shows about a 10% increase from the 1970s and early 1980s (Pleck, 1997).

Focusing on childrearing practices within Navajo families, anthropological accounts suggest that traditional Navajo women often made family financial decisions and cared for children in the family, while maternal uncles taught and disciplined the children (Blanchard, 1975; Hamamsy, 1957). Within the traditional Navajo value structure, mothers remain the primary caregivers and are nurturing, dependable, and protective of their infants (Hauswald, 1984; Witherspoon, 1975). Within the matrilineal and matrilineal family system, maternal grandmothers and aunts are highly involved with infants. Such a family system may not encourage fathers to heavily invest in children since the father does not control family assets and his children will leave the family when they marry (Harris, 1971; Howard, 1993). However, recent research indicates that the father does play an important role in his children's life by disciplining, teaching, playing with, and providing economically for his children (Hauswald, 1984). The father provides a strong role model especially for his male children and the availability and involvement of other adult family members in childcare suggests that Navajo childrearing takes place within an extended family network system.

### *Navajo Indian Families*

Historical accounts indicate that present day Navajos, an Athabascan group associated with the Apache and some other Indian groups in Alaska and Canada, settled in the southwest during 1100 to 1200 A.D. (Howard, 1993). Researchers speculate that the precontact (i.e., before European contact) population size in the southwest was about 114,000, and this population would include Navajo, Apache, Pueblo and other Indian groups (Ubelaker, 1976). This estimate, however, does not provide any specific information on the numbers of Navajos.

Recent demographic data indicate that about 12% of all American Indian populations are Navajos (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996). Most Navajos live within the reservations located in the Four Corners Area (southwest Colorado, northwest New Mexico, southwest Utah, and northeast Arizona), while some reside near the reservations as well as other locations (French, 1997). With a current fertility rate of about two percent, Navajos are one of the fastest growing populations in the United States. Currently, about 25% of Navajo population is below the age of 14, median family income is less than \$14,000, and only 4.5% of Navajos have a college degree. The 1996 Census data report that Navajos have the lowest level of income among all the American Indian groups in the United States.

Although some families show a variety of living patterns such as patrilocal and neolocal (Chisholm, 1983; Lamphere, 1977), traditional Navajo society is matrilineal, and matrilineal family groups are organized within an extended family structure (Aberle, 1961; Howard, 1993). Each Navajo matrilineal group consists of several nuclear families and each nuclear family lives in a separate hogan (Hamamsy, 1957). Members of the extended family include an older woman and her husband, her

unmarried children and married daughters, and the married daughters' husbands and children. Within the matrilineal system, women are the owners of the land and sheep, and the transfer of property follows the female line (Blanchard, 1975). Women are able to elevate their economic roles in the family as they engage in economic activities such as making clothing and baskets, weaving, and pottery. Although the father is the head of the household, the mother and her children form the core of the family (Hamamsy, 1957). He stays with his wife's family and maintains contacts with his family of origin and the outside world. Navajos still successfully preserve and practice their traditional cultural values and speak their own language (French, 1997).

Although all members of the family are involved in childrearing (Hamamsy, 1957), the grandmother plays a particularly important role within the Navajo culture (Hauswald, 1984; John, 1988). The grandmother performs many of childrearing tasks and remains aware whether or not the child is reared properly (Guillemin, 1975; John, 1988). These anthropological and sociological reports clearly indicate that the mother uses the extended family network support to raise her children, but we lack information on the level of Navajo fathers' involvement in the rearing of the child. The present research is designed to explore this latter issue.

Within the Navajo culture, the types of family and their functional styles can be understood from their kinship network patterns. Navajos highly value blood and clan relationships between individuals (Blanchard & Unser, 1977; Dyk, 1967; John, 1988). Witherspoon (1975) explains that interdependence provides basic support for kinship network and economic activities within Navajo communities. Hauswald (1984) proposed three major network patterns influencing a Navajo individual's interaction within the family and society. A traditional Navajo follows his primary cultural values, a bicultural Navajo uses his primary as well as mainstream cultural values, and a non-traditional Navajo either rejects his primary values or becomes socially isolated without any support network. A non-traditional or acculturated Navajo uses English as the primary language and his/her family activities are similar to White norms. In addition, researchers report that some Navajos work in cities and visit relatives on reservations (Thomason, 1993). Samples for the current study come from either bicultural or non-traditional Navajo families.

Over the last several hundred years, social, political, and economic changes have affected traditional life styles of males and females in Navajo families. Factors such as mainstream education, wage incomes, missionary activities, federal policies on individual land holding and the like have diminished the authority of traditional Navajo matrilocality. Consequently, Navajo men, as anthropologist Blanchard (1975) suggests, gained more economic power while women lost much of their power and economic status in the family. New economic power and responsibilities sometimes force the father to take employment away from the home. This may leave fathers with fewer opportunities for caregiving tasks. Considering such changes in male-female roles, it would be interesting to see the extent to which Navajo Indian men participate in their roles as primary caregivers of young children.

## METHODS

### *Subjects*

The participants in this study consisted of 28 two-parent Navajo families residing in the Four Corners area of the southwest. Families were identified and selected through schools, cultural and community organizations, personal contacts, and by word of mouth. Mothers and fathers were contacted in person and about 80 percent of the contacted families agreed to participate. The families included in the present sample were bicultural and were living outside of reservations at the time of survey. Families were chosen if they had an infant under 24 months of age.

Sixteen couples were married and 12 couples were not married but living together. The mean age of fathers and mothers was 28.7 ( $SD = 6.0$ ) and 26.0 ( $SD = 5.0$ ) years, respectively. The mean lengths of couples' relationships was 6.2 years ( $SD = 4.5$ ). The mean age of infants was about 10 months ( $SD = 6.9$ ). The average number of children per family was 2.6 ( $SD = 1.2$ ). Nineteen of the infants were male, and nine were female. The birth order of infants was as follows: 7 first-born, 6 second-born, and 15 third (or last)-borns. All participants were biological parents of their babies.

Seventeen mothers and 19 fathers had obtained a high school diploma. Eight mothers and 5 fathers had obtained technical training beyond high school. One mother and one father had obtained a bachelor's degree. Two mothers and three fathers did not graduate from high school. Although mothers and fathers had similar educational backgrounds, most fathers earned between \$10,000 and \$19,999, whereas mothers earned less than \$10,000 per year. The income difference between mothers and fathers is due to the fact that 14 of the 28 mothers were not employed at the time of the survey. Of the remaining mothers, seven were employed in technical positions such as an optician's technician, two were professionals, four were restaurant workers, and one was an unskilled worker. Among fathers, the highest number (11) was employed in technical positions such as welders and mechanics. Of the remaining fathers, nine were unskilled workers, four were restaurant workers, and one was a professional. Three fathers were seeking employment at the time of survey. The majority of the employed fathers worked full-time, whereas the majority of mothers who worked outside of the home worked part-time (less than 30 hours per week).

### *Procedures and Measures*

Mothers and fathers separately and independently filled out the following questionnaires: (i) a *Sociodemographic Questionnaire*, (ii) a *Parental Involvement in Childcare Scale* (PICS); and (iii) an *Index of Social Support Scale* (ISS).

#### **Sociodemographic Questionnaire**

The Sociodemographic questionnaire contains 10 items concerning age, education, occupation, income, length of time couples were in the current relationship, living

and/or marital status, and the child's age, gender, birth order, and the total number of children in the family.

#### Parental Involvement in Childcare Scale (PICS)

The Parental Involvement in Childcare Scale assessed the degree to which mothers and fathers are directly involved in several areas of basic child care tasks and was based on work by Lamb (1987), Nugent (1987), and Pleck (1985). The first section of the PICS scale is comprised of 14 Likert-type scale items designed to assess the degree to which mothers and fathers participate in primary caregiving activities. Each item was rated from 1 indicating lowest level of involvement to 4 indicating highest level of involvement. All 14 items were grouped into five involvement variables: *bedtime routine* (i.e., get the baby up in the morning, put the baby to bed), *physical care* (i.e., change the baby's diaper, wash the baby, dress the baby), *feeding*, *soothing* (soothe the baby if she cries at night or during the day, talk with the baby), and *playing* with the infant. The second section of the scale consists of estimates of hours each parent spend per day in *cleaning*, *feeding*, and *playing* with their infants. Many researchers (Pleck, 1985; Roopnarine *et al.*, 1995) have used this approach to gain an understanding of fathers' and mothers' involvement in direct caregiving tasks. Internal consistency for the scale was 0.96 (Spearman-Brown) (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993).

#### Index of Social Support (ISS)

The Index of Social Support scale (Trivette & Dunst, 1988) is a Likert scale containing 15 items grouped into three major sources of support: *familial*, including extended family members, *extrafamilial* (e.g., friends, neighbors, church members, co-workers), and *institutional* (e.g., baby-sitter, daycare/school, health professionals) source of assistance. This scale has been used with parents from other ethnic minority groups in the United States and the reliability coefficient (Spearman-Brown) for all three sources of support was as follows: family = 0.67; extrafamilial = 0.80; and institutional = 0.63 (Roopnarine & Ahmeduzzaman, 1993).

## RESULTS

### *Gender Effects*

A series of repeated measures of analysis of variance on the childcare and social support data revealed no significant gender-of-infant effects on any of the caregiving and support measures. Therefore, we disregarded gender-of infant factor in all our subsequent analyses.

### *Involvement in Caregiving Activities*

The average ratings for mothers' and fathers' relative assessments of their degree of involvement in the five different caregiving activities are listed in Table 1. In order to assess the level of parental involvement in caregiving, we first calculated the mean

**Table 1** Mean Ratings (1 to 5) for Mothers' and Fathers' Involvement in Caregiving Activities in Navajo Indian Families

<i>Measures</i>	<i>Mothers</i>		<i>Fathers</i>		<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Bedtime routine for the baby	3.5	0.7	2.5	0.9	.000
Physical care for the baby	3.6	0.4	2.6	0.8	.000
Feeding the baby	3.8	0.4	2.6	1.1	.000
Playing with the baby	3.6	0.6	3.1	0.9	.006
Soothing the baby	3.5	0.4	2.8	0.7	.001

Note: Gender-of-parent effect:  $F(1,54) 30.21, p < .001, \text{Wilks' Lambda} = .81$

ratings for each of the five categories of caregiving tasks for each subject. A repeated measure analysis of variance (using Wilk's Lambda criterion) on the mean ratings of the five areas of caregiving tasks revealed a significant gender-of-parent difference in their involvement in primary caregiving activities,  $F(1,54) = 30.21, p < .001, \text{Wilk's Lambda} = .81$ . The univariate results show that mothers were significantly more involved in all areas of caregiving activities than fathers (see Table 1). These activities were bedtime routine,  $F(1,113) = 27.36, p < .001$ ; *physical care*,  $F(1,113) = 23.14, p < .001$ ; *feeding*,  $F(1,113) = 37.00, p < .001$ ; *soothing*,  $F(1,113) = 7.85, p = .006$ ; and *playing*,  $F(1,113) = 12.27, p = .001$ , with the infant. Paternal involvement was most prevalent in play activity. Fathers were least involved in child bedtime routines,  $F(4,216) = 7.67, p < .001$ . However, mothers' involvement was similar across various types of caregiving tasks,  $F(4,216) 1.67, p = \text{ns}$ .

### *Time Spent in Caregiving Activities*

A repeated measure analysis of variance was conducted on the amount of time mothers and fathers reported spending on three major caregiving tasks (see Table 2). Mothers and fathers differed significantly in the amount of time they invested in basic caregiving activities,  $F(1,45) = 31.54, p < .001, \text{Wilk's Lambda} = .74$ . Mothers invested significantly more time in *cleaning*,  $F(1,117) = 13.23, p < .001$ ; *feeding*,  $F(1,117) = 3.77, p = .05$ ; and *playing*,  $F(1,117) = 7.89, p = .006$ , with the infant than fathers. Mothers invested significantly more time feeding the infant than cleaning or playing, and more time playing with than cleaning the infant,  $F(2,108) = 8.88, p < .001$ . Similarly, fathers were far more likely to invest time in playing with than cleaning or feeding the baby, and they spent more time feeding than cleaning the baby,  $F(2,108) = 6.27, p = .003$ . In general, mothers spent 3.6 hours in these early caregiving tasks each day, while the fathers spent 2.2 hours per day,  $t(22) = 3.55, p = .002$ .

### *Social Support*

We first calculated the mean ratings for each of the three (i.e., familial, extrafamilial, and institutional) categories of social supports mothers and fathers received (see



**Table 2** Mothers' and Fathers' Estimates of the Number of Hours They Engaged Each Day in Basic Caregiving Activities in Navajo Indian Families

<i>Measures</i>	<i>Mothers</i>		<i>Fathers</i>		<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Cleaning the baby	3.3	2.3	1.2	1.1	.000
Feeding the baby	3.8	0.4	2.5	1.1	.000
Playing with the baby	3.6	0.5	3.0	0.8	.006

Note. Gender-of-parent effect:  $F(1,45) = 31.54$ ,  $p < .001$ , Wilks' Lambda = .74

**Table 3** Mean Ratings (1 to 4) of Mothers' and Fathers' Estimates of Social Support They Received Regarding Childrearing in Navajo Indian Families

<i>Measures</i>	<i>Mothers</i>		<i>Fathers</i>		<i>p</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Extended family support	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.1	ns
Extrafamilial support	1.4	0.6	1.5	0.5	ns
Institutional support	1.6	0.7	1.5	0.7	ns

Table 3). A repeated measure analysis of variance revealed that mothers and fathers did not differ in reporting the three sources of social supports they received for childrearing tasks,  $F(1,54) = < 1.00$ ,  $p = ns$ . However, mothers estimated that they received significantly more institutional and/or extra familial support than family support,  $F(2,108) = 65.36$ ,  $p < .001$ , and fathers' reports followed this pattern too,  $F(2,108) = 70.81$ ,  $p < .001$ .

## DISCUSSION

The primary data for the study were collected from Navajo families within their own living environment. In addition, research reports on fathers' involvement in childcare within other cultural groups have been reviewed and related to our current findings. We thought that such an inclusive discussion would help us understand the degree to which Navajo fathers participate in childcare relative to fathers in other cultural groups. Focusing on two-parent Navajo Indian families, this exploratory study examined three major research inquiries: (i) the degree to which fathers and mothers were involved with their young children; (ii) the actual amount of time they invested in their involvement, and (iii) the level of social support they received for early caregiving tasks.

Fathers' and mothers' relative involvement in childcare, and the amount of time they invested in caregiving tasks differed significantly within Navajo families. Mothers were more involved in bedtime routines, physical care, feeding, soothing, and playing with the infant than fathers. These findings, except the involvement in playing with babies, are consistent with the results from several cross-cultural studies

which have shown greater involvement of mothers than fathers in early caregiving activities (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1994; Lamb, 1987). Navajo mothers were more involved in playing with their babies than fathers. This finding is different from reports from other studies showing fathers and mothers' more equal participation in playing with their infants (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1994), and from Lamb's (1987) report that fathers were more involved in playing with infant than mothers. However, the current finding is similar to Italian families where mothers are primary players with infants (New & Benigni, 1987).

The variation in Navajo fathers' and mothers' play and other direct caregiving interactions with their babies may be due to cultural differences since Navajo families are matriarchal and matrilineal. Under traditional Navajo practices, mothers and children form the core of the household (Hamamsy, 1957), and parents place higher academic demands on girls than boys (Abraham, Christopherson, & Kuehl, 1984). Observing the cultural-ecological context of Navajo families, researchers (Chisholm, 1983) note that familiar adults visit their relatives simply to play with their relatives' infants. Navajo mothers believe that through breast-feeding, they pass on their motherly attributes and traditional values to their babies (Wright, Bauer, Clark, Morgan, & Begishe, 1993). Such cultural values and beliefs encourage mothers more than fathers to interact with their babies within Navajo families. Mothers remain the primary caregivers for their infants.

Navajo fathers estimated that they spent an average of 6.5 hours per day in cleaning, feeding, and playing activities with their young children, compared with 10.5 hours for mothers. Fathers in this sample spent about 60% of the time their wives did in early caregiving tasks. Fathers in lower to middle-income African-American families spent 40% as much time as their wives in caregiving (Hossain & Roopnarine, 1993; Roopnarine & Ahmeduzzaman, 1993). Within middle-income Euro-American families, fathers were found to invest about 33% as much time as their wives did in caregiving activities (Pleck, 1985). Chippewa Indian fathers showed a similar level of involvement in caregiving tasks (Radin *et al.*, 1993). Findings from other cross-national studies (e.g., Russell & Radin, 1983) suggest that fathers invest about 25% as much time in caregiving as mothers do. The variation between Navajo fathers' and mothers' reported time investment in childcare in this study is less than differences between mothers and fathers reported for other cultural groups. Although Navajo family practices and cultural values encourage mothers more than fathers to be involved with the baby, fathers in this (acculturated) sample showed a high level of involvement with their infants. Abraham and her associates (1984) report that parental role differentiation is significantly smaller in Navajo culture than families within Anglo-culture. If the Navajo parents' time estimates in the present study are viewed in light of what has been found for fathers in other cultural groups, Navajo fathers in this sample appear to be very involved with their young children. In other words, Navajo fathers assume a substantial share of within-family primary childcare responsibilities, and they partake in these activities by cleaning, feeding, and playing with their infants.

Although fathers in our sample were almost three times as likely to engage in play with their infants than to clean them, their involvement in feeding was nearly

that of their involvement in play activities. In general, fathers tend to spend more time playing with than feeding or cleaning the infant, and as in many other cultures, Navajo mothers remain the primary caregivers for their young children.

Navajo mothers and fathers in our sample reported that they received similar types of social support regarding childcare activities. Parents reported receiving significantly more extrafamilial and/or institutional support than family support. The extended family support network, a traditionally strong characteristic of Navajo family dynamics, did not appear to be an important source of childrearing support for this sample. The fact that parents are receiving a similar level of extrafamilial and institutional support for childcare reflects the changed contexts of their social and family interactions. Constant contacts with the mainstream value systems as well as opportunities and resources available in the community may encourage Navajo parents in this sample to seek a significant amount of institutional support for childcare. It is a practical and positive trend for contemporary Navajo families to want to avail themselves of all extrafamilial and institutional resources, such as child development books, home visitors, pediatric facilities, and clinics to help support the optimal development of their babies. The use of these resources may result in more prenatal health care for Navajo families. Using current resources does not imply losing the traditional heritage of cultural ceremonies and beliefs for childrearing tasks. Perhaps the couples in our sample may fit the "acculturated" family type as described by other researchers (Hauswald, 1984; Red Horse, Lewis, Feit & Decker, 1978; Riner, 1979; Thomason, 1993). Navajo families in our study show a tendency to move away from their tribal values and to incorporate values and supports from the mainstream social structure. In other words, families in this study do not represent a traditional cultural existence by seeking both family and extended support sources for early caregiving.

## CONCLUSIONS

Mothers were more involved and spent a greater amount of time in primary caregiving tasks than fathers within two-parent Navajo families. Fathers in the current sample were relatively more involved in childcare than were fathers in families across cultural groups. The current findings provide an important empirical database on Navajo fathers and cast doubts about traditional notions portraying uninvolved fathering within Navajo families (Harris, 1971). Current findings clearly suggest that more acculturated Navajo Indian fathers are involved with their babies. Data for this sample, however, may not be generalizable to traditional Navajos who live on the reservation, practice primary cultural values, and only speak the Navajo language. In the absence of data on American Indian fathers in general, and Navajo fathers in particular, it is difficult to assess whether the fathers in this sample are more involved in caring for infants than other Navajo or American Indian fathers. In addition, because of the limited size of the sample and high rate of maternal unemployment, we were unable to focus on the fathers' involvement in child care as a function of whether their spouses worked full-time or part-time.

Future studies may determine factors predicting fathers' involvement in caregiving, the relationship between fathers' caregiving and children's social and academic outcomes, and how "highly involved" fathers differed from "less involved" fathers in infant caregiving within Navajo families. Research can explore how maternal employment and gender-of-infant influence the nature of Navajo fathers' involvement in early caregiving tasks. In addition, future research can focus on how nuclear versus extended family styles affect fathers' involvement in infant caregiving within Navajo Indian families.

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