

Paternal Involvement within Contexts: Ecological Examination of Korean Fathers in Korea and in the U.S.[†]

Based on concepts of human ecology, this study explored how diverse systems- cultural setting, work context and maternal perception- shape paternal involvement in child care. For this purpose, I compared Korean fathers (n=93) and Korean sojourner fathers in the United States (n=129). Hypothesized structural equation model explaining direct and indirect relationships among variables was developed. The results showed that cultural context had no direct relationship with paternal involvement. Cultural context showed indirect influence on paternal involvement through fathers' work context. Maternal perception, which had significant relationship with paternal involvement, was not explained by cultural context. However, it was significantly influenced by work context.

Individuals construct and reconstruct their family roles and relationships as their social, historical and cultural contexts change (Settersten, 1999). Among many theories that explain contextual influences on individual behaviors, human ecology focuses on interactions among individual family members and diverse layers of contexts (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993; White & Klein, 2002). According to this theory, individuals develop their roles and relationships by

exchanging their influences with their diverse environments. Bronfenbrenner (1989) divided environment into several segments: immediate surroundings (e.g., intimate family, school, work) that people confront in a daily base (microsystem), external settings that do not include the person (e.g. extended family, spouse's work) (exosystem), abstract cultural constructions (e.g., law, cultural values) (macrosystem), and interrelations between two or more settings (mesosystem).

The design of the study was guided by theories of human ecology. It explores how family roles are developed while interacting with different contexts. Among many family roles, I focus on paternal involvement in child care. Fatherhood is an adaptive process that actively reflects socio-cultural and historical changes (Marsiglio, 1995; Roggman *et al.*, 2002). Studies of paternal involvement in child care (Lamb *et al.*, 1987; McBride & Mills, 1993; Palkovitz, 1997; Wall & Arnold, 2007) show inconsistency between men's ideal roles and their actual performance. Even among groups of men who cite fatherhood as their highest priority, there are considerable variations in their perceptions. Thus, to develop a more accurate concept of paternal involvement, it is important to identify aspects other than direct engagement.

For example, Lamb and his colleagues (1987) defined paternal involvement in terms of engagement, accessibility, and responsibility. Engagement involves fathers' one-on-one interaction with their children. In the accessibility category, fathers may or may not be directly engaged in interactions, but still

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be physically available. In the responsibility category, fathers assume responsibility for welfare and care of children. Similarly, Radin (1994) attempted to examine paternal involvement based on five categories: direct engagement, socialization, decision making, accessibility, and responsibility.

Fathering could be understood differently depending on the facets considered. Although paternal involvement has increased, fathers' participation is mostly focused on direct engagement or accessibility. Where responsibility for child's welfare and decision making is concerned, paternal involvement has not considerably increased (Kwon & Roy, 2007; Lamb, 2000). Thus, in order to understand fathers' involvement more accurately, both direct interaction between fathers and children and diverse aspects of fathering are considered in this study.

The first context to be considered in this study is the fathers' cultural environment. Culture provides a framework for family roles and relationships (Bengtson & Allen, 1993). Comparative studies of fatherhood have found that cultural values shape fatherhood in a variety of ways. In Japan, for instance, fathers spend significantly less time with their children than American fathers do, and this difference is traceable to the two belief systems (Ishii-Kuntz, 1994). In an anthropological examination of fathers in Botswana, Townsend (2002) discovered the way in which cultural expectations shape fathers' behaviors in the family. Cultural values of generous fathers in the U.S., where there is a strong attention to the well-being of one's own children, would be viewed as completely irresponsible in Botswana.

Korean fathers have undergone changes (Kwon, 2005; Kwon & Roy, 2007) since Korea is one of the world's most rapidly growing and globalizing countries. More Korean families than ever travel abroad or relocate to other countries, including the U.S. Between 1987 and 2003, the number of Koreans who visited the U.S. in 2003 increased fourfold (National Statistical Office, 2004). Those visitors included short-term travelers, permanent immigrants, and sojourners.

In contrast to its rapid westernization, Korean culture remains very traditional in terms of family and gender roles (Lee, 1997). As in Japan and China,

Confucianism has been Korea's ruling ideology for more than 500 years (Park & Cho, 1995). Under the tradition, the man is an "outside person" who focuses on providing economically for his family and is not involved in care giving. In other words, Confucian tradition viewed fathers to be disengaged from the family (Shek, 2001). Most studies of Asian families have emphasized the continuity of Asian fathers' traditional identities and roles. Few studies have explored changes in Asian fatherhood (e.g., Chuang & Su, 2008, 2009).

Thus, in this study, I compare Korean fathers in Korean and the U.S. Such a comparison will reveal the influence of culture on family roles and to ascertain the strength of Korea's Confucian tradition. Among many Korean fathers who live in the U.S., I focus on sojourner fathers. Sojourners are people who live in other countries for occupational, academic or religious reasons, but eventually plan to return to their countries of origin or have not decided to migrate (Jung & Yang, 2004). Since sojourners and their families have to confront diverse cultural contexts and experience a series of cultural transitions in a relatively short time, they could be an interesting example of how family members, particularly fathers, adjust to dynamic contextual changes. Moreover, different from immigrant families in 1970s and 80s, many recent Korean families in the U.S. came as sojourners and extended their stay without making concrete decision of immigration. Thus, sojourner families could represent current characteristics of Korean fathers in the U.S.

The second context in the model is fathers' work setting. Work settings show drastic variations as cultural context change. According to Gerson and Jacobs (2001), both men and women spend 13% more hours at work and 19% fewer hours with family than they want to. The International Labor Organization (ILO) has reported that Korean men and women worked 2351 hours a year, more than any other group in the world (*Segye Ilbo*, 2006, July 22). Moreover, Korean men spend twice as many hours at work than do men in the U.S. and Germany. In contrast, Korean men's family time is only 1/3 of family time of their American and German counter-

parts (Newsis, 2005, December 27). Men's work lives could hinder them from performing their care giving duties (Berry & Rao, 1997; Elliot, 1996). Almeida and McDonald (2005) explained that the more hours men devote to working, the less time they have to spend with their children.

When work and family life are out of balance, people feel work-family conflict (Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985). Studies of the relationship between work-family conflict and family life (Perry-Jenkins, *et al.*, 2000; Preewe *et al.*, 1999) have found that work-family conflict has a negative effect both at home and at work. Ford, Heinen and Langkamer (2007) explained that increased working hours increase people's work-family conflict and have a positive impact on their family adjustment. However, many previous studies have explored the predictors of women's work-family conflict (Lee *et al.*, 2007; Ozeki, 2003; Thompson *et al.*, 1999).

Researchers on fathering have concluded that men's work-family conflict is different from women's. For example, Hill (2005) found that fathers feel less work-family conflict than mothers although they work more hours and experience less family friendly work environment than women. Many scholars (e.g., Townsend, 2002) emphasized that men's provider role should be examined in order to understand their care giver role. That is, although men's employment reduces their time with family, their role as breadwinner is the basis of their involvement in other aspects of family life. Among Korean fathers, the role of provider is assumed to be a prerequisite for and pathway to their care taking role (Han, 1997; Kwon & Roy, 2007; Yang, 1999). If Korean men fail to secure good jobs, they may be afraid to assume other roles in the family.

Since fathers in Korea and the States have distinctive work environments it is critical to explore the influence of these environments on their involvement in child care. During the observation of fathers' work context, the number of hours that they work in a week and the conflict they report between work and family will be documented.

The last context to be examined in this study is the family context. The maternal context is particularly important for understanding fatherhood. According

to LaRossa and Reitzes (1993), fathers accept contextual expectations and develop their roles and relationship through constant interaction with their surroundings. For example, wives provide the most intimate and meaningful context in their husbands' role development (Arendell, 1996). Studies of maternal influence on paternal role development found that mothers have a strong impact on paternal involvement. In other words, mothers can discourage fathers' involvement in child care by "gatekeeping" father-child relationships (e.g., Allen & Hawkins, 1999; Fegan & Barnett, 2003). Conversely, they can encourage fathers' participation in care giving by facilitating father-child relationships or by offering advice about caring activities (e.g., Seery & Crowley, 2000; Walker & McGraw, 2000). In order to verify findings and to expand the knowledge of mothers' impact on fathers' care giving, I explore how maternal perceptions of paternal roles shape paternal involvement in child care. Mothers were therefore asked about fathers' child rearing skills and amount of paternal involvement.

In sum, this study uses a model of human ecology to test the contextual effect on paternal involvement. Cultural settings in the U.S. and Korea, the work environment, and family context (maternal perception) are included in the model. In addition, by borrowing the idea of mesosystem (between two or more settings), I will examine how broader contexts are mediated by smaller contexts when shaping paternal involvement.

Research Questions

The research questions that I plan to examine in this study are as follows:

- 1) How is fathers' cultural context (living in America vs. living in Korea) related to paternal involvement in child care?
- 2) How does fathers' work context (weekly working hours and work-family conflict) shape paternal involvement in child care?
- 3) How is mothers' perception of father's roles (perception of fathers' child rearing skills and of paternal involvement) related to paternal involvement in child care?
- 4) How do fathers' work context and mothers'

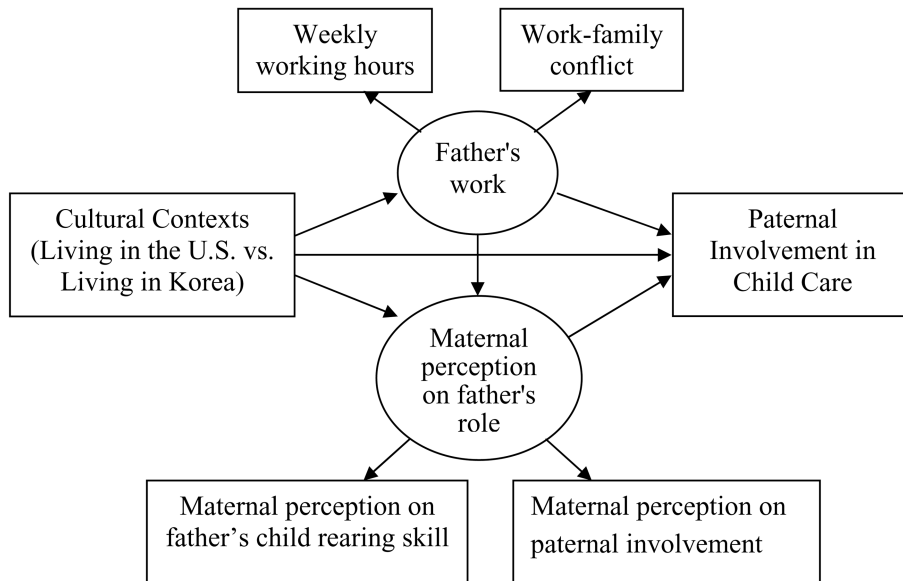


Figure 1. Hypothesized Structural Model

perceptions of fathers' roles mediate the relationship between cultural context and paternal involvement in child care?

- 5) How does mothers' perception of fathers' roles mediate the relationship between fathers' work context and their involvement in child care?

Figure 1 depicts the hypothesized structural model of this study.

METHODS

Sample

Participants of this study are Korean fathers and mothers living in the United States and in Korea. According to the Korean national statistic data, more than half of the Koreans who move abroad reside in North America (National Statistical Office, 2006). For this reason, I limited the sample of sojourners to families in the United States.

Unlike immigrant families, sojourners move abroad with the intention of eventually returning. They reside in other countries only for educational or professional reasons. Thus, in this study, I limit sojourners to people who have kept their Korean. In addition, the sojourner families have lived in the U.S. for one to ten years. Families need more than one

year to become familiar with the language, educational systems, and social environment in the U.S. However, sojourners' student or work visas expire after ten years. In contrast, the families have not had previous experience of living abroad. Since all sojourner fathers have an undergraduate or graduate diploma, I limited my Korean sample to fathers with bachelors or higher educational degree. Both groups of fathers should have at least one child under 10, since pre-adolescent children need more intensive parental care.

Variables

In order to examine the dependent variable of this study, I applied Radin's (1994) Paternal Index of Child Care Involvement (PICCI), which measures five categories of paternal involvement: overall engagement, interaction (e.g., feeding), socialization (e.g., disciplining children), decision making (e.g., making decisions about when children should try new things), and accessibility (e.g., spend time with their children during weekends). In detail, fathers' overall engagement in child care is measured using one 4-item Likert scale. Interaction and socialization are measured on four 3-item Likert scales. Two 5-item Likert scales are applied to examine child care-related decision making. Accessibility is measured

based on two 3-item Likert scales.

When calculating the total score, I followed Radin's suggestion. First, I recoded several items so that higher score represented greater participation in child care. Then I recalculated some items in order to make 12 the highest score of each category. Lastly, I added the scores of all five categories to come up with the total paternal involvement score. Cronbach's α score for each category was computed to check the internal consistency of the questions (interaction: $\alpha = .72$, socialization: $\alpha = .62$, decision making: $\alpha = .62$, accessibility: $\alpha = .60$, all items: $\alpha = .75$).

Father's work variable consists of men's weekly working hours and work-family conflict. Weekly working hours, ranging from 30 hours to 80, were divided into 10-hour units. Work-family conflict was measured by Netemeyer, Boles, and McMurrian's (1996) Work-family / Family-work conflict scale (WF/ FWCS). Work-to-family conflict items ask interruption of family life due to work concentration. In contrast, family-to-work conflict questions are about disruption of work life caused by family schedules. The original scale is made of five 7-item Likert scales about work-to-family conflict and five 7-item Likert scales about family-to-work conflict. It is possible that men's limited paternal involvement could encourage them to feel more work-family conflict. This study, however, only deals with causal effect of work on paternal involvement and not vice versa. For this reason, I only applied five work-to-family conflict items. A higher score indicates that fathers perceived more work-to-family conflict. The Cronbach's α score of five items was .91.

Mothers' perceptions of fathers' child rearing skill and involvement in child care was measured. Mothers' perception of fathers' child rearing skill was measured by one 5 Likert scale question. In addition, one 4-item Likert scale was used to measure maternal perceptions of paternal involvement.

Lastly, fathers' cultural context was coded as a categorical variable (0 for sojourner fathers and 1 for fathers living in Korea). Although not included as a research question, acculturation level and length of stay in the U.S. were also asked of sojourner fathers. The acculturation of sojourner fathers was measured using the Multidimensional Acculturation Scale

(Gim *et al.*, 2004). The scale consists of four subdimensions: cultural identity, language awareness, knowledge of the culture, and familiarity with food. Cronbach's α of 12 items was .84.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data were collected from January, 2007 to August, 2007. The total number of participants of this study is 258 parents in the U.S. (129 fathers and 129 mothers) and 186 parents in Korea (93 fathers and 93 mothers). The participants were recruited through the snowballing procedure, starting from the researcher's social network. In order to recruit sojourner families, I first found families in the U.S. universities and research institutes. Then I asked them to introduce other sojourners. I also recruited those families through Korean American churches. Families in Korea were recruited by contacting companies and graduate programs at many Korean universities. Religious meetings in which husbands and wives participate together were also a good resource for sampling.

Among the studies conducted in Korea, it is still hard to find a comparative study of families in Korea and families living abroad; one reason might be the difficulty of overseas recruitment. In order to overcome the difficulty of long distance sampling, Internet-based recruitment has gained attention (Babbe, 2007). Since all participants of this study are well educated and familiar with the Internet, this emerging data collection method could be very effective. In this study, most surveys were distributed through the Internet. Upon participants' request, a hard copy of the questionnaire was sent with a stamped return envelope. The socio-economic characteristics of the participants are summarized in the Table 1.

Collected data were analyzed using SPSS 12.0 and M-plus 5.0 program. M-plus is an effective program to test a structural equation model, which includes categorical as well as continuous factors. Using SPSS 12.0, basic information of variables such as internal consistency, means, and skewness was provided. M-plus 5.0 was used to explore how culture, work-related factors and maternal perception on fathers' roles explain paternal involvement in

Table 1. *Fathers' Background Characteristics*

		N (%)	
Age	Living in the U.S. (N=129)	26-30	7 (5.4)
		31-35	30 (23.2)
		36-40	68 (52.7)
		41-45	19 (14.7)
		46 and older	5 (4.0)
	Living in Korea (N=93)	26-30	2 (2.2)
		31-35	47 (50.5)
		36-40	37 (39.7)
		41-45	5 (5.4)
		46 and older	2 (2.2)
Weekly Working Hours	Living in the U.S.	less than 30 hours	19 (15.2)
		30-40 hours	31 (24.8)
		40-50 hours	43 (34.4)
		50-60 hours	17 (13.6)
		60-70 hours	6 (4.8)
	Living in Korea	70-80 hours	7 (5.6)
		80 hours and longer	2 (1.6)
		less than 30 hours	3 (3.3)
		30-40 hours	3 (3.3)
		40-50 hours	37 (40.7)
Living in Korea	50-60 hours	22 (24.2)	
	60-70 hours	12 (13.2)	
	70-80 hours	8 (8.8)	
	80 hours and longer	6 (6.6)	
	Wife's Employment Status	Living in the U.S.	Unemployed
Full Time Employment			18 (14.5)
Part Time Employment			19 (15.3)
Living in Korea		Unemployment	30 (32.3)
		Full Time Employment	47 (50.5)
		Part Time Employment	35 (16.2)
Monthly Income (dollars)	Living in the U.S.	500 - 50,000 (M = 4771)	
	Living in Korea	1000 - 55,000 (M = 6434)	
Length of Living in the U.S.		Average 61.3 months	

child care. Since the number and age of children could affect paternal involvement, I controlled the significance of those two factors.

FINDINGS

Primary Analysis

Before examining relationships among the variables used in this study, basic values are considered to understand their characteristics.¹

As can be seen in Table 2, the mean of maternal perception on father's child rearing skill is higher than the median score. In addition, the mean of paternal involvement in child care is lower than the median score.

The normal distribution of variable is critical for running a structural equation model. Since two variables are inclined in a positive or negative direction, I checked the distribution of all the variables. To confirm normal distribution, I deemed skewness and kurtosis score of each variable. Normal distribution can be assumed when both scores approach to 0. It is thought to be appropriate to include in the model when skewness does not exceed ± 2 and when the absolute value of kurtosis plus 3 does not go over 7 (West *et al.*, 1995).

All the values in Table 3 satisfy the assumption of normal distribution. Thus, I concluded that all variables in the study are appropriate for inclusion in the hypothesized structural equation model.

Test of the Hypothesized Model

The test of the hypothesized model fit the data ($\chi^2 =$

1. Correlation table of variables in the study is provided in an appendix.

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of Variables (N=222)

		Mean (SD)	Median Score	Score Range
Work-Family Conflict	Living in the U.S. (N = 129)	17.0 (6.7)	20	5-35
	Living in Korea (N = 93)	20.3 (7.4)		
Maternal Perception on father's Child Rearing Skill	Living in the U.S.	4.2 (.7)	3	1-5
	Living in Korea	4.0 (.8)		
Maternal Perception on Paternal Involvement in Child Care	Living in the U.S.	2.7 (1.0)	2.5	1-4
	Living in Korea	2.5 (1.0)		
Paternal Involvement in Child Care	Living in the U.S.	38.7 (6.9)	44	16-72
	Living in Korea	35.7 (7.6)		
Father's Acculturation Level	Living in the U.S.	37.1 (5.9)	36	12-60

Table 3. Skewness and Kurtosis Score of Each Variable (N=222)

	Skewness	Kurtosis
Work-Family Conflict	.20	-.66
Maternal Perception on Father's Child Rearing Skill	-.65	.86
Maternal Perception on Paternal Involvement in Child Care	-.18	-.97
Paternal Involvement in Child Care	-.23	-.35
Father's Weekly Working Hours	.58	.05

20.84, $p = .08$). The values of Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) were .96 and .93, respectively. In addition, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) score was .05. CFI and TLI value near 1 and RMSEA value under .05 indicates a good fit of hypothesized model (Kline, 2005).

As shown in Figure 2, father's cultural context is related with work-related factors ($\beta = .49, p < .001$). That is, fathers in Korea show more work-family conflict and work more hours. However, it does not

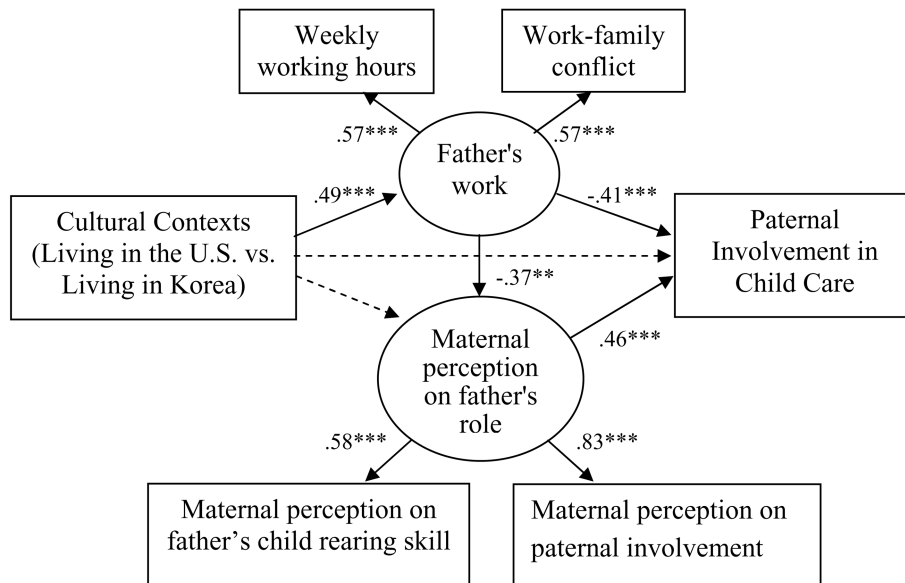


Figure 2. The Results of the Hypothesized Model Test[†]

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

— Significant relationship Insignificant relationship

[†]The numbers are standardized values.

significantly explain any other variable. Father's work context has a direct effect on paternal involvement in child care ($\beta = -.41, p < .001$) and on mothers' perception of fathers' care giving ($\beta = -.37, p < .01$). As fathers work more hours and feel more work-family conflict, they participate less in child care. Moreover, mothers feel less positively about fathers' child care when fathers work more hours and report more work-family conflict. Mother's perception of father's role ($\beta = .45, p < .001$) also has a direct effect on paternal involvement. In other words, fathers participate more in child care when mothers show a positive perception of fathers' care giving.

The study results show that there is no significant relationship between cultural context and paternal involvement in child care. However, cultural context indirectly influences paternal involvement. Figure 2 shows that work context mediates the relationship between those two factors. It is possible to conclude that fathers in the U.S. work fewer hours and feel less work-family conflict than do fathers in Korea. In turn, the fathers in the U.S. participate more in child care than do fathers in Korea. Although mothers' perception of fathers' care giving does not mediate the relationship between cultural context and paternal involvement in child care, it does mediate the relationship between work context and paternal involvement. If fathers are more involved in their work, mothers feel less positive about fathers' care giving. Mothers' negative perceptions then decrease fathers' involvement in child care.

Other than the hypothesized model, I investigate the influence of acculturation and length of stay in the U.S. on sojourner fathers' paternal involvement. However, no significant relationship is found among these variables.

DISCUSSION

Studies of paternal roles and relationships have shown that fatherhood is an adaptive practice, one which dynamically reflects various contextual transitions (Roggman *et al.*, 2002). This study examined Korean fathers' involvement in child care. Drawing from the concept of human ecology, I

explore paternal roles within different settings and environments. I focused on cultural setting (Korea vs. the U.S.), work context (working hours and work-family conflict), and family context (maternal perceptions) of Korean fathers. A cultural setting can be understood as a macrosystem, and the concept of a microsystem can be applied to work and family contexts. In addition, the notion of mesosystem can be used to explain the mediating effect of work and family context (Bronfenbrenner, 1989).

The study findings support assumptions of human ecology by showing how diverse contexts shape paternal involvement in child care. To begin with, when comparing the paternal involvement of Korean fathers living in Korea and in the U.S., no significant difference was found between the two. This finding is inconsistent with previous findings that described cultural impact on paternal behaviors and attitudes (Ishii-Kuntz, 1994; Townsend, 2002). This result might be derived from the differences in the samples used. While previous studies compared men of different nationalities and racial backgrounds, this study was limited to Korean fathers in different cultural settings.

Moreover, this study examined Korean sojourner fathers in the U.S. who typically live abroad for a shorter period of time than immigrant fathers do. Since sojourner fathers plan to return to their country of origin eventually, they might be less influenced by the cultural values and norms of their host country. Thus to check whether sojourner fathers' familiarity of the host culture made a difference or not, I regressed paternal involvement in child care on sojourner fathers' acculturation level and length of stay in the U.S. Neither variable significantly explained paternal involvement.

This result might also indicate the fact that Korean society has become so westernized that traditional expectations about family roles of Korean culture have lost some of their influence. In particular, the sample of this study is limited to father with at least a bachelor's degree. Kwon and Roy (2007) compared Korean working-class and middle-class fathers, and concluded that middle-class fathers who had obtained at least a bachelor's degree were more familiar with western norms and

expectations of fatherhood, and had developed more egalitarian notion of paternal involvement. Thus, our sample in Korea could already have been familiar with western cultural values.

Although macrosystem (cultural setting) has no significant effect on paternal involvement in child care, microsystems (work context and maternal perception) showed a direct influence on fathers' participation in child care. In other words, fathers participate more in child care when they work fewer hours and experience less work-family conflict. In addition, fathers' involvement increases when mothers' perceptions of fathers' involvement are more positive.

This results support findings from existing studies that explain the negative relationship between work concentration and family participation (e.g., Perrewe *et al.*, 1999; Perry-Jenkins *et al.*, 2000). The result also specifies the elements of the work context and the direction of the relationship. Result about maternal perception is also consistent with previous findings that emphasized maternal influence on paternal behaviors (e.g., Allen & Hawkins, 1999; DeLuccie, 1995; Fogan & Barnett, 2003; Seery & Crowley, 2000; Walker & McGraw, 2000). Moreover, this finding expands assumptions about maternal influence by showing not only specific maternal behaviors but the way in which mothers' thoughts and perceptions about fathers' roles could change fathers' participation in child care.

Although no direct relationship has been shown, cultural setting had indirect impact on paternal involvement mediated by men's work context. In detail, fathers live in Korea work significantly more hours than the fathers in the States, and fathers who work more hours participate less in child care. This result is consistent with current tendency on heavy work concentration of Korean society. Suh and Lee (1999) also argued that young fathers in Korea experience more work and family conflict because of their rapidly increasing work obligations.

In contrast to work context, maternal perception had no mediating effect on the relationship between cultural context and paternal involvement in child care. In other words, cultural setting does not make any difference in maternal perception on paternal

role. A few studies have stated that parental expectations and behaviors are culturally conducted (Harkness & Super, 2002; Peterson *et al.*, 2005). However, this study has discovered that cultural context does not make a significant difference in wives' perception of husbands' role. Maternal perception, however, does mediate the relationship between work context and paternal involvement. These mediating effects of work context and maternal perception indicate the importance of investigating diverse mesosystems in order to understand paternal involvement.

These results also reveal the contradictory effect of Korean cultural influence on fathers. While Korean and American culture have no difference in father's care giving roles, Korean culture places more emphasis on work than American culture does. Within the Korean cultural context, fathers become familiar with western expectations of fatherhood and attempt to increase their involvement in child care. However, heavy concentration on work does not allow them to become as involved in child care as they would like. As a consequence, Korean fathers feel more burdened and are under greater stress. This parallels LaRossa's (1988; 1997) discussion of "culture and conduct," according to which changing expectations of fatherhood are not necessarily accompanied by changes in behavior. Thus to comprehend fatherhood, culturally changing expectations of fathers and fathers' actual conduct should be considered in tandem.

The theoretical implications of this study are as follows. Macrosystem might not show a strong direct impact on individual family members' role and identity development. In contrast, the microsystems with which people interact in their daily lives have a powerful influence on their thoughts and behaviors. This is not to say, however, that a macrosystem has no influence. Although human ecology has been one of the leading explanations of family dynamics, little attention has been paid to the mesosystem, which is comprised of microsystems and macrosystems. This study finds that the influence of a macrosystem could be truly understood by considering a mesosystem. Therefore, when applying human ecology, each system surrounding each family member

should receive attention.

There are some important practical implications of this study. This study discovered simultaneous emphasis of Korean culture on men's family involvement and work concentration, which could give them with great conflict and pressure. To reduce fathers' stress on involvement in child care and to increase their actual participation, they should be relieved from paradoxical messages from the Korean society. Although, many family-focused work policies have been developed, actual awareness and usage rate is very low (Lee & Kwon, 2009). Therefore, governmental and societal effort should be paid to develop more effective strategies of increasing usage rate of those policies, and eventually to change work focused environment.

This study also suggests importance of mother's role on paternal involvement in child care. At the same time, encouraging paternal involvement in child care is critical for mothers as it could reduce working mothers' work and family burden. Thus, when developing policies and family supportive programs, it would be important to change perceptions of mothers as well as fathers.

Although this study sheds light on fathers' participation in child care, it has several limitations. First, this study used a structured questionnaire to examine paternal involvement. However, the idea and definition of paternal involvement depend on their socio-cultural context (e.g., Marsiglio, 1995). Acculturation, by the same token, depends on people's background and experience. It is somewhat difficult to capture those role development and acculturation processes only based on quantitative approach. Therefore, in the future, qualitative inquiry should be conducted in order to obtain a more in-depth meaning of fatherhood. Second, maternal perception of fathers' role (maternal perception on father's child rearing skill and paternal involvement) were measured by single indicators. In future trials to understand maternal influence on paternal involvement more detailed indicators should be applied.

Lastly, this study only compared two groups of fathers: Korean fathers in Korea and Korean fathers in the U.S. In order to broaden our knowledge about

how fatherhood has changed in different cultural settings, it would be important to use a more diverse sample. For example, in future research, fathers who came back to Korea after several years abroad should be studied. These fathers could reveal how they have adjusted to a series of cultural changes. In addition, a comparison of Korean fathers and Korea immigrant fathers could provide more valuable information about changes in paternal roles in different cultural contexts.

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Appendix. Correlations among Variables of the Study

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Work-Family Conflict (1)	1.00				
Maternal Perception on Father's Child Rearing Skill (2)	-.12	1.00			
Maternal Perception on Paternal Involvement in Child Care (3)	-.24	.48	1.00		
Paternal Involvement in Child Care (4)	-.35	.34	.49	1.00	
Father's Weekly Working Hours (5)	.32	-.04	-.10	-.26	1.00