

Comparison of Father's Involvement in Korean Immigrants and Indonesians: Gender and Cultural Differences

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ABSTRACT

In this study, we aimed to discover whether father's involvement with adolescents differs based on the adolescents' gender and cultural differences. The study population included immigrant South Koreans (n = 106) who currently live in Jakarta and Indonesians (n = 343) who currently live in Jabodetabek regions, with an age range of 15 to 18 years old. This research used the Nurturant Fathering Scale (affective domain), the Reported Father Involvement Scale (behavioral domain), and the Desired Father Involvement Scale (desired domain) to measure father's involvement. The data were collected through both offline and online questionnaires in high schools (both national and international). A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze the data. This study found that father's involvement did not differ between male and female adolescents. However, father's involvement did differ based on culture, with immigrant South Korean fathers showing higher levels of involvement in the behavioral domain than Indonesian (Jabodetabek) fathers, particularly in the "providing income" item of the behavioral domain. Conversely, Indonesian fathers showed much higher levels of involvement in the desired domain than immigrant South Korean fathers, especially in "providing income" of the father toward Indonesian adolescents. Moreover, no interaction effects of gender and cultural differences were found on father's involvement.

Keywords: adolescent, cultural differences, father's involvement, gender.

1. INTRODUCTION

Parenting provided by both the mother and father affects children's development because children acquire the skills necessary for improving their development through interactions with both parents. The encouragement and support of both parents during childhood is vital to the development of identity and individualization in the family context (Kocayörük, 2016). According to Hallers-Haalboom et al. (2014), both parents are

necessary to optimize the child's development because both parents are sufficiently sensitive to developmental changes in their children's abilities and preferences and can adjust their play and stimulation patterns accordingly.

Both fathers and mothers play important roles in the development of adolescents; however, mothering is generally more associated with the positive behaviors of adolescents whereas fathering tends to be more associated with the

problem behaviors of adolescents. Maternal parenting may be more focused on relationship-building abilities whereas paternal parenting is more focused on compliance with norms (Lamb, 2010). A key finding of Day and Padilla-Walker (2009) was that father's involvement is significant in children's lives, with fathering being more important for internalizing behaviors and mothering being more important for caring.

Consequently, father's involvement must be researched further. Through the interactions between fathers and their children, fathers have a unique contribution to their children's development, and fathers participate significantly more than mothers in some other areas such as going out or engaging in daily activities and outdoor games (Kocayörük, 2016). Parke (2004) noted that although paternal involvement is quantitatively less than maternal involvement during infancy and childhood, fathers still influence their children's development. Lamb (2010) stated that fathers who provided security, reciprocity, and sensitivity in their relationship with their children were much more likely to have psychologically well-adjusted children than fathers who did not develop such a relationship with their children. He also emphasized that how the time was spent was more important than the amount of time spent together.

Gender differences may exist due to parental socialization of emotion; hence, girls receive more supportive responses when displaying sadness, anxiety, and fear whereas boys receive more support for their anger (Cassano, Perry-Parrish & Zeman, 2007). Specifically, children's relationships with their father have been

shown to differ depending on the child's gender (Doherty, Kouneski & Erickson, 1998), and the amount of time fathers spend with their children has also been shown to be influenced by the child's gender (Lundberg, McLanahan & Rose, 2007). For example, studies have shown that fathers prefer to interact with their sons and are involved with their sons more frequently than with their daughters (Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). Research on fathers also shows that fathers are more involved with boys than with girls and that fathers are somewhat different from parent girls and boys. This can have different consequences on gender-based adolescent outcomes (Lamb, 2010).

For more than half a century, cross-cultural psychologists and developmental psychologists have studied socialization and child-rearing (Shwalb & Shwalb, 2014). As a result, excellent data on the cultural influences on family life and the development of children are available. Unfortunately, most international socialization and parenting studies have focused on relationships between the mother and child and have paid little attention to the role of the father. The effects of father's involvement on adolescent subpopulations, such as those in immigrant families, are even less known (Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, Capps & Zaff, 2006). Notably, the relationship between the father and child is embedded in a broader socio-cultural context, which includes cultural and social beliefs about the role of the father in the family. Therefore, cultural variation is expected to shape paternal behavior due to those beliefs (Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000).

Father's involvement may differ between countries and cultures. According to Park and Kim (2004), the role of fathers in Korea is to educate their children so that they engage in society and become an active socializing agent beginning when the child is 4 or 5 years old. Fathers represent the world of firmness, rules, and responsibilities to the outside world. The roles played by mothers and fathers are distinguished and complementary and are summarized very well in the popular Korean phrase *umbu jamo*, which means a firm or strict father and a kind and warm mother. The father is a symbolic member of the family; he represents his family and makes decisions for his family, particularly family decisions regarding the outside world. The father is responsible for maintaining, disseminating, and raising the position of his family (Park & Kim, 2004).

According to Pratikna (2016), many other studies in Indonesia on father's involvement showed that it was strongly and significantly positively related with other variables such as childcare and children's moral behavior in school (Safitri, 2009), childcare for school-age children's learning achievements (Purwindarini, Hendriyani & Deliana, 2014), and emotional maturity in adolescents in high school X (Syarifah, Widodo, & Kristiana, 2012).

In consideration of the different styles of parenting, particularly regarding paternal involvement, the researcher assumed that different cultural bases, different styles, and different levels of involvement might be shown toward children. Most research on fatherhood has used cross-sectional designs and thus the direction of the associations between father's involvement and youth outcomes

has been unclear, providing little evidence of causal relationships between paternal behaviors and offspring outcomes (Bronte-Tinkew, Moore, Capps & Zaff, 2006). The present study contributes to this literature by comparing the differences in father's involvement between two different cultures: Indonesian and immigrant South Korean cultures. Immigrant South Koreans are the families of South Koreans who immigrate to Indonesia for various reasons such as business, education, etc. Moreover, because the gender of the children may also play a role in paternal involvement, the researcher aimed to determine whether the fathers' involvement with the child differs based on that child's gender.

Furthermore, this study aimed to determine whether the interaction between those two variables, gender and cultural differences, has any effect on father's involvement. An interaction between two factors (gender and cultural differences) occurs whenever the mean differences between the individual treatment conditions, or cells, differ from what would be predicted from the overall main effects (father's involvement) of the factors (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013).

This research measures three domains of father's involvement, as outlined by Finley and Schwartz (2004). These domains are described as follows:

1. *Father Nurturance*

Father nurturance is measured by the father's involvement in the affection domain, which reflects the extent to which affection is present in the father's relationship with their child.

2. *Reported Father's Involvement*

Reported father's involvement is measured by the father's involvement in the behavior domain, which reflects the extent to which

the father is involved. The domain of behavior consists of three dimensions: expressive, instrumental, and mentoring involvement. Expressive involvement is the father's role in child care and self-development related to emotional expression. Instrumental involvement relates to things such as developing responsibility and discipline. Mentoring involvement is the role of the father in providing teaching and advice to help the child develop competence.

3. *Desired Father's Involvement*

Desired father's involvement comprises the domain of desire, which reflects the degree to which the child wants his father to be involved. The domain of desire consists of two dimensions: expressive and instrumental. Expressive involvement reflects how much the child wants to be involved in self-development related to emotional expression. Instrumental involvement reflects how much the child wants the father to relate to things such as developing responsibility and discipline.

This study demonstrates that discrepancies vary depending on the dimension of involvement assessed. Therefore, a one-dimensional construct would likely fail to capture the unique types of father's involvement that are most likely to be reported differently between the father and child. This echoes the findings of McBride, Schoppe, Ho, and Rane (2004), who found that fathering consists of distinct domains of involvement and that the domains do not always correlate with one another. The current use of multiple dimensions of involvement corresponds with their overall conclusion that multidimensional measures of father's involvement will have greater utility than unidimensional measures.

The following research questions will be discussed in this study:

1. Does father's involvement differ based on gender?
2. Does father's involvement differ based on cultural differences?
3. Does the interaction between gender and cultural differences affect father's involvement?

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the gender of a child affects the extent of father's involvement. If so, which gender is associated with greater father's involvement? Another aim of this study was to determine whether the culture of the environment affects the extent of father's involvement; this was performed by comparing native-born Indonesians and immigrant Koreans at the age of adolescence and emerging adulthood.

1.1. *Research Hypotheses*

Based on the theoretical exposition of each variable, the researcher formulated nine hypotheses to be tested in this study. Since this research used a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), three hypotheses were tested for each domain (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013): 1) the effect of the first independent variable on the domain, 2) the effect of the second independent variable on the domain, and 3) the interaction effect of those two independent variables on the domain. Those alternative hypotheses are as follows:

1.1.1. *Nurturant Fathering Scale: Affective Domain*

H1. Father's involvement in the affective domain differs based on gender.

H2. Father's involvement in the affective domain differs based on cultural differences.

H3. The interaction between gender and cultural differences affect father's involvement in the affective domain.

1.1.2. Reported Father's Involvement Scale: Behavioral Domain

H4. Father's involvement in the expressive, instrumental, and mentoring/advising dimensions differs based on gender.

H5. Father's involvement in the expressive, instrumental, and mentoring/advising dimensions differs based on cultural differences.

H6. The interaction between gender and cultural differences affect father's involvement in the expressive, instrumental, and mentoring/advising dimensions.

1.1.3. Desired Father's Involvement Scale: Desired Domain

H7. Father's involvement in the desired domain differs based on gender.

H8. Father's involvement in the desired domain differs based on cultural differences.

H9. The interaction between gender and cultural differences affect father's involvement in the desired domain.

2. METHODS

This research was a comparative study that attempted to evaluate the relationships between father's involvement, gender, and cultural differences. Quantitative data were used in this study because numerical data can be processed using statistical techniques to determine whether the research hypotheses acceptable. Thus, a

comparative study design was used (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013).

The study participants were adolescents aged 15 to 18 years old, with both parents still alive and currently living together. Two groups of adolescents were included in this study: Indonesian adolescents who live in Jabodetabek and immigrant South Korean adolescents who live in Jakarta. The researcher chose to compare Indonesian and immigrant Korean adolescents who live in Jakarta because the researcher is a Korean immigrant himself who studied in Indonesia for a long time. Thus, he hoped to determine whether the adaptation of a new culture shapes the father's involvement or whether the father's cultural roots predominately influence the level of involvement. The population was recruited from some of the public and private high schools (both national and international schools) in Jakarta. The data were collected both in the field and online by sharing online questionnaire links with those students.

Based on a power analysis calculation using the G* Power program version 3.1.9.2, this study required a minimum sample size of 128 participants. Thus, 64 participants from each gender and 64 participants from each culture [Indonesian (Jabodetabek) and immigrant Korean] were required.

The main instruments of this research were father's involvement measurements created by Finley and Schwartz (2004), which were used to determine whether there were significant differences in father's involvement based on the gender and culture of the child. Furthermore, the presence of interaction between gender

and cultural differences on father's involvement was assessed. Finley and Schwartz (2004) had previously measured father's involvement from the point of view of the child with a retrospective focus on the father's involvement when the child was young; the current study uses this same approach. Father's involvement was interpreted as the degree to which fathers are engaged with their children (Finley, Mira & Schwartz, 2008). The following instruments were used for this research: the Nurturant Fathering Scale (NFS) to assess the affective domain, the Reported Father Involvement Scale (R-FIS) to assess the behavioral domain, and the Desired Father Involvement Scale (D-FIS) to assess the desired domain of Finley and Schwartz (2004).

The participants provided demographic data and completed the NFS, R-FIS, and D-FIS. For the demographic data, the participants were asked to report their age, gender, place of birth, place of residence, year in school, whether they currently lived with their parents and fathers, and family form (father deceased or divorced); these data were collected in both the Korean and Indonesian translated questionnaires. The instruments were translated according to their own respective mother languages and back-translated to ensure they were suitable for both languages (Bahasa Indonesia and Korean).

The NFS was used to measure the father's affective quality; thus, it reflects the child's perception of the warmth and acceptance given by their father throughout the child's life. The NFS consists of nine items that assess the emotional support given by the father, father's availability, closeness with the

father, etc. Each item has a choice of answers in the form of a five-point Likert scale, but with a variety of answers written on each item. The total NFS score is calculated by summing the scores of all individual items with a total possible score ranging from 9 to 45.

The FIS measures the extent to which adolescents perceive their fathers as having been involved in various aspects of their lives, based on the behavior shown by their fathers. This measuring instrument consists of 20 items that assess various aspects of a child's life. The participants are asked to assess each item in two ways: (1) how involved his father was (reported involvement), and (2) how much the father's involvement was desired by the participant compared to the present situation (desired involvement). This study examined both the involvement of the father throughout the child's life so far and measured the child's desires regarding this matter. The items in both the reported FIS and desired FIS are recorded on a five-point Likert scale. The reported FIS contains three dimensions (expressive, instrumental, and mentoring/advising dimensions), and the desired FIS contains two dimensions (expressive and instrumental dimensions). The reported FIS and desired FIS results are calculated by summing the scores of all items with a total possible score ranging from 20 to 100.

This study compiled the total scores for each instrument assessing father's involvement. A cut-off value was used to interpret the score of father's involvements by categorizing the average scores for each measurement into low, medium, and high groups. To calculate the range of each category, the difference between the

highest score and the lowest score was divided by the number of categories. For the NFS, scores between 9 and 20 were considered low, between 21 and 32 were medium, and between 33 and 45 were high. For both the R-FIS and D-FIS, scores between 20 and 46 were considered low, between 47 and 73 were considered medium, and between 74 and 100 were considered high.

After all the data were collected, IBM SPSS version 20 was used to analyze the data. Data processing was performed using the following statistical analysis techniques:

1. Descriptive analysis

This technique is used to process several types of demographic data obtained from participants. In addition to analyzing the demographic data, descriptive statistics were performed to obtain the average value, minimum and maximum scores, and standard deviations of the two variables.

2. Two-way analysis of variance test

This test was used to determine whether each variable in this study has a differentiation between each other. A two-way ANOVA both evaluates the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable and the interaction effect between the independent variables on the dependent variable (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2013).

3. RESULTS

The general criteria for participation in this study were high school adolescents aged 15 to 18 years old who lived in Indonesia (both Indonesians who lived in Jabodetabek and immigrant South Koreans). Ninety participants were recruited through the offline data collection and 383 participants were recruited online. After data cleaning, data

from 449 participants could be used in this study. Data from 24 participants were excluded after the cleaning process because their fathers had passed away or they were older than 18 years old.

The demographic data of the 449 participants were processed using descriptive statistical calculations to obtain a general picture of the participants. Although the participants ranged in age from 15 to 18 years, the highest proportion of participants were 17 years old (39% of the total study population) whereas students who were 15 years old comprised the smallest proportion of participants (14%). There were more female students (326 participants, 73%) than male students (123 participants, 27%). Furthermore, there were more Indonesian adolescents who lived in Jabodetabek regions (343 participants, 76%) than immigrant South Koreans who lived in Jakarta (106 participants, 24%).

Based on Table 1, the difference in the average NFS scores between males and females was quite small. The NFS scores for both males and females were classified as medium father's involvement, which indicates that fathers displayed a moderate amount of involvement in the affective domain for both male and female participants.

Likewise, the difference in the average R-FIS scores between male and female participants was quite small. Furthermore, the difference in the average D-FIS scores between males and females was small, and both groups were classified as medium father's involvement. This indicates that in general, fathers of both male and female participants displayed a moderate amount of behavioral involvement with their

children based on their gender. The children also reported a moderate desire for father’s involvement. The definition of a moderate amount could be the “right amount of involvement,” but it also could be defined as: “it could be more, but other extraneous variables took it away,” such as

work time. According to Finley and Schwartz (2004), high levels of father’s involvement are not always good; sometimes too much father’s involvement might lead to dictatorship, and fathers who are too eager to be involved in their child’s life may become too controlling.

Table 1. Overview of Father’s Involvement in Individual Adolescents Based on their Gender

Father Involvement	Mean	Standard Deviation	Lowest Score	Highest Score
NFS				
Male	32.27	7.82	9	45
Female	32.79	8.16	9	45
R-FIS				
Male	70.25	16.51	20	100
Female	69.78	16.85	20	100
D-FIS				
Male	67.42	13.91	20	100
Female	69.03	12.89	20	100

As shown in Table 2, there was only a very small difference in the NFS scores between South Korean and Indonesian adolescents, and equal numbers of high scores were reported for both groups, which indicates that high levels of affection were shown by the fathers of both cultures toward their children. Immigrant South Koreans had a higher average R-FIS score (73.43) than Indonesians (68.81), but the scores of both cultures fell in the medium category, which indicates that even though

immigrant South Korean fathers scored higher than Indonesian fathers, both fathers displayed a medium level of behavioral involvement toward their children. The D-FIS results indicate that immigrant Koreans had a lower average score (62.36) than Indonesians (70.52). However, even though Indonesian participants reported a slightly higher desire for more involvement from their fathers, both cultures reported a medium level of desire for more father’s involvement than the present.

Table 2. Overview of Father’s Involvement in Individual Adolescents based on Cultural Differences

Father Involvement	Mean	Standard Deviation	Lowest Score	Highest Score
NFS				
Immigrant S. Korean	32.82	6.70	9	45
Indonesian	32.59	8.44	9	45

R-FIS				
Immigrant S. Korean	73.43	12.58	20	100
Indonesian	68.81	17.71	20	100
D-FIS				
Immigrant S. Korean	62.36	11.13	20	100
Indonesian	70.52	13.18	20	100

This study used a two-way ANOVA to compare father’s involvement according to gender and cultural differences in high school students in Jabodetabek. In this analysis, father’s involvement was the dependent variable, which included three different domains: the affective, behavior, and desired domains. The effects of the two independent variables (gender and

culture) on father’s involvement were compared. The two-way ANOVA calculates both the significances of these comparisons and the significance of the interaction between the two independent variables (gender and cultural differences). The results of this statistical analysis are described below.

Table 3. Descriptive Results of Father’s Involvement in the Affective Domain (NFS)

Variables	Mean Squared	F	p
Gender	14.44	0.22	0.64
Cultural Differences	15.71	0.24	0.62
Gender*Cultural Differences	11.20	0.17	0.68

***p* < 0.05 level (two-tailed)

The results of the two-way ANOVA analysis indicate that there were no significant differences in the affective domain of father nurturance according to gender or cultural differences. Furthermore, the interaction between gender and cultural differences did not have a significant effect on the affective domain of father’s involvement. These

results illustrate that there were no differences in the affective domain of father’s involvement based on gender and cultural differences. Furthermore, the interaction between gender and cultural differences did not affect father’s involvement in the affective domain. Thus, the first three alternative hypotheses (H1, H2, and H3) are rejected.

Table 4. Descriptive Results of Father’s Involvement in the Behavioral Domain (R-FIS)

Variables	Mean Squared	F	p
Gender	8.60	0.03	0.86
Cultural Differences	1702.44	6.12	0.11**

Gender*Cultural Differences	16.87	0.06	0.81
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***p* < 0.05 level (two-tailed)

The results of the statistical analysis indicate that there were no significant differences in the behavior domain of father’s involvement according to gender. However, the behavior domain of father’s involvement did differ significantly according to cultural differences. The interaction between gender and cultural differences was not significant. These results illustrate that there were no differences in the behavior domain of

father’s involvement based on gender but there were based on cultural differences. Furthermore, the interaction between gender and cultural differences did not have a significant effect on father’s involvement in the behavior domain. Thus, the fifth alternative hypothesis (H5) is accepted while the fourth and sixth alternative hypotheses (H4 and H6) are rejected.

Table 5. Descriptive Results of Father’s Involvement in the Desired Domain (D-FIS)

Variables	Mean Squared	F	p
Gender	0.01	0.00	0.99
Cultural Differences	4941.72	30.36	0.00**
Gender*Cultural Differences	5.88	0.04	0.85

***p* < 0.05 level (two-tailed)

There were no significant differences in the desired domain of father’s involvement according to gender. However, there were highly significant differences in the desired domain of father’s involvement according to cultural differences. There was no significant interaction between gender and cultural differences. These results illustrate that there were no differences in the desired domain of father’s involvement based on

gender but there were based on cultural differences. Furthermore, the interaction between gender and cultural differences had no significant effect on father’s involvement in the desired domain. Thus, the eighth alternative hypothesis (H8) is accepted while the seventh and ninth alternative hypotheses (H7 and H9) are rejected.

4. DISCUSSION

This study has two primary findings: 1) the level of father’s involvement did not differ significantly according to the gender of the child and 2) the level of father’s

involvement did differ significantly between immigrant South Korean and Indonesian adolescents. First, the child’s gender did not affect father’s involvement. This result supports the findings of

Hossain and Roopnarine (1993), Snarey 1993, Sandberg and Hofferth (2001), and Mammen (2011), who reported that gender had no impact on father's involvement. However, our results disagree with those of many other researchers (Fagot & Leinbach 1995; Zick & Bryant, 1996 in Mammen, 2011; Yeung et al., 2001; Lundberg, McLanahan, & Rose, 2007; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004, in Matestic, 2008; Lundberg, Pabilonia, & Ward-Batts 2006; Yeung and Stafford 2002 in Lundberg, McLanahan & Rose, 2007) who stated that fathers are more involved with boys than with girls. "These differences may have occurred because gender role stereotypes in parenting, particularly regarding the role of the father, are slowly being rejected. Further research should be conducted to determine why stereotypical roles of father's involvement were identified in the first place and what appears to be causing them to decrease in the present. Does it because gender equality in parenting empowers these days? Or are there other factors causing fathers to want to be more involved with their children?"

The second main finding of this study was that there were significant differences in father's involvement between immigrant South Korean and Indonesian adolescents. In the R-FIS, which measures the behavioral domain of fathers (including the expressive, instrumental, and mentoring/advising dimensions), immigrant South Korean fathers reported much higher scores than Indonesian fathers. Thus, immigrant South Korean adolescents perceive their fathers to be much more involved in various aspects of their lives, based on the behavioral activities shown by their fathers, especially

very high in the behavior of "Providing Income", the number 12th of R-FIS for immigrant Koreans. Indonesians recorded the lowest scores in the behaviors of mentoring and companionship, which are number 14th and 20th of the R-FIS. It assumes that the fathers of immigrant South Koreans with higher involvement toward their children emphasize the value of themselves as a father. Every immigrant family struggles to adapt to a new culture, and sticking together as a family shows greater involvement to overcome and face the new challenges in a foreign country. Since South Korea has a dark and deep history after experiencing a huge war and economic crisis (Lamb, 2010), fathers' engagement with their children was historically very low in South Korea according to Lamb (2010) and Park (2010). However, immigrant South Korean fathers who faced acculturation have appeared to adapt their parenting according to the culture with which they are surrounded, according to Daly (1993,1995, in Park, 2010). This indicates that culture reshapes parenting, particularly for fathers. Indonesians already have a higher level of father's involvement from the back than (Syarifah, Widodo, & Kristiana, 2012; Pratikna, 2016; Dyah, Rosa & Adi, 2018), immigrant South Korean fathers might receive those fatherhood of Indonesian in the system of acculturation in parenting. Does it really get the effects from the surrounding bounded system of Indonesian culture? Or adopting the hard and rigorous situation of new culture reshapes parenting? Or does it go another way around how immigrant Korean fathers affect Indonesian fathers? Further research should be conducted to determine which of those acculturation systems affects the

differences in father's involvement between Indonesian and immigrant South Korean fathers.

Other differences in father's involvement between cultures were identified in the D-FIS, which reflects the desired domain. In the desired domain, Indonesian adolescents reported much higher scores than immigrant South Korean adolescents, which was the opposite relationship reported in the behavioral domain of the R-FIS. This finding indicates that the father's involvement was more desired by the Indonesian adolescents when compared relative to the present situation than by immigrant South Korean adolescents. Indonesian adolescents showed a high level of desirability in the providing income item of the D-FIS whereas immigrant Koreans showed the lowest level of desirability for the advising item of the D-FIS.

The meaning or interpretation of wanting more or desiring to have a greater connection with their father in the D-FIS by Finley and Schwartz (2004) was very unclear, but it was clear that Indonesian adolescents wanted a deeper relationship with their fathers compared to the present state whereas immigrant South Korean adolescents reported a sufficient relationship with their fathers. Indonesian adolescents may desire more father's involvement than immigrant South Korean adolescents; based on the above results, immigrant South Korean adolescents reported receiving enough father's involvement in their lives whereas Indonesia adolescents reported receiving insufficient father's involvement. The strict image of fathers in South Korean families might affect these results as well

since too much involvement may be seen as controlling or might feel like crossing a line between individuals. The desire for more or less involvement cannot be automatically assumed that the child has/wants a better/healthy relationship with their father. The desire for more involvement could be caused by the lack of involvement or wanting more involvement in general; likewise, desiring less involvement could be caused by either sufficient involvement or too much involvement. Further research should investigate this matter to determine which of those states of desire are true among Indonesian and immigrant South Korean adolescents.

5. CONCLUSION

Based on the statistical analysis performed in this study, the level of father's involvement did not differ according to gender in high school students in Jabodetabek for both Indonesians and immigrant South Koreans. The following statements answer the research questions posed in this study:

1. There were absolutely no differences in father's involvement based on gender (in the affective, behavior, or desired domains).
2. There were no differences in father's involvement based on culture in the affective domain. However, there were differences in both the behavior and desired domains.
3. There were absolutely no interactions between gender and culture that affected father's involvement (in the affective, behavior, or desired domains).

Further research is necessary to investigate the reduction in gender

stereotypes regarding fathering; for example, if culture reshapes father's involvement through acculturation, what are the specific cultural factors that shape paternal involvement? Future research should also evaluate the extent to which Indonesian and immigrant South Korean adolescents desire more father's involvement.

The limitations of this research are mostly related to the field work performed when distributing the questionnaires. While gathering the data, some schools (both national and international) would not allow the researcher to distribute the questionnaires himself; only the teachers could distribute them. The researcher was also not allowed to enter the classrooms. Thus, everything had to go through the respective class teachers. Numerous questionnaires were incomplete, the names and demographic sections were not completed on some questionnaires, others were completed but lacked a signature on the informed consent sheet, a lot of high social desirability scores (where participants by default would choose "3" for every question that used a five-point Likert scale), the researcher had no idea if the participants understood the

questionnaires, the researcher could not debrief the participants, etc. The data quality of this research was unclear and we had to assume that the participants fully understood every question and would complete the survey without missing any questions.

To continue this line of research, qualitative studies should be performed to obtain a deeper understanding of the reasoning behind these results. Further research on father's involvement is necessary since the majority of research on father's involvement is quantitative. All the results could be interpreted differently if they are understood at a much deeper level. Since the subject of father's involvement may be sensitive to many children who suffer from harsh parenting, quantitative data tend to be very abstract, inattention, made-up data. Another suggestion for future research is to ensure that the researcher collects the data by him/herself and not through other people. The researcher should meet the participants face to face and explain the purpose of the research to debrief the participants and remind them to double check any missing parts of the questionnaire.

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