Parenting in Cultural Perspective: A Systematic Review of Paternal Role Across Cultures

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Abstract: The paternal role has become one of the most topic discussions in parenting and has drawn researchers' intention worldwide. This research aimed to explore the existing literature relating to paternal roles across cultures, which analyzed 1) how the paternal roles in cultural perspectives have been researched; 2) what the parental values based on cultures mentioned in the literature are, and 3) what the topic discussed about the paternal role across culture is. The focus of the research was to find out the current trends of paternal roles across cultures from 2012 to 2022 derived from the Scopus database. The method used was a systematic review and followed PRISMA guidelines (the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analysis). The study revealed that most of the literature highlighted the significance of the fathers' involvement in child-rearing in every culture (Indian, Japanese, Latino, Chinese, Indonesian, Norwegian, and Finland) and the improvement of paternal practices due to the adaptation of new cultures and the emergence of fathers' awareness to take part in their children's lives. It can be concluded that the paternal role in a collectivist culture still holds firm to the culture in parenting practices but has begun to experience a shift from the original position of breadwinner, protector, even disciplinarian and authoritarian, becoming the more involved father in child-rearing. While most fathers from individualist cultures had previously been involved in child care because they were supported by policies in their country of origin.
Keywords: paternal roles, father, cultural values.

The relationship between parents and children has become increasingly discussed because it relates to individuals' present and future physical and emotional well-being. Although technology is evolving rapidly and societal changes affect how parents educate children, in most societies, cultural values and beliefs still exist as guidelines in parenting practices. According to Schwartz et al. (2020), children are acculturated to a particular culture by their parents and significant others who raised them. Davidov (2021) proposes a concept of cultural moderation in parenting. Cultural moderation is considered to have a differential meaning inherent in the behavior of parents in different contexts, for example in different cultures. When the meaning is negative, then a destructive result occurs, while the meaning of a positive nature will be a guardian against adverse consequences, as Sahithya et al. (2019) argued, each culture has a way of disciplining the child, but a way that is too harsh and rigid will result in the appearance of a negative effect on the child's adjustment in the future, while a positive and educational way of disciplining will shape the child's ability to adjust well.

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Culture has been defined in several ways, encompassing a shared set of values and norms the community believes in and practices from one generation to the next (Bornstein, 2017). Culture is also defined as norms, values, traditions, and ways of linking to others genuinely shared in different racial or ethnic groups (Rowley et al., 2022). Culture helps to shape parents and their parenting, and culture is preserved and disseminated by parental cognition which later will shape parenting practices (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010). Parenting variables have more universally similar effects when compared across cultures. Furthermore, culture plays a role in improving the effect of parenting on children, and this effect is still seen in various cultures in the world (Bornstein et al., 2021). Parallels with this pattern, different cultures emphasize typical parenting behavior's passed down from one generation to another. The cultural custom in the intergenerational diffusion of parenting behaviors and cultural patterns of parenting behaviors will determine cultural context particularity in the effects of parenting behaviors on child development (Lansford et al., 2018).

Nowadays, parenting has become a complex and ethically loaded effort, more than ever, in our technology-driven world (Mazmanian & Lanette, 2017). Positive parent-children support early in life can shield against various forms of difficulties and impediments, as well as have a positive impact on all areas of development, including language and communication, executive function and self-regulation, relationships with siblings and peers, academic achievement, mental and physical health (Betancourt et al., 2020). Children and parents should be working together in the family - central to collective efforts to ensure that at the age of 18, they become healthy, educated individuals and productive citizens who contribute to the development of the world (Clark et al., 2020).

Research on the dynamic relationship between parenting and culture is progressively focused on which part of culture moderates parenting cognitions and practices, when and why relations between parenting cognitions and practices and children's development are culturally universal or culturally specific (Bornstein, 2012). However, notwithstanding the extensive literature on parenting topics, it is quite difficult to find an agreed definition of the construct of parenting based on culture, as it has been conceptualized in many ways. But, most of the literature are agreed that culture is a significant element of parenting (He et al., 2021). For instance, some authors emphasized that parenting variables have more universal effects when compared cross-culturally. Parenting behavior is shaped by culture (Benito-Gomez, 2020), and different cultures emphasize unique parenting behaviors passed down from generation to generation (Rothenberg et al., 2021). Furthermore, culture plays a role in improving the effects of parenting on children, and this effect is still seen in various cultures in the world (Davidov, 2021). There are cross-cultural similarities and differences in several aspects of parenting, including physical nurturing, cognitive stimulation, warmth and acceptance, control and monitoring, and also discipline. Cultural norms and beliefs in the legitimacy of parental authority are then considered potential moderators contributing to cross-cultural similarities and differences in the relationship between parenting and development in children (Lansford, 2021).

Parents' parenting styles become essential resources for children. As we know, the basic role of parents is to inspire, teach, love, and manage their children (Sanders & Turner, 2018). Mothers and fathers take part in different but complementary responsibilities in child-rearing in the family. Mothers spend more time being more responsive to their children's needs and are known as significant nurturers, while fathers take a protective role for their children (Pakaluk & Price, 2020). In some way, cultural differences in parenting affect children's behaviors and the interpretation of parental behaviors varies among the cultural community (Suizzo et al., 2019).

Moreover, the first studies of parents' roles focus mainly on the mother. Then, with the increase in social participation by women in the workforce these recent years and the transformation in family structures, fathers' responsibilities to take part in child-rearing become

more demanding (Cabrera, 2020; Shim & Lim, 2019). Consequently, the interest in researching the role of fathers is increasing thus theories are needed that can be used as guidance (Pleck, 2007). The role of the fathers is explored as an essential determinant in children's development. The paternal role is carried out both by the biological father and father figures, and it is more widely discussed in terms of fathers' involvement.

The mostly known models of father involvement were developed based on scientific and cultural context by Lamb et al., (1987), which proposed three components: (a) engagement, the quantity of fathers' time used to accompany children directly, (b) accessibility, fathers' presence and reachability in children's lives, and (c) responsibility, fathers' ability to fill children's need and to carry out activities with them. The strengths and weaknesses of this paternal involvement concept have been debated. Pleck (2010) proposed a revised conceptualization of the construct of the father involvement, which consists of three components: (a) positive engagement activities, (b) warmth and responsiveness, and (c) control. Besides, there are also two auxiliary domains: (d) indirect care, and (e) process responsibility. These revisions help researchers explore more deeply the role of the fathers and obtain accurate information regarding the fathers' involvement in the children's development.

The traditional idea concerns the task of breadwinning which is considered the main and only task of fathers towards the family (Johnson & Young, 2016), and in most cultures, paternal practices integrate learned cultural values and beliefs regarding raising and disciplining children, besides it highly attached to ideas of masculinity and the role of males in society (Concha et al., 2016). In most Eastern families, primarily collectivist, the father's role is traditionally defined as breadwinner and authoritarian (Ho et al., 2013). It is commonly known that in daily communications and love expressions, fathers are less engaged than mothers, even though they might have wished to be more attached to their children' activities (Sriram & Sandhu, 2013). Hence, this condition does not match the expectations of the current father role, who serves in cultural concepts of a 'good father' – involved sensitively and accompanying children in various activities (Huttunen & Eerola, 2015). These alterations in cultural expectations have likely affected men's sense of parental responsibilities.

The current perspective views fathers as providers of numerous forms of child care and interact with their children to promote emotional, social, and cognitive development (Jarrett et al., 2012). Involved participative fathers have become more widespread and culturally acceptable as the norm of parental role (Dermott & Miller, 2015). Therefore, instead of only providing physical needs, fathers are now deemed in charge of more thorough contributions to children's welfare (Johnson & Young, 2016). Despite an increased interest in the paternal role, empirical research has been conducted on the topic, but it mostly explores the effect of the father's involvement in children's development and overall, the paternal role from a cultural perspective has been understudied (Li, 2020).

This research tried to review paternal roles in cultural perspectives through systematic reviews that allowed researchers to see the phenomenon broadly through research which was focusing on a particular culture by providing answers to the following questions:

1. How paternal roles in cultural perspectives have been researched?
2. What are the parental values across cultures?
3. What are the paternal roles across cultures?

Methodology

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement and checklist (Moher et al., 2009) were used to guide the implementation and reporting of this review. First, articles were searched through the Scopus database. Next, the

eligible studies were found by using the keywords *paternal role*, *father*, *culture values*, and *child-rearing*, which were published from 2012 to April 2022 and written in English. Of the 437 papers resulting from the first research and after the paper was removed before the screening, 252 articles matched the criteria. In the next step, 68 articles were selected based on the titles and abstract, and then the synthesis paper was checked for eligibility by reading the full text. Finally, there were 35 papers included in this study.

The paper's inclusion criteria were articles that (1) discussed the paternal role from a cultural perspective, (2) about children age not above twelve years old, (3) that were published in Scopus indexed international journal, and (4) written in the English language. In addition, the qualitative, quantitative, and review articles were included to have a broader image of paternal roles.

Based on the data synthesis, the selected paper was studied and inputted in two tables prepared by the reviewer, one to analyze the parental values across cultures and the other to explore the study design, along with the objects, outcomes, and conclusion of each paper. Figure 1 shows the Prisma flow diagram used in this systematic review.

Figure 1
Prisma Flow Diagram 2020
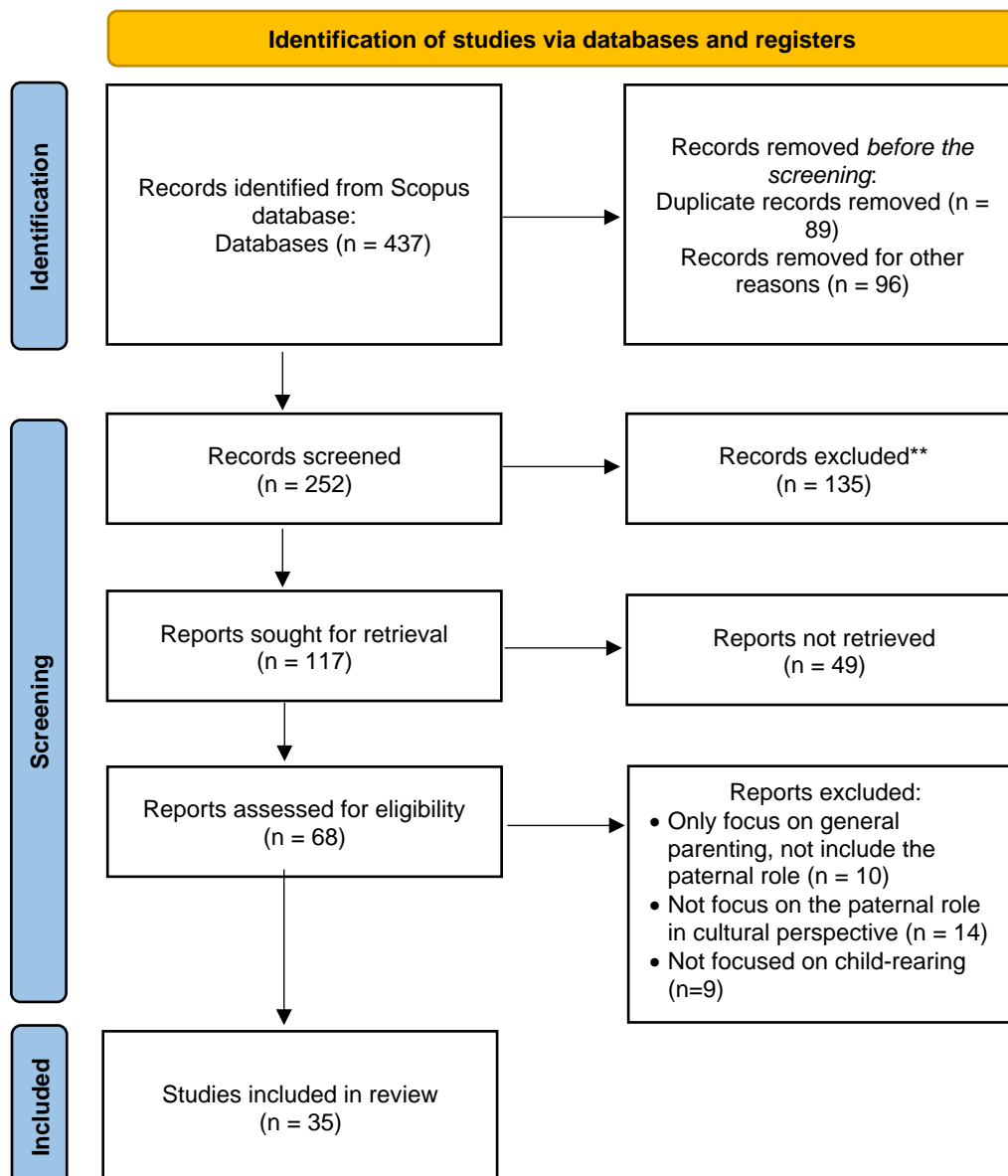
Findings

The study's first objective was to explore how paternal roles in cultural perspectives have been researched. These are the study result, represented in figure 2 the percentage of research types used in the study, figure 3 articles presentation about paternal roles across cultures published between 2012 and 2022, and figure 4 the main research focuses. The finding showed that interest in this issue remained constant even though each research used a different study design and main research focus.

Figure 2
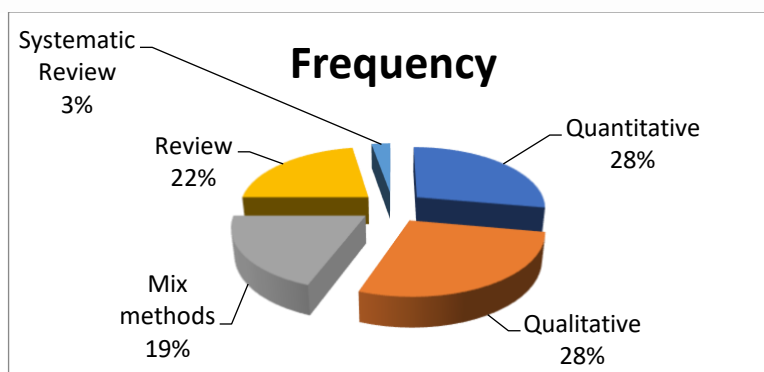*The Percentage of Research Types Used in The Study*

Figure 3
Articles About Paternal Role Across Cultures Published Between 2012 and 2022
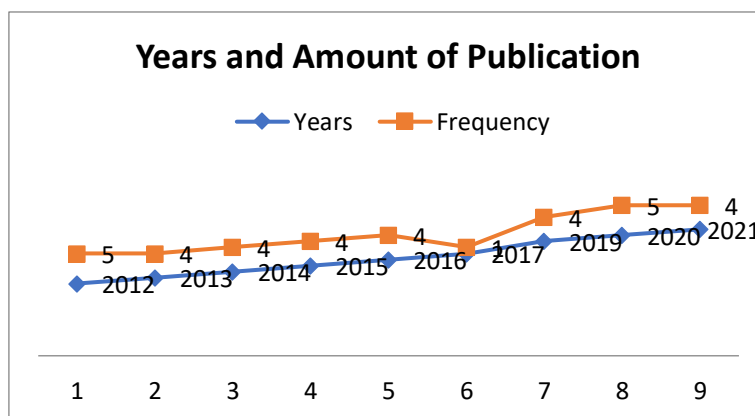

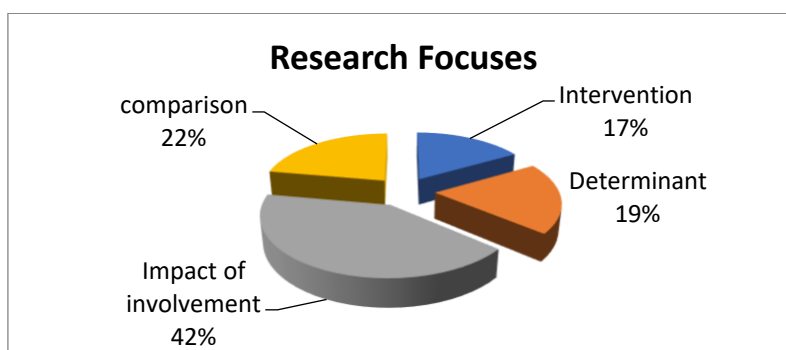
Figure 4
Main Research Focuses

Figure 2 describes the percentage of research types used in each paper included in this study. Quantitative and qualitative are both mainly used (28%). There were few reviews and mix-method, while only one systematic review was utilized. Figure 3 shows articles published between 2012 and 2022. The spread of the number of articles looks relatively even, with around four to five articles per year, and only 1 article in 2017. In figure 4, we can see that the study's primary research focuses mainly on the impact of involvement, followed by comparison, determinant, and intervention.

Parental Value Across Culture

The study's second objective was to explore parental values across cultures, allowing us to understand better the values, norms, and beliefs embraced in societies. Cultural variations in parenting may affect the meaning parents gain from parenting (Nelson et al., 2014). The parenting role is undoubtedly linked to adaptive parenting practices and influences children's psychological well-being (Brassell et al., 2016). Families across cultures value children and are willing to do their best for them, but each society has differences in the expression of care and love. Therefore, it is essential to understand the parenting approaches, and the cultural beliefs and practices in which they are implanted, such as the local circumstance and the living conditions of the people (Keller, 2018). Parents use parenting styles to deliver ideas coherent with their cultural beliefs (Calzada et al., 2010) and foster social competence following those beliefs (Livas-Dlott et al., 2010).

Table 1 describes parental values across cultures with the specific term used to represent values and norms in parenting practice. It is found that every culture had noble values which uniquely define each culture.

There are some parental values found in the studies. For example, India, with a culture based on Hindu teachings, has *Sanskar*. The Hindu culture refers to the purification and enhancement of inner consciousness, attained through childhood experiences when children internalize manners and values that become part of the subconscious that will grow children's ability to realize right from wrong (Sriram & Sandhu, 2013), while in Arab Saudi, *Al-Birr* represents full respect for one's parents (Almalki, 2020). In a similar line to those parental values, in Persia, *Adab*, a value representing politeness, is taught to children to internalize thesignificance of this practice (Mojdehi et al., 2020). *Guan,* in Chinese culture, the parents aim to train and educate their children in proper or expected behaviors, and the practice sometimes seems to be strict or stern (Luo et al., 2013). In addition, Gupta & Sukamto (2020) explained that in Indonesia, people viewed themselves as part of a community rather than as individuals and showed a strong predilection for adhering to the established social models of the group to which they belong. It is evident in the role of the family in social relationships.

The intense attachment between children and their parents proves a collectivist value in this culture. Indonesian children are committed to their parents. When children grow up, they realize the obligation to care for their parents and take a role in filial piety. According to Riany et al. (2017), the term *Tata krama* refers to one of the Indonesian parental values, which means as a guide for one's attitude to behave, speak and act politely, it becomes the norm in the social relationship among members of society and teaches by parents to children since the early age. The Latino culture emphasizes the strength of relationships in the family as *familismo*, which sees the family as the center of one's life and has a powerful influence on decision-making and various aspects of life (Mogro-Wilson et al., 2016). Specifically, in parenting, the term *respeto* means that parents have the authority to demand positive behaviors from their children and that children should obey and defer to their parents (Calzada et al., 2017). In the father-child

relationship, *machismo* represents two sides of the father figure - as disciplinarian or seen as nurturing and protective (Concha et al., 2016).

Table 1

Cross-Cultural Parental Values

Ethnic/Culture Origin	Parental Values	Description	Author/s
India	Sanskar	The Hindu culture refers to the purification and enhancement of inner consciousness, attained through childhood experiences when children internalize manners and values that become part of the subconscious, and it will grow children's ability to realize right from wrong and make them dynamic, valuable, and responsible concerning self and society.	(Sriram & Sandhu, 2013)
Latino	Machismo	Two side parenting practices of Latino fathers are seen as harsh disciplinarians or being respected by their children and seen as nurturing, caring, and protective.	(Concha et al., 2016)
Chinese	Guan	*Guan* or training describes the process of teaching or educating children in proper or expected behaviors out of care and concern for children. Guan is a necessary and adequate way of parenting in the Chinese culture, although the process of Guan may sometimes appear strict or stern.	(Luo et al., 2013)
Saudi Arabia	Al-Wali & Al-Birr	*Al-Birr* represents full respect for one's parents, and the protector, or *Al-Wali*, belongs to a male who will offer safeguard and has legal obligations concerning females in the household.	(Almalki, 2020)
Persia	Adab	*Adab* is a value representing politeness, which is a highly valued practice. Children are taught to internalize the significance of this practice from an early age.	(Mojdehi et al., 2020)
Indonesia	Tata krama	*Tata Krama* is a set of rules, norms, or customs that is taught from an early age so children will be able to behave, speak and act politely	(Riany et al., 2017)
Latino	Familismo	*Familismo* (familism) describes as the value which sees family as the centre of a person's life and has a direct impact on the relations between people inside the family and their behaviors once they interact with others outside of the family	(Mogro-Wilson et al., 2016)
Latino	Respeto	*Respeto* (respect) is a foundation value of parenting. Respeto adopts the idea that parents have the authority to expect and demand positive behaviors from their children and that children should obey and defer to their parents.	(Calzada et al., 2017)

To sum up, the examined studies related to parental role, which most culture emphasizes values that would be used in social interaction to maintain harmony in society. The expected behavior such as politeness, respect for the elders, filial piety, and good manners are some values parents will pass on to their children.

Paternal Role Across Culture

The third objective of the study was to analyze the paternal role across cultures (see Table 2). The result revealed that fathers have a variety of role demands in each society. The studies highlighted positive development in the paternal role; as the father's concern and awareness improve, he becomes more attached and involved in child-rearing. On the other hand, the traditional paternal role tends to make the distance between fathers and their children due to the influence of cultural values.

The study of paternal roles across cultures allowed a better understanding of parenting dynamics from a cultural perspective. Culture could be practically understood as beliefs, ideas, and practices constructing social life. Gender culture is barely interpreted as prescriptive family styles and care ideals developed by parents in child care (Zimmer & Desch, 2012). It is commonly known that every culture is unique, in which people engage in a range of social roles, which are internalized intuitively, and the part of the father is no exception (Sriram, 2019). Father and mother deliver different approaches in parenting; fathers act as the exploration companion, encouraging exploration, risk-taking, emotion regulation, and a developing sense of autonomy through challenging and exhilarating physical activity (Fletcher et al., 2011, Novianti & Garzia, 2020). In recent times, research and society have recognized fathers as sources of emotional and physical support to children. The paternal role has been studied in terms of fathers' availability for their attendance and accessibility, their engagement in play and other activities with their children, and their accountability to make decisions related to child-care and practical matters (Parke & Cookston, 2019).

Some literature discusses the shift from the father's traditional role into the more involved father in child-rearing. (Ho & Lam, 2019) stated that fathers as traditional breadwinners work longer hours and spend less time on child-care, though involved fathers will devote more time to child-rearing by reducing work hours. While Brown et al. (2012) argued that the social construction of fathering, such as the non-playful roles of fathers in some cultures and the high involve fathers in other cultures. Even though the role of fathers in child care across cultures was experiencing a shift, they still held cultural values they believed to be valued and wanted to pass on to children.

The study in this article also highlighted the paternal role in collectivist and individualist cultures, how paternal roles were practiced across cultures, and how to explain the current development. India was known as a collectivist culture, but in a recent study, India could be considered both individualistic and collectivistic (Gupta & Sukamto, 2020). India's father had a vital role in their children's lives. By tradition, fatherhood was part of the obligations of a householder, and a father is expected to accomplish his *swadharma* (right path of deed in life) for the family's welfare and to fulfill the significant roles of provider, mentor, nurturer, and pass on *sanskar*, Hindu culture refers to the purification and enhancement of inner consciousness, attained through childhood experiences when children internalize manners and values (Sriram, 2019). A study among fathers in India found that they interpret the paternal role, including academic and social skills, in their children. Hence, they saw it as the most important responsibility and were involved in nurturing children's academic and social skills. Hindu culture and the shifting parenting ethos are visible in their acts. As for children, they could be encouraged to participate with fathers in cooperative activities such as school projects, sporting, and competitions that will help fathers learn to respond sensitively to children's feelings and needs (Sriram & Sandhu, 2013).

Table 2

Study Included in Systematic Review

No	Author/s and Year	Objects	Outcomes	Conclusion
1	(Karsten, 2015)	Parenting culture among urban fathers and mother	Father and mother change their parenting culture to meet higher-pressure lifestyles	The urban environment changes from a depressing, unsafe, and unhealthy environment to an attractive place with an ample supply of children's commodities
2	(Davidov, 2021)	Culture as a moderator between father and mother behaviors and children's function	The theoretical model of cultural moderation processes	The theoretical model that outlines how different elements create and convey the meaning of parental behavior
3	(Bornstein et al., 2021)	Parenting in Intergenerational Transmission processes	Child Flourishing	Parenting behaviors on child flourishing may demonstrate commonality across cultural contexts, regardless of the cultural normative-ness of parenting behaviors
4	(Goto et al., 2020)	Changing the culture of her parenting	Changing in parenting culture	Changing the culture of parenting style requires intensive and creative multilevel efforts to move beyond rhetoric to actions.
5	(Ejuu, 2016)	Father's role in early child-care	Father's involvement in child-care	Male parents or fathers are increasingly joining the early child-care and are proud to contribute to the positive development of their children and the children in their communities.
6	(Riany et al., 2017)	Parenting Culture Values	Parenting cultural values to support children's potential	Cultural values and religion appear to have a strong influence on families, particularly in parenting
7	(Sriram & Sandhu, 2013)	Father's cultural role	Fathers' positive influence on children's development	Fathers' involvement with cultural roles and emphasis on cognitive and affective aspects of children's development are alike.
8	(Concha et al., 2016)	Father's cultural role	Fathers change attitudes for better parenting outcomes	Comprising cultural aspects in fatherhood educational intervention is crucial to impact a better fatherhood approach effectively.

9	(Newland et al., 2013)	Father and Mother's parenting style in eco-cultural niche	Cultural community influences on mothering and fathering	Fathers and mothers support children's development in unique and complementary ways, but parenting is embedded within eco-cultural niches that are impacted by the cultural and socioeconomic context.
10	(Eerola, 2014)	Father responsibility in child-rearing	Gender-balanced distribution of child-care nowadays has become a cultural norm in parenting	Nurturing, breadwinning, and upbringing are framed by the levels of everyday duties and total commitments as the constituents of paternal responsibility.
11	(Dette-Hagenmeyer et al., 2014)	Father's new role in the family	Father's role in an egalitarian culture	Fathers matter in ways similar to mothers' concern for children.
12	(O'Connor et al., 2014)	Father and mother's physical activity with children	Parenting practices in physical activity with preschool-aged children	Interventions promoting PA among Latino pre-schoolers may need to address the social-ecological context in which families live to promote PA parenting, especially parents' perceptions of neighborhoods.
13	(Taylor et al., 2012)	Mother's and fathers' resilience	Relations of Familism, Interparental Conflict, and Parenting in Mexican-Origin Families	Traditions that influence family contexts could contribute to understanding the pathways that lead to positive adjustment and resilience of the father and mother.
14	(Sumari et al., 2020)	Marriage and family practitioners	Family functioning in a collectivist society	Cohesiveness plays a role in a functional family. A functional family will balance the emotional and physical connection so that they can unite as a family system.
15	(Terui et al., 2020)	Fathers' participation in child-care	The discrepancy between paternal and maternal recognition of paternal parenting and the association between actual paternal parenting time and background factors	Differences in parenting time and mental health characteristics among couples depend on agreement discrepancy in recognizing paternal parenting. Therefore, assessing parents' profiles is necessary for clinical practice to promote paternal participation in child care.

16	(Yaffe, 2020)	Father and Mother Parenting Style and Practices	Northern Bedouin families are undergoing a gradual change in their parental authority.	Bedouin parents were more Authoritarian (mainly in terms of harsh discipline methods, including corporal punishment) and less Authoritative (in terms of warmth and support).
17	(Lansford et al., 2015)	Father and mother use corporal punishment	Differences in culture-wide beliefs about the fairness of corporal punishment and the necessity of using corporal punishment to rear children properly	There is a significant positive relation between child-reported neglect and parent-within-culture deviations in the fairness of corporal punishment.
18	(Luo et al., 2013)	Chinese father's and mother's views and practices through the lens of Confucianism	Confucianism promotes seven developmental goals for children.	Parents' developmental goals and practices are dynamic and affected by contextual forces beyond the framework of Confucianism.
19	(Sotomayor-Peterson et al., 2012)	Fathers and mothers from low-income families	The more shared parenting in the family, the less Negative the Family Climate	The emotional climate within the family is fostered when Mexican American couples practice a sufficient level of shared parenting.
20	(Sangawi et al., 2015)	Mothers and fathers who have children with behavioral problems	Parenting styles have an impact on children's behavioral issues.	This impact of parenting styles may vary across societies. However, many methodological limitations were noted, contributing to some inconsistency in the findings.
21	(Parra Cardona et al., 2012)	Father's and mothers' cultural adaptation	The cultural adaptation procedures implemented in this investigation did not alter any of the core components of the original PMTO intervention.	High engagement and retention were achieved in both adapted interventions, with 91% of participants attending at least 9 of the 12 curriculum sessions. Parenting skills learned in the intervention helped them to find motivation
22	(Almalki, 2020)	Fathers and mothers in gender-role modeling	Authoritarian parenting practices of gender-role modeling in the context of culture.	It is crucial to continue examining parenting practices in Saudi Arabia culture and see how future family policy changes can influence these practices.
23	(Yan et al., 2021)	Father and mother of school-age children	Fewer parental emotional regulation difficulties and higher levels of	The roles of parental mindfulness and emotion regulation skills in children's emotional development

			dispositional mindfulness were linked to better parenting quality, associated with better emotion regulation and lower negativity among children.	in Chinese culture through their associations with parenting practices.
24	(Louie et al., 2013)	Fathers, mothers, and children in 3 countries	Korean and AA parents endorsed more parental control (emotion suppression, shaming) than EA parents.	The importance of examining the cultural context in which parental behaviors occur when exploring their effects on children's socioemotional development
25	(Lee et al., 2021)	Fathers and mothers who were recruited via parenting websites	Cultural differences in parenting expectations may help explain why the additional factors were observed in the K-PRFQ.	The five-factor solution gave the most similar subscales to the PRFQ (i.e., models of mental states and interest and curiosity in mental states).
26	(Senzaki et al., 2016)	Fathers, mothers, and 4- to 9-year-old children	We identified one culturally universal pattern of cognitive development in children.	Parents communicated to their children differently across cultures, and children did not demonstrate significant cross-cultural cognitive development differences.
27	(Børve & Bungum, 2015)	Fathers' parenting practices and family life	Working conditions in global working life are gendered and not conducive to developing the Norwegian fatherhood ideal of the working father.	A family perspective reveals contrasts and contradictory experiences with how a father's working conditions affect family life and fathering.
28	(Brown et al., 2012)	Fathers-child attachment	The early father-child attachment subsequently predicted greater paternal sensitivity levels in the later child.	Fathers' child attachment relationship (a) was related to both quantity and quality of fathering behavior, (b) remained relatively stable across early childhood, and (c) predicted increased paternal sensitivity over time.
29	(Dette-Hagenmeyer et al., 2014)	Fathers' role in the family	The role of fathers in a family from eight longitudinal studies from various Western countries.	Fathers are less pointed than mothers, reflecting fathers' lower involvement with their children, reflecting the traditional roles and distributions
30	(Churchill & Craig, 2021)	A working father	Father should be as heavily involved in the care of his children as the mother' are presented.	Highly educated & working fathers seemed to reject ideas about too much father involvement in the child-care. But it was found that young fathers choose to be egalitarian spouses and more involved fathers.

31	(Goa et al., 2021)	Fathers in Patriarchal Culture	Father Self-efficacy is the more decisive factor related to father involvement	Fathers in a patriarchal society show high paternal self-efficacy. Therefore, it will be a foundation for involving the father in child-rearing.
32	(Ünlü-Çetin & Olgan, 2021)	Father's involvement	Father involvement and how it is perceived are predominantly cultural issues, and perceived paternal involvement does not influence all father involvement types in the same way.	Government and education experts should increase society's perception of the importance of father involvement. Fathers should be supported and encouraged to be part of different aspects of their children's lives.
33	(Strier, 2014)	Father's unemployment	Examining gendered and cultural perceptions of fatherhood is crucial to generalizing the impact of unemployment on fatherhood.	The relation between masculinity, fatherhood, and unemployment should be framed against a backdrop of gender, cultural and national context, in which the construction of gender identities, including fatherhood identity, are negotiated and re-created.
34	(Yoshida, 2012)	Paternal role in the physical care of young children	Driving forces behind the change in the father role are the adoption of a new cultural ideal and other external parties, such as changing economic conditions.	Paternal involvement in the physical care of young children is shaped by multiple factors, including childhood experiences, education, economic conditions, and current family context.
35	(Curtiss et al., 2021)	Father involvement in Early Intervention (EI)	The recommended practices must also be culturally appropriate for EI to be family-centred. For this study, culture includes the professional culture of service providers	Father involvement in EI was seen as a positive asset with many benefits for children receiving services and their families. However, not all providers saw culture as influencing father involvement in EI. Providers were most likely to evoke a deficit orientation toward culture, only prompting culture if perceived as a barrier to involvement.

The culture of paternal role in Chinese societies was shaped by the idea of Confucianism, in which parents have power over children and men over women (Li et al., 2021). The studies revealed that in traditional collectivist Chinese culture, besides playing a role as the family breadwinners and disciplinarians, fathers were also in charge of all household external matters (Lau, 2016; Dou et al., 2020). Regardless of the heavy breadwinning responsibility, nowadays, Chinese fathers got more participation in child-care than their ancestors (Chen et al., 2020), and as the number of women in the workforce grows, mothers need help in child-rearing led to the growth in father involvement in educational and child-rearing practices (Ho et al., 2013; Newland et al., 2013). This condition boosted paternal participation in China. The fathers of the working wife willingly share child-care obligations (Lau, 2016).

There was a limited study regarding Japan's paternal role. However, it is interesting to explore the role of fathers in this country because in recent years, in line with rapid economic development, there has been a culture change to become an individualist but still maintain some collectivist values. Recent studies by Ogihara (2017) described that Japanese culture had become more individualist. This phenomenon was constant with trends in American and other East Asian cultures (e.g., China and South Korea). But it did not happen in all aspects of Japanese culture, and some social values were still maintained according to the original culture. According to (Goto et al., 2020), the traditional Japanese parenting style was authoritarian, and it was found that harsh parenting and corporal punishment lead to child abuse. The older male children describe the paternal parenting style as more rejecting, which refers to traditional Japanese fathers' hopes that their older sons become family role models. Research by Ishii-Kuntz, (2013) highlighted the implication of the work environment to the father's role. It was well-known that Japanese work culture was characterized by long work hours and clear gender lines. Therefore, Japanese fathers spent significantly less time with children than mothers did. The study implied that higher education and younger fathers tend to have higher involvement levels in child care. Another study amongst Japanese fathers residing in Hawaii described how they transformed the traditional authoritarian gender role into a more family-oriented approach under the influence of Western culture (Taniguchi et al., 2015). Optimistically, the acculturation process will lead to better-involved fathers in the next generation.

Latin countries have their uniqueness in culture and parenting. Based on the literature about parenting in Latino culture, this society has a strong kinship and holds firm to the values of togetherness. The vital element of Latino fathers was *machismo*, which referred to fathers' nurturing, affectionate, and protective role. The positive values of *machismo* consisted of sincerity, humility, and a strong work ethic (Falicov, 2010). In traditional Latino families, fathers are regarded as breadwinners, rarely as caretakers. Latino fathers shared many family responsibilities with the older children in raising their younger siblings (Concha et al., 2016; Hofferth, 2003;). In a collectivist society, Latino people upheld family values – *Familismo*, which underlined the importance of the family and fostered emotional connections with other family members. This indirectly influenced father and child connections since fathers were more involved in their paternal role. Moreover, *familismo* improved the position of extended family members, which supported the father's role in monitoring and providing guidance to his children (Mogro-Wilson et al., 2016).

Literature on parental roles categorizes Norwegia and Finland as countries with individualistic cultures. In these countries, involved fatherhood has become common and culturally more acceptable. But, at the same time, it was demanded as the norm of the paternal role (Miller, 2011). Because of that, the traditional paternal role as breadwinner and protector no longer met the expectations of contemporary fathering, as a more involved, hands-on, and full of compassion.

Parental culture has a massive influence on parents' perceptions. In a Nordic country like Finland, child-rearing has become the family objective and policy and is currently the cultural norm of parenting (Eerola, 2014). In addition, the Nordic countries were being recognized as inventors in gender-equal family policies (Cabrera & Tamis-LeMonda, 2013), with characteristics of given father-care leave with high-income substitution and gender equality (O'Brien, 2013). Therefore, it could be assumed that Finnish fathers were more involved in child-rearing than fathers in other countries.

The study of fatherhood in Norwegian culture reveals that the ideal father figure was the one who was available in terms of child-rearing, spending time, and maintaining closeness to the children. This cultural domination looked down on the absent father, who chooses work over child-rearing obligations and spends less time with family (Børve & Bungum, 2015). Such fathers break the traditional assumption that fathers were the "secondary" parents, and child-rearing was primarily believed as the mother's primary task (Hunter et al., 2017). In comparison, the study about Australian fathers revealed that men have more interests in education and employment in this country, which shaped their mindsets toward the paternal role. Highly educated fathers seemed to reject ideas about too much father involvement in child-rearing. But, it was found in young fathers that they choose to be egalitarian spouses and more involved fathers which have grown in recent years (Churchill & Craig, 2021).

The construct of paternal role and father involvement has changed over time. This incited a shift from an emphasis on qualitative aspects namely masculinity and dominance, to quantifiable aspects such as the quantity of fathers' time spent with their children (Lamb, 2000). Adaptive adjustment to fatherhood can make fathers in most collectivist cultures more involved in childcare, without leaving the responsibility of being the head of the family. The implementation of policies will also make fathers more confident to take parental leave because they feel sure that this will not result in negative consequences for their advancement at work (Ogihara, 2017). Culture becomes a community identity and is still used because it is considered profitable and still in accordance with life in this era (Van Beurden & de Haan, 2019). Fathers of Western individualist countries who have loose attachments to societies countries can also take the positive side of the paternal culture that develops in Eastern collectivist countries, such as kinship and togetherness in society that allows childcare to be carried out together, which led to better children supervision.

Conclusion

This research aimed to provide a descriptive overview of paternal role research to understand its dynamics from a cultural perspective. Based on a structured search, 35 articles from the Scopus database, addressed from 2012 to 2022, are explored and analyzed. The number of articles spread is around four to five per year, and the study's primary research focuses mainly on the impact of father involvement in children's child-rearing. As the result of the first objective, several methods are used in the studies of paternal roles in cultural perspectives, but the quantitative and qualitative methodology is the most used, followed by review and mix-method. There are several parental values across cultures found regarding the second objective. Although they have different terms, all these parental values are maintained in society as they emphasize good character and the relationship between parent and children, aiming to achieve happiness, as well as to keep harmony in the family and community.

Finally, in answering the last objective of this research, it can be concluded that the paternal role in a collectivist culture still held firm to the culture in parenting practices but has begun to experience a shift from the original position of breadwinner, protector, even disciplinarian and authoritarian, becoming the more involved father in child-rearing, due to other cultural influence or parenting intervention. Most fathers from individualist cultures had

previously been involved in child care they were supported by policies applied in the country of origin, such as gender-equal family policies and paternal leave.

This study also had some limitations. Even though researchers had been trying to collect and analyze relevant studies, there might be research on paternal role in a cultural setting that is not included in this systematic review due to single data resources. Besides, the limited amount of research on paternal roles in certain cultures might cause generalization and analysis not in-depth enough. For this reason, future research needs to be more comprehensive with a larger database about the topic, which derives from multiple data sources. The research can also examine paternal roles across cultures that are linked to rapid changes caused by globalization and the development of technology, and how cultures assist in the adjustment of paternal roles.

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